KILI JOURNAL
August 28 to September 18, 1954

Jack Tobin
District Anthropologist
Marshall Islands District

Majuro, Marshall Islands
September 21, 1954
Mr. Maynard Neas
District Administrator
Marshall Islands District
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Majuro, Marshall Islands

Dear Mr. Neas:

A field study was made of the current situation on Kili, from August 28, 1954, to September 18, 1954, as per plan.

A daily journal was kept which included personal observations of daily activities and attitudes of the Kili people—both overt attitudes and those covert attitudes obtained by interviewing. In addition, the writer noted ideas and recommendations for improvement of the local situation and assistance which can be rendered by the administration, both locally and at the Hiccm level, to make the Kili Development Project a success. Most of these numerous ideas and recommendations were left in context rather than being made the subject of separate memoranda. This was believed to be the most practical way in which to handle this reporting chiefly because of the lack of time and shortage of clerical assistance in the Administration as well as for reasons of contextual clarity.

The writer, who is not prone to sudden enthusiasm, is extremely enthusiastic about the present status of the Kili Project and believes that under the following conditions:

1. Continued support from the Administration
2. Extension of the project for at least three more years
3. Retention of James Milne as project manager

the project of helping the Kili people make Kili Island a desirable place in which to live and helping them toward economic self-sufficiency should succeed.

Mr. Milne has imbued the majority of the Kili people with an attitude of optimism and hope in the future. This is in striking contrast to the previous attitudes of extreme pessimism, despondency and despair which prevailed on Kili.

Milne has obtained the support and active cooperation of practically all of the Kili people including those few intransigents who refuse to believe that Kili can be made liveable.
The general consensus of opinion of the Kili people is that, although they are dissatisfied with the present conditions in regard to the supply of food and other necessities, they are optimistic regarding the future when the crops which have been planted come into fruition.

This in itself is a major and important achievement. However, the Kili residents are a realistic people; they believe in results; consequently the support must continue until the planning and hard work have "paid off" in improved living conditions. In the considered opinion of the writer, who has been involved in the problem of the ex-Bikini people for almost five years, it will be at least three years before the Kili people, with their lack of training in business methods and little knowledge of the agricultural techniques necessary to obtain the maximum benefits from their changed environment, will be able to manage the economy of the island by themselves and become self sufficient. Until that time, direct guidance and administrative guidance and support will be necessary; such guidance and support being gradually withdrawn as the self-sufficiency and economic stability of the Kili islanders increase. An abrupt and premature withdrawal of governmental support would endanger the possible success of this important project.

The specific support and assistance needed from the Administration at this stage of the project is as follows:

1. Assistance in obtaining 10,000 more taro plantings from Kusaie in order to complete the taro planting phase of the project prior to the stormy winter months and to help insure an adequate food supply for the coming year. Other seedlings of breadfruit, bananas, pandanus, etc. will also be required. Approximate cost of plantings: $1,000.00.

2. Assistance in obtaining a 40-foot Marshallese type schooner with auxiliary engine. This is needed for regular and frequent communication with the outside, especially to transport local copra, handicraft, and other produce to the market at Jalawor and to bring imported foods and Marshallese food products (especially fish) back to Kili Island.

Approximate cost of such a schooner, obtainable from Robert Reimers Boat Co., new: $5,000.00. This should not be an outright gift. Minimal payments on a long-term basis are desirable for practical and psychological reasons.
Total immediate monetary requirements:

- $1,000.00 For taro and other plantings
- $5,000.00 For purchase of schooner

Grand total: $6,000.00

3. Acquisition of additional land to facilitate commercial and boat handling operations now and to provide for the foreseen increase in population of Kili in the near future. Government land on Jabwor Island will be required to provide a base for the commercial and transportation operations. It is believed that ten acres will be needed to support the schooner crew, their families, and additional Kili people who will have business on Jabwor. This area will be planted to coconuts, breadfruit, pandanus, arrowroot, and other suitable food plants in order to provide subsistence and additional cash income for those Kili people who will need to live on Jabwor either semi-permanently or occasionally.

The Land Titles Officer has stated that the southeastern portion of Jabwor is available for such settlement, and the District Agriculturist (Jaluit Community Development Officer) has stated that he will not require this parcel of land for his project. It is proposed however that Mr. Mackenzie supervise the planting of this parcel and furnish material aid (plantings, etc.) and technical advice to the Kili people who will replant this land. He has stated that he will be happy to do this.

Additional lands will be needed for population increase and should be planned for and obtained as soon as possible. (The Kili people have pointed this need out themselves, complaining that "Kili is too small.") Caution must be observed here in order to avoid encroaching upon the rights and needs of other Marshallese.

4. Title to the Jabwor lands and any additional lands must be vested only in the group of people who formerly possessed land rights in Bikini Atoll and who have been residing on Kili Island. The heir and/or heirs of the late paramount chief ("iroij laplap") of Bikini must be completely excluded from any land allotments made to the Kili people. This includes Kili, Jebet, Jar and Boklaplap islands (in Jaluit Atoll) to which the U.S. Navy deeded land rights to the late Jeinama in exchange for the land rights he "may have possessed" in Bikini Atoll. These three small government islands should be obtained for the Kili people now. In order to be equitable to said heirs, a special settlement should be made, preferably in cash. (This undoubtedly poses a legal problem because of the U.S. Navy "settlement.") The Kili people will never accept an "iroij lablab", particularly
Lejolæ, the eldest son of Jeinata, who is one of the two claimants to the title of "iroij ñablæ" of many of the atolls in the Helik Chain. This person is intensely disliked and distrusted by the ex-Bikinians. He has been maneuvering for position in this tense situation, especially recently. Aside from the personal animosity aspect of the situation, the ex-Bikinians have definitely been oriented away from their traditional rulers and toward the U.S. Government. They have been running their own affairs without said "iroij" since the removal from Bikini; receiving aid and direction from U.S. Navy officials and, later, Trust Territory Officials only. Any attempt to force an "iroij" on the Kili people at this late date would be highly traumatic and disastrous for the Kili Project and the over-all program of settling the problem of the displaced Bikinians (not to mention the adverse psychological effects on the ex-Bikini people themselves).

Such governmental action would be actively resented and withdrawal of cooperation would ensue. Serious repercussions affecting the administering authority would undoubtedly follow. It is imperative that this problem be settled as soon as possible. For a detailed discussion of this dynamic political situation, see the writer's report The Bikini People Past and Present, pp. 16-26 incl. (mimeo.), October, 1953.

5. A re-routing of the regular Southern Field Trip would be of great help to the economy of Kili in regard to the disposal of local products as a long-term operation and in initially obtaining necessary breadfruit, pandanus, arrowroot, and other plantings. The ship could, without foreseeable difficulty or inconvenience or extra expense, be directed to Arno, Mille, Kili (pick up local products and sales representative), then proceed to Namrik, Ebon, and Jaluit (in whichever order is most practicable), return to Kili, remain long enough to discharge sales representative, seedlings, etc., and then proceed to Majuro. This would also insure Kili of getting trade goods from the AKL before they are expended on the more populous and richer neighboring atolls.

This year, especially the coming winter months, the time of the rough weather which isolates Kili, will be the crucial period in this project. The continued support of the program by the Kili people will depend upon whether or not improvement of the economic situation (meaning more food) over that of the preceding years is seen during this undesirable period.
It cannot be over-emphasized that James Milne is the key to the success of the Kili Project. His guidance and technical knowledge are invaluable. His participation in this project as manager is, in the considered opinion of the writer, absolutely essential if the project is to continue successfully.

In essence, it may be said that the progress of the Kili Development Project to help the ex-Bikinians make Kili a desirable place in which to live has thus far justified the monies expended upon it and that the prospect of the success of this project is excellent; providing the salient needs which have been outlined in this letter are fulfilled and the problems met with successfully.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]

Jack Tobin
District Anthropologist

Enclosure: Kili Journal

cc: Staff Anthropologist
Introduction

A field study was made of the current situation on Kili, the present location of the displaced Bikini people. The purpose of this study was to follow up a study made in October of 1953, to ascertain what changes have been made, if any, in the Kili situation and in what direction, and especially to examine the present status of the Kili Development Project—an attempt to aid the Kili people in making a successful adjustment to an island whose environment and economic potentialities differ markedly from that of their ancestral home, Bikini Atoll.

The following broad questions of administrative interest were formulated in the planning stage of this field study:

(a) What is the day-to-day routine?
(b) How much impetus comes from the Kili people themselves?
(c) What is their attitude toward the project? (or attitudes)
(d) How much real support are they giving Mr. Milne?
(e) Is there anything the Administration can do to help Mr. Milne in this project? (There may be points which he has not thought of.)

The answers to these questions and others will be found in the pages of this journal. An attempt was made to present as clear a picture possible of the daily round of activities and communal organization. It was felt that this could best be done by use of the journal technique.

August 28, 1954

Arrived ashore 9:45 a.m. Saturday, 8/28/54. The taro plantings imported from Rusaie were carried to the taro patch in the interior of the island to be replanted. Old and young of both sexes carried the plants from the beach. The field trip ship departed Kili after all business was concluded.

A pessimistic note was heard in a conversation with two "alabs" shortly after arrival on Kili. Laijo's comments were: "The soil is no good here. Eriak Atoll is also too small. So is Narikrik [The writer asked him about this atoll.]. I have not seen Narikrik [Knox Atoll] but I know about it. Bikini was very rich in food supplies from land and sea. Whether the food supply increases on Kili or not, Kili is still no good." A truly negative attitude.
Jibbj then added: "Bikini was very rich in food supplies, marine and land. Kusaie (from which both he and Laijo had just returned) is a very good place. The people live and work like white people--eat very well. There is much food on Kusaie. The land area is too small here on Kili for all of us."

A "kemem" (a child's first anniversary of birth) was held in the afternoon. A meal of bread, coconuts, C-Rations and one boiled chicken (for the writer and Milne) plus hot and heavily sugared tea was served in the clearing under the giant breadfruit trees on the "hill" (highest elevation on Kili, about 30 feet above sea level) where the church and minister's house are located. The writer discussed the local situation and future plans for Kili with the "alabs" and James Milne (after eating). All expressed the desire for traffic with Jabwor Island when the island is resettled and commercial life is re-established. A market for their anticipated surplus of taro, etc. for cash and an exchange of said surplus for Jaluit salted fish is planned. The people want to send a promising youth away to school, to return and teach and help the Kili people as Milne is doing. (This idea had previously been suggested by Milne.) Jien, a local youth who is now attending the Protestant Mission School at Kusaie, is thought by all to be the logical choice for such further education.

Sunday, August 29, 1954

Church services were attended by all in the morning and in the late afternoon. The writer walked around the island with Milne and David Ebream (the Kusaien taro expert, assistant to James Milne) in the early morning. Inspected the "fish pond" area (a swampy section of over one acre in extent covered with brackish water to a depth of up to three feet). Small salt water fish ("bet") are able to live here in goodly numbers. They are edible but the people are waiting until they reach a greater size before catching them. They will be used principally for bait which is quite scarce here due to the unfavorable contours of the fringing reef. Milne plans to clear out the area and deepen it to afford a greater area for propagation and conservation of fish.

There are now approximately 12,000 taro plants on Kili. Expansion is planned to 20,000 plants. The large supply of taro will furnish vegetable food for the period between the end of the breadfruit season (August) and the beginning of the pandanus season (October). Breadfruit season is from April into August (the summer months) and is at its height during April and May. A very small number of breadfruit may be obtained in the interim months; however, not a significant amount.

Milne stated that there had been a good supply of breadfruit this year. Unfortunately most of this breadfruit is of the variety
Content of the village meeting:

1. Speech by Magistrate Juda urging the people to continue working hard and improving the island. Plans were announced for expanding the dispensary and school buildings.

2. "Pep talk" by the writer. The cooperation and hard work of the Kili people were praised. They were urged to continue their efforts so that Kili would go forward and their lives improve. The people were told that the U.S. officials and Government were interested in seeing the above come to pass and would help all they could but not in the spirit of a dole. The people were urged to come to the writer with any problems or if they wanted anything clarified or explained. The writer told the people that Juda, Milne and himself had discussed many things of interest to all of the people of Kili.

3. James Milne outlined the work plan: plant all the seedlings and plants which had been brought in from Kusai.

The meeting was dismissed by Juda and the work groups ("kumi") (a Japanese word for group or association of people) gathered to start their various activities. These "kumi" were formed when James Milne commenced his work on Kili in February of this year. Three leaders were chosen by "drawing straws." ("kubwi in kidjrik"); trans. — rat's tails. These men then called out the names of the men whom they wanted on their "kumi" one by one until every eligible worker had been selected for a "kumi." The number of men who work in group projects varies according to the particular needs and circumstances. There are seven "kumi." Five from Jitoin Bukwon (the western division of the village) and two from Jitakin Bukwon (the eastern division). The reason for this ratio is that there are more men capable of doing heavy and sustained labor in Jitoin Bukwon than in Jitakin. There were six men in each "kumi" but now that there is less group labor to perform the number is normally three men per "kumi." Additional workers are called when a large task is at hand. Today six "kumi" totalling eighteen men planted the taro plants under the direction of the Kusaien taro expert. The other "kumi" of eight men planted banana and breadfruit seedlings under the direction of Milne.

The older men and the young boys sat in the shade at the edge of the taro patch ("bwaal"), where the taro and other plants had been stored since landing Saturday, and trimmed the plants further. An average of three inches of the length of each plant was salvaged as edible tuber and set aside for peeling, washing and cutting up. A ten gallon kettle was filled with these trimmings which were washed and cooked by the women. This provided a satisfactory mid-day meal for everyone and was consumed picnic style on the edge of the taro patch in the shade of the giant breadfruit trees, with a side dish of coconuts.
P.M.

After a brief rest, work was resumed as before. The older men and the young boys continued trimming the cut plants (the largest portion of the tubers had been cut off in Kusaie for shipment to Majuro.) Some of the women peeled and diced the trimmings at their homes. Another ten gallon kettle was filled. These tubers are relished by the Kili people who are eagerly anticipating the first harvest. They say that the Kusaien variety of taro ("Kétak") is superior to the Marshallese varieties in taste and size.

Jibbj, the number two leader of the Kili people and heir to Juda as senior "alab" of the group and one of the most valuable and chronic complainers, was one of those who praised the merits of "Kétak." He also stated that although Kusaie (from which he had just returned as a member of the "taro lift" group) is rich in food, the Kili coconuts are much better in size and quality in addition to not growing on the sides of mountains (as do many of the Kusaie coconut trees). (Any admission from this man that Kili has its good points is indeed a concession)

Work ceased at 5:30 p.m. 3,500 taro plants, 37 breadfruit seedlings (all of them), and all 35 banana seedlings were planted. The remaining taro and the tapioca will be planted tomorrow.

Tuesday, August 31, 1954

A.M.

The elementary school is currently in session. School is held five mornings a week. The upper and lower groups are taught in separate buildings by Bimbn and Lee.

Discussion with James Milne regarding his desire to remain on the project or not, and under what conditions: (As requested by the District Administrator and the Staff Anthropologist.) Milne wants to stay on the job. He is very much interested in same but only if he works directly with the writer alone and through him to the American officials, as he has previously told Dr. Saul Riesenberg and Dr. Allen Smith. He also feels that his per diem should be paid when he goes to Kwajalein, Majuro and other islands on official business and has to pay for his food and transportation. He feels that he should be reimbursed for the monies spent on transportation while he is on government (i.e., Kili Project) business. He also feels that the taro expert should have his pay increased from $75.00 to $85.00 per month in order to retain him in the Marshalls. David Ebrean has a large family to support in Kusaie as well as having to buy his food and other necessities while on Kili (that is, the major portion of his food).
Milne has allegedly received more lucrative offers of employment from the Navy at Kwajalein but wants to continue in the type of work in which he is now engaged and for which he has had special training. He plans to attend university to further his education, in the future. In order to do this he will have to save enough money to see him through two more years (to obtain his B.A.). His present salary will not permit him to do this and support himself on Kili as well as meeting his family obligations. (He has a wife and two small children on Ebon and an invalid mother on Ebeye.) For these reasons he requests an increase in pay from $115.00 to $130.00 per month. It is strongly recommended that this be approved. Milne is the key to the Kili situation and the stimulus of the project. We do not have a replacement for him and his leadership is absolutely essential for successful continuance of this rehabilitation project. Failure of this important project would obviously be more expensive than increasing the monetary allotments to keep Milne on the job and help maintain his interest in the project.

It should be noted that Mr. Milne paid all of his own expenses while away at school (three years: one year at Mid-Pacific School and two years at the University of Hawaii). The U.S. Navy and Trust Territory paid his transportation only. He intends to pay his own way for the rest of his education. To the writer’s knowledge, Milne and his brother Ernest Milne are the only Micronesians who have paid their own way to gain an education outside of the Trust Territory.

"Jekua" (coconut sap) was collected by the men and boys and brought to the cook house where it was poured into a 20 gallon kettle for boiling into syrup ("jekmai"). This is done daily. Approximately 20 quarts of syrup are prepared each day. Six bottles of coconut sap are boiled down to yield one bottle of syrup.

Men of the several working groups commenced their work around 8:30 a.m. Milne’s "humil" which was to clear grass and turn over soil to prepare a nursery, commenced first. The taro planting groups under the direction of David were slower in getting started and did not commence work until around 9:15 a.m. Work was in full swing at 9:30 and continued until noon.

During the course of the morning a heated discussion took place. This involved: (1) the cigarette tax (4¢ per pack) proposed by the 1954 Marshall Islands Congress, and (2) whether or not the world will come to an end in 1957. Juda and Milne were the principals in both discussions with Jibbj and others supporting Milne in both. Milne has an excellent "joking relationship" with Juda and all of the Kili people and is a master of Marshallese wit and repartee, talents which are highly regarded in the Marshallese culture.

Juda argued that the 4¢ tax is equitable and that cigarettes are an unnecessary evil and should be abolished in the Marshall Islands.
He indicated that perhaps this tax might accomplish the latter. Milne and his supporters alleged that the proposed tax is excessive and should be reduced to at least 2¢ per package.

Juda later came around to the point of view of the opposition and agreed albeit reluctantly that "perhaps a two cent tax would be more equitable." (Juda revealed unsuspected oratorical and forensic talents in the course of these arguments which surprised and amused the writer.) Juda is extremely skillful in the use of analogy and metaphor and quotes the Bible liberally to support and illustrate the points of his arguments, as do most Marshallese. However, he met his match in Milne.

The report of the anticipated end of the world evoked a spirited, heated and at times hilarious discussion. Juda quoted "an old lady missionary at Rohroh, not Miss Wilson" as being the source of this prophecy of impending doom which was allegedly repeated by a Marshallese minister, Rev. Barto (the Billy Graham of the Marshalls). This rumor started about five or six months ago. Jibajj quoted scripture to show that it is not possible for any human to foretell the end of the world. Milne also derided the idea. At this point the writer felt that Juda's mental will being warranted assurance that as far as was known at this time, the world will not end in 1957 and in all probability the Kili people will be able to harvest the taro, breadfruit trees, etc., that they have planted. Juda finally decided that he really did not believe what the missionary said. Milne stated that many of the Jaluit, Mille, and Reollap people (on Ejij Island) believe this prophecy.

Varieties and amounts of taro plants on Kili now:

A. "Kətak" (Colocasia esculenta), 1,500 plants.

1. "Kətak Ruk" (Truk)
2. "Kətak Saipan"
3. "Kətak Iokil"
4. "Kətak Kosrae"
5. "Kətak Falloli"

All of the above varieties of "Kətak" have been imported from Kusaie by Milne.

B. "Kətak" (Cyrtosperma chamissonis) 8,000 plants.

1. "Kətak Ruk" (Truk)
2. "Kətak Saipan"
3. "Kətak Iokil"
4. "Kətak Kosrae"
5. "Kətak Falloli"

The varieties of "Kətak" are local and imported from Ebon Atoll.
C. "Kötak in Kili" 3,000 plants
   1. "Kötak"
   2. "Kötak brorō" (red)
   All local.


"Kötak" varieties mature from 4 to 8 months depending upon the particular variety but are smaller than the "Iara" varieties. "Iara" varieties mature from 4 to 6 months (earliest) to 3 years (latest). An average maturity of one year in the Southern Marshalls. "Iara" is planted vertically but "Kötak" is laid on its side at an approximate angle of 45 degrees and straightens itself up to the vertical within a week after planting. Both "Iara" and "Kötak" must be mulched (using dead leaves and mud). This must be done twice a year for the former and once a year for the latter plant. The Marshallese call this "feeding the taro." "Iara" may be planted in the original hole but "Kötak" must be moved to another spot if only a few inches away, in order to avoid soil exhaustion. It is said that "Kötak" exhausts the soil; uses up the "Un" (vitamins) in the soil. All of the tuber except an inch or so at the base of the plant is harvested and the leafy top portion is then replanted.

P.M.

The agricultural work was resumed at 1:30 p.m. and continued until 4:00 p.m. All of the taro plants and other seedlings except some of the sugarcane shoots were planted. There had not been a single loss of all the plants and seedlings brought from Kusaie.

The remainder of the afternoon, up to 6:00 p.m., was spent by Milne and some of the men in weighing copra and tallying it up in the store books. Other men collected "Jekaru" (coconut sap) as is the daily routine, early morning and late afternoon. The "Jekaru" is sold to the store by each collector at 7¢ per large ginger ale bottle full (one pint and 12 fluid ounces). The finished product, coconut syrup ("Jekmai") is sold to the consumer at export prices ranging from 15¢ to 95¢ per bottle, depending upon the size of the bottle. The village store employs two young women who boil and bottle the coconut syrup and one old man who gathers firewood and keeps the fire going. These individuals each receive $12.00 per month for their work. The two women work in rotation, six days off and six days on. The old man works two hours every day, six days a week, every week.

There is a need for more bottles. The writer will try to collect same at Majuro regularly, soliciting the cooperation of the Club.
Manager and American personnel. This collection should be done on a permanent continuing basis.

7:00 to 9:00 p.m.: A welcome party ("kumalo") was given the writer by the women of Kili. The usual routine speeches, singing and presentation of flower leis and drinking coconuts enlivened the occasion which became quite hilarious as the evening progressed. Milne and the writer reciprocated with "kabwijrak" (food given in return) and some songs.

A portion of the 150 taro tubers landed Saturday were cooked (boiled and baked in the "um" (earth oven)) and consumed today for the noon and evening meals. Coconuts accompanied the taro, with some of the residents eating sardines purchased from the field trip ship. It is anticipated that there will be enough of these tubers to feed the village for several more days.

Agricultural note: Milne claims that all food plants reach maturity sooner on Kili than on Ebon, which atoll is outstanding in the Marshalls as far as lushness of vegetation and richness of soil is concerned. The soil on Kili is quite black and deep and the island seems to be higher above sea level than average, certainly higher than Ebon. Rainfall is also heavy here, as on nearby Jaluit, Namrik and Ebon.

A small quantity of fish (3" in length) ("mön" and "kur") were caught on the reef by torch fishermen using machetes ("kabwil") at night.

Wednesday, September 1, 1954

A.M.

"Jekru" gathered in the early morning, 8:00 a.m., per usual, taken to the "jekmai" factory at the western end of the village and the preparation of coconut syrup commenced.

Work accomplished in the morning: Cleared brush for nursery—grass and weeds. (One "kumi" of six men) Milne worked alongside the others as usual. Copra made, brush cleared in the family land divisions ("jidan jorbal"). One "kumi" of six men weeded in the taro patch. The women made handicraft, washed clothes, and performed the routine household tasks.

Marshallese women do not normally engage in agricultural activities, outside of helping with light work, and even this is done very occasionally. They never work in the taro patch. Agriculture is man's work in this culture.
At 11:00 a.m. several men started cooking taro for the mid-day meal, to be divided among all of the villagers.

P.M.

Various odd jobs done: making coconut sennet ("ekeköl"), taro patch weeded by one "kuni" of six men. Completed planting sugar cane, flower cuttings and three pineapple tops. Milne showed the workers how to wrap the exposed portion of each sugar cane shoot with a banana leaf to prevent excessive burning by the sun. He learned this technique from the Japanese, on Ebon where large quantities of sugar cane were grown by Marshallese under Japanese supervision during the war years to provide food for the troops on Jabwor Island.

Three men fished from canoes most of the afternoon into early evening. Eleven medium and small sized fish were caught. Reef fishing by torch light ("kawili") was planned for the night. (This was not done however because of unfavorable tide conditions.)

Taro was cooked for the evening meal and consumed by all of the villagers. (Taro brought from Kusaie this trip.)

The Kili women gave the writer another "kumalo" from 8:00 to 10:30 p.m.

Thursday, September 2, 1954

AsN.

Daily collection of "jekru" and boiling of same started in morning as usual. A fishing "not" ("moo") prepared from coconut fronds. This took most of the forenoon to complete. Taro was boiled up under the direction of David and prepared with coconut cream ("kalel") which was mixed with the taro after mashing the tubers. This is a Kusaien dish and is called "sanumt8." The Marshallese do not use this recipe. This dish was prepared for last night's evening meal and was enjoyed by the Kili people who ate it. This was the first time that "sanumt8" had been eaten by most of the ex-Bikinians. Only the few who had been to Kusaie during the Japanese period had eaten it. (There was no taro on Bikini.)

Methods of preparing taro in the Marshalls:

1. Boiled and served plain ("ienbot"). Used in all of the atolls where taro is grown.
2. Baked in the earth oven ("un") and served plain. Used in all of the atolls where taro is grown.

3. Roasted over hot coals. Used in all of the atolls where taro is grown.

4. Diced and cooked in soup, plain or with chicken and pork. Soy sauce may be added. ("jupma" or "jokob") Used in all of the atolls where taro is grown.

5. Mashed boiled taro mixed with grated coconut and "jekmai": "jukjuk naatoto" (recipe used on Ebon) of Gilbertese origin; many descendants of Gilbertese are on Ebon.

6. Raw grated taro mixed with a little "jekmai" and/or a little coconut cream ("el"). These are boiled together. Add to a large kettle of "el" and a little of "jekmai" (a very sweet mixture). Mash and mix the contents of the two kettles together and then serve. This is called "temon" and is another Ebon recipe of Gilbertese origin.

7. Grate the taro (uncooked), mix with "el" and "jekmai", wrap in a taro leaf and bake for one hour. Then serve. This is called "jebwurdr", another Ebon recipe.

The art of making "jekmai" is said to have been acquired from people who drifted to the Marshalls from the Gilbert Islands. Milne and David have been teaching the Kili people how to make their food go farther by introducing new recipes as described above. The use of "jekmai" in various dishes has been emphasized.

Two older men made coconut sennet ("ekkwäl"). Women washed clothes, made mats, etc. The usual household routine. Some of the men worked on their "jikin jerbal." Milne worked on the village store accounts with the storekeeper.

P.M.

At 1:00 a group of men gathered with "nets" of coconut fronds to go fishing. The operation started on the area of the fringing reef fronting the village at 1:15. Eighteen men swam out past the edge of the reef with nets and spears. (We will call this group "A"). Two other men came out at 1:25 to join group "A".

Seven men with spears walked west along the edge of the reef. (We will call this group "B"). A dozen small boys accompanied the swimmers ("A") and four other boys accompanied the walkers ("B").
Group "A" swam east with the net. "B" was located about 200 yards away and out past the reef's edge swam out and to the east to join with "A". (Two other men and a small boy joined group "B" at 1:25.

"A" and "B" joined forces at 1:27, forming a semi-circle with the open end along the reef's edge. (One more old man joined "B" and another young man "A" at this time.)

The combined group started closing in toward the beach at 1:28, splashing water to frighten the fish ahead. (Jibüj was the leader of the whole fishing operation, as usual.) (The tide was just coming in and very smooth. Low waves and very calm and flat in the ocean outside the reef area.) The western "wing" of the net closed in to the eastern side and toward the reef's (beach) edge. The first men reached the shallows and were out of the water at 1:37. Started hauling in both ends of the "net," closed in on beach side of fringing reef, narrowing the net area.

Drive completed at 1:45. Nothing was caught.

Part of the group swam back out over the reef into the ocean with their spears. Part of the group walked east along the reef with nets and spears. The others remained on the spot and followed to the east later (the writer accompanying them).

A rest stop was made at 2:10 when those who had proceeded ahead were caught up with. At 2:15 resumed walking east to find a good fishing spot. At 2:20, the main body of the group halted again and Jibüj sent several men ahead to survey the situation. Fish were sighted and word was sent back by the scouts. The group set out again at 2:34. All of the group of 12 men entered the water at the rocky tip of the island at 2:38.

A moderately heavy surf was running. The group moved along the edge of the reef to the west. Started closing in at 2:40. Joined by three other men at this time.

Commenced chasing fish individually and in pairs, in the shallows; moving rocks to get at the fish. Catch: five small fish, averaging less than one half pound each. (An additional fish had been speared previously, making the total catch for the whole afternoon's operation: six.)

The group moved off again at 2:47. Decided that it would be useless to continue fishing because of unfavorable tide conditions. Ceased operations for the day. The group rested a few minutes and drank coconut water from nuts which had been gathered by some of the boys with the group. Everyone started back for the village at 3:00 p.m.
Women's church services ("jar in Kōra") were held from 4:00 to 5:00 p.m. James Milne continued working on the village accounts all afternoon. Three fishermen line fished from their respective canoes for the remainder of the afternoon. Total catch: three medium-sized fish.

The rest of the taro tubers brought from Kusaie last week were divided up among the villagers proportionate to the number of people in each living group.

The "kōtak" planted last February, March and April is ready to be eaten now. Average weight about one pound. It is desirable to leave them in the ground now. In one and one-half months the average weight will be 3 pounds. This is the usual optimum weight. Rarely, "kōtak" will grow to a weight of 5 pounds per tuber.

The Kili women honored the writer and Milne with another "kumalo" from 9:00 to 11:00 p.m.

Friday, September 3, 1954

A.M.

"Jekru" collected as per usual. "Jar in Komat" Church meeting of ecclesiastical officials which is held on the first and sometimes the last Friday of each month to discuss church business. The meeting was held from 9:50 to 12:30 p.m. Attended by male and female church members ("missionaries"), a goodly percentage of the villagers.

A few others worked in the taro patch or on their own land, brushing and making copra, making coconut sonnet, etc., and routine household chores.

When James Milne first started the project on Kili three "kum" of eight men each were organized. One "kum" to work in the taro patch area, one to plant breadfruit, pandanus, banana and other seedlings and one to get food (coconuts, fish, etc.) for the workers and other villagers. At the present time the taro patch "kum" is the only permanent work group. This "kum" is supplied with imported food by the village store, which is a community enterprise. Only a small amount of imported food is provided these men when taro or breadfruit is available.

P.M.

Work on the "jikin jerbal": clearing brush, making copra, etc. continued. Clearing of nursery area as well. Eleven men worked in the taro patch. Three members of this group cut down and cleared away some of the few remaining coconut trees in the taro patch. The
others weeded and cultivated around the taro plants. The women continued washing and ironing clothes and performing the other routine household chores. Milne and the storekeeper worked in the store all afternoon.

Taro tubers from Kusaie and a small quantity of local breadfruit were eaten for supper. These were accompanied by sardines (canned) in some of the households.

Saturday, September 14, 1951

A.M.

"Jekru" collection as usual by men and boys. (The small boys and girls help by washing out the empty bottles each morning, first in the ocean, then rinsing with fresh water from the cisterns.)

The land on Kili was divided up after Milne first arrived. He explained the advantages of working the land as separate units and the disadvantages of working the whole island together as a single agricultural unit. He left Kili for a couple of weeks immediately following this and returned in two weeks to find that Juda, Jibbaj, and the other "alabs" had divided up into 15 sections with an "alab" in charge of each section. The amount of land allotted was proportionate to the number of people in each "family" group. These sections are called "jikin jerbal" by the Kili people (work place) instead of the regular Marshallese designation "weto" (land holding). The idea being that they do not want to give the American authorities the impression that they desire to remain on Kili permanently. (They believe that the use of the traditional term "weto" would indicate stability and permanence whereas "jikin jerbal" does not.) This division and/or Milne's leadership has stimulated increased activity in the work of clearing brush and thinning out trees in the coconut groves and the production of copra.

The large "bwal" (taro patch area) will be divided into "family" holdings after it has been completely cleared and planted and is in full production. It is anticipated that the area can be doubled in size from the present approximate four acres, to eight acres.

Some of the people plan to move their dwelling houses to their "jikin jerbal." This should stimulate increased activity in clearing and planting and should make for improvement and more efficient utilization of the land area.

Any additional breadfruit and other plantings (as well as livestock) should be set out away from the village area to encourage increased agricultural activities on the land holdings. This matter was discussed with Milne who concurred and will encourage this activity.
The taro patch "kumi" ("kumi in bwол") weeded and cleared brush in the morning. Others gathered coconuts for the sabbath, worked on the land, and made "eitubol." The women made handicraft, prepared pandanus and coconut leaves for same, washed and ironed clothes, etc.

A small quantity of rice was provided the "kumi in bwол" by the village store and rationed out by David.

P.M.

Work continued on the "jikin jerbal," making copra, gathering drinking nuts, clearing brush, etc. Milne, David and the storekeeper worked on the store accounts in the morning and in the afternoon. Kusalen taro (brought in last week) was eaten by some of the villagers as the main part of the evening meal. Most of the "kotak" brought from Kusale on 8/28/54 has been eaten. Three families have saved a small amount of their ration however.

One young man (Tilan by name) went out in the ocean at sunset to line fish from his canoe. It was a good moonlight night with moderate surf on the reef but calm on the ocean. He returned at 10:00 p.m. with only one small (6") fish.

An informal discussion was held from 7:30 to 10:00 p.m. with Milne and some of the "alabs" and younger men. Started out of doors and later moved inside the house. The food situation prospect and various other agricultural and economic matters were discussed primarily; also Marshallese customs.

Sunday, September 5, 1954

A.M.

No work today, as is customary on the Sabbath. Church services held a.m. and p.m.

Recommendation for logistic aid:

A re-routing of the regular Southern Field Trip would be of great assistance to the economy of Kili in regard to disposal of local products as a long-term operation and in initially obtaining necessary breadfruit, pandanus, arrowroot, banana and other plantings as well as salted or dried fish and any other Marshallese foods available. The ship could, without foreseeable difficulty or inconvenience or extra expense, be directed to Arno, Mille, Kili (pick up local products and a sales representative), then proceed to Namrik, Ebon and Jaluit (in whichever order is most practicable). The ship would then return to
Kili and remain long enough to discharge the sales representative and seedlings, etc. (only a short stop), then proceed to Majuro. This would also insure Kili of getting trade goods from the AIl before they were expended on the more populous and richer neighboring atolls.

The village store currently has a large supply of coconut sennit ("ekawöl") which will bring $120.00 at Ebon where there is an assured and continued market; a large supply of bottled coconut syrup ("jekemai") which will sell for $160.00; and 6 wooden bowls ("jabe") which will be sold for a total of $30.00. The Ebon people have ordered approximately $500.00 worth of "ekawöl", 30 "jabe", and an unlimited amount of "jekemai." The Namik and Jaluit markets have not been surveyed yet but it is believed that a good market for Kili products exists on both of these atolls. It would obviously be more economical to localize the market in this southern sector of Relik, at least initially. Expansion of activities to other sectors could come later after the local business is on a firm footing.

The possibility of bartering Kili products for local food products of other atolls, notably salted and dried fish, has been considered by the Kili people and should be explored further and encouraged. Mr. Milne is in full accord with this. The writer believes that a steady supply of local products would be forthcoming if regular logistic support in the manner proposed is assured.

Additional agricultural tools and equipment are badly needed, especially four "rear carts" to transport copra to the drier from the ends of the island where it is harvested and initially processed. Also needed are shovels (long-handled) -- 12; pick axes -- 12; hoes -- 12; and axes (long-handled) -- 12. These articles plus others were ordered by Milne with the Finance and Supply Officer, Majuro, last June and an order was sent in to Finance and Supply, Guam, at that time. It is hoped that this essential equipment will have arrived on the M/V Chicot. If not, another request should be made in order to expedite delivery.

The largest expenditures to date on the Kili project by Mr. Milne have been for transportation and freight via Marshallese schooners. This can be avoided by utilizing the district station ship as much as possible as was done in the recent successful "taro lift." Charter of Marshallese craft should be done only in emergency situations where the station ship is not available.

At the present time a working party of three Kili men is on Ebeye awaiting transportation to Kili with the load of salvage lumber which they obtained from Kwajalein in June and July. This lumber is needed to repair the water catchment systems, gutters, roofs on the cisterns, etc., and to enlarge the dispensary to accommodate hospital beds, to repair and enlarge the schoolhouse, and for other municipal uses.
The expenses of the working party are being paid by the Kili store, and the planned charter of a Marshallese schooner will have to come out of either the Kili funds or local funds which are not too plentiful. The Administration could be of great help to the Kili project by picking up the three men and the lumber when the ANL stops at Ebeye on the last stop of this month's Western Field Trip. This would insure the lumber and men getting to Kili before the rough season when off-loading is extremely difficult and at times impossible.

Regarding aid by government field trip ships: The recent special trip to Kusaie to lift taro and other food plants was an eminent success. All of the plants survived the trip and are thriving on Kili today. Another 10,000 taro plants ("Kotak") are needed to complete the taro planting phase of the Kili project. This should insure an adequate supply for future use. Another 200 banana plants and 200 breadfruit seedlings should be sufficient for future needs. It is proposed that another special trip be made to Kusaie to obtain these necessary plants. This should be done before the middle of November when the surf conditions at Kili render loading and off-loading operations hazardous. It should be practical to combine this operation with the coming Western Field Trip, the westernmost leg of which includes Ujelao which is farther to the west than Kusaie. The ship could proceed from Majuro to Kili, pick up a working party, then proceed on the regular western circuit picking up pandanus and breadfruit plantings for Ujelao enroute (or any other variation of the schedule as may be more practical).

It is further proposed that the ship stop for a few hours off Pi'ilap and Kili atolls in order to show the Kili representatives an example of the extent to which taro culture can be developed on a small island. Both of these atolls possess a large population and comparatively small land area but have compensated for this by building extensive taro pits and making intensive use of them to provide food for their respective populations. A concrete example of this kind should be a great psychological boost and an inspiration to the Kili people and should do much to build up their confidence in the Kili taro project and the potentialities of Kili. The ship could then continue south to Kusaie and pick up the plants and seedlings which will have been ordered well in advance by dispatch, thus expediting the Kusaie phase of the operation. Upon rapid completion of this phase, the ship would proceed to Kili, discharge the working party and cargo of plants, pick up any copra or handicraft available, leave a supply of trade goods as ordered (in preparation for the rough weather period), and then proceed back to Majuro.

Another way in which the Administration can help the Kili people get through the rough winter months without going hungry and also conserving the resources of the island would be to send 400 cases of C-Rations to Kili to be taken charge of by Hilne for the Village Store. These supplies could be put under lock and key and sold by Hilne by the can at a nominal price which could be either cash or local products such as
handicraft, "jekmai" or "okkwi'i." Milne could husband these C-Rations so that they would last over the period of stormy weather, the time of hunger ("ien kwulle"). This would be of great value in helping the Kili people take a more favorable viewpoint toward the island.

Careful accounting would be expected from Milne and the monies derived from C-Ration sales could be put in a petty cash or other fund to be used in the Kili project. Or, if the administrative authorities deemed it necessary and it could be done legally, accounting wise, the cash derived minus a slight mark-up could be put into the Village Store fund.

Another alternative and perhaps the best one, would be to make an outright sale to the Kili project for a nominal fee of say, fifty cents per case. Total profits derived to be retained by the Village Store.

In any case, the Administration would be assured that the Kili people were getting enough to eat and yet would not be giving them an outright handout.

At dusk the Kili men gradually gathered in front of the house in which Milne and the writer are living. After general conversation, Jibbi introduced the reason for the gathering, to wit: to explain the feelings of the group and to seek advice from the writer and Milne. The gist of the complaint was that the men could not continue to work steadily because they are hungry and do not get enough to eat. They wanted the writer and Milne to "show them the way" (out of their difficulties). The writer explained that the government was trying to help them and had sent Milne to Kili to work with them for that purpose and that the writer had been sent to Kili also to see what their needs were. The writer pointed out that the men would have to work hard now but would be rewarded when the taro and other plantings are ready to eat and that this year would certainly be much better than the last year as far as their economy is concerned, etc., etc.

Milne next talked to them in a similar vein, explaining the benefits of being self-sufficient and not depending on imported foods. He built his exposition around the theme "uhari pein" (an old Marshallese saying meaning, "ask for food from your own hand," i.e., be self-sufficient.

The group seemed satisfied with those explanations but Jibbi, seconded by Laijo (the "doubting Thomases" who are not satisfied with Kili and want to leave for another island) stated that they believe that conditions will be better when the taro, broadfruit, bananas, etc. are ready to be eaten and when they are able to have more frequent and regular transportation for their products. But they are hungry and poor today.
This was obviously a thinly disguised request for food gifts from the government. The writer believes that any outright gift of food at this time would be detrimental to the project and would put the Kili people right back in a dole frame of reference. The previous proposal to furnish C-Rations on a barter or cash sales basis would remove causes of complaint of hunger and inability to work because of same and would at the same time keep the Kili people "out of the bread line."

The present situation in regard to food is not good but it is certainly not as bad as Jibbj described it. Reverend Jojea asked if the government could help them get corrugated iron sheeting from Kwajalein to replace the pandanus thatch on the church which is badly deteriorating. The writer replied that the government cannot provide the roofing, but salvage opportunities exist at Kwajalein, as they are aware.

The pastor then asked the group if the iron sheeting, which has been salvaged by the Kili working party and assembled on Ebeye, might be used for the church. The majority opposed this scheme, but not too vigorously. (It had previously been decided to use said salvaged roofing and wood to repair the cisterns and school-council house.

The village store pays for the living expenses of the salvage workers while they are at Kwajalein and the majority felt that the expense of sending another group up to Kwajalein could not be borne in view of the food shortage problem on Kili. This thesis was contested by one young man who was quickly squelched by the "alabs". It was agreed to wait for the roofing for the church until it could be afforded.

The meeting broke up at 9:00 p.m. Milne, David, and the writer then had an informal meeting and discussed the current situation and future planning, until 11:00 p.m.

Monday, September 6, 1954

A.M.

"Jekru" gathered and "jekmai" made as usual. The Elementary School commenced another week's session. Some of the men started making copra at 5:00 a.m. (unusually early for them). A whistle was blown by Jibbj at 8:45 a.m. to assemble the people for a meeting. The meeting was held in the school-council building and was attended by most of the men and women, young and old, and by some of the younger children.

Content of the meeting:

1. Opening prayer by Rev. Jojea (thanking God for His help and asking for divine aid in improving their lives, etc.).
2. Magistrate Juda spoke for about ten minutes. Asked for cooperation of people in sending students to the Protestant Mission School and helping them out financially once they are in school. (The Rohr school and the Kusaie school at Mot). He also asked for cooperation for "Military School" students (MiIS). He stressed the importance of education to the Kili people and the advantages which would return to the entire island. "If we spend $5.00 on education we will get a million dollars in return from these students when they return to help the island."

He stressed the need for the continued cooperation between the government and the people, stating that the people of Kili cannot go forward without help from the government. (The writer suspects that this was largely for his benefit.)

Juda stated that "the government took us from our home (Bikini) and put us here and we agreed although our home was not a bad place but was good. The government believes that Kili can be a good place so we must all work together. The government cannot do it separated from the Kili people and the Kili people cannot go forward without the government. We are the adopted children of America." He then acknowledged the government's help in sending James Milne and David Ebreem and the writer to Kili to help the people. He then asked for any questions from the group. One "alab" asked: "Why do we always have to help the Mission School? Why do we not help the Military School? (MiIS)" He was quite vehement about this. No one provided an answer for him. Not even the local pastor who sat near the speakers' part of the room.

3. Milne spoke about the present financial status of the store, after outlining its progress since he arrived. He asked the storekeeper Elabba, whom he and David are training, to read the financial statement, which was done. This commercial progress represents a considerable achievement; The taking charge of a store which was formerly continually unstable and on the verge of collapse and liquidating all liabilities to emerge showing a profit. (See appendix for balance sheet.)

Milne then asked if people wanted to purchase additional Hampshire chickens, or, as they are called here, "bau-bror" (red chickens) from the Ejit Island people for $3.00 apiece. The answer was affirmative with no overt dissent. This question was prompted by the writer who believes that more chickens are needed to build up an adequate and healthy flock of poultry on Kili.

James Milne asked why the people have slowed down on handicraft production. He explained the present and potential markets for handicraft.

Asked if people wanted to purchase a drake for $5.00 from Majuro, if available, to assist the two overworked drakes remaining on Kili. (There are over 100 ducks on the island to the two drakes.) This question was also
prompted by the writer. The query evoked a great deal of hilarity, sly joking and innuendo because of the obvious sexual implications. The answer was also in the affirmative with no dissention.

Milne called for questions and a discussion followed as to the best way to utilize the five rolls of roofing paper brought from Majuro on a previous trip. This was a follow-up of the discussion of last night's meeting where the pastor asked for a substitute for the pandanus thatch on the church which, he alleged, rots after only one year. (The writer has heard this complaint from some of the Kili people before.) Rev. Jojea wants to get some of the corrugated iron roofing salvaged at Kwajalein although it had been previously agreed by the Council that this material would be used in repair and addition to the cisterns and school house. The majority of opinion seemed to favor this original plan last night and the matter was not brought up officially at this morning's meeting although the village "clown" and "vill", Bobori, made a sly remark referring to a new tar paper roof for the church. All of those who heard him laughed, except for the pastor, sitting close to him, who pretended that he had not heard him. It was tentatively agreed that the roofing paper would be used for the school-council house.

4. Milne invited the writer to say a few words. These consisted of a recapitulation of the writer's activities on Kili to date: his observations of the routine and his conferences with the leaders and with Milne; to try to ascertain the needs and problems, help them with same, and bring them to the attention of the District Administrator.

The Kili people's accomplishments to date were praised and they were urged to continue the good work and were told that the American Administration, both local and in the higher echelons, is interested in their welfare and wants to help them make Kili a better place in which to live. The work that James Milne and David Ebreap have done so far in trying to bring this improvement about with the cooperation of the Kili people was praised. (The audience reaction to this last statement, concerning Milne and David, was one of enthusiastic vocal approval--"That is true," "you are right," etc.)

Juda took the floor again and closed the meeting: "because we have little time and a lot of work to do today." (Juda is a very dramatic, forceful and effective speaker, which is a highly regarded accomplishment among the Marshallese people. He knows and effectively uses the "expressions and stories from the ancients." -- "bewbenate jen rittoro in etto").

Juda has identified himself closely with Milne, who has been careful to work through both Juda and Jiböj (Juda's heir). Juda is actively and wholeheartedly cooperating with Milne in the project, but Jiböj is, as has been mentioned previously, withholding his complete support. He still "has to be shown." Although he and Laijo are not actively opposing
the project, they have from the beginning evinced a skeptical and critical attitude. Jibbuj, as the heir to Juda and leader of Jitoin Bukwon (the western division of the village), and a strong and forceful personality as well as being physically impressive in strength, size, and vigor, is extremely influential and has a large following on Kili. His complete support should be secured. Milne has been trying to obtain this support and states that the situation has been improving slowly.

The "alab" Laijo is influential to a lesser extent but is extremely vocal. Milne has also been trying to win him over to the Kili project plans.

The writer of course has as subtly as possible attempted to convert these two individuals to a more optimistic point of view in regard to Kili. It is believed, however, that favorable results alone will convince these men.

The most active supporters of Milne (and the project) are Juda, Jojeb and Lajattil. Jojeb is the "alab" of the younger "bwij" (lineage) of the old royal lineage of Bikini, and is junior to Jibbuj and Juda. He heads a large lineage, however, which had the largest amount of land on Bikini. He is quite influential on Kili and is very industrious. Lajattil is not especially influential but is also the "alab" of a large "bwij." Both of these men are in their late fifties.

It might be added that Jibbuj is prone to exaggeration as well as being reckless with the truth. (At least he has proven to be so in his relationships with the writer and Milne at times.) He might be described as having a "tense and anxious personality."

Only a small amount of the "kotak" tubers brought from Kusai is left. (It is in the possession of three families who are saving it for the use of their children.) A small amount of breadfruit is available (on a few trees belonging to the individuals who planted them). There are plenty of coconuts. Pandanus will be ready to harvest in about two more months and in good quantities. The present food stock in the village store consists of 30 large cans of sardines and one 50-pound sack of flour. There is $100.00 cash on hand in the store with which to purchase food from the field trip ship; also large stocks of "jekmai" and "ekkwil" for sale as well as about two tons of copra bagged and ready for sale to the ship. There is an estimated $400.00 cash in the hands of those who have sold "jekmi," "ekkwil," copra and other local products to the village store. This cash will enable these people to purchase additional food supplies from the field trip ship.

Work continued on the various "jikin jerbal": clearing brush, making copra, etc. Some of the women helped cut the meat out of the husked nuts after the nuts had been brought to the drying area in the village (adjacent to the four driers). Others continued with routine
household chores and handicraft manufacture. The "kumi in bwāl" continued working in the taro patch. The store provided rice for their meals today.

P.M.

The same work plan as in the morning. Three of the younger boys dove for shellfish on the reef, obtaining a couple of dozen. Three small fish were caught by other youths using spears.

The Kili women gave another "kumalo" for the writer and Milne which lasted from 6:00 to 11:00 p.m.

Tuesday, September 7, 1954

A.M.

7:00, Routine activities commenced. Copra being cut out of the shells in front of the driers by groups of men. There was no work in the taro patch or copra lands today. Preparations made for church services. Today is "jar man aile6" (church services held at the beginning of the month). This is a day of prayer and conducting of church business at the beginning of each month. It is observed on every atoll in the Marshalls. Very little work is done while the meeting is in session. (Most of the population attend the meeting.) At 9:27 the church bell was rung to call people to "jar man aile6". The meeting was attended by most of the men and women and enough of the children so that school was not held.

The "non-church members," i.e. those who smoke (a sizeable number), or who drink (a few), or practice customary common-law marriage (many of the people), and/or who have not yet publicly confessed their sins (in general terms) in church ("uk:lok"--a prerequisite for church membership, i.e., to be "eklesia" or "missionary"), did not attend the meeting and cannot attend.

It may be seen that a large number of potentially economic productive man hours are spent in church activities. The strict Calvinistic code brought from New England in the mid 19th century is the dominating imported culture trait in the Marshallese culture today and exercises a profound influence on daily life. The 19th century Sunday "blue laws" with the Mosaic injunction regarding the Sabbath as a day of rest are adhered to, almost literally.

It is said that even if the people on an island (Kili or any other island) were very hungry, had been on short rations for a long time, and a large school of fish which could be easily caught appeared on a Sunday, the people would not try to catch them. If some deviant should dare to be impious enough to commit this "sin," no one would partake of his catch and he would be regarded as having committed a grave sin. It is even
considered a sin to indulge in sexual intercourse with one's lawfully wedded wife on Sunday. However, it is said that church law is disobeyed by many in regard to this covert activity.

This obedience to cultural conditioning at the expense of physiological and economic needs has happened many times in the past throughout the Marshalls.

An exception is made however when the Field Trip Ship happens to call at an island on a Sunday. The inhabitants know that the foreign administration does not halt work on an expensive field trip operation to allow people to observe a strict Sabbath when time is limited as it is on most field trip operations, so they are allowed by the local church officials to work the copra (showing that a compromise of religious scruples with economic reality may be made if sufficient pressure exists).

P.M.

The church meeting was over at 12:45 p.m. Work on the copra lands and the taro patch was resumed. Copra making and routine household tasks continued as of the morning.

A large bunch of bananas was harvested from a plant which had been imported from Namrik last February by Milne.

A few families had breadfruit from their trees for supper.

A group of "alabs" and other men, including Jekru, Juda, Jiboj, Laijo, and Kilon drifted into the house starting at 5:00 p.m. and a "bull session" ensued lasting until 8:00 p.m. The Kili future, agriculture, economics, etc. were discussed among other subjects of interest.

Juda stated that the Kili people are not interested in becoming involved in a boat deal with the Jaluit development project or in agricultural work in said project as proposed by the former District Agriculturist. Juda stated that the Council had discussed this proposition at length when Mr. Milne returned from Majuro several months ago, and unanimously decided that they wanted to be in complete charge of their own boat and the utilization of same as well as their own land on Jabwor.

The other "alabs" and others present confirmed Juda's statement.

The group also requested a wholesale license for the village store.

They all expressed enthusiasm over the future renascence of Jabwor Island as a commercial and religious-educational center (because of its implications in regard to their situation).
A.M.

Regular routine activities were carried on. The "kumi in bwöl" continued their activities in the taro patch. Another group of men chopped down three coconut palms in the middle of the village area on the slope of the "hill." This was done to make room for future planting of additional banana plants. This activity was planned by Milne yesterday.

Rice was issued to the taro patch "kumi" by David, for the village store.

Ripe coconuts ("waini") were collected from the coconut lands and brought in to the copra driers for processing.

P.M.

The work of the morning continued. Seven more coconut palms were cut down and cleared away. One of the trees accidentally crashed through the corrugated iron roof of Juda's cook house, almost completely demolishing it. Everyone thought this extremely amusing. Juda was out on his "jikin jorbəl" at the time of the incident so was not available for comment. (When he found out about it later in the afternoon he laughed and said, "Never mind. It was rotten anyhow.")

Four young men spent part of the early afternoon in the deep water on the reef, diving for shell fish and spear fishing. The fishermen only obtained three medium-sized fish. The shell fish collector harvested about "jidrul" (the mollusk from which "cat eyes" are obtained). These are eaten either boiled, baked, or raw.

Most of the younger Kili children spent a large part of the afternoon playing in the water as usual, on the covered reef. These youngsters are almost amphibious and swim out close to the edge of the reef, in the deep water. This early conditioning to ocean swimming and attainment of a fearless and confident attitude toward the ocean should prove to be of great psychological value in the adjustment of these children to Kili, now, and in later years. Never having known a lagoon, they will not miss having one in their everyday environment.

Church meeting was held from 3:30 to 5:35 p.m. with a brief recess in between. This was the "Jar in wonje" (Church on Wednesday). This is held every Wednesday afternoon to discuss church business. People "confess" publicly at this time (as well as on Sunday). Most of the people attended--the "elect" as well as those who want to become "eklesia" and confess their state of sin and say they are sorry for their sins.
In contrast to these overt attitudes and observances of puritanical piety and pre-occupation with church affairs is the fact that the Bikini women are said to be the most adept at sexual techniques in the Rellik Chain, learning these techniques from the older women. (The Arno women have that distinction in the Radak Chain, followed by the women of Wotje.) These women are greatly sought after as sexual partners.

The acculturative principles of acceptance, rejection and compromise of the aboriginal culture with imported culture traits are clearly seen in this sphere of Marshallese life.

Milne and David discovered that an unknown person or persons had dug up twenty of the taro plants brought from Kusaie last February; cut the tubers off, and clumsily and inefficiently replaced the plants. Milne was understandably angry about this and he and the writer asked Jude and Jibbj to warn the people not to take the plants until it is time for them to be harvested for everyone.

Economics (Local Manufactures)

The Kili project under the direction of Project Manager James Milne has greatly stimulated the manufacture of handicraft and local produce.

The manufacture of handicrafts was negligible when Milne arrived on Kili last February. Only small sleeping mats ("jake") were being made. These were of a quality unacceptable to the Navy Exchange at Kwajalein or ICTCO.

Although the Kili people are adept at handicrafts, they had not been advised and shown the type of handicraft for which there is a market. Milne had investigated the potential markets in Honolulu and Kwajalein and apprised the Kili people of same. Liburin, a Marshallese handicraft expert, was brought to Kili from Namrik in February and taught new handicraft techniques to the Kili women. (She had been employed by the Japanese to do the same thing.) Liburin returned to Namrik in July. After she left a noticeable slackening in handicraft production was seen. The local women allegedly accepted her whole-heartedly but she had to return for personal reasons.

There is no Kili woman whom the other Kili women will follow in a handicraft project of this type. It is felt by them that no single one of them knows enough about handicraft to teach the others. This includes the regular leader of the women's activities, Raijel, wife of Magistrate Juda.

It is said that "the women are all jealous of each other and do not want to see one of their number become higher than the others." (An attitude not confined to the Marshalls alone!)
It is planned to bring another handicraft expert to Kili as soon as possible to re-stimulate this excellent source of income.

The manufacture of large quantities of "jekma" for export was instituted in March of this year and has proved successful. Manufacture of coconut semim in large quantities for export was also started in April. Both of these commodities had been made previously but only in small quantities for local use. Copra production has also increased considerably and should increase progressively as more efficient methods of agriculture and conservation are practiced and a regular market is assured.

The village store which possessed zero assets and $673.73 liabilities (MINOC debt) has been built up so that today the debt has been almost completely liquidated (balance of $186.6; which will be paid off in full this week upon arrival of the field trip ship). Total current assets: $3,002.89. Cash on hand: $100.00. Stock, handicraft and copra: $902.00. Value of building and fixtures: Not estimated and not included in the financial statement.

"Ekke" (Coconut husk fiber sennit)

The village store pays the producer 2¢ per "kne" (the local unit of measurement equaling one fathom or two yards). (100 "kne" or 200 yards make one "tita" or coil.) The producer sells his "ekke" by the "tita." This is standard throughout the Marshalls. It takes one man about three days of steady work to make one "tita." Rope making is exclusively men's work.

Process: The coconut husks ("bwe") are soaked in the brackish water ponds on Kili (usually in the lagoon elsewhere in the Marshalls) for one month to rot them. The process of preparation may be speeded up by boiling the material for one day instead. This is preferable because the fibers will not have an unpleasant odor. The fibrous material is then pounded with a short club to soften it and then sunned for one day. The operator then separates the fibers into small hanks and rolls these on his thigh, twisting the many hanks into the finished length of sennit. This sennit is very strong and durable and is in demand for sailing canoe rigging, household uses, and rope used for climbing breadfruit to harvest same ("to in känkäm").

About 10,000 "kne" (20,000 yards) of sennit have been made since last March ($200.00 worth of which $99.00 worth has been sold at Ebon). An unlimited amount has been requested by Ebon.

"Jekma" (Coconut syrup)

An average of four quarts are currently made daily. Previous production (May-August) was twelve quarts daily. Production decreased markedly but has lately increased slightly over the low period. Milne expects to up the production to twenty quarts this month.
Six bottles (1 pt, 12 fl. oz., ginger ale bottles) of coconut sap ("jekru") boil down to one bottle of "jekmai" of the same size. A ratio of three to one will last six months at the longest. A six-to-one ratio will last up to two years. Kili uses the six-to-one ratio. The fresh coconut sap (drawn from the bud) is boiled for from five to ten hours, depending upon the quantity, to produce the heavy syrup. The producer receives 7¢ per bottle (1 pt, 12 fl. oz.) of the "jekru" brought into the "jekmai" factory each morning. A storekeeper is on hand to note the amount of "jekru" brought in by each person, who is paid off later. 950 bottles of different sizes of "jekmai" have been manufactured since March 1954. Total value: $460.00 of which $355.00 worth has been sold to date (consumer prices).

Handicraft

1. Hats: Made mostly of pandanus fiber. A few are made from coconut leaf fibers. It allegedly takes one woman about three days of steady work to make one pandanus hat. The preparation of the materials for many hats takes one week.

The producer receives 65¢ per hat which sells wholesale for 75¢ at the Navy Exchange on Kwajalein. This is standard for hats throughout the Marshalls, as is the standard retail price of $1.00. These prices were set by I.T.C.

It allegedly takes one woman two weeks to make one coconut fiber hat, purchased from the manufacturer for $2.75 each and sold to the wholesaler (Navy Exchange) for $3.00. The retail price is $3.75. The village store has sold 40 pandanus and ten coconut fiber hats to the Navy Exchange.

Total monies received from hat sales to the Navy Exchange: $42.00. The Exchange wants only pandanus hats in the future and has ordered 200 of these.

2. Handbags, square, white:

(a) 4x4" (no cover): $1.25 to producer, $1.50 to wholesaler, $1.75 Navy Exchange price to consumer. It allegedly takes one woman four days to make one.

(b) 5x5" (with cover): It allegedly takes one woman six days of work to complete one. Prices: $2.65 to the producer, $3.00 to wholesaler. Have not sold to retailer; do not know the Navy Exchange mark-up.

(c) 6x6" (with cover): It is said to take one woman 10 days of steady work to complete one. Price to producer $3.50, to wholesaler $4.00, to consumer $6.00. (Very popular and in demand by Navy Exchange and Americans at Majuro.)
(d) 8x8" (with cover) pandanus fiber. It allegedly takes one woman three days of steady work to complete one. Price to producer: $1.50, to wholesaler: $1.75, to consumer: $2.00.

Total handbag sales to Navy Exchange to date: ten bags of different sizes for a total of $30.00. The Exchange has ordered 50 6x6 bags, total price: $200.00. Sales to Majuro: six bags (6x6) for a total of $24.00. Individual Americans at Majuro have ordered 16 5x5 bags at $3.00, or a total of $48.00, and 20 5x6 bags at $4.00, or a total of $80.00. Mr. Hank Jubinville has ordered 50 6x6 bags at a total of $200.00.

None of the above orders will be ready for shipment this trip.

Table place mats

Pandanus fiber, medium weave (1/8"). A set consists of six place mats (about 8x12") and one center piece (about 8x16"). Price paid to producer: $1.75, to wholesaler: $2.00, consumer price: do not know what price the Navy Exchange has set. Have sold three sets to Navy Exchange at $2.00 per set; total $6.00. The Exchange has ordered 50 more sets. Total to store: $100.00. None of these have been completed as yet.

Wooden bowls ("jake")

1. Bowls, round, 10" diameter, made from "kiri" (Messer-schmidtia argenta), a wood of medium hardness but insect proof. It takes one man three days of steady work to carve one. Price to producer: not decided yet, to wholesaler (Navy Exchange): $4.00, to consumer: not known.

2. Bowl, round ("kiri"), 12" in diameter. Price to producer: not decided, to wholesaler: $4.50, to consumer: not known.

3. Bowl, long, Marshallese original artifact pattern. Made of "kino" (Cordia subcordata). This is a hard wood also insect proof. It takes a man about two and one half weeks to make one of these bowls. Price paid producer: $5.00, to wholesaler: $6.00, to consumer: not known yet.

4. Bowl, Marshallese original artifact pattern. Made from "kufi" (a hard wood, iron wood). It takes one week to carve one of these. Producer price: "not clear," perhaps $10.00, wholesaler price: $15.00, consumer price: $20.00. (One was taken on consignment by the Navy Exchange. The Exchange officer felt that the asking price was too high.)

Fine, decorated mats ("norir")

About 3 x 3½. Price to producer: not clear, to wholesaler: $5.00 each, to consumer: not known yet. Two of these have been sold to the Navy Exchange, total: $10.00. These are extremely attractive and may be used for table coverings or wall hangings. They are patterned after the mats worn as clothing in aboriginal times.
The Navy Exchange has ordered ten of these. Total: $50.00. The Americans at Majuro have ordered six. Total: $30.00.

Total copra sales since February 1954: $3,121.05.

Thursday, September 9, 1954

A.M.

Regular routine activities were carried on. The "kuni in bwél" continued clearing and weeding in the taro patch. Five coconut palms and one poorly located breadfruit tree were cleared away from close to houses in Jitojin Bukwon to make room for future plantings of breadfruit and banana plants, as well as for safety reasons. Continued clearing brush and making copra on the various "jikin jerbal."

P.M.

The activities of the morning continued. "Jar in kéra" (women's church services) were held from 4:00 p.m. to 6:00 p.m. as per every Thursday. Attended by most of the women, all of whom may attend if they desire to do so. General confessions are heard at this meeting, also singing of hymns, prayers and church business are carried on at this time.

The wife of the minister leads the services as customary throughout the Marshalls.

One small seabird was caught by a young boy for the evening meal.

At 7:00 p.m. Jibaj and Laijo called at the house. A general "bull session" ensued with discussion of Kili agriculture and economy among other items. At 8:30 Milne went out to show Kilon how to go about the last stage of manufacture of charcoal (from coconut shells) using an empty kerosene drum instead of the regular ground oven method. The former method produces larger and harder charcoal and in larger quantity.

At 9:00 the Kili women gave another "kumaló." A hilarious time was had by all. The party lasted until 11:30 p.m. These affairs follow a stylized pattern throughout the Marshalls in regard to the sequence of events, speeches given by the leader of the group at the beginning and end, initial procession of women bearing gifts (coconuts and other food-stuffs, and usually handicraft, although handicraft was not given during this visit). These articles are deposited before the honored guests who sit facing the women and/or men who are taking part in the "kumaló." After the opening speech and expected responses, one or two "kumaló" songs are sung and then some of the women approach the guests, singly, and place leis around their necks and on their heads, accompanied by singing from the group. More songs follow: the guests are subtly asked to entertain
the group in return, by singing. More songs follow from the group; then comes the concluding patterned speech by the leader of the group and the "kumalo" is over. The island people have welcomed and honored their visitors.

The Kili women vary from the general pattern in the "daring" custom of having two girls approach the male guest, place his arms around them and theirs about him and "walk him" down the length of the village and back. This is accompanied by much hilarity and joking. All of the young girls and children troop after the principals, singing loudly (and shrilly) and joking. This "uablele" as it is called (walking with arms around one another) is done very rarely. In fact, this is the first time the writer has seen this in over four years of traveling around the Marshall Islands.

Present Attitudes of the Kili People

The people are optimistic in the main. "The island will be better after the food trees and plants start bearing regularly" is the oft-heard consensus of opinion. A better, regular, and more ample food supply, both local and imported, is the prime criteria of successful adjustment to Kili Island on the part of its present inhabitants.

Acquisition of additional lands to care for the needs of the expanding population is a natural corollary of the prime criterion and has been so expressed by many of the leaders.

The crucial period will be from November to April of the current and coming year. The value of the taro project will prove itself at this time.

Recommendations:

The project should be extended for at least three more years with Milne gradually stepping out of the picture. The Kili people, untrained as they are in business methods and agricultural techniques of a different environment, will not be able to handle the situation successfully themselves for at least three more years.

If enough food becomes available with a regular market for local products and frequent contact with Jaluit and other atolls, the people will probably accept the idea of remaining on Kili and become adjusted to the island. As the older people die off, the situation should improve. The younger people are becoming used to Kili. (Indeed for many of them it is the only home they know.)

The "iroij" question on Kili should be settled as soon as possible. It is true that Joimata's heir has rights in Bikini (but not over displaced people according to established Marshallese custom, e.g. the Wotje "iroij" have never claimed rights over the Bikini people, whose
ancestors left Wotje several generations ago).

None of these Relik "iroij"—neither Jeimata, nor LojolóH, nor Loibwíj—have helped the Kili people. LojolóH made a belated attempt to "jump on the band wagon" last winter when he offered the use of his schooner to Himé to haul taro to Kili. He obviously wants to reap some of the anticipated benefits of the Kili Project and establish himself as "iroij" on Kili.

It should be emphasized again that the Kili people strongly dislike the idea of any "iroij" over them, especially LojolóH. If an "iroij" is recognized by the government and forced upon the Kili people, intense disillusionment, bitterness, and discontent are bound to ensue with unfavorable repercussions to the administering authority. A cash settlement for his rights in Bikini should in all fairness be made with Jeimata's heir.

See the writer's study The Bikini People Past and Present, October 1953 (mimeo), especially pp. 16-26 incl., for a detailed analysis of this situation, the implications and potentialities of which are of serious import in the Kili situation and the success or failure of the ex-Bikini people in their adjustment to Kili.

Friday, September 10, 1954

A.M.

At 7:00 a.m. the regular daily routine activities commenced. The limited food stock in the village store has been exhausted since last Saturday except for one 50-pound bag of flour which is being saved for a wedding party this Saturday.

The people have been anxiously awaiting the arrival of the field trip ship which will purchase their copra and off-load food supplies and other much-needed merchandise.

At 9:00 a.m. Jibëj came to the house to report that "the people are hungry and have nothing to eat: conditions are bad now but will be good after the taro and other food plants are ready to be harvested."

It is true that there is very little food on the island now. A few families have a little food but most of them are subsisting largely on coconut meat.

Jibëj also complained that the trees on his land have very few ripe nuts; they have all been used up. The reason for this is that his trees, which are among the best on the island, were used by all of the Kili people during the last loan period. This was before the lands were
allocated. Consequently his present crop of coconuts is less. This is also true of the two adjoining land parcels. However, a large crop will be ready within three months.

This whole section of the island was planted with select seedlings in 1935 by Masuda, a Japanese agriculturist employed by the Nippon Boeki Kaisha which operated Kili as a commercial copra plantation. The trees on this section were planted in regular rows with equal and ample space between each tree. Seedlings for the Jaluit Project may be obtained from this section.

The clearing of brush in the coconut lands was not started this a.m. because of rain. However, activities in the taro patch and clearing fallen trees (felled yesterday) from the housing area continued. Milne cooked a stew ("jokob") consisting of two broadfruit and six papayas for the midday meal of the "kumi in bul" (8 men).

P.M.

All outside work was discontinued due to a steady and heavy downpour of rain. Some of the young men played soft ball later in the afternoon when the weather cleared up.

Last night's charcoal burning, using the introduced technique, was successful. The anticipated approximately 50 pounds of high-quality charcoal was produced. This will be bagged for export to Ebeye and other islands.

Half a dozen small fish, one large sea bird, and twenty coconut crabs were obtained by various men this afternoon for the evening meal. Efforts are made almost every day to obtain food of this type, from land and sea. The girls and women go out to gather vegetable products such as fallen sprouted coconuts ("in"), etc., as do the boys and men.

Five men set out at 7:00 p.m. to fish off the island in canoes. They returned at midnight with a catch of 100 fish ("kankun" and "meroj"). Average each: 6" in length.

A heavy downpour of rain continued all night.

Saturday, September 11, 1954

A.M.

The rain continued until 8:00 a.m. This slowed down activities considerably. Normal routine activities commenced at that time following the daily family prayer services which lasted the usual half hour.
Saturdays are principally spent in gathering and preparing food for Sunday, the day of rest. Fish, shell fish, land crabs and vegetable products are gathered. These activities were carried on this Saturday as usual in addition to "jekmai" making and other tasks.

Fallen breadfruit leaves and other trash was carried away from some of the house yards by women and small boys, and beach pebbles were brought from the shore to scatter around the house yards. (Kili village is very clean, neat, and well kept up. It is much neater and sanitary conditions are better than in many places in the Marshall Islands.)

The "kumi in bwæl" continued their activities in the taro patch and were allotted a ration of rice for their noon meal.

Milne directed another group of four men in felling excess coconut trees. Four trees were cleared away from close to houses and other trees.

Three men line fished from their canoes all afternoon. The total catch was only five small fish.

The wedding of Kajimwean and Kati which had been planned for this Saturday afternoon was postponed until after the arrival of the field trip ship from which food for the wedding celebration may be purchased.

Two men line fished from their canoes from 7 to 9 p.m. Total catch was only ten small fish (five apiece).

Sunday, September 12, 1954

A.M.

Regular Sabbath routine: no work, no play, no games or sports, no reading of anything except the Bible and hymnal. Eat, sleep and rest; attend church services morning and afternoon. Some of the younger people strolled around the vicinity of the village between the church services.

Several of the men and young boys came to the house early in the evening for a "bull session." Many topics were discussed. Jojob told a couple of Marshallese "bwebwenato" (stories) involving the Marshallese Trickster, Etac. The main topic of conversation was sharks in the Marshalls and the people who have been injured or killed by them. The number of these incidents has been quite numerous. To date, no one has been attacked by sharks off Kili, although many have been seen, particularly about one half mile off the western tip of the island. A few of these have been caught and eaten. The discussion broke up at 9:00 p.m.
Monday, September 13, 1954

Regular morning routine. Some of the men started making copra on their lands at 6:00 a.m.

Council held a meeting from 8:35 to 8:55, seated on the pebbles in front of a copra drier in "Jitakin buk line."

Milne has been attempting to educate the Kili people in the principles of nutrition as applicable to the local situation. He has been stressing the superiority of local foods to rice, flour and other imported foods. He has laid particular emphasis on the high food value in "kotak."

Any posters or literature such as the Education Department uses would be useful in this campaign. The picture posters issued by a British colonial agency which arrived in Majuro over a year ago should be of particular value here.

Overt opposition to Milne flared up this morning when Laibo, a Kwajalein Atoll (Ebeye) man who had married Laijo's daughter and followed her to Kili, told Laijo that he would not work in the taro patch when his turn came up (The groups rotate every two weeks,) unless he could go to Kusaie again on any future taro lift. He had previously told Milne that unless the profits from the village store were shared with the Kili people who are living on Ebeye, he and his wife would leave Kili. (Milne had informed him upon being questioned that the profits from the store belong to the people who are living and working on Kili only.)

Milne will tell Juda that as far as he is concerned, Laibo can carry out his threat and leave, if he wants to. According to Milne, Laibo is not a good or dependable worker anyhow and is often a shirker. (The writer has observed Laibo idling on several occasions when the other men were working.) A personality conflict between Milne and Laibo is evident here. Laibo was previously prevented by Milne from having the village store pay for a personal debt of $300.00 which Laibo, another Kwajalein man married into the Kili group, and four Kili men had incurred with Robert Reimers. Relationships between the two men have been somewhat strained since that time.

This is the second incidence of overt opposition to Milne and the project. The first occurred shortly after Milne arrived on Kili. Bero, a young Kili man who had been loafing on Ebeye, volunteered to come to Kili with Milne "to help the Kili people." He had not been on Kili a week before he commenced a campaign against Milne; agitating for payment by the government (through Milne) to all of the Kili people who were working under Milne's direction, for their labor in clearing the taro patch and copra lands, etc.
Milne successfully discredited Bero's attempts by appealing to the common sense of the Kili people (working through their leaders).

The agitator soon gave up and left the island for Ebeye from whence he recently moved down to Ejij Island on Majuro where he has been living from the bounty of the Ralailap people to whom he is related. Bero had been previously employed by MIECO for a short period and was discharged because of general undependability and laziness.

It may be seen that Milne's job on Kili is not a sinecure. He will have to continue his efforts to sustain cooperation and interest until the anticipated state of economic self-sufficiency and well being of the Kili people becomes a reality.

The rough surf conditions of yesterday increased progressively.

The ship to shore operations would have been possible on Sunday or on Monday morning, although difficult. However, by Monday noon the surf conditions were so unfavorable that loading and off-loading operations would have been impossible. Huge breakers crashed far up above the normal high water mark on the beach. The surf conditions up to Sunday had been quite favorable.

Tuesday, September 14, 1954
A.M.

Regular routine activities commenced. The surf conditions were unfavorable although calmer than yesterday evening.

Three coconut trees were cleared from the living area by one "kumi."

Today was a "ran in Klen" (day of labor for the community). One "kumi" which included the school teachers repaired the roof of the school-council house. This had been decided by the Council on the previous evening.

P.M.

The activities of the morning continued. The surf conditions continued to be unfavorable and unusually high tides continued in the late afternoon and evening.

Wednesday, September 15, 1954
A.M.

Routine activities carried on. The rough surf conditions abated in the early morning.
Routine Wednesday afternoon activities. The Wednesday church meeting held as usual.

The diet lately has consisted mainly of ripe, green, and sprouted coconuts, supplemented with a few coconut crabs and a small amount of flour which some of the families have been hoarding.

It had been impossible to fish from Sunday on and the ocean is still too rough for profitable pescatorial pursuits.

A labor-management problem came to the fore yesterday when some of the men who have been working in the taro pit made a bid for payment by the village store for their work; just as the storekeeper and the three people who make the "jekmai" are paid.

Milne explained to them that the latter three people work steadily all day, every day except Sunday, and the storekeeper working most of every day in the "taro patch" and other places, while the taro patch workers rotate every two weeks. Milne went on to point out that the village store could not pay additional salaries without losing the capital needed to finance the purchase of local products and imported goods. He also reminded them that the work they were doing was for their benefit inasmuch as they and their families would eat the taro and would ultimately be assigned a portion of the taro patch to work as their own.

The would-be salaried agriculturists stated that they would hold a meeting and discuss the matter further. This was done last night and the decision to continue working as before was announced to Milne this morning.

This incident demonstrates the lack of perspective and foresight that some of those individuals have. In line with this, Magistrate Juda, Scribe Jasua and Policeman Jibaj all want to be paid from the accumulated capital of the village store. Salaries are $15.00, $10.00, and $7.00 per month respectively, retroactive two years. (The municipal budget is $471.00 per annum.)

The island owes school teacher Bim$n $100.00 and also former school teacher Mera, the Council's share of the partially subsidized salary, for two years. Bim$n has not been paid a cent from municipal funds in all that time, due to shortage of cash on Kili. (This disregard of the schoolteachers' just monetary claims is found on most of the other islands in the Marshalls.)

"Watchgod of the treasury" Milne is currently trying to persuade the officials to allow the store capital to accumulate until a healthy balance has been reached. He has suggested that the local head taxes be collected now that some cash is coming in and that these monies be used to
pay the municipal officials' salaries as other municipalities do.

In the opinion of the writer, the very small amount of time spent on official duties by these individuals on the small island of Kili scarcely justifies any salary whatsoever. In fact, the idea is rather ridiculous in this particular situation. Jibb and Juda are the traditional leaders of this small, closely-interrelated group and would be "officials" even if the imported institutions of magistrate and policeman did not exist. However, the psychological factor probably enters the picture here. These men may feel that if all other municipal officials are paid salaries, they too should be paid.

It is easy to see that if Milne were not around to act as financial advisor and "chancellor of the exchequer" there would be a "run on the bank" with a subsequent evaporation of working capital and probable collapse of the import-export agency (village store) which Milne has worked so hard to make solvent.

Further education in business methods, especially handling of capital assets, is clearly indicated here. The business training program of local youths by KITCO which was instituted by Milne should be of great value to Kili in the future in this sphere.

Thursday, September 16, 1954

A.M.

Regular morning activities carried on. Both "kumi"(s), a total of twelve men, combined efforts to work in the taro patch.

P.M.

The morning activities continued. The women's Thursday afternoon church meeting was held as usual.

Friday, September 17, 1954

A.M.

Routine activities were carried on. The lights of a large ship were sighted by many of the Kili people last night. The ship lay to off the island from about 10 p.m. until 1:00 a.m. when it sailed away. It was thought to have been the field trip ship. Everyone hoped that it would return later in the morning with the much needed food stuffs to supplement the present diet which consists of coconut tree products very slightly augmented with limited amounts of coconut crabs, reef crabs, sea birds, and bananas and breadfruit when available.
P.M.

The activities of the morning continued. Eight men (most of two "kumi") continued working in the taro patch. Four pandanus and seven coconut trees were cleared out of the "bwaal." Seven coconut and three pandanus trees which are scattered throughout the "bwaal" will be left for shade purposes.

Approximately four acres of taro lands are now cleared. Another four acres will be cleared and planted in the near future.

All of the plantings brought from Kusaie are thriving except, unfortunately, the breadfruit. They have not taken hold the way they should have, despite a good start. The final outcome will be apparent within one or two weeks. If it is shown that Kusaie breadfruit cannot be successfully transplanted to Kili, future plantings will have to come from either Arno, Namrik, Ebon or Jaluit. There is a profusion of stock on Arno especially. The seedless varieties—"kwanjin," "makinono," and "betaktuk"—are common on Arno. Only the latter variety is found on Kili. The seedless variety is particularly useful because of its adaptability to methods of preservation (against the period when breadfruit is not in season).

An informal discussion was held in the evening (Magistrate Juda, Scribe Jajua, Policeman Jib6j, Milne, and the writer). Juda announced that they had decided to cut their salaries in half and to be paid out of tax monies which will be collected in the future.

A "kumi" of the women entertained the writer and Milne with a "kumalo" which lasted from 8:30 to 10:15 p.m.

Saturday, September 18, 194

A.M.

Routine activities carried on but were interrupted at 11:00 by excited cries of "jail o!" (sail ho!) heralding the arrival of the eagerly awaited field trip ship.

The surf was too rough to allow transportation of the 2½ tons of bagged copra from the shore to the ship; however, the much needed imported foods were landed ashore safely.

Unfortunately the cash on hand in the village store was not sufficient to purchase the amount of food desired.

Arrangements will be made to attempt a copra lift on the special field trip which will leave Majuro in about two weeks.
The following items of local produce were sold to the MIECO supercargo:

- Hats, pandanui, @ $1.00: total $54.00
- "Jekmai", 10 gals @ $3.50: total $35.00

Merchandise to the value of $167.18 was off-loaded. This consisted of:

- rice -- 700 pounds
- laundry soap -- 90 bars
- toilet soap -- 144 bars
- boiled, canned sardines -- 96 cans
- cigarettes -- 10 cartons

Lojolapa, oldest son of the late Jeimata, "iroij lablab" (paramount chief) of Bikini, landed ashore from the field trip ship. He was greeted with marked coldness by practically everyone of the Kili people to whom he spoke. In fact, he was almost ignored. He is obviously "persona non grata" on Kili. This is the first time he has been on Kili since the Japanese times and he was obviously here for a reason.

The field trip party completed their work ashore. Field Trip Officer Boyd Mackenzie, newly appointed District Agriculturist and Jaluit Development Project Officer, was escorted around the island and given a briefing on the situation by the writer.

Upon completion of all business--administrative, medical, and commercial--the ship departed Kili at 4:00 p.m., September 18, 1954.
KILI STORE

STATEMENT OF CONDITION

December, 1953 --

No Assets (Bldg Only)*

Kili Indebtedness to MIECO, Dec. 1953
(*Operation began with 12 machetes from Kili Project Fund.)

EXPORTS -- February, 1954

"Jekama" -- (#1 Bottle) 300 bottles @ 60¢ $180.00
( #2 Bottle) 300 bottles @ 35¢ 105.00
( #3 Bottle) 350 bottles @ 20¢ 70.00

Total Jekama Sales $355.00

Ekkwol (coconut rope) -- (Total) 88.60

Handicraft Sales ------ (Total) 99.70

Copra: To Robert Reimers
Net wt, 45,900 lbs @ 6¢ $2754.00

To KITCO
Net wt, 7,341 lbs @ 5¢ 367.05

Total Copra Sales $3121.05

TOTAL SALES $3664.35

IMPORTS

Purchases:

Merchandise -- from Majuro $461.88

" -- from Kwajalein 607.28

" -- from Outside Marshalls* (U.S. and Kusale) 505.64

TOTAL PURCHASES $1574.80 *

(*Mark-up on Merchandise (10%) = $157.48.)
FEB. -- AUG., 1954

Cash Business Conducted, Feb. - Aug., 1954 $3821.83
Copra Purchases (@ 3¢ per lb) 1597.23
Balance $2224.60

EXPENSES

Charter of Reimers' boats 700.95
Other boat charter costs 7.34
Food for Kili lumber salvage party 17.20
on Ebeye
Indebtedness to MIECO 287.06
Paid to Juda (Expenses while attending
Congress) 100.00
Food for taro patch workers 79.06

Total Expenses $1221.71

NET BALANCE ON HAND $1002.89

PROOF OF NET BALANCE

Cash on Hand $100.15
Merchandise on Hand 902.74
Total on Hand $1002.89

Debt to MIECO of $186.67 will be liquidated when the field trip arrives.

Statement submitted by:

James Milne
Kili Project Manager
September 6, 1954

NOTE: The store has started to support a young man who was sent to Ebeye in Sept., to take on-the-job training in business methods with KITCO, for 3 months. He will work without pay and will be furnished with $15.00 per month and any extra money needed by the Kili Village Store. This youth will return to Kili in November and work in the store and also teach the other Kili people the business technique which he learned at Ebeye. Other youths will be continually sent to Ebeye to train with KITCO, in succession.
All lands exclusive of the village area proper and the taro patch area were divided by the leaders of the ex-Bikini people (Juda, Jiblin, and the "alabs") in May of 1958. The taro patch area is community property now, as was the whole island previously, and will be divided like the copra lands were after it has been completely cleared, planted, and is in full production.

Jitakin Bukwon (The northeast division of the island)

Family No. 1 (Land parcel "jikin jerbal" No. 1)

"alab" (leader)
1. Juda 11. Trumén
2. Rubin 12. Maita
3. Antibas 13. Luckly
5. Tömaki 15. Raisel
7. Jum 17. Lijma
21. Rina
22. Bikitik
23. Bosilla
24. Salome
25. Raslie
26. Dain
27. Lisa

Family No. 2 ("jikin jerbal" No. 2)

Juda, "alab" of the older or senior lineage ("buin irreto"), is in charge of this group.

"alab"
1. Killon 5. Linry
2. Boas 6. Naruko
4. Jebakra 8. Rosny
9. Lijman
10. Lanjo
11. Ermên
15. Mainis
16. Netko
17. Maie

Family No. 3

Juda in charge.

"alab"
1. Jokdrn 7. Lokurie
2. Antab 8. Kissco
4. Netan 10. Takia
5. Essa 11. Jokorwa
6. Jiin 12. Iaiio
13. Neimós
| Family No. 4 | "alab" | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | }
Iolab Bukwon (The middle section of the island)

**Family No. 9** Jiboj, "alab" of the middle lineage ("bwij iolab") of the three senior lineages of Bikini, is in charge of this group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;alab&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;dri jerbal&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Andru</td>
<td>5. Walter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jambo</td>
<td>6. Mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Takio</td>
<td>8. Edwin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Amirike</td>
<td>9. Jia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Keleb</td>
<td>10. Elizabeth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Piter</td>
<td>11. James</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Family No. 10** Jonsen, "alab" of the "dri Namu" clan ("jowi") on Kili (one "bwij" only), is in charge of this group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;alab&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;dri jerbal&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Livitikos</td>
<td>5. Walter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Jermaia</td>
<td>6. Mark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Pilib</td>
<td>8. Edwin</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Family No. 11** Jiboj in charge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;alab&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;dri jerbal&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Joel</td>
<td>8. Tibko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Bero</td>
<td>9. Enji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Panco</td>
<td>11. Ruth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bobori</td>
<td>12. Elwene</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Family No. 12** Juda in charge.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;alab&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;dri jerbal&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Ensen</td>
<td>7. Erbet</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Devit</td>
<td>8. Tosiro</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ajirik</td>
<td>10. Eita</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| | 11. Atne |
| | 12. Emly |
| | 13. Eiti |
| | 14. Ketii |
| | 15. Anako |
### Family No. 13

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;alab&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;dri jerbal&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;aIao&quot;</th>
<th>Juda in charge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Assi</td>
<td>11. K6nawi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Jain</td>
<td>12. Torkeka</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13. Rose</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Jitoi Bokwon (Northwestern division of the island)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family No. 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;alab&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;dri jerbal&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;aIao&quot;</th>
<th>Juda in charge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5. Elb6n</td>
<td>11. Rose</td>
<td>18. Jim6n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Family No. 15

Jokdru, "alab" of the Makaulej clan ("jowi") on Kili, is in charge of this group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>&quot;alab&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;dri jerbal&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;aIao&quot;</th>
<th>Juda in charge</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

The "Alabs" on Bikini Atoll before the People Were Moved Away

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of &quot;alab&quot;</th>
<th>Name of Clan (&quot;jowi&quot;)</th>
<th>Name of &quot;alab&quot;</th>
<th>Name of Clan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. La7liji</td>
<td>I96rik</td>
<td>5. Lasurilik</td>
<td>Makaulej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. L6ibth</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>6. Rio</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Lahiinalijet</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>7. Lesito</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Laliir</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>8. Kahu</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>9. Lauram</td>
<td>Rinamu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These "alab"(s) were under the authority of LesaMa6i, the local "iroij" of Bikini from pre-German times to 1933. He was succeeded by Lahiimalijet (No. 3 above), Lokiar, and Juda, in that order of succession.

Informant: Juda Kili Island 9/10/54