



**The Republic of the Marshall Islands
Ministry of Internal Affairs
Office of Historic Preservation**



**A Survey of Cultural Resources on
Namdik Atoll
Republic of the Marshall Islands**

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Namdik Atoll
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Prepared By

**Leslie A. Mead, Historic Preservation Office
Langinbo Frank, Alele Museum
Fredrick Langmoir, Historic Preservation Office**

Cover Illustration: Photograph of canoe house and solar panel on the shore of Namdik lagoon looking toward Madmad. Taken at Elmon, Namdik, Namdik, Republic of the Marshall Islands. Photograph by L.A. Mead

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Leslie A. Mead
Langinbo Frank
Fredrick Langmoir
Majuro Atoll, Marshall Islands
September 2001

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Introduction

Leslie A. Mead, Historic Preservation Office

This report documents the results of a cultural resources identification survey conducted in July of 2001 on Namdik Atoll. The field documents, maps, drawings, and GIS survey data are housed at the Republic of the Marshall Islands Historic Preservation Office, Majuro Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands. The recordings and videotapes associated with the project are housed at the Alele Museum, Majuro Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands.

The Namdik Survey is part of the Republic of the Marshall Islands Historic Preservation Office's integrated program to survey the cultural resources of all the Marshall Islands. This program was begun in 1992 under the guidance of Dirk H.R. Spennemann and has continued in subsequent years (Spenneman 1992b). The program has been supported by grants from the U.S. Historic Preservation Fund, administered by the National Park Service.

Project Goals

The primary goal of this project was to collect base-line data on the cultural resources associated with the prehistoric, traditional, historic period occupations of Namdik Atoll. To identify these resources two methods were used. The first involved the videotaping and recording of traditional stories and oral histories associated with the atoll. The second was to visit and document these sites identified by informants and through previous research in the historic documentation.

A secondary goal of the project was to educate the inhabitants of the atoll in the importance of identifying, protecting, and preserving the sites associated with the past. To accomplish the second goal, Langinbo Frank undertook a series of informal discussions with local leaders and Leslie Mead undertook a more formal training session of a few members of the local population to demonstrate methods of identifying and documenting the sites.

Research Design and Field Methods

The purpose of this project was to conduct a non-intrusive survey of the cultural resources present on Namdik atoll. As such, the project began prior to the fieldwork phase when a survey was made of historic period resources and previous archaeological investigations on Namdik Atoll and in the Marshall Islands. Upon commencement of the fieldwork, a survey of the local residents was undertaken to identify possible informants. Once informants were identified, generally older residents of the atoll, interviews were conducted and recorded by Langinbo Frank. The purpose of these interviews was largely to collect information on traditional stories and sites; however, additional information was recorded on the locations of known historic sites. Following completion of the interviews, the sites associated with the stories and with the historic period were identified in pedestrian survey guided by local informants.

In addition to collecting information on traditional sites, pedestrian surveys were conducted in selected areas of the atoll that had been previously designated as having a high probability of containing pre-historic sites. Some additional interviews were conducted with one informant, to collect data on the recent history of Namdik Atoll.

The location of each site identified was recorded using a Trimble GeoExplorer II™ pocket Global Positioning System (GPS) unit. Once the site's location was recorded, more detailed maps were made of each site using a compass and tape measures. Information on each site was recorded both in the GPS unit and, by hand on graph paper.

Following completion of each day's survey the GPS data was downloaded from the handheld unit to a Toshiba Satellite™ laptop and corrected using ArcView (Version 3.0a)™ Geographical Information System (GIS) software.

In addition to the GPS/GIS and computer equipment listed above, the field equipment used also included a Sony Mavica MVC-FD83 digital camera, a Canon EOS Rebel 2000 SLR camera (color slide film), one 5-meter and one 7.5-meter tape measure, a compass, and sheets of 8.5x11-inch metric lined graph paper.

Following completion of the fieldwork phase of the project, organization and analysis of the resultant data was undertaken. The oral historical interviews were transcribed in Marshallese and English. The sites identified were evaluated using the significance levels defined in the RMI Historic Preservation Legislations, "Regulations Governing Land Modification Activities, Section 6(2)(a)" (see Appendix A for complete criteria and classification of levels of significance). Finally RMI List of Historic and Cultural Property forms were completed for each of the sites identified.

The report was compiled by the authors as a cooperative venture; each author contributing according to their individual expertise.



Figure 1.1: Local informant Katharine Joar.
Photograph by L. A. Mead.

Local Informants

Because of the nature of the research design and the constraints of time, local informants provided the bulk of the information recorded. The local informants included Jorway Andrew, Anjua Juna and Kathrine Joar (Figure 1.1). In addition, less formally obtained information on site locations was provided by local guides during the fieldwork. The local guides included Franky Lajar and Noah Luther.

While it can be said that use of local informants may have biased this study in favor of sites that persisted in the informants memory. It should also be noted that Marshallese culture is an oral tradition and such bias that does exist may be said represent the current population's view of what sites they consider most significant, or at least significant enough to be included in the oral tradition of Namdik Atoll.

Limitations in the Research

There were a number of limitations imposed on the effectiveness of this project overall. The first of these related to the non-intrusive nature of this survey, which almost certainly resulted in under-recording of prehistoric archaeological sites.

The constraints of research design, environment (dense vegetation), and logistics, resulted in a limited number of systematic surface walkovers being undertaken in areas of dense vegetation. Prehistoric sites in the Marshall Islands tend to leave very little surface traces of their existence, pedestrian surveys of the type undertaken as part of this survey would be unlikely to find all, or even a significant number, of the sites relating to early occupations.

In addition to the above-mentioned limitations, the recording of the sites was limited by the technology available. Global Positioning Systems, under the best of circumstances, are generally not accurate to the level normally required for a standard archaeological excavation. The filtering and selective availability built into the GPS system for reasons of U.S. national security and introduced errors produced by atmospheric and terrestrial conditions limit the hardware's accuracy. To counteract more egregious errors, each reading (both raw and corrected) was manually point plotted on the most accurate map available while the fieldwork was still ongoing to ascertain that the measurements being taken bore some relationship to the on-the-ground topographic reality.

A final complication for recording the location data on each of the sites was the level of accuracy of the maps available. The field map used for this project was a 1:25,000 scale, base topographic map compiled in 1954 by the 29th Engineer Battalion (Namorik Atoll NW,

Sheet 7838 II NW, Series W861, Edition I-AMS (AFFE)). While this appeared to be the most accurate of any maps available, some discrepancies were noted in the field. The discrepancies were most likely a function of the map's age and available technology. The map was compiled from plane table surveys and aerial photographs.

A Note About Language, Names, and Spelling

The Marshallese language is dynamic and adaptive, there are more formal (traditional) variants of many words, as well as dialects and colloquialisms within the language itself. In general, this text represents the Marshallese language in italics (except in cases of place names or proper names) and presents the English translation or equivalent after the Marshallese in parentheses.

There is no accepted orthography for the Marshallese language; consequently, there is considerable variation in the spelling of Marshallese words in the literature. The spelling of the Marshallese used in this report is that set out in the Marshallese-English Dictionary, followed by more commonly used variants cited in the dictionary and seen in the literature (Abo et al 1976).

Namdik Atoll is known by many different names in the literature. The first known written record identifies the atoll as the Baring Islands. Subsequently, during the German colonial period it was known as "Klein-Namo". More recently English spelling of the Marshallese name of the atoll have included "Namurik" and "Namorik". Most western writers use "Namorik" or "Namdrik" even today. The accepted Marshallese spelling of the atoll's name is "Namdik" and this is the spelling used in this report (Abo et al 1976: 571).

Environmental Setting

Leslie A. Mead, Historic Preservation Office

Description

The Marshall Islands consists of 29 coral atolls and five raised coral islands (table reefs) spread out over approximately 750,000 square miles (1.2 million square kilometers) in the Central Pacific (Figure 2.1). These atolls and islands roughly form two chains: the eastern (or Ratak Chain) and the western (or Ralik Chain) with two outlying atolls Enewetak and Ulejang.

There are more than 1,220 islets in the Marshall Islands. The resource base includes a total land area of 70 square miles (182 square kilometers) and 4,040 square miles (10,470 square kilometers) of protected lagoons (Merlin et al 1994: 1).

Namdik Atoll is located in the southern end of the Ralik Chain, approximately 100 nautical miles west of Jaluit Atoll and 85

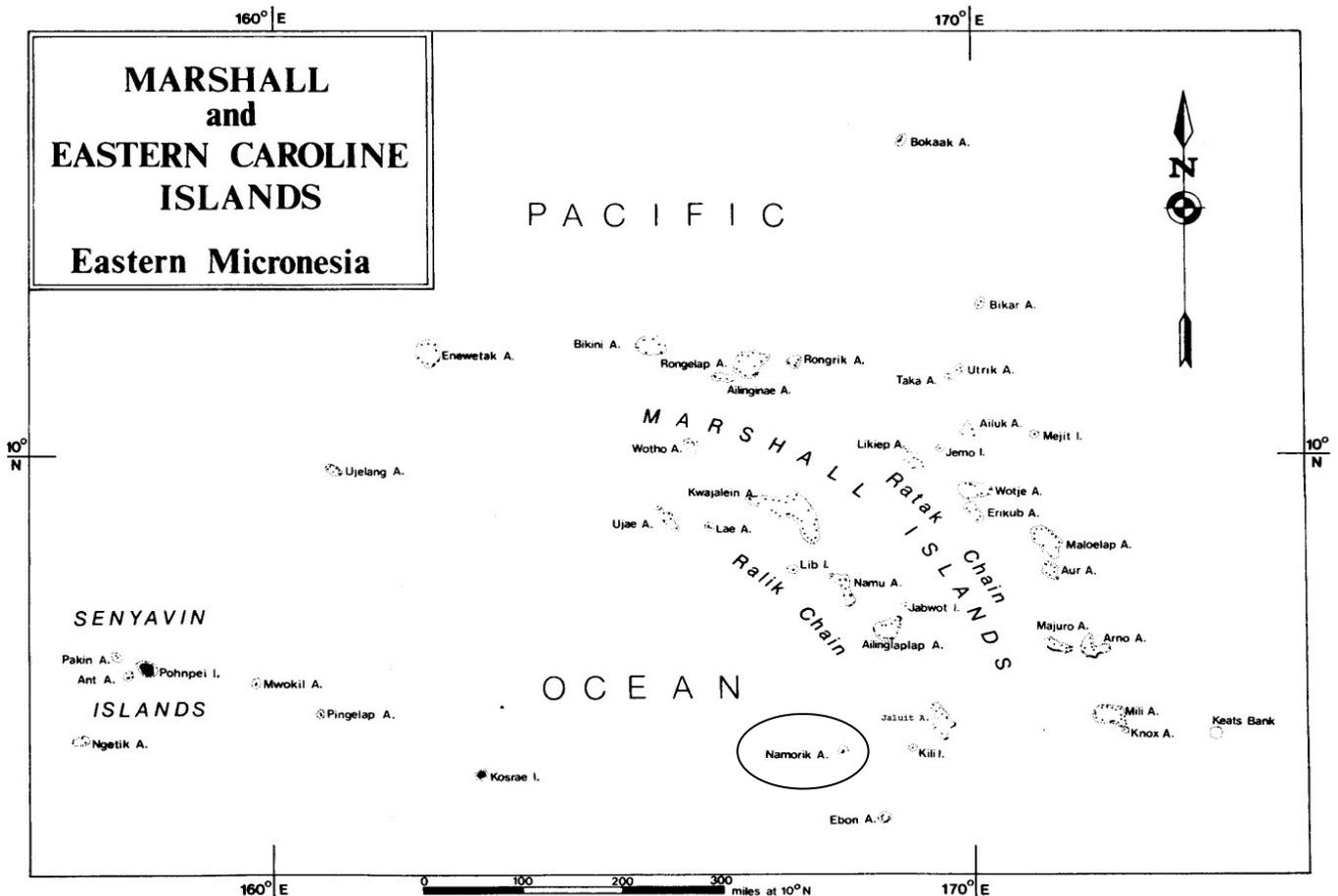


Figure 2.1: Map of the Marshall Islands

nautical miles north of Ebon. The atoll itself lies between 5°35'00" and 5°40'00" North latitude and 168°5'00" and 168°8'30" East longitude. The atoll consists of two islets, Namdik and Madmad, and has a total land area of 1.07 square miles (Figure 2.2).

The atoll itself is shaped roughly like an inverted triangle. The islet of Namdik runs from the northeastern to southwestern corner of the triangle. The islet of Madmad forms the northwestern corner of the triangle.

The lagoon area forms the vast majority of the area of the atoll, fully 3.25 square miles. A shallow ledge and coral reef provide barriers for the lagoon on the northern and western sides of the atoll. There are no deep-water passages through the reefs that define the edges of the lagoon and a number of small coral heads and reefs break the surface, or nearly break the surface, within the lagoon itself. The lack of through passages, shallow depth, and the presence of the coral reefs and heads make navigation hazardous for larger vessels.

Deep-water anchorages are difficult to find surrounding Namdik. Presently, larger boats and ships must anchor off the southwestern end of Namdik Islet and cargo loading and unloading takes place using small motorboats. Local informants stated that during "German times" (pre-1914) ships would sometimes anchor off Madmad.

Ecology

The ecology of the atoll environment has been variously described as fragile and as one of the most stable in the worlds. Ecology is a complex interaction between geomorphology, soils, climate plants, and animals (including humans).

Geomorphology

An atoll consists of a number of low-lying islets and submerged reefs surrounding a central lagoon. Water passes between the lagoon and the surrounding ocean with the tides.

Darwin originally described the geological history of atolls and subsequent analysis has essentially substantiated his hypothesis. Darwin postulated that atolls had their origins as the fringing reefs surrounding volcanic islands. As the volcanic islands themselves subsided, and surrounding sea levels slowly rose, the reefs grew up gradually forming fringing then barrier reefs. Over time, the core island disappeared below the waves leaving behind the ring of the surrounding reef (Darwin 1860).

Over time the details of Darwin's original hypothesis have been fleshed out in greater detail, taking into account data on fluctuations in sea level and subsidence; however, the core of his argument has stood the test of time. Recent deep coring on Bikini and Eniwetok Atolls found the volcanic cores of these atolls at a depth of approximately 1,500 meters (5,000 feet) (Merlin et al 1994: 2).

The formation of the islets that characterize atolls has been postulated to be the result of the slow accretion of sediments (coral, formaminafera, and calcareous algae) in sheltered corners of these reefs. The soils found on these islands was relatively poor and infertile; however, over time, as organic material from bird droppings and decayed sea life and organic remains washed ashore the organic content of the soil improved. With still more time, plants introduced as seeds (from bird droppings or clinging to their feathers, or washed ashore) took root and formed the underpinnings of the native ecology of the Marshall Islands.

Soils

The soils found in the Marshall Islands, with a few notable exceptions, are generally poorly developed. The result of the interaction of six factors: climate, plants and animals (including man), relief, parent material, and time. All these factors interact with one another to produce different types of soils. Because the atolls and islands of the Marshalls are

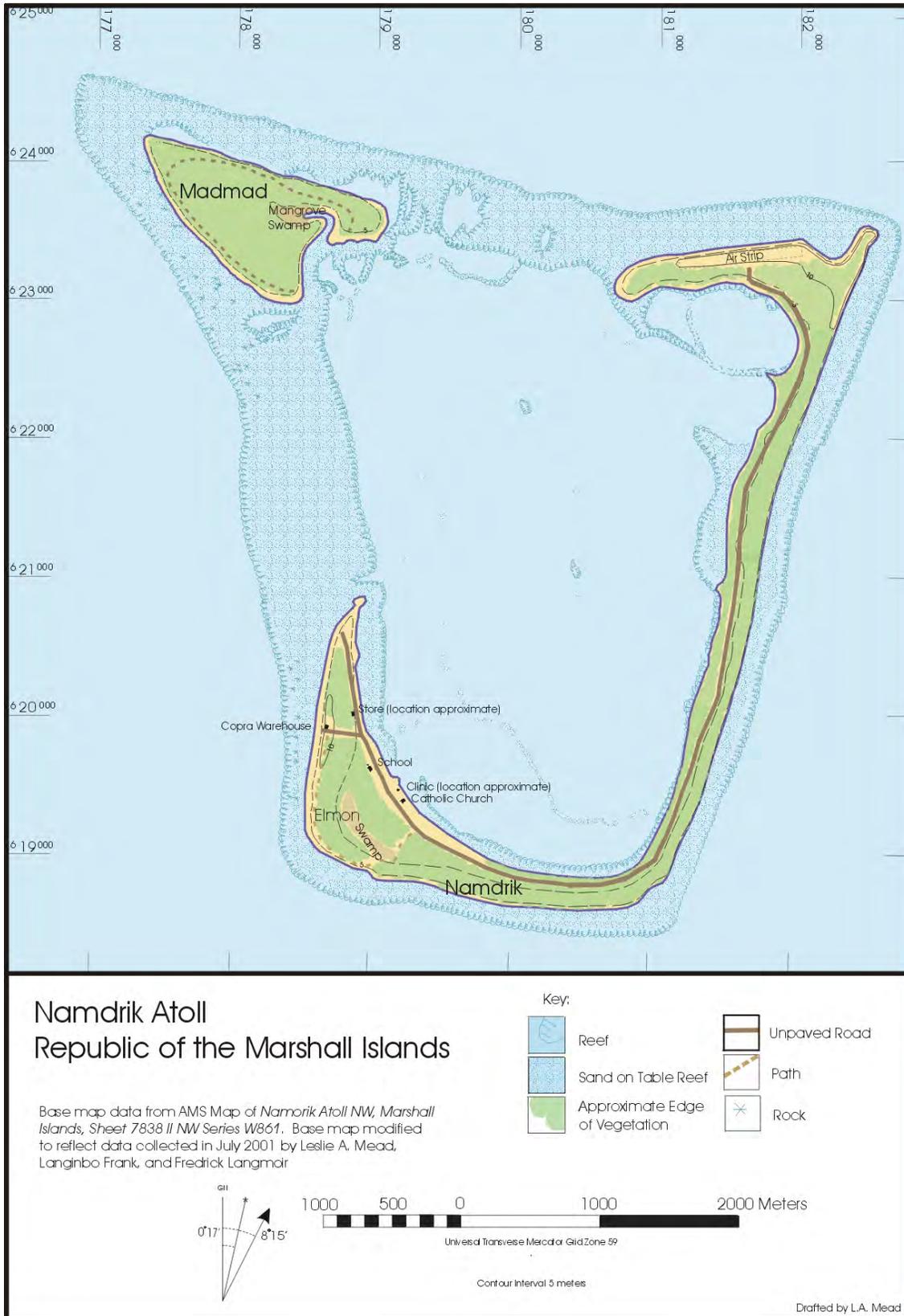


Figure 2.2: Map of Namdik Atoll.

comparatively recent, in terms of geologic time, and because the consistent climate, topography, and vegetation throughout much of the southern Marshall Islands there is relatively little variation in the soils. Cobble and rubbly soils predominate on the ocean side of most atolls. Sand and sandy loams are generally found in the more protected interior and lagoon areas.

The soils of the atolls in the Marshall Islands are generally poorly developed; with only thin A horizons on top of parent material (C horizons). Two soil series have been identified in a limited study of islets on selected atolls in the southern portions of the Ratak Chain.¹ The first of these, the Majuro Series, is found predominately on the ocean side. Majuro series soils are very deep, somewhat excessively drained sandy soil that forms on water-deposited coral rubble and sand. These soils are sandy-skeletal, carbonatic, isohythermic Typic Troporthents (Laird 1992: 23-24).

The second series identified, the Negedebus, is similar in many characteristics to the Majuro described above. Negedebus series soils tend to occur in interior and lagoon shore locations, although it can be found on the ocean side. Like the Majuro series, Negedebus soils are very deep and form on water-deposited coral rubble and sand. These soils are carbonatic, isohyperthermic Typic Tropopsamments (Laird 1992: 24). For reference purposes, typical soil profiles for each series are summarized in Table 2.1.

In addition to the soil series above there are what has been characterized as “miscellaneous areas”. Miscellaneous areas are defined as locations where there is little or no

soil development. Examples of miscellaneous areas include beach rock and rubble.

A soil complex consists of two more soils or one or more soils and miscellaneous area. Miscellaneous areas are locations that have little or no soil material and support little or no vegetation (Laird 1992: 3). While systematic testing was not undertaken as part of this survey, it is likely that these two soil series outlined above appear in various complexes throughout the Namdik project area.

In addition to the naturally occurring soils found in the Marshall Islands, a fairly unique type of soil can also be found in the form of soil within existing or abandoned taro pits. These soils, called taro mucks, are highly organic, reflecting the deliberate introduction of organic material, including household debris, into the area of a prepared taro pit to increase fertility. These soils, reflective of the moist environment of the taro pits, which are generally excavated to the top of Gyben-Herzberg lens, tend to be highly organic mucks.²

Climate

A tropical maritime climate predominates in the Marshall Islands and temperatures are generally warm and humid. The average temperature is 81-82 degrees Fahrenheit. The variation of the temperature is

¹ The studies of soil science in the Marshall Islands can be confusing. Two studies were found in the resources available in Majuro. The first of these (Fosberg 1990) documents completely different soil series than those described in this text. The decision to use the second source, a USDA soil study, was based on the fact the soil descriptions used were more detailed and descriptive than Fosberg's.

² It should be noted that Laird's volume, although published by the USDA, does not appear to represent all of the soils found in the Marshall Islands. In particular, he marks no mention of Jemo, Shoiya, or Arno Series Soils, where is the standard terminology used by other pedologists (Fosberg 1954, 1990). Jemo series are characteristically associated with the *Pisonia grandis* climax forest and are described as containing a highly organic A horizon intermixed with calcareous soils. Shoiya Series Soils are grayish brown sands and gravels and may be analogous to what Laird has identified as Negedebus Series soils. Arno Series soils are black to dark brown loamy sands, which appear analogous to the Majuro Series described by Laird. One other soil type has been identified in the Marshall Islands: Mangrove peat, partially carbonized plant matter associated with mangrove swamps (Fosberg 1990; Merlin et al 1994: 5).

Figure 2.1: Typical soil profiles for Marshall Islands Soil Series. Taken from Laird 1992.

	Horizon	Depth/ Composition	Color	Structure
Majuro Series	A	0-15 cm. Very cobbly, loamy sand	Grayish brown (10YR 5/2)	Very friable, non-sticky, non-plastic, roots common. 30% coral cobbles, 10% gravel. pH 8.0, moderately alkaline. Abrupt wavey boundary with A/C horizon.
	A/C	15-32 cm. Very cobbly, loamy sand	Pale brown (10YR6/3)	Loose, non-sticky, non-plastic, roots common though decreasing with depth. 30% coral cobbles and 15 % gravel. Moderately alkaline (pH 8.2). Gradual smooth boundary with C horizon.
	C	32-150+ cm. Very cobbly to very gravelly sand	Very pale brown (10YR7/3 to 10YR8/3)	Loose, non-sticky and non-plastic, few roots. 30-40% coral cobbles, 10-15% gravel, moderately alkaline (pH 8.2)
Negedebus Series	A	0-23 cm. Loamy sand	Grayish brown (10YR5/2)	Very friable, non-sticky and non- plastic. Roots are common. Soil composition includes approximately 5% coral gravel. Moderate alkaline (pH 8.0). Abrupt wavey boundary with A/C horizon.
	A/C	23-45 cm. Sand	Light gray (10YR7/2)	Loose, non-sticky, non-plastic. Roots are common. Moderately alkaline (pH 8.2) Gradual smooth boundary with C Horizon.
	C	45-150+ cm. Gravelly coarse sand	Pinkish white (7.5YR8/2) to Pink (7.5YR8/4)	Loose, non-sticky, non-plastic. Few roots, decreasing in number with depth. Moderately alkaline (pH 8.2). Approximately 20% coral cobbles increasing to 25% at depths greater than 75 cm.

around two degrees on an average monthly basis.

Rainfall averages vary from north to south, with 750 to 1000 mm of precipitation in the drier northern atolls and over 4,000 mm on

Jaluit. In the northern atolls the heaviest rainfall is between September and November. In the southern atolls, rainfall is common throughout the year and highest from the April to October.

The atolls and islands of the Marshall Islands are located northeast trade wind belt. The trade winds are most strong during the months from December to April and in the southern atolls winds from a southerly and easterly direction are common during the remainder of the year (Crawford 1992; Laird 1992).

Plants and Animals

The plants and animal communities found in the Marshall Islands were profoundly altered during both the historic and prehistoric periods. Plant and animal communities seen today are quite different from that seen during the prehistoric period; and, the prehistoric ecology was, in turn, quite different from that seen in the Marshall Islands prior to the first human occupation.

Native Ecology

The origins of the plants and animals found in the Marshall Islands is the subject of considerable research and, as yet, no clear picture of the early atoll ecology has emerged. It has been speculated that prior to the arrival of man the plant species represented were primarily species arrived opportunistically, drifting in with the tides from other locations or born to the atolls by sea-going birds. These early species are likely to include salt-water tolerant, hardy individuals and probably include *kañal* (*Pisonia grandis*), *kiden* (heliotrope tree, *Tournefortia argentea*), *kōñnat* (half flower, *Scaevola taccada*). Reconstructions of the native flora have suggested that only about 86 species of vascular plants are native to the Marshall Islands (The National Biodiversity Team 2001: 14, 159-162).

The Marshall Islands was probably home to, or on the migration route, of a variety of birds. A total of 106 different species have been identified in the Marshall Islands, of that number 27 have been documented on Namdik, including the native pigeon (*Ducula oceanica*) (The National Biodiversity Team

2001: 48).³ Prior to the advent of humans, it is possible that an even wider variety of birds could be found in the Marshall Islands.

The number of mammals considered to be native to the Marshall Islands is quite low, only one species can even be considered as a possible early resident of the islands. Early historic sources record the presence of the *kijdik* (Polynesian rat, *Rattus exulans*) (Chamisso 1986). It is not entirely clear whether later prehistoric inhabitants of the islands introduced whether this species, or if was an early inhabitant of the islands, drifting opportunistically to the island on a piece of flotsam.⁴

Other terrestrial species in the Marshall Islands probably included a variety of reptiles and other amphibian species, including *korab* (geckos, nine different species), skinks (nine species with different Marshallese names), *totake* (mangrove monitor lizard), and *porok* (marine toad, *Bufo marinus*) (The National Biodiversity Team 2001: 91, 273-275).

In contrast to the native terrestrial environment, the waters around the Marshall Islands contained, and still contain, a variety of fish, ocean dwelling mammals, and reptiles. The mammals include *raj* (whales, six species of the Balaenopteridae family), *ke* (smaller toothed whales, porpoises and dolphins, including no fewer than 13 species of the family Delphinidae), and four species of beaked whales. Two species of seal, including both the Northern Elephant Seal (*Mirounga angustirostris*) and the Hawaiian Monk Seal (*Monachus schauinslandi*) are also found (The National Biodiversity Team 2001: 94, 286-289).

³ Of the total of 106 species, only 17 are native residents of the islands, the remaining are migratory, random occurrences, or introduced species.

⁴ In an interesting contradiction Crawford states "Beside humankind, the Polynesian rat (*Rattus exulans*) is the only terrestrial mammal native to the Marshall Islands. According to Reese (1984), the Polynesian rat probably arrived with early Marshallese settlers." If Polynesian settlers introduced the Polynesian rat, it cannot be considered "native" to the Marshalls.

The variety of fish species is too numerous to mention in this text. In addition, there are five types of marine turtles in the Marshall Islands, with the *wōn* (Green turtle, *Chelonia mydas*) nesting on Lae, Lib, Likiep, Mejit, and Namdik (The National Biodiversity Team 2001: 273).

Prehistoric Ecology

What is clear is that the arrival of man drastically changed the early ecology of the Marshall Islands. A recent study on Utrök found some archaeological evidence for changes in the plant communities following human settlement on that atoll. Here the identification and quantification of wood and other plant remains from archaeological contexts at two sites appeared to show an increase over time in the amount of pandanus and coconut charcoal at these sites. The investigator interpreted this pattern as reflective of "the altered plant community of that islet; that is, the increasing importance of coconut and Pandanus" (Weisler 2000: 297). Interestingly, it has been noted that the use of pandanus as a significant dietary element is unique to the Marshall, Gilbert, and some Caroline Islands (Stone 1963: 61).

Questions remain regarding when *ni* (coconut, *Cocos nucifera*) or *bōb* (Pandanus, *Pandanus tectorius*) arrived in the Marshall Islands. Whether these staples of the traditional Marshallese subsistence were introduced prehistorically or are native to the islands remain, as yet, unanswered (The National Biodiversity Team 2001: 19)⁵.

It is evident that human occupation of the Marshall Islands made extensive changes to the ecology, both by adapting native plants to

cultural uses and importing plants to the islands. It is nearly certain that *iaraj* (Giant Swamp Taro, *Cyrtosperma hamissionis*), *mā* (breadfruit, *Artocarpus* sp.), and *makmak* (arrowroot, *Tacca l eontopetaloides*) three staples of the traditional atoll diet are exotics introduced to the Marshall Islands by its earliest prehistoric human colonists. This is particularly apparent in the case of taro, whose cultivation is quite specialized and labor intensive.

The terrestrial mammalian species present on the islands have been discussed in both the biological and archaeological literature. Early historic sources record that *kijdik* (Polynesian rat; *Rattus exulans*) was the only terrestrial mammal found at the time of contact (Chamisso 1986). However, archaeological evidence exists that contradicts Chamisso's statement, including skeletal remains of *kidu* (dogs, *Canis familiaris*) found in prehistoric excavations on Kwajalein and Maleolap (Beardsley 1994: 140; Weisler 2001: 121-123). This contradiction between the statements of the early explorers of the Marshall Islands and the archaeological evidence remains poorly explained.

There is evidence, both historical and archaeological that indicates that *baō* (chicken, *Gallus gallus*) was introduced prehistorically. Judging from the number of chicken bones found in archaeological contexts, chicken was a significant protein source in the traditional diet.

Historic Period Ecology

When westerners reached the Marshall Islands, their perception was that the islands lacked resources, and, to western eyes, were poverty stricken (Chamisso 1986). The westerners who came to the Marshall Islands immediately began introducing new species to the islands and began to modify the landscape to suit their own perceptions of adequate food production and efficient economic exploitation.

The animal species introduced included *kuuj* (cats, *Felis domesticus*), *pik* (pigs, *Sus scrofa*), and *kot* (goats, *Capra hircus*) and

⁵ The National Biodiversity Team believes that both pandanus and coconut were prehistoric introductions to the Marshall Islands. Other scholars (Spennemann 1992: 39) have maintained that the evidence is not complete on whether or not they were introduced by humans or colonized the atolls prior to humans by seeds floating to the atolls.

commensals (*kijidrk ekun batun* (house screw, *Suncus m urinus*), *kijidrik e rik* (mouse, *Mus musculus*), *kijidrik* (Norway and brown rats, *Rattus norvegicus and rattus*). Domesticated birds introduced included *tirke* (turkey, *Meleagris gallopavo*), the common peafowl (*Pavo cristatus*), and the *khoos* (domesticated goose, *Anas anser X cygnoides*) (The National Biodiversity Team 2001: 277-284).

One of the most significant changes to the ecology of the Marshall Islands was the introduction of commercial copra production. The need for copra-based products in the western world led to increasing pressure being brought on the people of the Marshall Islands to cultivate greater and greater numbers of coconut trees. This pressure included social and political constraints, primarily imposed through the manipulation of traditional clan leadership; economic pressure, through control of access to imported goods; the imposition of taxes, which were paid either in cash or copra; and regulatory mechanisms, such as laws enacted requiring that previously uncultivated land to be mono-cropped in coconut.

More recently, large numbers of exotic plants and animals have been introduced to the Marshall Islands. The growth of urbanization on some atolls, such as Majuro, Jaluit, and Kwajalein has led to the introduction of decorative tropical plants and exotic animals (including pest species). On the smaller, outer atolls, the environment remains similar to that which existed in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, with improvements in the transportation systems, this is changing.

Culture and Ecology

The unique ecology of the Marshall Islands had a profound effect on the culture and the culture brought to the Marshall Islands by its early human inhabitants in turn altered that ecology. At the most basic level the weather and availability of fresh water dictated the best locations for settlement. Simultaneously, the introduction of plant species, animals, and

agriculture changed the initial ecology, transforming and adapting it to the needs of the human occupants.

It has been said that there was probably not a single plant growing the Marshall Islands prehistorically that was not used in some way by the Marshallese people (Nancy Vander Velde, personal communication 2001). The list of the known plants that have cultural uses for the Marshallese people is extensive (National Biodiversity Team 2001)(see Appendix 2.1 of this report for a list of culturally used plants). Interestingly, prehistorically introduced plants generally have more individual uses than more recent historic period (after 1850) introduction. Plants introduced more recently most commonly have only a single use: food. Those historically introduced plants that do have more than one use resemble native or prehistorically introduced species that have the same use.

Marine resources play a crucial role in Marshallese society down to the present day. Of the fish species present in the Marshall Islands, it has been conservatively estimated that 275 different species were, and are, used as food by the Marshallese; an additional 87 species have a possible use as food (The National Diversity Team 2001: 199-272). Marine resources also proved a significant part of the raw material for tool manufacture, particularly the use of shell for fishhooks, adzes and other tools and decorative items. Marine animals also have a strong symbolic role in traditional Marshallese stories and oral traditions.

Birds, both introduced and native, also play a number of roles in traditional Marshallese society. In addition to being an important food resource, bird bones were used in the manufacture of tools and bird feathers were used as stuffing for pillows and decoration. The birds themselves were pets, used for weather predictions, and for entertainment in staged fights. Finally birds also had considerable symbolic significance, their presence is recorded in traditional stories

as a harbinger of death. Birds could represent the spirits of the dead (particularly maternal figures), a kind of guardian spirit looking out for the interests of the living. Birds also were

also considered the bearers of both fortunate and unfortunate news (National Biodiversity Team 2001: 277-284; Downing et al 1992: 74-82; Kowata et al 1999: 70-73).

Cultural Setting

Leslie A. Mead, Historic Preservation Office

DESCRIPTION

The most recent census of Namdik counted a population of 772 or only 1.5% of the total population of the Republic of the Marshall Islands (Office of Planning and Statistics 2000: 422-423). In terms of population density however, Namdik is the fourth most populous atoll in the Marshall Islands.

The mean annual income for Namdik residents is US \$1,404, with the vast majority of the population employed in agriculture or fishing. Namdik is part of the national school system and a grammar school is located on the island. Fully 87 percent of the population has received at least a seventh grade education. Education beyond the seventh grade is not available on island and only approximately six to seven percent of the population has completed high school or received a GED.

The bulk of the population is concentrated at the southwestern corner of Namdik Islet in the town of Elmon. Settlement outside of this area is thinly scattered but consistent over much of Namdik Islet, with the exception of the northern end which is dominated by airstrip and largely unoccupied. The islet of Madmad has no current residents and is primarily used for resource extraction.

Like the rest of the Marshall Islands, the residents of Namdik are practicing Christians. There are a number of churches on the island with the Assembly of God and Catholic churches having the largest numbers of participants.

The primary cash producing activity on the atoll is the gathering and preliminary processing of copra, which is transported to Majuro by field trip boats. In addition, the atoll is also known for its fruit production, in particular, bananas; which it exports to Majuro for the urban market. There is also a small, but thriving, handicraft industry on the island. While women dominate handicraft production in the rest of the Marshall Islands,



Figure 3.1: A young man carving a frame.
Photograph by L. A. Mead.

Namdik has developed a specialization in yarn pictures on pandanus mats held in a frame. The frames are carved from local wood and pieced together. The frames are varnished and decorated with small shells (usually cowries). Younger men under the watchful tutelage of older men do the work of carving the frame.

Recently a new store was opened in Elmon that sells a selection of dry goods, processed food, and a small quantity of luxury items (cigarettes, soda, and candy). Informal observations seemed to indicate that the local residents did not use the local store for basic provisions, apparently still relying on the field trip boats for essentials.

Namdik is the site of a pilot program for the use of solar power that provides electricity for lighting and some refrigeration. The residents, despite some technical problems, have found this program to be successful. The primary source of heat for cooking is provided by wood with some kerosene stoves in use.

The protein staple is fish, although chickens and pigs are raised. A number of different techniques are used for fishing, including traps, poles, hand lines, and nets. Spear fishing is prohibited by local ordinance in an effort to preserve the local reefs and not scare away fish. The fish taken are confined almost entirely to reef species. In addition, crabs, both coconut and mangrove, are prized delicacies and a source of dietary protein.

The primary constituent in most of the meals is rice, imported to the island. However, traditional foods such as bananas, breadfruit, coconut, and taro still form a significant part of the diet. Arrowroot was seen in scattered locations throughout the islets. Historically, arrowroot formed an important source of dietary starch Marshallese. However, all plants observed during the current survey were growing wild. An informant said the plant is little used in modern times.

The remains of taro swamps were visible in a number of locations throughout the two islets. The taro swamps in use at the time of this fieldwork were all located on Namdik Islet. A local informant said that although not every individual had access to taro cultivation, those who did would exchange taro they grew with other individuals for goods and/or services.

Land Tenure

The highly nuanced political and social structure of much of the Marshall Islands is inextricably linked its system of land tenure. Marshallese society has a class-based semi-feudal structure. Traditionally, one's position in the social and political structure was linked to the nature of one's association with the land. The modern system of land tenure on Namdik Atoll is rooted in this past.

The land itself is divided into small lots, called *wātos* (var. *wetos*). *Wātos* are generally one to four acres in size and stretch from the ocean side of the atoll to the lagoon. Traditionally, all *wātos* within the Marshall Islands are considered to have three "owners", the *Irooj* (var. *Irwōj* and *Iroj*) or chief/king, the *aļap* (var. *alab*) or clan leader, and the *rijerbal* (var. *drijerbal*) or workers (Clary Makroro 2001: personal communication). Each party is considered to have a "right" to speak to the disposition of the land; however, the *Irooj*'s right supercedes those of all the others.

Generally, the senior male member of each lineage or clan (*bwij*) exercises control of the *wātos* that are the land-right of a particular lineage. The title of this clan head is *alap* (var. *alab*) and it is he determines the disposition of the family lands. However, the actual physical property that is the *wāto* passes through family matrilineally. While role of *aļap* is assumed by the eldest male in the lineage, the land-right remains with the female heir and she will pass on to her children (Tobin 1952: 6).

The *alap*'s power is considerable. It is restricted by both the *Irooj* and by the necessity that the *alap* obtain the consent of the *bwij* prior to undertaking any major changes in the use, structure, or ownership of rights of a *wāto*.

Virtually every individual in traditional Marshallese society retains some "right" to land or its products. These rights are primarily derived from the individual's matrilineal ties; however, land rights can be drawn from patrimony, marriage, rights of adoption, and by royal gift (from the *Irooj*, generally for services rendered)(Tobin 1952: 6-12).

Political Structure

The political structure found on Namdik is similar to that found throughout much of the Marshall Islands. There are essentially three levels of government operating at any one given time: the traditional government, the local government, and the federal government.

In the traditional power structure, the highest political office is that of the high chief or *Iroojlaplap*. The power of an *Irooj* was derived from the number of people and extent of land that owned him fealty. Thus while the power of an *Irooj* was absolute, it was derived from willingness of the people to be under his protection. The *Irooj* was, and is, still entitled to tribute (*ekkan*). In the pre-contact period the *Irooj* and his household "progressed" through the land over which he had suzerainty. The collection of tribute was reciprocal and functioned as a mechanism to redistribute resources from areas of plenty to that in need. The *Irooj* has considerable, if not absolute authority, in traditional Marshallese society.

At the present time there are six (6) officially recognized *Iroojlaplap* (dominant chief, var. *Iroijlablab*). Much of the *Irooj*'s power is derived from the size and number of clans (*bwij*) under his control and consequently there is something of a reciprocal exchange

of power between the *Irooj* and the heads of the clans (*alaps*). In pre-contact times this balance of power functioned to mitigate the power of the *Irooj* and allowed for the interests of the *bwij* to be represented in political affairs.

In addition to the traditional political structure, most atolls have a local government. Generally, these are local councils who operate as liaison between the federal government in Majuro and the people of the atoll. The local government controls the schools, clinics, access to the atoll by outsiders, and allocates federal funds as designated.

The federal government is a bi-cameral representative government: the two houses include the House of *Irooj* and the *Nitinjela*. Individual atolls are represented in the House of *Irooj* by the recognized hereditary *Irooj* for that atoll. Based on size and population, each atoll elects representatives to the *Nitinjela* every four years. The *Nitinjela* elects the President and approves his nominations for the cabinet. The various members of the cabinet operate as managers of the various ministries, which are primarily staffed by professional civil servants.

Settlement Pattern

The modern settlement pattern seems to have shifted comparatively recently on Namdik. The most densely settled area is town of Elmon, where most of the churches, the schools, and sole the clinic and store are located (Figure 3.2).

The historic documentation from the past 50 years suggested this settlement pattern change has occurred since World War II. The 1954 map of the atoll documents many houses on Madmad, where currently there are no residents. This was further supported by observations, including a larger number of abandoned buildings in the areas peripheral to Elmon on Namdik and long abandoned structures on Madmad.

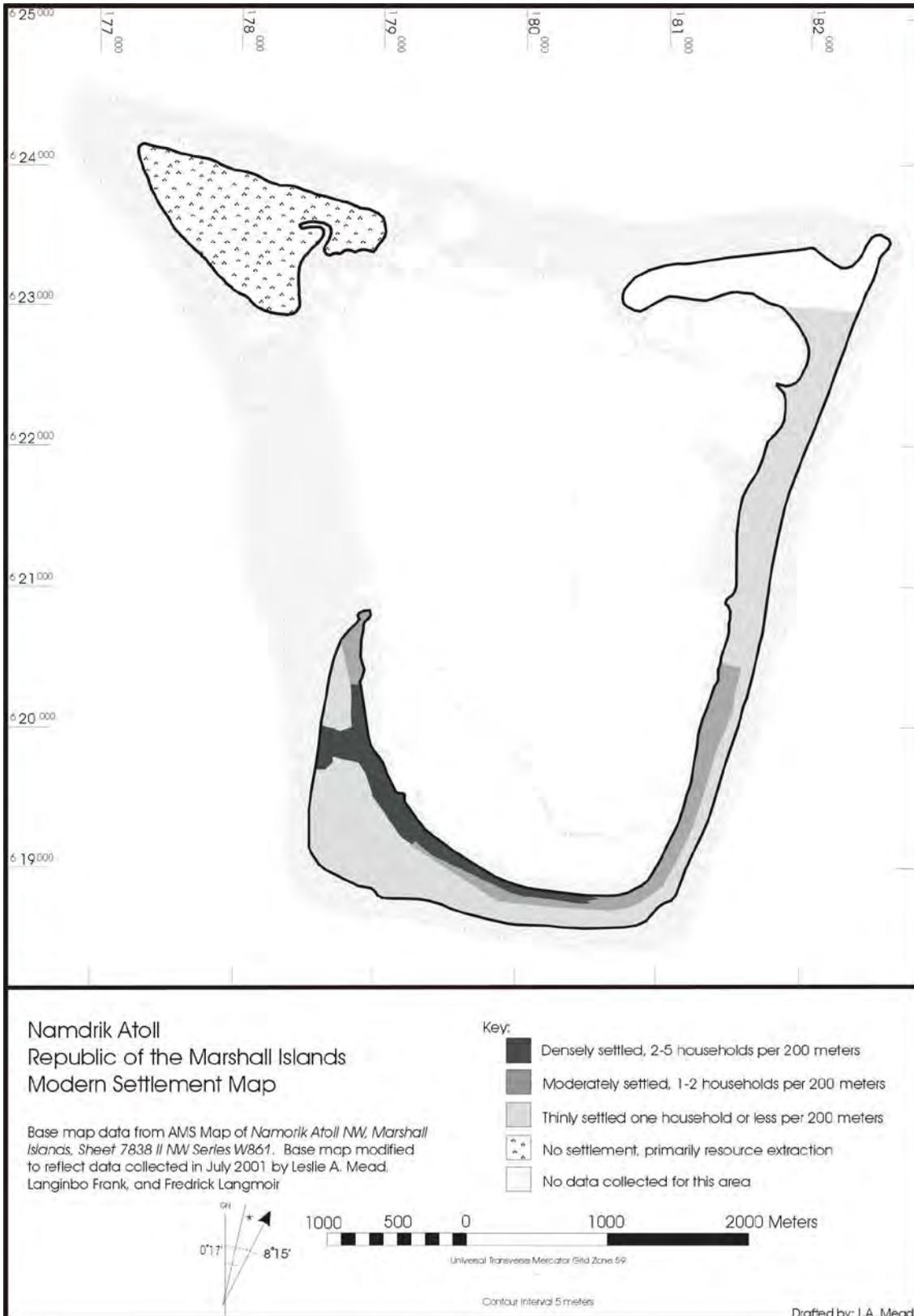


Figure 3.2: Modern settlement distribution



Figure 3.3: Traditional style house. Photograph by L. A. Mead

Local informants, when queried about this shift in settlement, stated that people were moving to the Elmon area for access to churches, schools, and clinic while retaining their more distant land rights for cultivation of bananas and copra (Noah Luther, personal communication, 2001). The implication of this is that, even in remote atolls like Namdik, improved transportation and availability of healthcare and other services are causing traditional ways to be superceded.

Houses and Households

During the course of the survey it was noted that most people living on Namdik lived in extended family units. Family groups

sometimes lived together in a single house but more commonly in a cluster of buildings, a kind of family compound.

Marshallese residential patterns consist of two structures, a sleeping house and an outdoor cookhouse. Family groups often have several sleeping houses located in a compound and share a communal cooking structure. The sleeping houses are arranged around the center of the compound with entrances facing toward one another. This pattern was seen in several locations on Namdik.

Nearly all the houses seen on Namdik were surrounded by a low platform of coral gravel. This gravel is maintained and

replenished by the women of the household. The gravel platform aids drainage around the structure and prevents the yard space from becoming a quagmire during rainy periods.

Several different styles of housing construction were noted during the survey with three specific types predominating. The first type of building consisted of the traditional house, sided and roofed with palm leaves (Figure 3.3). The three traditional style houses seen during the course of this survey had entrances located on the gable end. Two of the three houses were oriented with the gable end at right angles to the lagoon shore. The third house's entrance was oriented parallel to the lagoon shore. The

traditional houses all had cookhouses with a palm leaf roof and open sides. Only two of the traditional style houses documented were currently occupied, the third was abandoned and falling into disrepair.

When local informant, Katharine Joar, was queried as to why she preferred to live in a traditional style structure, she noted that the traditional style buildings allowed cross breezes and were cooler than other types of buildings.

The second type of house observed during the survey was most often constructed of a plywood skin over post-and-beam (Figure 3.4). The roof was often constructed of sheets of galvanized aluminum nailed to the frame.



Figure 3.4: An example of an "old-style" sleeping house. Photograph by L.A. Mead.

The sides of these types of houses pitched inward from the foundation, then, about halfway up the wall, pitched outward again to meet the roof eave. Local informants termed these structures as "old-style" and explicitly differentiated them from modern concrete block buildings and the palm leaf traditional houses.

The entrances to this "old-style" structure were located on gable end the house. The entrances were most commonly oriented toward the center of the compound, in cases where several of these structures were clustered. In cases where a single structure of this type was found, the entrance could face either parallel to the road or directly on the road itself. In cases where an entrance to the structure faced the road the primary working yard area was located on the side or to the rear of the structure.

Window openings were most often located under the eaves of the building. The windows generally lacked glass or screens and were covered by plywood shutters held open with a propped stick. These "old style" houses also had separate, open-sided, palm leaf roof cookhouses.

The third style of house construction is the most modern of the three styles and consists of a concrete block rectangular or square single-story structure with either glass or shuttered windows. Entrances to these structures were not restricted to the gable end of the building. All of these structures had entrances facing either on the main road or at right angles to the central family compound.

Structures of this type generally did not have an associated cookhouse, although often there appeared to be an area of the yard space



Figure 3.5: Decorative entrance to the coral cobbles and cement structure on Namdik Island.

that was set aside for cooking. Sometimes these types of structures had a porch of some kind attached to the building that functioned as a cookhouse.

In addition to the styles outlined above, there were a number of structures that did not fit into the categories outlined. This included two anomalous "residential" structures.

The first of these was a large two-story residence with a first story of coral cobbles and cement and a wood-framed second story. This structure was unusual not only for size and materials used, but it also had a decorative doorway entrance. The second story, constructed of wood, appeared to have been added after the coral cobble walls of the first floor had been completed.

The entrance to the building was decorated with Japanese glass fishing floats imbedded on either side of the door (Figure 3.5). This entrance was located on the north side of the building, with the road running along the south side. The door to this "residence" faced toward the lagoon, but the structure was set at

a considerable distance from the lagoon shore.

Although the structure was apparently not being used, it was evident that the space between the structure and the lagoon was the primary work area for the former residents of this building. This was evidenced by debris scattered about and the presence of a well. There was no evidence of a cookhouse associated with the structure.

The second anomalous structure was a two-story concrete block, or poured concrete, residence located in the central part of Elmon. This structure was unusual not only for its construction but also because of its relatively large size and a second story balcony or porch that ran the length of one side of the building.

Other anomalous structures included the copra warehouse, the ruins of what appeared to be a poured concrete, mercantile building, the school, the store, the Catholic Church, two Protestant Churches, and the clinic. All of these "public" structures appeared to be of non-vernacular design and construction.

Prehistory

Leslie A. Mead, Historic Preservation Office

Introduction

Much of our information on pre-historic Marshallese society comes from archaeological research, traditional oral histories, and, with one notable exception, ethnographic data collected within the past one hundred years. Our understanding of Marshallese prehistory is in its infancy. To date, no single scholarly or popular text has been written on the subject. Much of the research comes in the form of individual site and survey reports.

The earliest documented archaeological “excavations” were documented in the literature of the colonial German era, Laura on Majuro Atoll (Krämer and Nevermann 1938: 64-65). For the most part, archaeological research in the Marshall Islands appears to have suffered a still-birth and further research was not under-taken until the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Until 1990, much of the archaeological research was confined to more accessible atolls, such as Majuro, Kwajalein, and Arno (Rosenthal, Riley, Dye 1987a, b, and c), the exception being work conducted on Bikini Atoll (Streck 1987). During the 1990s however, archaeological work, primarily under the guidance of the Republic's new Historic Preservation Office and Alele Museum began to fill in the gaps. In addition, work conducted by Beardsley, Spennemann, and Weisler began to flesh out interpretation of prehistoric sites and peoples in the Marshall Islands.

In recent years, archaeological research in the Marshall Islands has expanded. During the

mid-1990s, surveys of the outer islands began to be undertaken and archaeological investigations have included projects undertaken as part of compliance with Historic Preservation Act of 1991.

The Historic Preservation Office has dedicated considerable effort to surveying and inventorying the cultural resources on less well documented atolls and underwater cultural resources in the Republic (Deurent et al 1999; Williamson 2000, 2001; Weisler 1999, 2001; Holly 2002). Due to limitations in funding and time, most of these studies concentrate on identification of historic sites and traditional Marshallese landscape features from surface surveys. A notable exception is the work of Weisler, who has concentrated much of his research on excavations of specific prehistoric sites (Weisler 1999, 2001).

The comparatively late arrival of archaeological investigation of Marshallese prehistory is undoubtedly a result of the country's relative isolation. However, the difficulties of research in the Marshall Islands was accompanied by a perception by archaeologists that evidence of prehistoric occupation of the Marshall Islands had been largely obliterated, due to over washing of the atoll during severe storms. In addition, it was commonly held that since the material culture associated with Marshallese prehistoric sites were primarily made from raw materials that preserve poorly, particularly in the corrosive maritime environment, there was relatively little to be found.

The comparative youth of scholarship in atoll prehistory has led to some interesting gaps in our knowledge base. For example, since atoll archaeology began so late, much of the basic research in artifact typologies and seriation studies that characterized archaeological investigations prior to 1960 has been eschewed in favor of more “modern” theoretical approaches. These kinds of particularistic artifact studies, which are the underpinning of archaeological chronologies in other parts of the world, remain still to be done for much of the Marshall Islands.

Namdik's Prehistory

There have been no archaeological investigations conducted on Namdik prior to this study (Spennemann 1992: 135-136). This summary is based on the current state of knowledge of the larger picture of Marshallese prehistory represented by archaeological research conducted on other atolls.

The Peopling of the Marshall Islands

The peopling of the Pacific Islands, and by extension the Marshall Islands, has been the subject of extensive discussion in the literature. Various models drawing from ecology, geology, physical anthropology, linguistics, and archaeology have been used to hypothesize the routes and transmission of culture throughout the Pacific Islands. As these studies of the occupation of the Pacific Islands become increasingly synthetic and multi-disciplinary a picture is emerging which indicates that humans began to move into the Australia/New Guinea region from southeastern Asia during the Pleistocene. At around 3000 to 3500 B.C. there appears to have been a sudden emergence of seafaring peoples into the islands of the southwestern Pacific. These people appear to be related to the Lapita pottery producing cultures of New Ireland, New Britain and the Solomons. Then at around 1200 B.C. these seafaring peoples began to move again and rapidly settled in the Bank Islands, Vanuatu, New Caledonia, Fiji, and

Tonga. The present evidence suggests that the Marshall Islands were occupied from east to west, probably from people moving into the area from Northern Vanuatu.

The bulk of the Carbon 14 dates that have been recovered from a variety of sites throughout the Marshall Islands indicate this occupation took place around 2000 years ago (Shun and Athens 1990; Riley 1987: 242; Deurnert 2001; Weisler 2001). This clustering of dates around the time of Christ appears entirely consistent with geological and ecological reconstructions of the development of the atolls.

Interestingly, there are a limited number of earlier C14 dates from sites on Bikini Atoll. These dates range from 2380 to 3540 B.P. (Streck 1990: 225). These dates appear to be at odds with the best geological information that indicates that the Marshall Islands had not sufficiently developed to support life until sometime between 2,500 and 2,000 B.P. (Nunn 1994; as cited in Weisler 2000). Questions about these early dates from Bikini remain (Beardsley 1994: 24; Weisler 2000: 194). These early dates at Bikini are consistent with some northern Marshallese oral traditions that their origins are in the northern atolls, until more data is collected these early dates must be scrutinized very carefully.

As the discussion above, in the section on the environment, indicates the earliest occupants of the Marshall Islands brought profound changes to the environment of the Marshall Islands. The archaeological evidence suggests they brought new plants and animals to the islands. The archaeological evidence indicates that these animal introductions included dogs and chickens. The plants introduced included a variety of species, which were either useful or edible.

Prehistoric Marshallese Material Culture

The dominant raw material found at archaeological sites is shell, primarily from the

species *Tridacna*, *Cassis*, and *Conus*. These shells were used for adzes, fishhooks, shell arm bands, and beads. The archaeological assemblages from prehistoric sites in the Marshall Islands indicates that they also had access to some exotic materials, including pumice, for use as abraders.

It should not be assumed that the archaeological material recovered is representative of the entire breadth of the material culture assemblage of prehistoric material culture. The nature of the raw materials available prehistorically suggests the vast majority of the material culture assemblage was probably made of materials that would not survive. These include wood, leaves, and bone. All this leads most archaeologists to the conclusion that the artifact assemblages recovered from most sites represent only a fraction of what was used.

The archaeological evidence suggests that Marshallese material culture has been extremely conservative throughout the period that the islands were occupied. A study conducted of shell adzes found the forms of adzes manufactured remain comparatively stable throughout much of prehistory (Widdicombe 1997).

Settlement Patterns

Much of the research in the Marshall Islands has concentrated on defining settlement patterns. This focus on settlement pattern identification was a direct attempt to answer one of the most important questions in Marshallese archaeology, specifically where were prehistoric sites are likely to be located. These studies concentrated on defining quantifiable characteristics of how settlement locations were selected by early populations in the atolls. Generally, they relied on identifying ecological factors. This focus on ecology was both a function of the training received by most prehistoric archaeologists in the 1970s and 1980s, which directed attention away from particularistic studies of artifact typologies, and on the very real demands of fieldwork in the Marshall Islands which

required rapid identification of the most likely areas for testing.

These previous studies on other atolls have defined a distinct pattern of prehistoric settlement (Rosenthal 1977, 1978; Athens 1984: 11). This settlement pattern (herein referred to as Atoll Settlement Pattern) has defined a set of ecological conditions that can be used to predict the most likely locations for early prehistoric settlement.

The Atoll Settlement Pattern dictates that the location of initial settlement on most atolls is based on the size of the islet, with larger islets in each atoll being occupied first. Second settlement on each islet is based on the availability of fresh water sources, specifically the presence of Gyben-Herzberg lens, generally found on wider islets. The settle pattern also found a decided preference for settlement on lagoon strands protected from the prevailing winds. The less predictable aspect of the Atoll settlement pattern is the environmental, social, and ideological factors that are specific to each atoll. These factors include availability of resources (access to fertile soils and availability of good fishing locations), social factors (crowding and proximity to other groups) and proximity of land that is *mo* (taboo).

With this model in mind, a number of statements can be made about likely locations for prehistoric settlement of Namdik Atoll. First, settlement is likely on both Madmad and Namdik atolls, as both islets are relatively large in size and have Gyben-Herzberg lens. Second, fertile soils are accessible on both islets. Third, the earliest settlement on Namdik's islets is likely to be along the protect lagoon shore of Namdik Islet. Fourth, as the lagoon strand migrated with sand accretion in protected locations, later settlement would follow the lagoon shore, with the result that earlier settlements are most likely to be found in what is now more interior parts of the islets. Fifth, settlement on Namdik is likely to be in the more protected areas (settlement would likely take

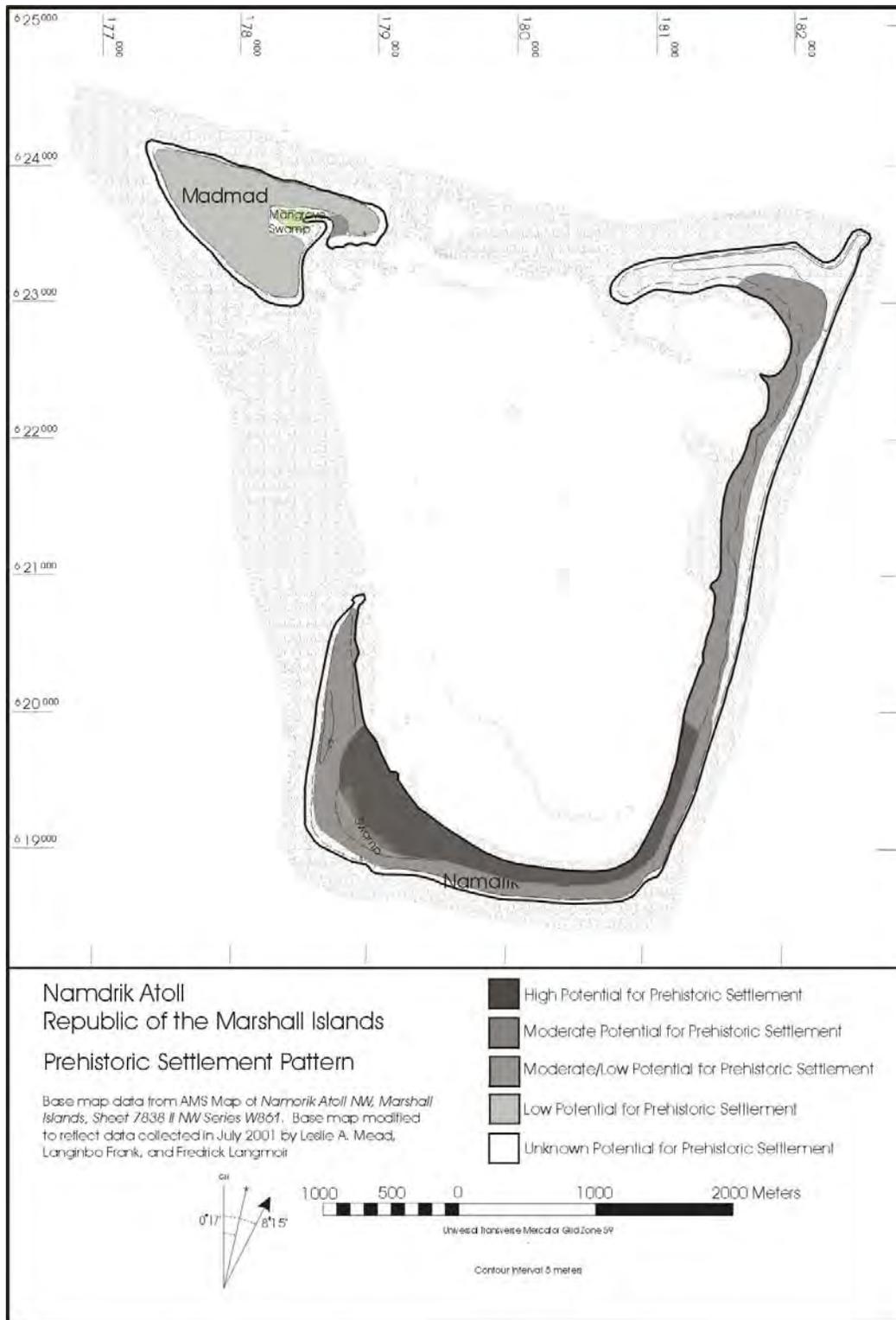


Figure 4.1: Map of Namdik, showing reconstruction of possible prehistoric settlement

place on the western side of Madmad and on the lagoon strand at the southern end of Namdik islet); Sixth, prehistoric settlement on Madmad is likely to be preferentially located on the western side of that islet although its shape and location is problematical in terms of definition of more protected locations. With these statements in mind, the following reconstruction of possible locations of prehistoric archaeological sites can be made (Figure 4.1). The interior of Namdik islet, in the area of present day Elmon, has the highest potential of all areas on Namdik Atoll for prehistoric sites. It is the only area on Namdik Atoll, which fits all the criteria for settlement: protected location, availability of fresh water and fertile soil. The potential for prehistoric sites in the area of present day Elmon, is high.

The lagoon strand south of the existing airstrip is likely to have been settled. This would not be a preferred location as in comparison to the Elmon area, it is less protected from the prevailing winds. The potential in this area for prehistoric sites is defined as moderate to high.

It seems likely that Madmad was settled during the prehistoric period. However, it is unlikely that Madmad was a preferred settlement location since the area of lagoon strand is limited and protection from the dangerous southwestern winds and storms would only have been available on the eastern and northern (ocean facing) sides of the islet. The potential for prehistoric sites on Madmad is defined as moderate to high, with a higher possibility of sites located on the western side of the islet. This hypothesis is buttressed by the presence of a large mangrove (*Sonneratia*) swamp on the northeast side of this islet, which may have been artificially created by the prehistoric inhabitants.

Other Aspects of Settlement Pattern

It is clear in reading the ethnographic literature of the early 20th century that the strictly ecological model, described above, for

predicting and explaining settlement patterns in the Marshall Islands is not entirely adequate for predicting site locations or completely illuminating the complexity of Marshallese culture.

Frequently, prehistorians' models of settlement patterns are almost entirely based on ecological reconstruction. These ecological models provide both a means of rational (even, in some cases, mathematical explanation) of site distributions and human behavior. However, early ethnographic data from the Marshall Islands provides glimpses into some of the cultural factors that can and do mitigate settlement pattern. An early German ethnographer made the following observations regarding the distribution of settlement on the atolls of the Marshall Islands.

...the rank of the individual kin groups, as well as of the different lineages within the same kin group is indicated by where they live on the island, whether on the lagoon side, farther from the interior of the island, or not far from the outer shore. The soil on the lagoon side of an island is the most fertile. Besides, canoe traffic on the lagoon starts from the lagoon shore, and all the traffic can be observed from there. Because of all these advantages, settling closest to the lagoon is a birthright of the families of high chiefs. The lower the rank, the farther interior is the place of residence. The lowest families live closest to the outer shore, there where the ground is covered with stony debris, where shrubs that require the least to grow, like the salt-water bush are neighbors of equal status, where the surf breaking on the outer reef pounds loudly, and where, finally the outer reef as the place where everybody, rich and poor alike, relieves himself, does not exactly smell like nar cissuses and rose, particularly at ebb tide. The low families are therefore likened to wild pandanus trees, which likewise thrive on the outer shore. When the word lik (outer shore) occurs in the name of a kin group, it is evident

that this group is an inferior one, usually the lowest lineage of a kin group or set of kin groups. (Krämer and Nevermann p. 342)

Extrapolation from historic period ethnographic data to the prehistoric period is always a hazardous exercise. The examination of location and distribution of settlements on Marshallese atolls, particularly in the later prehistoric period and proto-historic periods can provide insights not only into ecological aspects of human behavior but also into the cultural aspects.

Using this ethnographic data we can suggest that high status households were probably clustered in the area of the current modern village of Elmon, with lower status households clustered in peripheral areas. It is likely that if the population of Namdik increased substantially over time, the households of lower status

individual's households shifted to even less desirable areas along the ocean side of Namdik.

The role of Madmad in this picture is most interesting. The association of this island in the oral tradition of the atoll with the creation of the people of Namdik, suggests that this island has had some kind of special significance through time. This may mean this island was the first settled or it could mean that this island has been associated with higher status families.

It is possible that Madmad was *mo* (taboo) in prehistoric times or may have only been used as a resource extraction location. This seems unlikely given the traditional stories, which define Madmad as occupied, and the presence of well-defined *wetos* on the islet suggesting that land use was probably more in the past than is seen at present.

The Historic Period

Leslie A. Mead, Historic Preservation Office

The first written records of the Marshall Islands appear in the ships logs of Spanish vessels taking the perilous voyage from Mexico to the Philippines. However, it wasn't until the early 19th century that the first meaningful written documentation on the Marshall Islands and its people appears.

Much of the following historic review uses secondary historic records relating to Namdik. These sources are relatively general, often referring to Namdik only in passing, and uniformly represent the perspective of western outsiders. As such, most of the history documented below is that of western colonial occupiers of the country and not that of the people of Namdik.

The Spanish

The first historic documentation of the Marshall Islands occurs in the logbooks and accounts of the Spanish in the Pacific. These early records tend to be sketchy and brief. The locations of the islands and atolls they "discovered" are generally vague, owing to the lack of an accurate chronometer, that which would allow them to fix their latitude and accurately chart the lands they encountered.

The Spanish presence in the Pacific was a function of Spain's desire to capture a portion of the lucrative spice trade. The Papal Bull of Alexander VI and the subsequent Treaty of Tordesilla had effectively confined the Spanish sphere of influence to the New World, leaving the control of the route to the Spice Islands, around the Horn of Africa, in Portuguese hands.

The Spanish interest in the riches available in the orient did not end with the treaty; instead they sought to find a second route to eastern Asia by sailing west. Magellan's voyage around South America (1518-1522) did just that, and the Spanish extended their pattern of exploration and conquest into the Pacific (Hezel 1983: 6-9; O'Neill 2000: 24).

The earliest encounter between the people of the Marshall Islands and the Spanish dates to 1526, when the ship *Victoria*, captained by Alonso de Salazar, encountered an island they called San Bartolome. This landfall is believed to an atoll in the Marshall Islands or immediately to the north of it (Hezel 1983: 14-15).

This first encounter was followed shortly after (1527/28) by a second, when Alvaro de Saavedra Ceron, attempted to return to Mexico from the Philippines by sailing north and east. Saavedra became becalmed after fleeing a hostile encounter with the inhabitants of Ujelang. Later Saavedra continued east reaching a second group of islands he called Los Jardines (probably Bikini and Enewetak). As is apparent from the name they gave their new shelter, Saavedra and his men found the inhabitants of the two atolls to be friendlier and the ship remained for several days before continuing its voyage (Hezel 1983: 15-17).

The remainder of Spanish contact with the Marshall Islands was confined to notations in logbooks of islands seen during the passage from Mexico and the Philippines. The sole exception was in 1567, when Lope Martin incited a mutiny on the ship *San Jeronimo*. His

efforts were rewarded when he and 26 of his fellow mutineers were marooned on an island believed to be Ujelang. Subsequent visitors to Ujelang would find no trace of Martin and the others, the first known Europeans to have taken up residence, albeit involuntarily, in the Marshall Islands (Hezel 1983: 29-31).

After 1567, the islands and atolls of the Marshalls, now claimed for the Spanish Crown, drifted into hazy obscurity. The Galleon Fleets of Spain would continue to ply the Pacific route to the Spice Islands, but, by and large, they bypassed most of Micronesia and the Marshall Islands.

The English

With the coming of the Age of Enlightenment, interest in the more remote regions of the Pacific was stimulated once more. This time the interest came from northern Europe, particularly England, by that time the world's dominant maritime power.

The English interest in the Pacific carried more than a tinge of self-interest. The English sought trade with the lucrative Asian markets to satisfy their need for silks, spices, fine ceramics, and other exotic luxury goods (Hezel 1983: 61-64). It was this desire for eastern trade, in combination with the English propensity for shipping their criminals and other undesirables out of the country, that led to the first English encounters with the Marshall Islands.

In 1788, a fleet departed England for New South Wales, their holds laden with convicts and a governor for a new settlement in Australia. Upon disposing of their cargo, the fleet split up and two of its captains, William Marshall and Thomas Gilbert, left the newly established Botany Bay Colony to make their way to Canton to take on luxury goods for the home markets. Their route took them much further to the east than the traditional route followed to that time. (Hezel 1983: 62-66).

The two English ships, the *Scarborough* and the *Charlotte*, passed through the Gilbert Islands and in sailed north along the

Ratak (eastern) chain of the Marshall Islands, stopping first at Mili. The reception of the British at Mili was friendly and in the following weeks the ships would sight other atolls including Arno, Majuro, Aur, Maloelap, Wotje, and Ailuk (Hezel 1983: 64-65).

The route the *Scarborough* and the *Charlotte* took would become known as the Outer Passage and would later be the preferred route to Canton from the new *entrepôt*, Sydney. On December 15, 1792, the *Royal Admiral*, captained by Henry Bond, plying this Outer Passage, documented the first written record of Namdik Atoll (Hezel 1983: 82).

A Russian Interlude

In 1815, a war Russian ship, the *Rurik* (var. *Ryurik*), on an expedition to circumnavigate the globe and search for the Northwest Passage passed through the Marshall Islands and stopped for a time and visited several atolls in the Ratak chain, including Wotje, Mejit, Maloelap and Aur.

The captain of the Russian ship, Otto von Kotzebue, the ship's "titular" scholar, Adelbert von Chamisso, and botanist, Louis Choris, would all produce publications documenting their voyage, including the time spent in the Marshall Islands. Chamisso's description of the first encounter between the crew of the *Rurik* is telling:

No weapons were held in readiness toward us, the feared strangers. After we had cemented friendship with the first ones, the others came up, and the women were called. The people seemed to us to be joyous, friendly, modest, generous, and not concerned with profit. Both men and women gave us all the ornaments that they wore, their delicate shells and flower wreaths, their necklaces, etc., and it seemed to be more a charming symbol of love than a gift (Chamisso 1983: 134).

Chamisso's impression of the Marshallese was nearly uniformly positive and remained that

way for the duration of the two stays the *Rurik* made in the Marshalls.

The accounts written by Kotzebue and Chamisso, and Choris's illustrations, represent a remarkable early record of the life and cultural of the Marshallese on the eve of sustained contact with western culture. The inhabitants are described as having a rigid social hierarchy, living in houses with "straw" roofs, and a diet consisting mainly of fish, breadfruit, pandanus, and coconut.

The Russians attempted to introduce dogs, cats, pigs, and goats to the islands in an attempt to relieve the existence of these "needy" people. Chamisso himself seems to have entered into a campaign to plant a variety of vegetables on every islet the ship visited, particularly watermelons (Chamisso 1863). Chamisso's account, and his fondness for the Marshallese, stands in stark contrast to later 19th-century westerner's views of these same peaceful people.

The Whalers

The need for whale oil, for lighting, and whale products, such as baleen, led American whalers into the Pacific after the whale stocks in the Northern Atlantic had been depleted. By the early 19th century the Pacific whaling grounds became the destination of hundreds of ships from New Bedford and Nantucket, as well as whalers from England and other western ports.

The crews of whaling vessels tended to be a rather motley crowd, ranging from adventurous young men fresh off New England's farms to hardened seafarers of various nationalities scraped off the floor of taverns in various ports. Duty on board whaling vessels has been described as long periods of boredom interspersed with moments of life-threatening excitement. Life aboard a whaling vessel was not pleasant, the ships smelled of rancid whale fat and decomposing flesh. The quarters and food were generally poor, and discipline was often violently enforced.

With the discovery of the Off Shore Grounds, rich whaling territories located west

of northern Peru, the stage was set for encounters between whalers and the Pacific Islanders. The relationship between these whaling vessels and the Pacific Islanders would be completely exploitative. Whaling vessels had little to offer the islanders besides iron. The Islanders had water, food and women, all of which the whaling crews needed.

The amount of food available to residents of the Marshall Islands is precarious in the best of times and the needs of a fully crewed whaling vessel could strip an atoll of much needed resources in a relatively short period. In addition, personal relationships between the whalers and the islanders were particularly problematic in the Marshall Islands, where the traditional culture cherished values such as generosity, modesty, and intense socially based exchange relationships. The introduction of a crew of men whose shipboard culture reinforced values that were virtually the antithesis of those of the Marshallese was a recipe for trouble.

Many incidents are recorded of whalers attempting to gain access (either through seduction, purchasing, or kidnapping) of Marshallese women. The woman's roles in Marshallese society are of such importance that it is hardly surprising that these efforts would be greeted with violence. In time, the Marshallese gained a reputation as some of the fiercest of the Pacific Islanders, willing to attack a ship and its crew the moment it was seen on the horizon.

One of the better known episodes occurred when the crew of the whaling vessel *Globe* mutinied, brutally killing the ship's officers. The mutineers sailed the vessel to Mili where they went ashore in 1824. The residents of Mili shortly became tired of the ill-disciplined mutineers stranded on their atoll and killed all but two of them. The *Globe* incident was well published in the American press and the Marshallese were branded as savages (Hezel 1983; Lay and Hussey 1828).

Following the *Globe* incident, there were a number of smaller incidents of whaling and trading vessels being violently assaulted or repulsed by the Marshallese. In 1835, the

captain and five crewmen of the *Awashonks* of Falmouth, Massachusetts were killed when the residents of Namdik attempted to take that ship and later an unnamed trading schooner would be taken (Hezel 1983: 199-200).

In 1859 the introduction of kerosene in the west brought about the end of the great age of whaling. No longer was whale oil needed for lamps when the cleaner burning, more easily obtainable, kerosene was so readily available.

Copra and the Traders

Nearly contemporaneous with the steady decline of whaling vessels in the Marshall Islands was the introduction of the copra traders. The coconut palm was a bulwark of pre-contact Marshallese life, the products of this useful plant were used for food, oil, housing, boat building, clothing and a variety of other uses. The rest of the world was interested in this useful plant as well, western traders began importing the fruits of this tree in the early 19th century. The coconut was used to make glycerine, which was used in the manufacture of a variety of products including cooking oil, soap, candles, and, after 1861), even the nitro-glycerine used in the production of dynamite.

The growth of the copra trade had other more long-term implications for the Marshall Islands. Throughout most of the 19th century, local trade in copra took place on a barter level -- imported goods for dried coconut. Dealers in copra per force became traders in other goods as well.

The access to goods obtainable only through exchange for copra lead to coconut trees being planted throughout the Marshall Islands, even on land which had never been previously exploited. The sudden influx of trade goods also altered the socio-political structure, as *Irooj* began pressing their people into greater and greater production of copra.

Within a comparatively short period a number of traders had set up operations in the

Marshall Islands. George Hazard, a former whaler from Nantucket, served as a representative for the Farrell Company on Namdik after the mid-1860s (Hezel 1983: 218).

The traders were a varied lot, from diverse backgrounds and some of their dealings with both each other and with the Marshallese were less than honest, if not outright criminal. For example, Captain Benjamin Pease, owner of the trading ships *Malolo*, *Blossom* and *Water Lily* and a notorious scoundrel, took over a Capelle trading station on Namdik by force.

During the later part of the 19th century the freedom of the traders began to be curtailed as the more notorious elements were brought to justice either formally by the western powers or informally. Economic factors and social factors also brought about growing stabilization within the trading communities.

An example of this can be found in the local company A. Capelle and Company that became an agent for Godeffroys, a German company. When Godeffroys over extended itself, it was reorganized into *Deutsche-Handels un P lantagen G esellschaft* (DHPG). In time DHPG would merge with another German company, HERNsheim, to form what would become the dominant trading company in the Marshall Islands, *Jaluit G esellschaft* (O'Neill 2000: 18, citing Firth 1973: 13, 24).

Beachcombers, Rogues, Pirates, and Slave Traders

Contemporaneously with the whalers and traders came a variety of individuals who took advantage of the weak governmental authority exercised by the Spanish colonial government in the Marshalls Islands to profit themselves. Often these individuals were deserters from vessels passing through. The activities of these individuals ranged from shady trading practices, to desertion, to out-right theft and murder.

The most notorious of these were the "blackbirders". These men were slavers so



Figure 5.1: Namdik Atoll, 1883. From Hensheim (1883: Plate 4)

named for the color of the skin of the human cargo they bought, swindled, and impressed into the holds of their ships.

As the plantation economy spread throughout the eastern Pacific in the late 18th and 19th centuries, the need for labor far outstripped the available local populations. The coffee, cotton and sugar plantations of the eastern Pacific, and the copper mines of South America, all suffered from chronic labor shortages. The solution to this shortage was found in the Pacific Islands, in the form of the direct impressing of Pacific Islanders into indentured servitude or the outright purchasing of human beings from the local chiefs.

Blackbirders struck several times in the Marshall Islands, records indicate they abducted young men from Ailinglaplap and Mili. No evidence could be found that a successful attempt had been made to “recruit” labor from Namdik, although it’s location (close to Jaluit and relatively close to Pohnpei, both depots for the slave trade) suggest that the atoll may not have completely escaped these depredations.

Outrage in the west over the Pacific slave trade (particularly in England), curtailed the traffic in the first half of the 1870s. However, Jaluit continued to operate as a depot for blackbirders until the early 1880s (Hezel 1983: 240).

The Missionaries

The whalers and traders were not the only westerners to spend time in the Marshall Islands beginning in the 19th century, the American missionary movement also found the Marshall Islands during this period. The missionary movement began with the arrival of George Pierson and Edward Doane, aboard the *Morning Star*, in Ebon in 1857. The *Morning Star* visited Namdik the same year as Pierson and Doane established the first Christian church on Ebon. By 1865, a Hawaiian missionary, was in residence on Namdik (Hezel 1983: 209).

The common perception of the introduction of Christianity to the Pacific Islands holds the missionaries played an integral role in the extinction of important aspects of the island culture. The missionary movement has been



Figure 5.2: 1881 German map of Namdik Atoll. Witt (1881), from www.marshall.csu.edu.au.

blamed for undermining the socio-political structure by by-passing the authority of the traditional chiefs and providing an alternative route to power for individuals that was outside of the traditional political system. They are perhaps most notorious for the impact they had on island standards of morality, most notably the introduction of 19th-century concepts of modesty.

It has been noted however that the missionary movement in the Marshall Islands was somewhat different than earlier efforts in Hawaii and other parts of the South Pacific. Prostelytization was primarily undertaken by Hawaiians and, later, Marshallese missionaries trained on Ebon and later Kosrae (Kusaie) (Hezel 1983: 209-210). It has been suggested that the use of Pacific Islanders as deacons was one of the reasons why much of the Marshalls were converted to Christianity within a decade.

“German Times”(1885-1914)

The Marshallese commonly, and often fondly, refer to the last quarter of the 19th century and the first decade and a half of the 20th century as “German Times”. This period is

the start of a turning point for the Marshall Islands. Until this point, the western power considered to have sovereignty over the Marshall Islands was Spain; however, pressure from other European powers was undermining even this titular association. By 1877, Spain conceded “complete freedom of trade and traffic in the islands” to all (O’Neill 2000: 14, citing Hezel 1983: 307). While on paper, this appears to be a major concession, it was in reality simply confirmation of the existing situation in what was, for Spain, a remote possession of little real economic value.

Whereas Spain's interest in their Central Pacific possession had long since waned into virtual non-existence by the 19th century, the colonial ambitions of Imperial Germany were rising. These aspirations reached fruition in the Marshall Islands in 1885, when Germany simply annexed the islands from Spain. Although Germany's claim would be weakly disputed by Spain, it would not finally resolved until 1898, when Germany purchased the islands from the Spanish government. This purchase was allowed largely as a function the dire economic straits faced by the Spanish

government in the wake of the Spanish-American War (O'Neill 2000, citing Firth 1973: 20).

The German government set about to administer their territory. Initially, to accomplish this, they contracted with the *Jaluit Gesellschaft*, in a unique arrangement that allowed the company to administer the Islands on the Imperial government's behalf. Some view this unusual contractual arrangement as an indicative of the German Imperial disinterest in their new possession, which may be the case. Fortunately, it is from this period that the most complete historic documentation begins regarding the people of the Marshall Islands

German physicians visited the Marshall Islands and reported on health conditions as early as 1890. These physicians documented, in often distressing detail, the impact of epidemic diseases such as influenza, yaws, leprosy, pertussis, syphilis, chicken pox, small pox and tuberculosis among the Marshallese.

The German Imperial government also sent ethnographers to the Islands. The resultant ethnographies recorded what they regarded as the remnants of traditional Marshallese religion, politics, and social structure.

At the same time that the German colonial government was recording Marshallese culture, they were also surveying the northern Atolls. This survey was undertaken in an attempt to purchase the atolls. The plan was to move the residents to the southern Marshall Islands and turn northern atolls in to a German run plantation.

During the 1890s the Germans passed regulations which required payment of a head tax in copra, effectively forcing the Marshallese to raise copra in order to pay their taxes. The Germans would also pass regulations requiring that coconut trees be planted on all lands where ground/soil permitted. This regulation alone legalized the trend toward the monoculture of copra within the Marshall Islands.

Jaluit Gesellschaft's administration of the Marshall Islands ended in 1906 when the German government withdrew the contract, in

part because it felt the contractor has abused its administrative role and had inhibited trade and competition. In place of the contract, the German government established a small group of German civil servants in the Marshall Islands to act as colonial administrators.

The German governmental presence in the Marshall Islands remained quite limited. By the start of the First World War in 1914, the relative lack of a military and governmental presence within the Marshall Islands left it and many of the other German possessions in the Pacific vulnerable to the ambitions of other powers. Shortly, after the start of World War I in Europe, these ambitious powers made their move

“Japan Times” (1914-1944)

The Japanese presence in the Marshall Islands dated much earlier than the official take over of the islands. Japanese traders had been operating in the area since the late 19th century. By 1914, one of the most powerful of these was *Nan'yō Bōeki Kabushikigaisha* (South Seas Trading Company, Unlimited, also known as NBK).

In August of 1914, Japan joined the other nations of Western Europe and declared themselves at war with Imperial Germany. Using the growing conflict as a cloak, Japan and other western nations moved in on the more far-flung elements of Germany's nascent colonial empire. The Japanese moved into the Marianas, the Palaus, and the Caroline Islands. In September of 1914, the Japanese military, arrived at Enewetak and Jaluit harbors and effectively took over the Marshall Islands from the German Colonial administration.

A League of Nations Mandate following the end of the First World War confirmed the Japanese claims to the Marshall Islands. Article 22 of the Mandate required that the Japan be bound to prevent “the establishment of fortifications of military and naval bases” in their newly acquired territories.

The new rulers of the Marshall Islands were somewhat different from their German

predecessors. The Japanese however viewed the Marshall Islands as a part of their expanding South Seas colonial empire, the "Greater East Asian Co-prosperity Sphere". The Marshalls were considered less well suited for the settlement of their excess population than their other colonies. However, the Japanese did implement a true colonial government and administration for the first time and, for the most part, complied with the terms of the League of Nations Mandate. While the German colonial government had "administered" the Marshall Islands with fewer than 90 staff members, the Japanese would immediately dispatch over 600 to do the same job. Virtually every atoll, which did not already contain a Japanese Trading Post, would acquire one during the initial years of Japanese Colonial rule.

Accounts from local Namdik informants suggested that the Japanese traders who arrived to establish a post on the atoll were a comparatively benign presence through much of the 1920s and 1930s. At least one informant mentioned the Japanese trader who ran the NBK post on Namdik and remembered him fondly.

Throughout the Marshall Islands the initial response to the new colonial administration appears to have been mixed. Initially, the Marshallese greeted the introduction of schools, trading posts, increased availability of goods, and greater regulation of trading practices with some relief. However, the Japanese school system was set up to train Marshallese only in those trades and skills their Japanese overlords felt were appropriate. In addition, many Marshallese did not remember the Japanese educational system with its emphasis on corporal punishment completely fondly. Later, as war loomed, the Japanese use of enforced student labor parties was not consistent with Marshallese traditions and stories abound of the creative means by which Marshallese students avoided Japanese punishment and labor details (Leonard DeBum, personal communication 2001;

Hemely Benjamin, personal communication 2001).

The Japanese also implemented a number of administrative changes, which further undermined traditional Marshallese social and political structures. On several of the larger islands, the authority of the traditional leaders was by-passed and the Japanese installed their own local "leaders" and police force.

The question of how and when the Japanese actually began military build up in the Marshall Islands is a subject of considerable debate. On March 27, 1933, the Japanese gave notice to the League of Nations of its intent to withdraw from the organization. This withdrawal was apparently prompted by the intense criticism by other nations of the Japanese military and imperial ambitions in China and Korea. The government of Japan continued to provide the League of Nations with annual reports on its efforts in the Marshall Islands until the withdrawal was formalized in 1935.

The Japanese annual reports indicate that improvements in the Marshall Islands prior to 1935 were confined to schools, communications facilities, navigational aids, and administrative and trading buildings. Several sources however, point out that many of these facilities were dual purpose and could have been easily turned over to military use in time of need (Kutttruff 1994 and Crowl and Love 1993).

In terms actual clear-cut documentation of military infrastructure the evidence prior to 1939 is very slim. Eventually, several islands in the Marshalls would become military bases, including: Kwajalein, Maloelap, Mili, Jaluit, Wotje, and Enewetak. However, the existing documentary evidence indicates that the Japanese did not begin surveying the Marshall Islands for possible installations until 1937 (Peattie 1988).

Prior to September of 1943 the Japanese battle plan defined the country's defensive perimeter through the Marshall and Gilbert Island. However, Japanese losses in the southeastern Pacific in 1942 and early 1943

lead them to withdraw this perimeter to a line from the Banda Sea south through the Carolines and the Mariannas. This essentially meant that the Gilberts and the Marshalls became sacrificial lambs in Japanese war planning. The intent was that the Americans would be held up and made to pay a high price in personnel in the Gilberts and Marshall Islands prior to reaching the central core of the Japanese Empire. The intent was to force the Americans to fight for each island, which the Japanese would vigorously defend for as long as possible and then abandon. In Japanese plan the war would become one of attrition as each Japanese held island was fought over.

The American invasion of the Marshall Islands was code named "Operation Flintlock". There were essentially three different military operations subsumed under the title: the invasion of southern Kwajalein, the invasion of Roi-Namur, and the invasion of Majuro. The initial ground assault began in January of 1944. The remaining fortified islands (Mili, Wotje, Jaluit, and Maloelap) were by-passed by the American forces. The Japanese on these islands, cut off from supply from their homeland, were left to die of starvation and disease. Some of the worst stories of atrocities against Marshallese come from these by-passed islands, where the desperate Japanese pressed the local residents for food and resources.

The older informants on Namdik had relatively few wartime memories. Bernice Joar remembered that once a plane had bombed the island. She said that the bombing consisted of a single explosion and it made the ground shake and she was quite terrified. The local residents took shelter under coconut trees for a time. There was no record found that American forces intentionally bombed Namdik; however, it is possible that an American plane from Kwajalein, on a routine mission to Japanese-held Jaluit, had a bomb left over and dropped on Namdik rather than return with it.

The Americans did not begin mop up operations in the remaining unfortified atolls until the spring following Operation Flintlock..

To accomplish this the Americans staged a second operation dubbed "Little Flintlock". The "invasion" of Namdik Atoll took place in April of 1944. A small group of Americans landed on the atoll, acting on information they had previously received, they staged an extensive search for Japanese on the island. After several hours of patrolling, they found no trace of the enemy and declaring Namdik Atoll "taken", the Americans ceremonially raised their flag over the atoll and departed. Following their departure, the much sought after Japanese presence, the local Japanese trader, emerged from where he had been hidden by residents and resumed his business.

The American Trust Territory (1944 to 1986)

Even before the formal Japanese surrender, the Americans had begun to wrestle with the issue of what was to be done with former Japanese territories after the war. After the conversion of Kwajalein to an American military base, the question of the Marshall Islands in general became part of heated debate in Washington. The military, specifically, the Navy, felt the war had taught lessons that should not be forgotten. The navy held that the Marshall Islands constituted a strategic resource that must be controlled by United States government. The State Department, feeling the pressure of international sentiment advocating an end to colonialization, had misgivings about the United States assuming control of any of the former Japanese territories. The final resolution to the issue was devised with the assistance of the United Nations.

In July of 1947 the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands was created. The United States administered the territory under a Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations. The Trusteeship acknowledged the security concerns of the United States, but also obligated it to foster the social and economic development of the Micronesian people and prepare them for self-government. The Trust Territory was initially placed in the hands of the U.S. Navy, but their

role was short-lived. On July 1, 1951 the administration of the Trust Territory was transferred to the Department of Interior.

The United States was criticized for accomplishing little within the Trust Territory and Micronesia dubbed "The "Rust Territories" a reference not only to the piles of World War II debris that remained in Micronesia, but also a reference to the apparent in-ability of the United States to meet its obligation to develop Micronesia and prepare it for self-governance.

In 1961, this criticism led the United States to change its policy toward the Trust Territory and begin to make serious steps toward self-determination for Micronesia. Over the next decade and a half the dialogue of self-determination continued, with the Micronesians obtaining a greater voice in the process as time passed.

In 1976 the Trust Territory Nations which had the greatest strategic value to the United States (Marianas, Palau, and the Marshall Islands) entered into their own separate negotiations with the U.S government. Each nation crafted their own agreements with the U.S. government, providing for varying degrees of independent government.

On January 14, 1986, the newly formed Republic of the Marshall Islands signed a Compact of Free Association with the United States, effectively providing them with independent governance of their own land and assistance to provide for their own development. The Compact guaranteed the United States strategic access to the all Marshall Islands and provided the U.S. government with a military base on Kwajalein (Willens and Siemer 2000; Hanlon 1998).

Traditional Stories of Namdik

Leslie A. Mead, Historic Preservation Office
 Langinbo Frank, Alele Museum
 Fredrick Langmoir, Historic Preservation Office

Introduction

A significant portion of the time on Namdik was spent collecting examples of the traditional stories that current residents were familiar with. The purpose of this data collection was to collect stories that were considered both particularly representative of Namdik and also local permutations of tales that are common throughout the Marshall Islands.

The storytellers were not identified as storytellers of note within their community (*re-bwebwenato*). It was intended not to document the well-developed Marshallese storyteller tradition, but instead to record the stories that were of importance to the local community. The focus of the recording that took place was on average individuals with the community.

Storytellers were recorded on videotape and/or tape recorder. Following completion of individual stories, the story-tellers were queried to determine if there were sites or landscape features associated with the stories which could be recorded as part of this survey. Upon return to Majuro the recorded stories were transcribed in Marshallese and then translated and annotated for clarity in English.

How Namdik Got It's Shape

Namdik is round like the shape of a circle. On Namdik there is a special flower, called *wut kajdo*, that is only for the use of the Irooj. When this flower is braided it is called a *lolo*. The *lolo* forms a long straight chain,

when the two ends of the chain are brought together a small knot is tied.

It is said that the long reefs (*toka*) that join Madmad and Namdik are the *lolo*, the island of Madmad is the knot and the island of Namdik represents the flowers on the chain. Namdik Atoll is also sometimes called *Alele Eo*, because of the *wut kajdo*.

Lijobkonira and Her Lovers

There once was a beautiful woman who lived on Madmad. Her name was Lijobkonira. Lijobkonira had so many lovers on Namdik that she had made special paths so that she could reach their homes without being seen by anyone.

When Lijobkonira wished to visit her lovers she would wade across the reef between Madmad and Ajeltoken, called *Tokaen* (var. *Toka*). The first of her lovers she could call upon was Lotepiej.

Lotepiej was a famous navigator and weather forecaster whose name figures largely in the navigation chant used to direct sailors from Nelle in Korsae. The chant goes "*Ej kij wot b̄ukien Lolle en jiton Lotaj im Lotepiej*" (He hits Cape Lolle and faces towards Lotaj and Lotepiej).

Lotepiej lived in the *wāto* of Weloken at Wea En Namdik. The story goes that Lotepiej can be seen even today, he is a rock located north of Elmon on Namdik island.

After visiting Lotepiej, Lijobkonira went to see her second lover, named Lomajtamij. Lomajtamij can also still be seen today,

he is an “ironwood” tree at the lagoon side of the *wāto* Mojtamij.

The third lover was Lodebno. Lodebno soaked coconut husks and was famous for the sennit he made from them. Lodebno’s sennit was used in house construction and canoe construction. Lodebno would soak the husks in a swamp in the Monmotto *wāto*, but lived on the oceanside of the Bikidda *wāto* where his home can still be seen as a dark patch of soil.

Lijobkonira’s Children

This story is the most famous of all Namdik’s stories and the most closely linked with the atoll. Again the beautiful Lijobkonira plays a central role. Lijobkonira lived in a field on Madmad called Maj en an Lijobnira.

The beautiful Lijobkonira had 24 children. The 12 oldest were all boys and the 12 youngest were all girls. The girls were each named for flowers that grow on Namdik, and the four eldest girls were given the special names of flowers that were only for the use of the Irooj.

Lijobkonira was always careful to make sure that each group of children did not know about each other, since they were the only real people on the island and she feared the taint of incest. Each group of children lived on different sides of the island. The boys all lived on a *wāto* named Jibkonaken on the north side of the island. The girls all lived on the south side of the island on a *wāto* called Mottoen.

One day when the children were old enough to work, Lijobkonira assigned each group a task, making sure that neither group would encounter the other in the course of doing their tasks. She told the boys to go out fishing everyday and catch as many fish as possible so that she could dry them. She assigned the girls the task of weaving *kāl*, or clothing mats. The following day, each group of children went about their assigned duty as

requested by their mother. When the boys went off fishing that morning, Lijobkonira went to her daughters.

“Each of you must weave one mat everyday,” she told her daughters “and you must come to me before noon and give these mats to me at my home. Then you must return to your side of the island and spend the rest of the day there.”

The girls, being dutiful daughters, did as their mother asked and each of them weaved one *kāl* and took it to their mother before the sun was at its highest point of the day.

When the boys returned from fishing in the afternoon, they brought their catch to their mother at her house. Lijobkonira took the fish from her sons and gave each one a *kāl* and then took the fish to the field near her house and laid the fish out to dry.

The next day, when the girls came to their mother with the *kāl* they had woven that morning, they received dried fish in return for their efforts. That afternoon, once again the boys returned with their catch and received a *kāl* from their mother and then returned to their side of the island to spend the night before going out fishing in the morning.

This went on for many, many days. Then the boys began to question the arrangement.

“Why,” they asked “does our mother still want us to go out fishing everyday, when we have brought in more fish than she and all of us can possibly eat? How does she manage to weave 12 *kāl* everyday for us with only one morning to do the work? Could it be that there are others living on this island that we do not know about?”

The boys decided to investigate. When dawn came, they did not go out fishing, but instead walked over to the eastern side of the island, where they had seen their mother coming from as they had come in from fishing on the previous days.

As they walked closer to the eastern side of the island, they could hear the sounds of laughter and talking. As they came closer, they could see young girls laughing, talking, and playing as they went about weaving *kāl*.

The boys were surprised and pleased; they watched the girls from their hiding place. As they watched they began to choose which one would please them most to take as a wife. They choose according to their age, the eldest boy with the eldest girl, and so on. Once their choice was made, the boys ran to the girls and grabbed them. Boys and girls forgot about the work their mother had assigned to them.

Lijobkonira was puzzled when the girls did not come to her by noon bringing the *kāl* they had woven. She grew even more puzzled when the boys did not come in the afternoon with the fish that had caught. Lijobkonira left her house and went off in search of her children. After looking on the west side of the island, she did not find the children and so she walked over the eastern side. When she reached the girls' house, she found her children, playing in pairs. She was very angry with her children. The children ran and hid from their mother's anger.

It is said that these pairings were the beginning of the people of Namdik. As a result of this beginning, the people of Namdik work well together because they are all of the same blood and each understands the other in the way that family understand each other.

Jodrikwod's Daughters

Jodrikwod was a powerful man who lived in a house all by himself on the *wāto* called Erkup on Namdik. One day, Jorikwod noticed a large boil had appeared on his hand. Initially he paid little attention to it, but as the days went by it became larger and large and more and more painful. One day, the boil broke and out popped two girls. Jodrikwod called the girls his daughters and raised them. As he grew older and weaker, Jodriwod began

to feel that his time to die was near, he called his daughters to his side.

"If I die," he told them "you must bury me on the eastern side of my house. When the time is right, you must then travel to Madmad and look for my sisters, who are and will be your mothers."

In time, Jodrikwod did die and the young girls buried their father on the eastern side of his house as he had told them. Shortly after they buried their father, a banana tree began to grow from his grave. The banana tree grew, bore fruit, and when the fruit ripened the girls picked them and set out for Madmad to find Jodrikwod's sisters, their mothers.

On Madmad the girls encountered two women, one older woman and one younger woman. These women said they were the sisters of Jodrikwod and that they had been without food for a long time and were very hungry. Jodrikwod's daughters gave the hungry women their bananas and tried to tell the women that they were their aunts. The older of the two women did not believe them and turned to the other saying "*kijjero*" (these are our dinner). The younger was not certain and replied "*nejirro*" (these are our children).

The two women argued back and forth, but finally the older of the two women prevailed, which is as it should be. The older woman said to Jodrikwod's daughters "You must go up to the *po* (attic) and stay there."

As the girls left to do as the women said, the older woman said to her younger sister "Come, we must go gather some firewood. It will take much wood to cook these young girls with."

The women busied themselves preparing to go out and collect firewood. Meanwhile, Jodrikwod's daughters, sitting alone in the *po*, began to sing a song.

"*Jema, jema*" they sang "Jodrikwod, Jodrikwod, *etke kwar j il ki n tok ke mro ñan anjin mad.*" (Father, father Jodrikwod, Jodrik-

wod, why did you send us to witches? One, two, they see me, then they eat me.)

The younger of the two women heard the sweet sounds coming from the attic of their house.

"There is singing coming from our attic." The younger sister stated with surprise. "Why don't we relax a bit and listen to it?"

"No, we cannot." Replied the older of woman. "Our fire is burning low and we need more wood. Let us cover it with sand to keep the embers smoldering and go collect more wood."

Jodrikwod's daughters sang their song louder.

"Jema, j ema Jodrickwod, Jodrikwod, etke kwar jil kin tok kemro nan anjin mad"

Again the younger woman paused to listen to the sweet tones. Again she asked her sister to stop and listen, but still the older woman refused to stop and listen.

As the women were just about ready to leave to collect wood. Jodrikwod's girls sang again, this time louder than ever.

"Jema, jema Jodrickwod, Jodrikwod, etke kwar jil kin tok kemro nan anjin mad."

This time, both women heard the singing clearly and looked at each other with surprise. They went over to the sleeping house

"Come down from the *po*." They called out to the girls.

The girls climbed down from the attic. They found the two women waiting for them.

"Where have you come from?" the older woman asked.

"From our home, the house of our father, Jodrikwod, on Namdik." The girls replied.

"What are you doing here?" the women asked.

"We are looking for two women our father, Jodrikwod, told us to look for when he died. He said he had two sisters who lived on Madmad and that we should look for them for they would take care of us."

With this the two women realized their terrible mistake and cried out, jumping up and holding the young girls to them. Their plan to cook and eat the girls was forgotten and the women instead prepared a fine meal for their newly discovered nieces. They treated Jodrikwod's daughters as their own, which is as it should be.

After the women and the two girls had finished their meal, like good mothers, the women told the young girls to go and wash their hands.

"But, be careful." The women warned, "Do not wash your hands under the roof of the house. It will bring great misfortune."

The girls happy to be once again with family, obeyed their aunties and did not wash their hands under the roof of the house. That night the new family retired, happy and content, which is as it should be.

For many days after, the women and the girls lived happily together and the girls were loved as daughters and well cared for. One day, however, the eldest girl, Linno, forgot her aunties' admonition and washed her hands under the roof of the house.

No sooner had she had wet her hands a great clap of thunder was heard and a group of *rilañ* (people from heaven) appeared. The *rilañ* arrayed themselves in a circle around the house and began to cry out.

"Lio, l io" they cried "Linno, Linno, *kwon e makit, k wonemakit. Ilok i ben Jeledon, ear jilkij tok kom bwe kom in ten ba ke kwon ilok, kio wot, kio wot, kio.*" (Girl, girl, Linno, Linno, you must go, you must go. Go to Jeledon, he has sent us to tell you to go right away to him. Right away, this instant).

When the two woman heard the chanting, they were angry and afraid. "You did not listen to us!" They cried to the girls. The aunties were scared, for the *rilañ* outside the house were sent by Jeledon, the *Irooj i n Lañ* (the chief of heaven), who could not be refused.

“You did not keep your promise to us.” The women cried again. “Now these people have come to take you away to the *Irooj in Lañ*.”

The chanting outside of the women’s house continued. The women cried tears and pleaded with the *rilañ*, but the chanting continued. The aunties begged and pleaded but in the end there was nothing they could do and Linno had to go away with the *rilañ* to live in the house of the *Irooj in Lañ*.

The Story of Lobejina

Lobejbejina was a local man who was much thought of because of his fishing skills. One night, the men of Namdik went out to fish for flying fish using a technique called *bobo*, which uses torches and a net.

When the men go out to fish, the people of the islet remain ashore and wait for them. When the fishermen return and as they come ashore the people ask (*kuuj*) for a portion of their catch. The role that *kuuj* plays in Namdik society is most important, to be able to bring in enough fish to feed others brings honor to each fisherman and to be asked to share their catch is a symbol of their fishing prowess.

Lobejbejina was a very good fisherman and many people would *kuuj* for fish from him. He fed many, many people of the island.

On this night Lobejbejina returned from fishing much later than the rest of the men, but he was certain that there would be people ashore waiting for him for they knew he would have fish for them. However when he finally waded ashore, he found no one there shore to *kuuj*. It had been a good fishing trip and everyone on the island had received their share from the fishermen who had returned earlier.

When he found no one waiting for him, Lobejbejina wandered along the edge of the water and waited for people to come. He

was too shy to come out of the water without people waiting for him and to embarrassed to go find out where everyone was.

He waited and waited. Still no one came. Lobejbejina was hurt and humiliated that no one came to *kuuj* from him. Too shy to go shore and find out what happened to everyone, Lobejbejina lay down and in his sorrow and humiliation his body turned into a patch of coral that is quite slippery. A lesson to everyone today that one should not be too shy. Today when people slip and fall on this slick patch of coral as they load and unload the cargo from the field trip boats they are said to slip on Lobejbejina.

Conclusions

The traditional stories recorded on Namdik cannot be said to represent oral histories, but might be more appropriately assigned to the category of mythology or fables. Several of the stories (the Origins of the Shape of Namdik, and Lijobnira’s Children) seem to hold a place as creation mythology and as cultural identifiers for the people of Namdik.

Other stories (Lobejina and Lijobnira’s Lovers) are tales associated with landscape features, although it should be noted that these landscape features do not now, nor do we know if they ever had, any kind of sacred or ritual aspect to them. Interestingly, the landscape features these stories are associated with are not anomalous or unusual features of the atoll.

The traditional stories of Namdik seem to have an extensive time depth within the culture of the atoll. A preliminary examination of German ethnographic documentation dating from the early part of the twentieth century found a version of the story of Lijobkonira’s Children was found (Erdland 1914; Appendix 6.1).

In addition, some of the stories told on Namdik are known to have variants on other

atolls. Interestingly, although the stories are similar in construction and character, the landscape elements that are illustrative of the stories are unique to each atoll from which the story was documented. In essence, creating a

local flavor or dialect to stories shared commonly between several different atolls, if not throughout the entire chain (Kowata, Mote, Stone, and Joash 1999).

Archaeological and Traditional Sites

Leslie A. Mead, Historic Preservation Office
Fredick Langmoir, Historic Preservation Office

The survey identified and located ten sites on Namdik Atoll; nine were on Namdik Islet and one on Madmad. (Figures 7.1 and 7.2). The majority of sites were landscape elements associated with specific traditional stories unique to Namdik Atoll. One possible pre-historic site was located which was also identified in a traditional story. Finally, one historic site dating to the Japanese Mandate era (1914-1944) was identified.

Site Number	Site Type	Site Description
MI-MM-MM-01	Traditional	Coral in the tidal zone associated with Lobejbejina.
MI-MM-MM-02	Traditional/ prehistoric	Swamp, marsh, former taro pit located on the interior of Namdik. House site associated with the traditional story of Jedebno
MI-MM-MM-03	Traditional/possible prehistoric	Well
MI-MM-MM-04	Traditional	Rock located in the intertidal zone
MI-MM-MM-05	Traditional	Well
MI-MM-MM-06	Traditional	Rock located on the island interior
MI-MM-MM-07	Traditional	Tree associated with the story of Lijobkonira's lovers
MI-MM-MM-08	Traditional	Rocks on the table reef running from the west side of Madmad to the west side of Namdik. Associated with the story of Lijobkonira's children.
MI-MM-MA-01	Traditional	Mangrove swamp. Associated with the story of Lijobkonira's children.
MI-MM-MM-09	Historic	Japanese Trading Post

Figure 7.1: List of sites located and documented during Namdik survey.

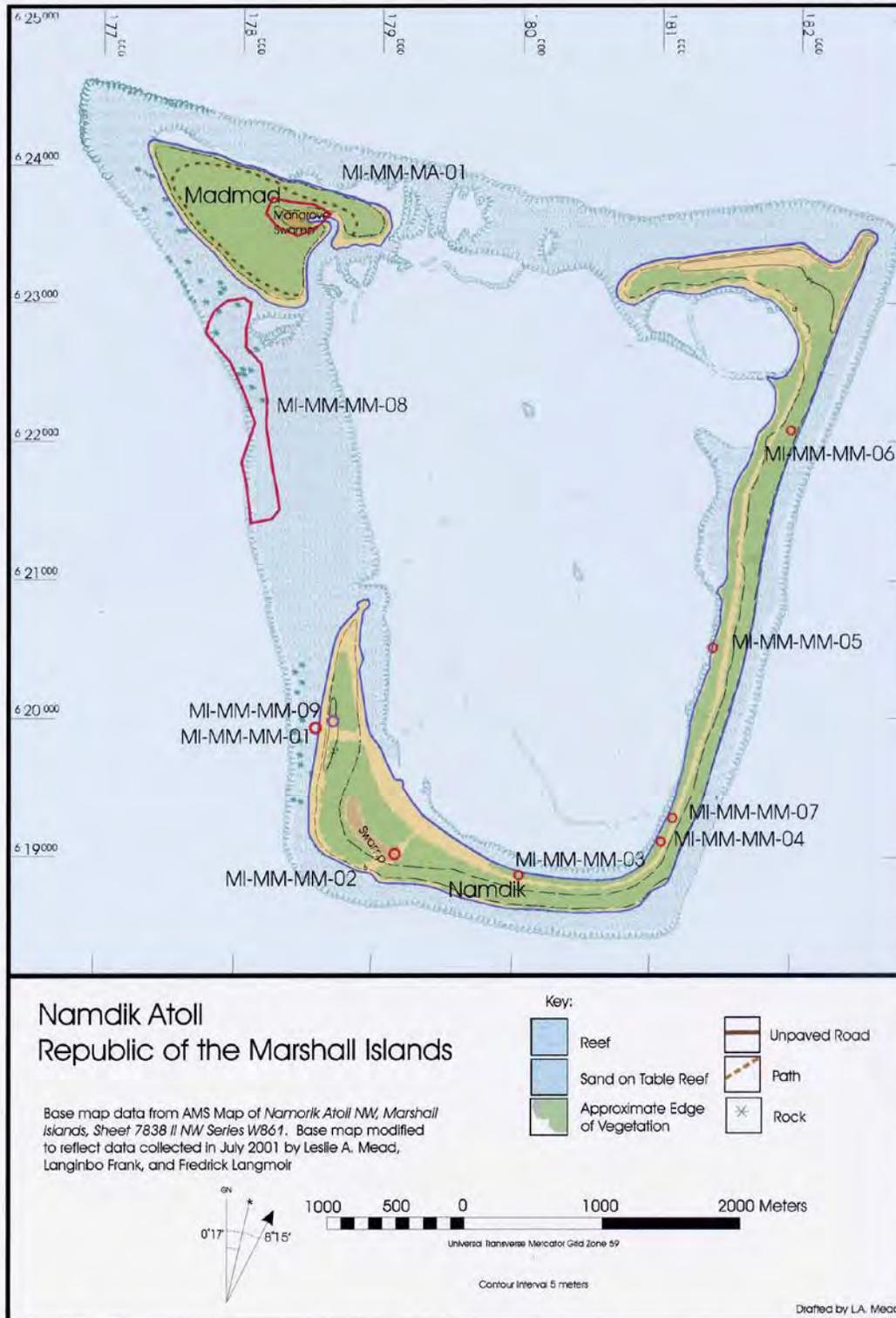


Figure 7.2: Map of Namdik Atoll, Republic of the Marshall Islands, showing location of identified historic properties.

Site Number MI-MM-MM-01

Description

The first site identified in this survey is located on the ocean side of Namdik islet on the south side of the town of Elmon at 5°36'87.8"N/168°05'57". The site is identified as a patch of slippery coral near the shoreline that is submerged at both low and high tides and is only visible at low tide.

The location of the site is ephemeral and local informants had some difficulty in establishing its precise location. It is however notable, that for many of the men of Namdik the site seemed particularly significant.

Cultural Context

This site is associated with the story of Lobejbejina. This story is a cautionary tale that reinforced Marshallese values of patience and community interconnectedness.

Criteria

This site fits the criteria for recognition as a cultural or historic property under the following criteria:

1. *Possession of cultural value: the property is viewed by a group of people as important in maintaining the group's cultural identity.*

The site appears to be unique to Namdik and an important landscape element that is associated with historic activity (fishing and *kuuj*) and modern activity (loading and unloading of field trip boats).

2. *Possession of social value: the property plays an ongoing important role in the social of a group.*

The site is representative of cultural values of sharing and inclusiveness. It is used nearly daily during fishing and regularly when the field trip boats arrive.

3. *Possession of historical ambience: the property conveys a sense of place, a character that is perceived by local residents or others as both "out of the past" and worth retaining.*

While the question of whether this site is pleasing to the eye is questionable, the site certainly conveys a sense of being "out of the past" to the residents of Namdik and is worth retaining.

Significance

This site is defined as significant under Part III§6(1)(b)(iv) and §6(3). The significance is drawn from it being a resource connected with oral traditions and because the site is traditional.

The site is not classified as very significant because the oral tradition it is associated with does not go beyond the limits of the individual atoll on which the resource is located (Regulations Governing Land Modification Activities 1992, Part III, §6(1)(a)(v)).



Figure 7.3: Franky Lajar looking for the site of Lobejbejina at low tide off-shore of the copra warehouse. Photograph by L.A. Mead



Figure 7.4: Site Number MH-MM-MM-01. The body of Lobejbejina. Photograph by L.A. Mead

Site Number MI-MM-MM-02

Description

This site is a slightly depressed area of dark soil located at the center of the island. It was formerly a site of aroid pit taro cultivation. The site is located at 5°35'39.98"N/168°06'17.34"E. The site extends approximately 13.70 meters north to south and 45 meters east to west (Figure 7.5).

Local informants stated that Giant Swamp Taro would no longer grow at the site. As such they no longer cultivated the area.

Visual examination found a number of coconut crab holes in the area. The holes on the north and east sides of the site contained

large numbers of shell fragments in the back dirt. While no prehistoric or historic (post 1850) artifacts were seen in the back dirt, the distance of the site from either the ocean or the lagoon suggests the shells may have been introduced by human activity.

Cultural Context

The site was identified by local informants as “The Home of Ledebno”, one of the lovers of Lijobkonira.

Criteria

The site identified as MI-MM-MM-02. The site qualified for the List of Historic and



Figure 7.5: Site MI-MM-MM-02 photographed from the northeast looking southwest.
Photograph by L.A. Mead.

Cultural Properties of the Marshall Islands the following criteria.

1. *Possession of cultural value: the property is viewed by a group of people as important in maintaining the group's cultural identity.*

The people of Namdik regard the cycle of stories associated with Lijobkonira as an important form of affirmation of the community and its closeness. This site's association with one of Lijobkonira lovers ties it to the origin lore of the atoll.

2. *Possession of research archaeological value: the property contains important information pertinent to a significant archaeological research question or questions.*

The presence of shell fragments in the back dirt of the coconut crab holes and oral tradition associated with the site suggest it is likely to be the location of a prehistoric residential compound. It is located in an area

that can be classified as having a high to moderate potential for prehistoric settlement.

Significance

This site is defined as "very significant". The traditional significance is drawn from the site being part of an assemblage of sites associated with the traditional story of Lijobkonira and from being a resource connected with oral traditions.

The location is significant as a possible prehistoric site because the resource is the only one of its kind known on the atoll (no other prehistoric or potentially prehistoric sites were identified during the survey). The resource is also connected with oral traditions important for the individual atoll on which the resource is located. It was not possible to determine significance to a greater extent without subsurface testing, which was outside of the scope of the current project.



Figure 7.6: Site MI-MM-MM-03, a traditional coral lined well. Photographed from the southeast toward northwest. Tape measure at one meter. Photograph by Leslie A. Mead.

MI-MM-MM-03

Description

This site is located on the western side of the main road leading from Elmon toward the airstrip on the *Wojanbojboj wāto*. The site is located at 5°35'64"N/168°06'44.86"E. The site itself consists of a well lined with coral cobbles. Surface examination of the area of the well found no artifacts and no surface evidence of habitation sites or other features.

Local informants told us that while this well is no longer in general use, it has a reputation of never running dry. Local residents reported that in times of drought the well is cleaned out and serves as a source of emergency water. Evidence of recent usage was present in the form of plastic bucket on the surface of the well.

The condition of the site appears to be relatively intact. While other wells were seen

during the course of the survey, this was one of only two that did not have a cement cap or liner placed at the top.

Cultural Context

The site was classified as traditional/possible pre-historic. The oral informants did not have a particular traditional story associated with the well, but the degree of intactness of the structure itself and the lack of concrete in its construction suggests at least historic period construction. The importance of the well to the community as one that never runs dry and its use as an emergency water source suggests its significance.

Criteria

This site qualifies for recognition as a cultural and historic property using two criteria. The first criterion is the possession

of cultural value. The people of Namdik view the well as having both practical and cultural value. The second criterion is that the site possesses architectural excellence. The well is an excellent example of traditional well construction and is in remarkably good condition.

Significance

The well at MI-MM-MM-03 is defined as significant as an historical traditional site because the resource is considered to well preserved and shows only limited alterations from its original appearance. The lack of traditional stories associated with the well and the lack of concrete evidence for prehistoric use, preclude this well from being listed as Very Significant.

Site Number MI-MM-MM-04

Description

This site is located in the inter-tidal zone on the lagoon side of Namdik Islet, at 5°35'35.17"N/168°07'11.87"E in the *wāto* Mojtamij. Local informants state that this rock was once located further inland and originally sat on top of some flat coral. The rock is approximately 1 meter wide (east to west) and .67 meters long (north to south).

Cultural Context

The local guides identified this site as one of Lijobkonira's lovers; however, the traditional story recorded did not identify this rock specifically but refers to an ironwood tree located approximately 10 meters to the southeast of this rock. It is not clear if the story associates the two sites together or if each landscape feature is a separate lover. The nearby ironwood tree is identified as Lomajtamij.

Criteria

The site identified as MI-MM-MM-04 qualified for the List of Historic and Cultural



Figure 7.7: Site MI-MM-MM-04, the rock is located in the foreground in front of tree root. Photograph by L.A. Mead.



Properties of the Republic of the Marshall Islands the following criterion:

1. Possession of cultural value: the property is viewed by a group of people as important in maintaining the group's cultural identity.

The people of Namdik regard the cycle of stories associated with Lijobkonira stories as an important form of affirmation of the community and its closeness. This site is a part of the story of Lijobkonira and her lovers.

Significance

This site is defined as significant under Part III§6(1)(b)(iv) and §6(3). The significance is drawn from being a resource connected with oral traditions and because the site is traditional.

The site is not classified as very significant because the oral tradition it is associated with is not beyond the limits of the individual atoll on which the resource is located (Regulations Governing Land

Modification Activities 1992, Part III, §6(1)(a)(v).

MI-MM-MM-05

Description

This site consists of the traditional coral rock well located behind a two-story coral rock structure on the lagoon side of the road leading from Elmon to the airstrip on Namdik Islet. It is located in the *wāto* of Erubub at 5°36'19.08"N/168°07'29.52"E. While not as elaborately constructed as the first well identified in this survey, this relatively plain well is constructed with dry-laid coral cobbles. A second well with a concrete superstructure is located to the northwest of this one, suggesting this well is of earlier construction.

Cultural Context

This well is supposed to be located at the site of the home of Jodrikwod. The traditional

story associated with this well is a local derivation of a very similar story associated with Ailiinglaplap. The events noted in this story may be associated with the traditional story of the origins of banana cultivation (an important food crop and second most important cash crop on Namdik, after copra).

Criteria

The well is eligible for nomination to the List of Cultural and Historic Properties of the Republic of the Marshall Islands under the following criteria:

1. Possession of cultural value: the property is viewed by a group of people as important in maintaining the group's cultural identity.

The close association of this story with origin of bananas and the importance of bananas on Namdik fit the criterion for defining/maintaining cultural identity.



Figure 7.8: Well at MI-MM-MM-05. Photograph taken standing southeast of the well looking toward the northwest

2. *Possession of research archaeological value: the property contained important information pertinent to a significant archaeological research question or questions.*

This site contained many unusual aspects for Namdik Atoll. The wells were in close proximity to an unusual two story, coral cobble structure (see page 20, above). The structure itself has a remarkable display of decorative ornamentation, is not built of materials commonly used on the island, and is not in the usual layout. In addition, the structure is neither a traditional sleeping house nor is it located within a compound of other buildings belonging to members of the same family. The well is located to the rear of the structure, just northwest of what could be considered the primary yard space.

3. *Possession of historical ambience: the property conveys a “sense of place”, a character that is perceived by local residents or others as being both “out of the past” and worth retaining.*

The site conveys a sense of place to local residents through its association with the traditional story of Lodrikwod and his daughters. The location’s apparent relatively deep historical associations (unusual architecture and number of wells on the property) conveys a sense of being “out of the past” to both the local residents and to outsiders.

Significance

The traditional association of this site with the story of Jodriwod makes it significant by definition under the guidelines of the Regulations Governing Land Modification Activities 1992 §6(3). In addition, the unusual character of the configuration of the site and the associated wells and structure identify the site as very significant as an historic site since the site is resource is “the only one of its kind known in the republic”.



Figure 7.9: Site MI-MM-MM-06. The tape measure shown is 50 cm in length and trowel points north. Photograph by L.A. Mead

MI-MM-MM-06

Description

This site consisted of a small rock landscape feature located in the interior of Namdik Islet on the ocean side of the main road leading from Elmon to the airport. It is located at 5°35'35.17"N/168°07'11.87"E, in the Weloken at Wea En Namdik *wāto*. The rock is approximately 0.87 meters (north to south) and 0.50 meters (east to west) and is located in a depression with a number of similar sized rocks that appeared to be intermittently inundated with rains. There was no surface evidence of cultural remains in the vicinity of the site.

Cultural Context

According to the oral tradition, this rock represents Lotepiej, the famous navigator who was one of Lojobkonira’ lovers.

Criteria

The site identified as MI-MM-MM-06 qualifies for the List of Cultural and Historical Properties of the Republic of the Marshall Islands based on the following criteria:

1. Possession of cultural value: the property is viewed by a group of people as important in maintaining the group's cultural identity.

The people of Namdik regard the cycle of stories associated with Lijobkonira stories as an important form of affirmation of the community and its closeness. This site is a part of the story of Lijobkonira and her lovers part of a cycle of stories associated with the origins of the primary clan of Namdik and is regarded as a symbol of the close community ties that are said to define the people of Namdik. In the story cycle however the individual lovers take a lesser role than that of the mother and her children in defining group identity.

Significance

This site is defined as significant under Part III§6(1)(b)(iv) and §6(3). The significance is drawn from it being a resource connected with oral traditions and because the site is traditional.

The site cannot be classified as very significant. The oral tradition it is associated with does not go beyond the limits of the individual atoll on which the resource is located. The number of Lijobkonira's lovers assumes a lesser importance than the central story of her children. The individual lovers do not add to the distinct identity of or define positive characteristics of Namdik peoples to others not from the atoll (Regulations Governing Land Modification Activities 1992, Part III, §6(1)(a)(v)).



Figure 7.10: The sons of Lojobkonira (MI-MM-MM-08). A series of coral boulders thrown up on top of the table reef between Namdik and Madmad islets, these rocks are identified as the sons of Namdik's founding mother, Lojobkonira. Photograph by L.A. Mead.

MI-MM-MM-07*Description*

This site consisted of a *kije* tree located on the lagoon shore of Namdik Atoll, at 5°35'35.17"N/168°07'11"E in the Motamoj *wāto*. This site may be related to MI-MM-MM-04.

Cultural Context

This tree is identified with Lomajtamij, a lover of Lijobkonira, a supernatural being.

Criteria

The site identified as MI-MM-MM-07 qualifies for the List of Cultural and Historic Properties of the Republic of the Marshall Islands based on the following criteria:

1. Possession of cultural value: the property is viewed by a group of people as important in maintaining the group's cultural identity.

This site is a part of the story of Lijobkonira and her lovers. The people of Namdik regard the cycle of stories associated with Lijobkonira stories as an important form of affirmation of the community and its closeness. The value of these stories, and the sites associated with them lies in the belief that they represent the “character” of the people of Namdik.

Significance

This site is defined as significant under Part III§6(1)(b)(iv) and §6(3) of the Regulations Governing Land Modification Activities (1992). The significance is drawn from it being a resource connected with oral traditions and because the site is traditional.

The site is not classified as very significant because the oral tradition it is associated with is not beyond the limits of the individual atoll on which the resource is located (Regulations Governing Land Modification Activities 1992, Part III, §6(1)(a)(v).

MI-MM-MM-08*Description*

This site is a landscape, or, more properly, oceanscape feature that is considered to be one of two defining features of Namdik Atoll. The rocks are believed to be the sons of Lijobkonira.

The site consists of a scattering of large rocks sitting on the table reef between Namdik and Madmad Islets (Figure 7.10). It was not possible to get an exact GPS fix on the rocks since they are widely scattered and it was not possible to get close enough to them in a boat due to weather conditions.

During the time the fieldwork was conducted, the area of the table reef and the rocks that define this site appeared to be a preferred location for local fisherman. As such, it could be defined as a traditional fishing location. Local residents primarily fish with pole and lines on the rocks in this location.

Cultural Context

Traditional stories identify these rocks as the male children of Lijobkonira. The rocks, like the boys in the story are located on the western side of Madmad, where their mother insisted they live, separate from their sisters.

Criteria

The site identified as MI-MM-MM-06 qualifies for Republic of the Marshall Islands List of Cultural and Historic Properties based on the following criteria:

1. Possession of cultural value: the property is viewed by a group of people as important in maintaining the group's cultural identity.

The people of Namdik regard the cycle of stories associated with Lijobkonira stories as an important form of affirmation of the community and its closeness. This site is a part of the story of Lijobkonira and her children.

2. *Possession of social value: the property plays a role in the social life of a group.*

Fishing forms a central part of life on Namdik. This site's use as a preferred and traditional fishing location means that it plays an important role in the social and economic life of the people of Namdik.

3. *Possession of aesthetic value: the property is perceived by local residents or others as both "out of the past" and pleasing to the eye.*

When local residents are asked which landscape feature most closely identifies and defines Namdik Atoll in virtually every case it is this landscape feature that they point to as being representative of Namdik's origins and identity.

Significance

The site is defined as very significant under Part III§6(1)(b)(i) of the Regulations Governing Land Modification Activities (1992), because the resource is the only one of its kind known on Namdik Atoll. It is considered significant under Part III §6(1)(b)(iv) because it is connected with oral traditions.

MI-MM-MM-09

Description

This site consisted of the ruins of several concrete structures contained in an area approximately 30 meters long (east to west) and 20 meters wide. Located at 5°36'10.60" N/168°05'59.42"E in the Letoan *wāto*. The ruins of this structure are immediately behind the existing copra warehouse and in close proximity to the area that is currently, and was historically, used as the landing for field trip boats.

The property consists of a cement water catchment, a set of cement steps leading to a rectangular area of disturbed vegetation (the possible trading store and residence) and a concentration of cement blocks. Limitations of time and logistics did not permit any kind

of meaningful documentation of the site beyond a sketch map, photographs, and GPS coordinates.

The concrete water catchment was inscribed with Japanese characters. This inscription was copied, photographed, and subsequently translated. The translation (both of language and Japanese calendar) reads: April 10, 1921.

Local residents identify the structures as the remains of a trading post dating from "Japan Times".

Cultural Context

This site is the remains of a trading post of the Japanese Mandate. The site was probably abandoned shortly after April of 1944, when the Americans "took" Namdik.

Criteria

The site identified as MI-MM-MM-09 is eligible for the List of Cultural and Historic Properties of the Republic of the Marshall Islands based on the following criteria:

1. *Possession of research archaeological value; the property contains important information pertinent to significant archaeological research question or questions.*

2. *Possession of social historical value: the property is associated with a particular historical period, process, or trend in the social history of the Republic of the Marshall Islands.*

This site is an example of the Japanese Mandate years. While a great deal is known about the World War II Japanese occupation of the Marshall Islands, relatively little is known about the period immediately preceding it and very little is known about the material cultural expression of Japanese civilian administration of the Marshall Islands. This site could provide excellent data regarding such questions as what kinds of goods were available in Japanese trading



Figure 7.11: MI-MM-MM-09, Japanese trading post. Photograph taken from the west side of the site looking east. Photograph by L.A. Mead.



Figure 7.12: Concrete water catchment at the Japanese trading post. Photographed for the south looking north. Engraving found on a shelf on the southwestern corner of catchment. Photograph by L.A. Mead.



Figure 7.13: Engraving (detail) on the interior of the water catchment at the Japanese trading post.
Photograph by L.A. Mead.

posts, how the Japanese occupants of the trading post expressed their cultural identity using material objects, and how they negotiated the distance between their native culture and the one in which they resided.

It is in excellent and apparently undisturbed condition. It represents and presents a good example of an outer island trading post. Only one other Japanese trading post has been archaeologically examined in the Marshall Islands (Spennemann 1992) and that was only in a limited way. This site represents both a good opportunity to collect comparative data and to expand the existing information on this time period.

Significance

The site is defined as very significant under to levels of significance for historic sites. The first level (Part III§6(2)(a)(iv) of the Regulations Governing Land Modification

Activities (1992)) is that the resource is rich in cultural artifacts and undisturbed by construction activities. The second level (Part III§6(2)(a)(v) is the resource is particularly well preserved and shows little or no alterations to the original appearance of the structure. The third level (Part III §6(2)(a)(vi) is that resource is connected with historic events or persons or oral traditions important beyond the limits of the individual atoll on which the resource is located. In this case the historic events are the Japanese Mandate and the associated trading structure that characterized the Marshall Islands in the years between 1920 and 1943.

MI-MM-MA-01

Description

This site is located on the eastern side of Madmad. The site consists of a mangrove swamp located in a small estuary on Madmad.



Figure 7.14: The mangrove swamp on Madmad, MI-MM-MA-01. Photograph by L.A. Mead.

Cultural Context

This site is a landscape feature that is considered to be one of two defining features of Namdik Atoll. The site consists of a mangrove swamp. (Figure 7.14). It was not possible to get an exact GPS fix on the entire swamp since it was accessible from only one location.

According to traditional stories, this swamp is the residence of the daughters of Lojobkonira. The daughters are believed to be small crabs that are found inside the shells of clams in the swamp. These crabs are said to be unique to the swamp of Namdik.

The mangrove swamp on Madmad is an extensive resource base for residents of Namdik. Coconut and Mangrove crabs

abound in the area and many of the swamps resources are exploited regularly.

It has been postulated that some mangrove species may not be native to the Marshall Islands and may have been introduced prehistorically (Spennemann, 1998). There is however some evidence to suggest that species of mangrove found in coastal swamps, such as this one, are likely to have colonized this locations independently.

Criteria

The site MI-MM-MA-01 qualifies for the List of Cultural and Historic Properties of the Republic of the Marshall Islands based on the following criteria:

1. Possession of cultural value: the property is viewed by a group of people as important in maintaining the group's cultural identity.

The people of Namdik regard the cycle of stories associated with Lijobkonira stories as an important form of affirmation of the community and its closeness. This site is a part of the central story of Lijobkonira and her children.

2. Possession of social value: the property plays a role in the social life of a group.

This location is known as being the source of a number of local delicacies, such as coconut crab. This site's use as a protected resource extraction location gives it an impor-

tant role in the social and economic life of the people of Namdik.

3. Possession of aesthetic value: the property is perceived by local residents or others as both "out of the past" and pleasing to the eye.

When local residents are asked which landscape feature most closely identifies and defines Namdik Atoll this is the site they point to second most often. It is one of two landscape features that is pointed to as being representative of Namdik's origins and identity. As a landscape it is both unique and fragile and worthy of protection.

Management Recommendations

Leslie A. Mead, Historic Preservation Office

There were ten historic properties identified during the course of the Namdik survey. Eight of these were landscape features associated with local traditional stories (*bwebwenato*). One site, the location of a former taro pit also associated with a traditional story, showed surface indications of possible prehistoric occupation. The final site was the location of the former Japanese trading post.

One of the sites identified showed evidence of imminent threat of loss from erosion (MI-MM-MM-04). Local residents noted that this site, currently located in the inter-tidal zone (beach), had once been located in the littoral zone. This strongly suggests that active erosion is taking place on this part of the lagoon shore.

None of the remainder of the sites demonstrated any imminent threat of loss. However, the remains of the Japanese Trading Post (MI-MM-MM-09) is essentially a ruin. Given the corrosive nature of the atoll environment and the materials with which this site was constructed (wood and locally mixed concrete) this current condition is to be expected and will likely continue until such time as the remaining concrete completely collapses.

It seemed that there was a strong awareness and interest in the local population regarding the documentation of traditional stories and lifeways. Some elements of traditional Marshallese material culture, which have been abandoned on other atolls, are still in use here. However, it is also apparent from

the changing settlement pattern and a shift away from traditional family centered architecture and landscapes that this is rapidly changing.

The single largest defect in the current study from a resource management standpoint, was the lack of opportunity (either in terms of permits, time, and funding) to engage in systematic subsurface archaeological testing. This severely biased the study against the recovery of information relating to the prehistoric period.

In addition, the lack of a trained ethnographer or cultural anthropologist on the field crew biased this study against being able to recover meaningful information on current symbolic systems, politics and familial relationships. This left the study to concentrate largely on the analysis of material culture and traditional stories. Further study of the modern culture of Namdik, as it negotiates it way in the 21st century, would be beneficial.

Should time and funds become available, additional work on Namdik might include a systematic subsurface survey of the atoll for prehistoric archaeological sites. Subsurface archaeological investigations in the area of the two traditional wells (MI-MM-MM-03 and 05) might be helpful for recovering information on the role these lens wells played in the cultural landscapes of the island over time. Finally, further investigations of the Japanese trading post would provide additional data on these traders' operations and their relationships with the Marshallese.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Plants with Known Cultural Uses in the Marshall Islands

Compiled from National Biodiversity Team 2001:125 –156)

Scientific Nomenclature	Marshallese Nomenclature	English/Western Nomenclature	Origin	Use
<i>Allophylus timoriensis</i> *	<i>Kūtaak, keda</i>	Not known	Native	House and other construction uses, bird feed, medicinal uses, fishing pole
<i>Annana squamosa</i>	Not known	Sugar apple	Historically Introduced	Food
<i>Annona cherimota</i>	Not known	Custard apple	Historically Introduced	Food
<i>Artocarpus altilis</i> *	<i>Mā</i>	Seedless Breadfruit	Prehistorically introduced	Food, house construction, canoe paddles, fish bait, medicinal use
<i>Artocarpus altilis X marianensis</i> *	<i>Mā</i>	Breadfruit	Prehistorically introduced	Food, house construction, canoe paddles, fish bait, medicinal use
<i>Artocarpus marianensis</i>	<i>Mā, mejwan</i>	Seedless breadfruit	Prehistorically introduced	Food, house construction, canoe paddles, fish bait, medicinal use
<i>Asplenium nidum</i> *	<i>Kartōp</i>	Bird's Nest Fern	Native	Food, medicinal use, decoration, food preparation
<i>Bambusa blumena</i>	Not known	Bamboo	Historically introduced	Fishing pole
<i>Bambusa multiplex</i>	Not known	Bamboo	Historically introduced	Fishing pole
<i>Brassica napus</i>	Not known	Napa cabbage	Historically introduced	Food

<i>Brassica olercia</i>	Not known	Broccoli, cabbage	Historically introduced	Food
<i>Brassica pekinensis</i>	Not known	Chinese cabbage	Historically introduced	Food
<i>Bruguiera gymnorhiza</i> *	Joñ	Black mangrove, oriental mangrove	Prehistorically introduced	Medicinal use, house construction, handicrafts
<i>Caesalpina bonduc</i> *	Jeiōta	Gray nicker, wait-a-bit	Native	Medicine, garland
<i>Calyphyllum isophyllum</i> *	Lukwej, jijo	Alexandrian laurel, beauty leaf, calaba tree	Prehistorically introduced	Canoe construction, canoe bailers, furniture, house construction, medicinal use, garlands, toys, handicrafts, scent for coconut oil, beaded curtains
<i>Canangium odoratum</i>	Ilañilañ	Ylang-ylang	Native	Garlands
<i>Canavalia catharia</i> *	Marlap	Beach pea	Native	Medicine, pig feed
<i>Canavalla rosea</i> *	Marlap	Sea bean	Native	Medicinal use, pig feed
<i>Carica papaya</i> *	Keinabbu	Papaya, pawpaw	Historically introduced	Food, medicinal use
<i>Cassythia filiformis</i> *	Kaōñōn	Laurel dodder	Native	Medicinal uses, garland, sifter, decoration
<i>Citrus aurantifolia</i> *	Laim	Lime	Introduced historically	Food, medicinal use, house construction

<i>Cocos nucifera</i> *	<i>Ni</i>	Coconut	Prehistorically introduced	Food, beverage, medicinal uses, house construction, cordage, weaving, broom, copro (cash), utensils, ad infinitum
<i>Colocasia esculenta</i>	<i>Koktak</i>	Taro	Prehistorically introduced	Food
<i>Crinum asiaticum</i> *	<i>Kieb</i>	False spider lily	Prehistorically introduced	Demarcation between wātos, decoration (garlands), fishing bait, flavoring for fish
<i>Curcubita pepo</i> *	<i>Baañke (var. bañke)</i>	Pumpkin, squash	Historically introduced	Food
<i>Crinum Asiaticum</i> *	<i>Kieb</i>	Marshalls' false spider lily	Native	Demarcation between wātos, decoration (garlands), medicinal uses, fish bait, flavoring for cooked fish
<i>Crinum bakeri, brousoneti, latifolium, macrantherum</i> *	<i>Kieb</i>	False spider lily	Historically introduced	Demarcation between wātos, decoration (garlands), medicinal uses, fish bait, flavoring for cooked fish
<i>Cyperus odoratus</i>	<i>Būkōr</i>	Fragrant flat sedge	Native	Medicinal use
<i>Cyrtosperma chamissonis</i> *	<i>Iaraj</i>	Giant Taro	Prehistorically	Food, medicine
<i>Eriobotrya japonica</i>	Not known	Loquat, Japanese plum	Historically introduced	Food
<i>Euphorbia chamissonis</i> *	<i>Pedol, maldok</i>	Beach splurge	Native	Medicinal use, tattooing
<i>Euphorbia glomerifera</i> *	<i>bwilbwilikkaj</i>	Beach splurge	Historically introduced	Medicinal use

<i>Fimbristylis cymosa*</i>	<i>Bedelijman</i>	St. John Sedge	Native, or prehistorically introduced	Medicinal use, bait, scent for coconut oil
<i>Hernandia myphaefolia</i>	<i>Piñpiñ</i>	Chinese lantern tree	Native	Medicinal use, handicrafts, canoe construction
<i>Hibiscus manihot*</i>	<i>Pele</i>	Hibiscus, spinach	Historically introduced	Food
<i>Hibiscus tiliaceus*</i>	<i>Lo</i>	Sea hibiscus, wild hibiscus, beach hibiscus	Prehistorically introduced	Handicrafts, house construction, canoe construction, furniture, coconut grater, wrapping food, spears, breadfruit harvesting stick, cordage, garland
<i>Intsia bijuga</i>	<i>Kubõk, kukuk</i>	Ifil	Native	Construction, handle for tools, medicinal use
<i>Laportea ruderalis</i>	<i>Neen kõtãkõt</i>	Not known	Native	Medicinal use, animal fodder
<i>Lepturus Repens</i>	<i>Ujoij aitok</i>	Wiry bunchgrass	Native	Medicinal use, animal feed
<i>Musa nana*</i>	<i>Pinana</i>	Chinese banana	Historically introduced	Food, medicinal use, cooking and eating utensil, umbrella, handicrafts, soil improvement
<i>Musa X sapientum*</i>	<i>Pinana, keepram</i>	Banana	Historically introduced	Food, medicinal use, cooking and eating utensil, umbrella, handicrafts, soil improvement
<i>Pandanus tectorius*</i>	<i>Bõb</i> (123 different names for various varieties)	Pandanus, screw pine	Native on some atolls, prehistorically introduced on others	Food, beverage, house construction, weaving, medicinal use, canoe construction
<i>Pemphis acidula*</i>	<i>Kõñe</i>	Not known	Native	Charcoal making, canoe construction, house construction, handicrafts, fishing gear, husker, pounder, tool handle, hammer, erosion control

<i>Pipturus argentus</i> *	<i>Armwe</i>	Not known	Native	House construction, fuel, medicinal use, cordage, handicrafts, pig feed, cowrie bait, brooms
<i>Pisonia grandis</i> *	<i>Kañal</i>	Not known	Native	Construction, fuel, medicinal use
<i>Pycnus polystachyos</i> *	<i>Bedelijman</i>	Green watersedge	Native	Medicinal use, bait, scent for coconut oil
<i>Nephrolepis biserrata</i>	<i>Bairik</i>	Boston Fern, sword fern	Historically introduced	Decoration (garlands), medicinal uses.
<i>Raphanus sativus</i>	Not known	Radish	Historically introduced	Food
<i>Saccharum officinarum</i>	<i>To</i>	Sugar cane	Historically introduced	Food
<i>Sida fallax</i> *	<i>Kio</i>	Not known	Native	Medicinal use, garland, ceremonial food
<i>Sonneratia alba</i> *	<i>Bulabol, eroeak, kōnpat</i>	Firefly mangrove	Prehistorically introduced	House construction, canoe construction, medicinal use, handicrafts
<i>Soulamea amara</i> *	<i>Kabwjlōñ, keinwa</i>	Not known	Native	Medicinal use, house construction
<i>Suriana maritime</i>	<i>Kalañe, newe, ñiañi, kekun</i>	Not known	Native	Medicinal use, canoe roller, coconut husker, fish trap
<i>Tacca leontopetaloides</i> *	<i>Makmōk</i>	Polynesian arrowroot	Prehistorically introduced	Food, medicinal uses, straw.
<i>Thuarea involuta</i>	<i>Kak-kumkum, ujoij maroro, ujoij in kammwalmwal</i>	Not known	Native	Medicinal use

<i>Triumfetta procumbens</i> *	<i>Atat</i>	Prostrate burr bush	Native	Medicinal use, garlands, dye, handicrafts, cordage
<i>Vigna marina</i> *	<i>Marlap, markinenjojo</i>	Beach pea	Native	Medicinal use, pig feed, garland
<i>Ximenia americana</i>	<i>Kalōklōk</i>	Sour plum	Native	Food

* Indicates that this particular plant has been observed growing on Namdik, either during the current survey or during a botanical workshop conducted on Namdik in 199 .

Average number of documented Cultural Uses:

Native plants	3.4
Prehistorically introduced plants	4.8
Historically introduced	1.9

Appendix B

Brig *Vision* at Namorik Atoll (1876) **(by James Lyle Young)**

Namorik atoll or Baring Island, is one of the smallest for its size, and probably the most fertile and productive of the Marshall Group. It is about 4 miles in length by 2 in length of an oval shape. It is of compact form, there being only two islets and one of them is comparatively small. The land forming the E. S. and part of the W. sides of atoll is an unbroken belt of about 400 yards in width on an average, the remaining part of the W. side and the whole of the Northside of atoll are bare reefs with a few rocks awash at high water, with the exception of the N. W. point of atoll on which is an islet named "Murmur", having on it some heavy straight timber, of some kind of hard wood and some cocoanuts. The lagoon which appears to be from 10 to 20 fathoms in depth is studded with numerous patches. There is no passage into the lagoon for even a boat or canoe, except at high water and at this time of year (July), the tides have but a small rise and fall, say 3 feet, so the white man resident here informs me.

There is no anchorage at the island, and the only available landing is on the West side of island near the S. W. point of atoll, at this place if the tide is low one has to land on the edge of the reef and walk some 600 yards over reef to the beach, but at high water a boat can go in.

The island is densely covered with cocoanuts, pandanus breadfruit etc., bananas are plentiful, pigs and fowls may be obtained in numbers. In the lagoon there is obtained some pearl-shell (black edged variety).

The population is about 400, all under missionary influence more or less, many read, and write, most of them also wear foreign clothing.

The chief Loiak owns most of the land here, but there are also pieces of land owned by some other Marshall Island Chiefs. There is at present only one white man living here, his name is Jumpfer (he is generally know as "Jim") a seaman trading for Capelle and Co.

H.M.S. "Sappho" called here a few days ago on her way from Jaluit to Ebon.

The coconut trees are very productive, they are first at present under a "table", and consequently but little copra is being made.

The currents run strongly to the Eastward in the vicinity of this island and there are dangerous eddies round the shores particularly on the South side, it is therefore not safe to approach too closely in light weather except on the West, or lee side, between the S.W. and N.W. points of atoll, a vessel may be safely, even in very light Easterly weather as there is there no current, except one stretches two far to the Northward or Southward and thus gets into the sweep of the current setting East one, or one and a half knots per hour. In Westerly weather it would be impossible to land. The reefs extend off but a very short distance, off the S.W. and N.W. points it runs off perhaps half a mile.

Namorik is placed by some authorities in latitude 5-35 North Longitude 168-18 East and by others in 5-35 North and 168-23 East.

Source: James Lyle Young, Private Journal, 6 January 1875 - 31 December 1877. Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, Microfilm no 21. Entry for 17 July 1876.

http://marshall.csu.edu.au/html/history/Young_Namorik.html

Appendix C: List of Ships at Namdik 1792 to 1885
 From: Spennemann, D.H.R. www.marshall.csu.edu.au

Date	Vessel	Captain	Type	Registry
12/15/1792	Royal Admiral	Henry Bond	Merchant	Great Britain
12/28/1799	Ann and Hope	Christopher Bently	Merchant	United States
2/26/1805	Herald	Zachary Silsbee	Merchant	Great Britain
12/15/1828	HMS Rainbow	Henry John Rous	Warship	Great Britain
11/10/1835	Pallas	Henry Archer	Merchant	United States
11/12-14/1835	Pallas	Henry Archer	Merchant	United States
10/5/1835	Awashonks	Prince Coffin	Whaler	United States
10/6/1835	Awashonks	Prince Coffin	Whaler	United States
12/19/1841	USS Flying Fish	Knox	Warship	United States
12/22/1843	Potomac	Isaac B. Hussy	Whaler	United States
1/13/1843	Wilmington and Liverpool Packet	Gilbert J. Place	Whaler	United States
9/11/1850	Herald	?	Merchant?	?
11 or 12/1851	Unknown schooner	?	Merchant	?
11 or 12/1851	Elisabeth and Henry	?	Whaler	United States
11 or 12/1851	Lion	Nichols	Whaler	United States
9/7/1855	Belle	Handy	Whaler	United States
10/5-6/1856	Martha	?	?	?
8/8/1857	Morning Star	S. G. Moore	Boston Mission Ship	United States
12/1858	Morning Star	John W. Brown	Boston Mission Ship	United States
3/16/1860	William C. Nye	John M. Soule	Whaler	United States
4/1962?	Unknown vessel	Enos	Whaler	United States
12/ 27/1863	Morning Star	C.W. Gelett	Boston Mission Ship	United States
2/22/1864	Morning Star	Samuel James	Boston Mission Ship	United States
5/4/1864	Midas	?	?	?
4/22/1865	Java	?	?	?
10/16/1865	Morning Star	Samuel James	Boston Mission Ship	United States
9/2/1865	Morning Star	Samuel James	Boston Mission Ship	United States
12/27/1867	Morning Star II	Hiram Bingham	Boston Mission Ship	United States
11/25/1867	Morning Star II	Hiram Bingham	Boston Mission Ship	United States
9/14/1867	Morning Star II	Hiram Bingham	Boston Mission Ship	United States

Appendix C: List of Ships at Namdik 1792 to 1885
From: Spennemann, D.H.R. www.marshall.csu.edu.au

4/23-24/1868	Malolo	
4/26-29/1868	Malolo	
8/1868	Syringia	Brown

Appendix D: Summary of Historic Property Records – Namdrik

From Spenneman, Dirk H.R.

- 1992 Foreign Land Holdings in the Marshall Islands: a preliminary listing of leased and purchased land until World War I. HPO Report No. 1992/13. Republic of the Marshall Islands, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Historic Preservation Office, Majuro, MI. Pages 19-20.

Namdrik Island, Namdrik

40 ar. Located in a weto on the western part of the atoll. Size is given as 50 by 75 yards.

Historic Title Chain

- 3/12/1887 Sold by Iroj Loeak to F. HERNSHEIM & Co.
12/21/1887 Property transferred to the Jaluit Gesellschaft
1913 Taken from Jaluit Gesellschaft by Japanese authority.

Comment: 1890 Description
one copra house, 1 dwelling house and a few native houses *

Namdrik Island, Namdrik

10 ar. The property comprised the northwestern tip of the island.

Historic Title Chain

- 1870 Sold by Iroj Kubua to Captain Jumpfer (=Phillip Posznanski)
8/16/1876 Sold to Adolph Capelle & Co.
11/13/1883 DHPG for \$467
Description: “one dwelling house, one copra house and one cook house (all built of native materials)”
12/21/1887 Property transferred to Jaluit Gesellschaft.

Comment: 1890 Description:
one copra house, 1 dwelling house and a few native houses stood on the property *

Likenlandil weto, Namdrik Island, Namdrik

1 ar.

Historic Title Chain

- 12/14/1892 Property transferred from previous unknown owner to Jaluit Gesellschaft.

**Grundbuch von den Marshallinseln and Naru Artikel 11. Eienthümer: Die Jaluit Gesellschaft zu Hamburg.* Signed by Imperial Commissar Brandeis. 15 February 1890. Printout of microfilmed document of unknown provenance possibly from the T.T.P.I. Archives. On file at the Alele National Archives, Majuro, RMI. Original possibly from German Colonial document contained in *Reichskolonialamt* Volume 3077, document 5. Ms. on file, Australian archives Canberra, Record Group G-2, Y40.

Unknown weto, Namdrik Island, Namdrik

6.3 ar. Located on the eastern part of Namdrik

Historic Title Chain

4/10/1893 Purchased from unknown previous holder by Jaluit Gesellschaft.

Monak weto, Namdrik Island, Namdrik

6 hectares and 7 ar.

Historic Title Chain

1/13/1897 Property is determined as being owned by the Pacific Islands Company Ltd., London

1913 Property is owned by Jaluit Gesellschaft

Comment: In 1876 Thomas Farrell established a station on Namdrik and purchased a weto. Farrell's stations were bought at public auction in 1877/78 by Henderson and MacFarlane, of Auckland. This property may be part of this parcel.

Bukanelap weto, Namdrik Island, Namdrik

3 ar (60 square meters)

Historic Title Chain

1/13/1897 Property is determined to be owned by the Pacific Islands Company Ltd., London.

1913 Property is owned by Jaluit Gesellschaft

Comment: In 1876 Thomas Farrell established a station on Namdrik and purchased a weto. Farrell's stations were bought at public auction in 1877/78 by Henderson and MacFarlane of Auckland.

Appendix E

Boston Courier

Apr. 27, 1836: i3, 2, 3

MB

THE HORRIBLE MASSACRE ON BOARD

THE SHIP AWASHONKS

The particulars of this tragedy which we noticed yesterday, are chiefly confirmed by the Nantucket Inquirer, since received. It appears, however, that the massacre took place at Brinyard s or Brainard's Island, one of the Kingmill's group, and not at the Fegee Islands. The Inquirer adds:-"The individuals who have thus fallen victims to the ferocity and treachery of those South Sea demons, were all natives of this town, and have numerous near and dear relatives to lament this melancholy [sic] event. The Commander, Prince Coffin, has left parents and an orphan child-his wife and one child having died since the commencement of the voyage. The first officer, Mr. Alexander Gardner, was a young man of high promise, son of Albert Gardner, Esq.,to whose family this loss is irreparable; and the second officer, William Swain, was a son of Capt. Swain, of Ship *Susan* of this port-now in the Pacific Ocean, he was married a short time previous to his departure on the voyage, and was a truly estimable young man. The Awashonks belongs to Falmouth and 650 bbls. of oil at the time of the massacre. She will probably not pursue the voyage, but return home forthwith".

NOTE: The Boston Courier in this case was incorrect a second time, the incident took place on Namdik. It should be noted that the Coffin and Swain families of Nantucket have a long tradition of whaling. Leslie A. Mead

Appendix F: Selections from Marine Actions reports relating to Namdik

Action Reports

22 Marines (7 Mar-6 Apr 1944)
(GSA 5188) (A28-1)

Ordered to KWAJALEIN Atoll for rest and rehabilitation after the conclusion of the battle for ENIWETOK, the regiment anticipated a period of real rest and reorganization. Orders were soon received however, that upset all these plans. The 22d Marines had been ordered to clean up the Lesser MARSHALLS -- 16 atolls and 4 separate islands....

The MARSHALLS campaign had been code named "FLINTLOCK", so obviously the Lesser MARSHALLS campaign was immediately dubbed "FLINTLOCK, JR". The Lesser MARSHALLS were grouped into five areas of operations as follows: West group, WOTHO, UJAE, and LAE atolls; SOUTH group NAMUR, AILINGLAPALAP, NAMORIK, EBON atolls, and KILI Island; Northwest group BIKINI, RONGERIK*, RONGELAP, and AILINGNAE* atolls; North group BIKAR*, and UTIRIK atolls; North west group, TAKA*, AILUK, and LIKIEP atolls, JEMO* and MEJIT islands. LIB Island was listed as a separate operation. Atolls and islands marked with an asterisk (*) were by-passed as a result of native reports and aerial reconnaissance.

Each atoll and island were reconnoitered by low-level PBY flights by the landing force commanders and the operations group prior to each operation. Photos were taken and delivered for study. The naval force for each landing group consisted usually of 1 LST with 6-9 LVT's, 2 LCI's, 1 DD or DE, and 1 AM to sweep channels. Air support was furnished by 3 SBD's on call, with anti-submarine patrols for each force. Landing forces were provided with aerial photo flight strips of each atoll, hydrographic charts, and mimeographed sketch maps traced from 1/5000 scale air photos....

[following cessation of hostilities on Ebon] Landing Force Two reembarked and headed for NAMORIK Atoll.

Arriving at dawn off NAMORIK, native scouts were sent ashore followed by troops at 0950. Reconnaissance of the islands of MATAMAT and NAMORIK were completed by 1300 with no trace of Japs or previous activity. The force then proceeded to KILI Island....

Landing Force Two, having raised the American flag over EBON, NAMORIK, and KILI returned to base.

Appendix G: Memorandum report to US Naval Headquarters
Subject: Lesser Marshalls, report on Operations into

This report is reproduced here because it provides independent confirmation of the information provided by residents of Namdik that the Japanese trader was still on the island in 1944. It also provides indirect confirmation of the information, supplied by a confidential informant on the island, that the Japanese trader was hidden by the residents from the marines who landed on Namdik.

Atoll/9-3/MS3
Al6-3(30)/715
Serial:

HEADQUARTERS
NAVY 5233

00133

APR 11 1944

~~SECRET~~
FIRST Endorsement to Hq
22nd Mar(Rain) AG, Secret
Ltr.MPS/sfs Serial 3073-44
dated 6 April 1944.

From: Atoll Commander,
To: The Commanding General, Fifth Amphibious Corps.

Subject: Lesser Marshalls, report of operations into.

1. Forwarded.
2. During the period 7 March 1944 through 5 April 1944 the 22nd Marines, under the operational control of this Headquarters, occupied twelve atolls and three islands of the Lesser Marshalls. These operations provided an opportunity for the more junior officers of the regiment to exercise command during actual landing operations of Expeditionary Troop Units. In all instances the officers and troops of the 22nd Marines executed their missions in an outstanding manner thereby greatly assisting in placing the visited atolls and islands under the jurisdiction of the United States.

ALVA D BERNHARD
Rear Admiral, U.S.N.

18/efs

~~SECRET~~
3077-44

HEADQUARTERS,
22ND MARINES, REINFORCED
FIRST PROVISIONAL MARINE BRIGADE, V. AC.

6 April 1944.

From: The Commanding Officer.
To: The Commanding General, Fifth Amphibious Corps.
Via: The Commander, Kwajalein Atoll.
Subject: Lesser Marshalls, report of operations into.
References: (A) Ltr CG, V AC to CG's, 4 MarDiv, 7 InfDiv, TG-1,
CO, 22ndMar and Atoll Comdr, Carillon Atoll 2295
over 02/180 Secret serial 00333 dated 21 January
1944.
(B) War Diary, 22nd Mar, Rein for period 1 March to
6 April 1944.

1. In accordance with instructions contained in reference
(A), the following report is submitted:

a. During the month of March and the first week of April
1944 this organization furnished troops as directed by the Atoll Com-
mander for investigation of the atolls and islands generally referred
to as the Lesser Marshalls.

b. For purposes of planning and execution these atolls and
islands were divided into groups as follows:

(1) West Group

Wotho Atoll
Ujae Atoll
Lae Atoll

(2) South Group

Namur Atoll
Ailinglapalap Atoll
Famorik Atoll
Eben Atoll
Kili Island

(3) North Group

Bikini Atoll
Bonjelap Atoll
Ailinginae Atoll
Bongerik Atoll

(4) Northeast Group

Bikar Atoll
Utirik Atoll

~~SECRET~~

Subject: Lesser Marshalls, report of operations into, cont'd.

1. b. (4) Northeast Group, continued

Taka Atoll
Ailuk Atoll
Likiep Atoll
Jemo Island
Mejit Island

(5) Separate

Lib Island

c. Intelligence data was gathered by aerial reconnaissance both visual and photographic, captured Japanese charts, and the questioning of natives living on Kwajalein who were familiar with the area to be investigated. Some of the atolls in the north and southeast groups were determined to be uninhabited and as a consequence were to be visited only if during the progress of the operations enemy personnel fled to these places.

d. (1) The force dispatched to the West Group was comprised of troops from the First Battalion and a detachment from the amphibian tractor company (8 tractors), a total of about 350 officers and men, commanded by the battalion executive officer, and loaded on an LCI.

(2) This force landed unopposed on Mothe Atoll on 8 March and subsequently encountered twelve Japanese, the crew of a plane which had crash landed on the reef sometime previously, who committed suicide or were killed as the troops closed in on them. One of our men was fatally wounded by the explosion of a grenade carried on his person.

(3) This same force landed unopposed on Ujae Atoll on 10 March and subsequently encountered six Japanese, the operators of a weather station which had been bombed out sometime prior to this date by our planes, of whom five committed suicide as our troops closed in and one was captured in a rather severely wounded condition.

(4) A landing was made on Lae Atoll on 13 March, no Japanese were encountered and the natives reported there had never been an enemy garrison on this atoll.

e. (1) The force sent to investigate Lib Island consisted of a reinforced platoon from the First Battalion equipped with rubber boats and loaded on an LCI.

(2) This platoon landed on Lib Island on 11 March. No Japanese were encountered and natives reports indicated there had been no garrison.

f. (1) The force dispatched to the Southern Group was divided into two groups each of approximately 325 troops from the Third Battalion together with a detachment from the amphibian

Subject: Lesser Marshalls, report of operations into, cont'd.

1. f. (1) continued.

tractor company (7 tractors) and loaded on an LST. Number one group was commanded by the battalion executive officer and number two group was commanded by the battalion commander. A platoon of tanks loaded in an LCT was dispatched as a part of Group Two, but was ordered to return to base by the naval commander as a result of the unseaworthiness of the LCT.

(2) Both groups of this force proceeded in company to Ailinglapalap Atoll where an unopposed landing was made on 20 March. Questioning of local inhabitants disclosed the information that there were some 42 well armed Japanese on the main island. Subsequent reconnaissance developed this force in a prepared position which was successfully assaulted. Thirty-seven (37) Japs were killed, two taken prisoners, and two or three escaped, but were unarmed except for a possible hand grenade. These latter were pursued around the atoll, but search was finally abandoned because of the time consuming nature of the chase. Our casualties were 3 wounded.

(3) Number One Group of this force then proceeded to Namu Atoll and landed unopposed on 24 March. There were only seven (7) Japanese occupants of the atoll, including one woman and four children, and these voluntarily surrendered.

(4) Number Two Group of this force then proceeded to Eban Atoll where an unopposed landing was made on 23 March. An enemy position was developed by reconnaissance and successfully assaulted with a result of 17 Japanese killed including one woman. Our casualties were 2 dead and 8 wounded. Further operations netted a total of six prisoners including one woman and two children.

(5) Number Two Group proceeded to Namarik and landed unopposed on 26 March. Natives reported one unarmed Japanese on the atoll but extensive patrolling failed to locate him and the search was finally abandoned due to the amount of time being consumed.

g. (1) The force sent to the North Group of atolls was composed of troops from the Second Battalion and a detachment from the amphibian tractor company (7 tractors). As a result of aerial reconnaissance and information from natives, Ailinginae and Rongerik Atolls were disclosed to be uninhabited, and the Atoll Commander directed that they would be visited only if Japanese fled to these places after our force commenced operations in the North Group.

Subject: Lesser Marshalls, report of operations into, cont'd.

1. g. (2) This force landed unopposed on Bikini on 28 March. After search located five (5) Japs who committed suicide as troops approached. One of our men was accidentally wounded by small arms fire.

(3) This force landed on Rongelap Atoll on 31 March without opposition. Natives reported total of eleven Japanese on atoll. Surrender note dispatched by native messengers. Search of several islands conducted, but no contact was made with these Japs though evidence was found of their recent presence and hasty evacuation. Search terminated on orders Atoll Commander due to the amount of time being consumed. Entirely possible that enemy escaped to nearby Ailinginae Atoll.

k. (1) The Northeast Group, though originally intended for investigation by a separate force such as had been employed on the other groups, was actually visited by the reconnaissance forces initially assigned to operate in the Southern and Northern Groups. Upon completion of original assigned missions of these forces they were ordered to proceed and investigate designated islands in the Northeastern Group. Intelligence data had disclosed that Bikini and Taka Atolls were uninhabited and that Janso Island was populated with only a few natives, and as a consequence these places were not visited.

(2) The force designated previously as Number Two Group of the Third Battalion landed on Ailuk Atoll on 31 March. No Japanese or Japanese installations were found.

(3) This same force (Group Number Two) landed on Majit Island on 2 April without opposition. Later found and killed seven (7) Japanese who had operated a radio station until it was destroyed by our planes sometime prior to our landing.

(4) This force (Group Number Two) landed on Likiep Atoll on 3 April. No Japanese present on atoll. Survivors of small enemy ship sunk by our planes in January had previously made their way to Kwajalein.

(5) The reconnaissance force of the Second Battalion after completion of investigation of Northern Group landed on Uthirik Atoll on 5 April without opposition. Reconnaissance made contact with fourteen Japanese, all of who were killed. One of our men was wounded.

2. The following comments are submitted:

a. Plans: Plans which were drawn up by the Atoll Commander were adequate. Frequently attempts were made to make changes in the prepared plans by dispatch which were for the most part