SPECIAL FIELD STUDY

UJILĀN ATOLL

2/17/55 - 3/29/55

Jack Tobin
District Anthropologist
Marshall Islands District
Trust Territory of the
Pacific Islands

Majuro
4/15/55
INDEX -

I - Letter of transmittal .......................... 1 - 9

II - Factual Background Information ............. 1 - 11

III - Ujilang Journal ............................. 1 - 51
     Glossary ...................................... 52 - 55
     Bibliography .................................. 56
     Meteorological Tables .........................
       Ujelang
       Jaluit

     Map of Ujelang Atoll ........................

     Map of the Marshall Islands ..................
Mr. Delmas H. Nucker
Deputy High Commissioner
Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands
Guam, M. I.

Through: District Administrator, Marshall Islands District

Dear Mr. Nucker:

A special field study was made on Ujila‘i Atoll, the present location of the displaced Enewetak inhabitants. The period from 2/17/55 to 3/29/55 inclusive, a total of 42 days was spent on the atoll.

The District Anthropologist was accompanied, as he had requested, by the Assistant Agriculturist, Dr. Izikiel Laukon.

Purpose of the Field Study

A. Anthropologist

1. To obtain all of the facts of the situation which now exists on Ujila‘i with particular reference to the local economy and the way in which the Ujila‘i people are meeting the demands of life and adjusting to their new home.

2. To ascertain the basic needs of the Ujila‘i people, both those voiced by them and those observed by the writer.

3. To formulate recommendations based on the above information and to submit both the recommendations and the facts, background information and analyses upon which these recommendations are based, to the responsible authorities in order that appropriate action may be taken.

B. Assistant Agriculturist

1. To make a complete agricultural survey of the atoll.

2. To show the local people how to select the best palm trees for seed nuts.

3. To demonstrate and explain the new and improved methods of coconut planting and maintenance of the groves.
4. To demonstrate and explain the techniques of a coconut seedling nursery.

5. To meet with the atoll leaders and people to discuss improved methods of agriculture, including soil conservation; with particular emphasis on coconut culture.

6. To ascertain the agricultural needs of the Ujila people and to make recommendations for the improvement of the agricultural situation.

Work Accomplished

A. Anthropologist

1. Every island of agricultural importance in the atoll was inspected by the two-man Field Party and details of each situation duly noted. The Anthropologist and the Assistant Agriculturist made separate observations which will be found in some detail in the individual reports.

2. The daily round of activities was observed as closely as possible and was noted along with pertinent background material, in a journal covering the entire period of the field study.

It was believed that this technique of presentation would give the administrative officials concerned, a broader and clearer picture of the total situation on Ujila:

Included in the journal are reports of personal interviews and discussions in which opinions and felt needs are voiced by different individuals, as well as analyses and recommendations by the writer concerning various aspects of the situation, as they appeared in the course of the study. These items have been left in context for a more meaningful presentation and to furnish the detailed background for the recommendations which are summarized in the covering letter.

A comparative picture of the problems faced by two displaced Marshallese groups and how they are coping with these problems may be obtained by a review of the writer's two field studies of the ex-Bikini people on Kili Island. (The Bikini People, Past and Present, mimeo., October 1953, and Kili Journal, mimeo., Sept. 21, 1954, where the same method of presentation was employed, partially in the former paper and entirely in the latter.)

B. Assistant Agriculturist

The Assistant Agriculturist accomplished all of the items on his agenda. Details of his work may be found in his separate report.
The writer was greatly impressed by the way this young Marshallese planned and executed his worth-while program. The writer was able to assist him by introducing him into the strange community; arranging transportation for the survey and sponsoring him in general. However, Mr. Laukon handled everything else by himself and quickly fitted into the community, winning the respect and friendship of everyone.

The two "iroj" Magistrates, the Protestant Missionary, the local pastor and everyone else gave him their complete and unreserved cooperation and support once the program got under way. They all appeared to be very much interested in his program. He had a worthwhile program to "sell" something in which they are all interested, namely how to increase their food and cash crop supply, and he knew how to put that program across.

**Recommendations Regarding Mr. Laukon**

This highly intelligent, ambitious and hard working young man is a valuable asset to the District organization and should be afforded every opportunity to improve himself educationally in his chosen field, agriculture, which is the basic economy of the Marshall Islands.

The writer has seen this young man in action in the field, has observed and heard the highly favorable reactions of the Ujilah Community concerning his work, has listened to his ideas and plans, and consequently firmly believes and strongly recommends that Izikel Laukon be placed in complete charge of agricultural development on Ujilah Atoll and sent there as soon as he is ready to commence the full program.

Mr. Laukon, in the opinion of the writer is the only person available who is qualified to handle this necessary project. He and his tentative program have been accepted by the Ujilah Community and he is eager to tackle the problem.

**The Basic Problems on Ujilah Today**

The basic problems on Ujilah today are those involved in making an adequate living.

In essence, the natural resources of the atoll do not now provide a satisfactory standard of living, do not provide an adequate supply of food. The cash income from copra produced is not sufficient to purchase the storable and necessary staple items of diet, nor the other necessities of life which cannot be produced locally.
This unsatisfactory situation coupled with the inadequate logistic support has made it difficult for the displaced Enewetak people to achieve a reasonably satisfactory standard of living and has prevented a completely satisfactory adjustment to Ujila Atoll.

These are the only significant problems and may be easily solved, as will be delineated later.

**The Present Economy and the Economic needs**

The local economy is at little more than the subsistence level and is basically and overwhelmingly an agricultural economy.

The principal source of vegetable food as well as the only source of cash income, is the coconut palm which also furnishes fuel, oil, rope, building materials, weaving materials and other useful and necessary items. This indispensable tree produces a crop of nuts all year round.

The other sources of subsistence of the land area are the breadfruit tree, the pandanus tree, arrowroot and negligible amounts of bananas, papayas and squash.

Although a fair amount of breadfruit and pandanus trees are found on the atoll only the older trees, mostly dating from the German and Japanese regimes produce food. The majority of the trees will require from a minimum of three to a maximum of six years, depending of course upon the present age and type of tree, before they will reach the productive stage. (see Assistant Agriculturist's report for exact data.)

The local agriculture is of the "non-intensive" type in that the painstaking, regular and intensive labor such as is necessary in the cultivation of most garden crops (taro, yams, tapioca, etc.) is not required. The principal agricultural activities consist of clearing brush from around the trees and gathering the fallen coconuts, and other fruits in season. Gathering of coconuts and making copra from the ripe, fallen nuts goes on continuously, of course.

The young trees are mulched and fenced or walled in to protect them from the depredations of the swine, most of which are allowed to roam at will.

**Copra Production Figures**

**Fiscal 1952 (July 1951 - June 1952):**

- Tons (Short) - 85
- Purchase Price - $7,831.67

No Ujila productions figures for Fiscal 1953

**Fiscal 1954 (July 1953 - June 1954)**

- Tons (Short) - 46.5
- Purchase Price - $4,364.53
Picked up on March 27, 1955:

Tons (Short) - 27.8 Purchase Price - $2,503.45

Livestock Count (Taken by the Assistant Agriculturist)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of Pigs:</th>
<th>No. of local chickens:</th>
<th>No. of imported Hamshire chickens:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Males</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>Hens 140</td>
<td>Hens 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Females</strong></td>
<td>59</td>
<td>Roosters 18</td>
<td>Roosters 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>92</td>
<td>Total 158</td>
<td>Total 21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Ducks:**

- Females 5
- Males 1
- **Total** 6

The people appear to have been taking good care of their livestock and practice conservation measures in an effort to increase the numbers of the livestock.

The Possibility of Increasing the Economic Yield:

**Agricultural**

Copa production could be increased considerably with improved methods of agriculture and regular and reliable logistic support to provide access to the market.

Strictly food crop production may also be increased by importation of many varieties of seedlings of the staple crops of pandanus and breadfruit.

Additional agricultural tools are needed to carry on such a program of agricultural improvement successfully.

**Marine Resources**

The marine resources of the lagoon and ocean are exploited as efficiently as possible with the time available and the limited equipment possessed. Additional marine equipment in the way of sailcloth and paint for the 15 sailing canoes; fish hooks and line and net material, all badly needed items, now, will increase the yield of marine products which furnish the necessary protein and will facilitate more efficient exploitation of the marine and agricultural resources of the smaller islands in the atoll.

**Handicraft**

The only items of handicraft produced are those which are used locally, such as mats, baskets, etc. "Numma/, the type of pandanus which produces the pliable and durable leaves required
for quality handicraft is totally absent from the atoll. The handicraft produced from the supply of wild pandanus available on the atoll ("erwan") does not meet the standards for marketable handicraft.

Shells

Negligible amounts of seashells are sold to representatives of MIECO from time to time but the demand is small as is the available supply.

A well organized handicraft program such as that set up by James Hulme on Kili would be desirable as an added source of income.

Recommendations for Administrative Action

The recommendations for administrative action are as obvious as the needs; even to a layman. It is recommended that the following action be taken to help the Ujilah people improve their economy and general situation:

1. Continue the agricultural extension program initiated by Mr. Finkelzauen, with him in complete charge of the operation in the field.

2. Concomitant with the program of education-demonstration, the necessary seedlings and plantings of breadfruit (several varieties), pandanus, also in many varieties both for food and textile materials, betel nuts (such as the select variety found on Kili), bananas and squash. All of the items mentioned above have proven out here. Other plants such as limes, dryland taro, tapioca, pumpkins, soursop, etc., should be experimented with.

The plantings should be brought in during the months which are favorable for planting because of sufficient precipitation.

3. The feasibility of taro pit construction for the raising of wet taro should be investigated. This would provide a reliable source of food if successful.

4. Importation and upgrading of livestock. Turkeys, which thrived on both Enewetak and Ujilah before the war, should be brought in.

5. Make the materials necessary for full exploitation of the agricultural resources available to the Ujilah people. Immediate needs are:

   a. "Rear" carts, - 4 e. Machetes - 50
   b. Axes - 12 f. Pick axes - 10
   c. Hatchets - 50 g. Knives - 50
   d. Spades - 24 (approx 6" long, 1/16" wide for making "jekku" and general utility)

- 6 -
6. Make the materials necessary for full exploitation of marine resources available to the local people. Immediate needs are:

a. Sailcloth - 500 yards (for the 15 sailing canoes; 12 large and 3 smaller)

b. Marine paint - 50 gals (for above canoes; 30 gals. white, 15 gals. black and 5 gals. red. The latter for superstructure and trim.)

c. Fish hooks
   - Large - 10 boxes (100 hooks per box)
   - Medium - 10 boxes (100 hooks per box)
   - Small - 10 boxes (100 hooks per box)

d. Fishline - 8,000 yards

e. Sinkers - 300

f. Net Material for:
   - Thrownets (6) - 12 fathoms each, require 4 balls, No. 6
   - Net material for each net
   - Long drag nets (2 each, 30 x 6 fathoms each), require .30 balls, No. 9 for each net
   - Smaller drag nets (2 each), require 7 balls, No. 9 each

g. Net sinkers - 2,200

7. Insure regular, reliable and adequate logistic support to meet the basic needs of the people of this isolated atoll, to make ample supplies of imported foodstuffs available and to lift the cash crop, copra. This, in addition to an effective program to improve the local agricultural resources, should stimulate the increased production of copra.

The major part of the cost of this program should be borne by the Administration and written off as an investment in the economic rehabilitation of the dispossessed Enewetak People.

A very minimal token payment on a long term basis should be asked and would be desirable for psychological reasons, but it would be unrealistic to force the community to assume the complete expenses involved, indebted as they are at present to MIECO for necessary food shipments received in the past when insufficient copra was on hand to pay for said food. The limited cash available in the community would also make complete assumption of such an indebtedness a hardship.

Recommendations for Improved Logistic Support

The geographical location of Ujila in relation to the sources of supply and markets is extremely unfavorable. Ujila is 410 miles from Kwajalein and 640 miles from Majuro, the District Center. Ujae Atoll, the nearest inhabited Marshallese Atoll, is 250 miles east of Ujila. These vast distances prevent Marshallese craft from sailing to Ujila to lift copra and to supply needed trade goods.
The government field trip support has been unreliable and unsatisfactory. Six months went by recently without a field trip to Ujilali. (See Mr. George Ramos' field trip report, Western Circuit, for details)

This lack of even minimal support has created genuine hardship conditions and has prevented maximal exploitation of the copra potential. Marshallese will not produce copra if they cannot market it. A perfectly logical reaction. Conversely, it has been proven that increased availability to the market stimulates increased copra production.

The Ujilali people are used to and require clothing, soap, kerosene, sugar, rice, flour, matches, fish hooks and line and other necessities and are naturally frustrated and dissatisfied when they cannot obtain them. They cannot understand why these necessities have not been made available to them regularly. As the leaders and others of this group have told the writer, "We do not ask the American Government to give us anything, we just want to have the opportunity to purchase the things we need in order to live." (Certainly not an unreasonable request and attitude.)

It is strongly recommended that careful planning be made to insure at least one field trip every three months to Ujilali to provide the needed logistic support. If the AKL should be absent from the Marshalls District, the Ponape station ship could be utilized to insure a regular and dependable schedule. Ponape Island is closer to Ujilali than Majuro and both Ujilali and Enewetak were in the Ponape District during German and Japanese administrations.

If the above recommendations are followed, plus any possible additional recommendations of value by the agricultural experts on the local and staff levels, it is believed that economic stability can be achieved in the near future. This will obviously enable the Ujilali people to make a more satisfactory adjustment to their new environment.

The problem is not a difficult one as may be seen. The ex-Enewetak people do not yet have the "dole psychology" which has been manifested by the ex-Bikini people now on Kili island. However, if a realistic program of economic rehabilitation is not soon started in place of the few "stop gap" measures of the past and the general disregard of the problem, the Ujilali people may very well lose the attitude of self reliance, initiative and optimism which, on the whole, they now fortunately possess.

This undesirable eventuality can be avoided by practical long range planning for basic economic stability along the lines recommended and implementation as soon as possible.

Compensation for the Loss of Enewetak Atoll

Monetary compensation to the displaced Enewetak people for the loss of their ancestral homeland is long overdue to them, just as it is to the other Marshallese who possessed land rights in Bikini, Kwajalein and Majuro Atolls and which were alienated from them by the United States Government. Such compensation would be rendering long delayed equity and would accelerate the
economic rehabilitation of the Ujila\textsuperscript{1} people, if handled judiciously.

The ex-Enewetak people have been very cooperative with the American Administration in the past. As many of them have told the writer, "We did not give the Navy any trouble when they told us to leave Enewetak. We hated to go but we obeyed. We want to cooperate with the Americans all of the time." How long this attitude of cooperation will continue under the present conditions is a moot question. The confidence and faith which these victims of the Atomic age have had in the administering authority cannot be sustained without more concrete evidence of interest and tangible aid by this Administration.

It is hoped that this report will aid in the formulation of a program to aid the Ujila\textsuperscript{1} people to rehabilitate themselves in their new location.

Sincerely yours,

Jack Tobin
District Anthropologist
Marshall Islands District

cc: Executive Officer, Guam
    Dr. Allan Smith
    Hal Mayo
    I\textsuperscript{a}O, Majuro
    J. B. Mackenzie
II - FACTUAL BACKGROUND INFORMATION

A summary of information pertinent to the total situation under discussion is presented in order to provide the officials concerned with an adequate background to the problem and to enable them to more intelligently analyze and evaluate the report and recommendations contained herein.

Physical Description

Ujela‘ Atoll: (Trans. summary)

"Ujelang or Wuidjlang: Discovered in 1529 by Saavedra. Other places include: Ujilong, Providence, Morning Star, Janes, Kewley Islands, arridifes. It is 120 sea miles southwest of Enewetak (275 sea miles southwest of Ujae). The broader reef is 13 sea miles long (E.W.), 2 1/2 sea miles wide. In 1850 there were still 1,000 inhabitants. It was destroyed in 1870 by a storm and the last 20 inhabitants settled in Djaluit. Investment by plantations through 30 workers, so that 200 tons of copra could be produced. The observation point is 9 degrees 42' N. lat., 161 min. 1.7 E. long. Large channel in the west, east of the island of Einmlapp, has 7 meters of water: ship inlet west of the island. There is a small channel 1 1/2 sea miles northwest of Ujelang island; ......... According to Prager, the lagoons have very many shallows."¹

There are reportedly a total of twenty one islands and islets in the atoll varying in size from small islets which are not used agriculturally but are valuable because of the many bird and turtle eggs which may be gathered on them, to larger islands large and fertile enough to support agricultural activities. The largest of these by far and the "main island" is Ujila‘ island from which the atoll derives its name.

An agricultural survey was made of Ujila‘ Island from October 30, 1954, through November 1, 1954, and the topography was reported as follows: "Ujila‘ island is found in the southeastern end of Ujela‘ Atoll, lying almost due east and west. The island is approximately three miles long and six hundred feet wide, six to eight feet above high tide with no marshy land throughout the entire island. A tidal wave which struck Ujela‘..... has left the surface of the island covered with large coral chunks, in many places to a depth of two feet. The sub-surface is of fine coral and sand with a mixture of humus which has filtered through the coral chunks over a period of years. Below this to a depth of five to six feet is hard packed sand and coral base that is found throughout the rest of the Marshalls.

"The community village is located in the center of the island facing the lagoon. This area is almost void of any foliage, with the exception of some old breadfruit and coconut trees, new plantings of young breadfruit trees, and squash patches. The coconut groves and heavy underbrush start at each end of the village and run to the ends of the island."
The underbrush consists of the many similar-plants found on the other atolls, namely; ipomoea pes-capre, Tournefortia argentea, Scaevola frutescens, Canavalia maritima, Terminala catappa, Morinda citrifolia, and calophyllum inophyllum."2

The total dry land area of Ujilali is 0.67 sq. mi. The area of the lagoon, 25.47 sq. mi.3

The total dry land area of Eniwi, the former home of the Ujilali people, was reported in 1937 to be 2.26 sq. mi. and the total lagoon area, 387.99 sq. mi.4 (Both figures considerably larger than those for Ujilali Atoll.)

Location in Relation to other Atolls in the Marshalls

Ujilali is the most isolated of all the inhabited Marshall atolls or single islands. The atoll is 290 miles from the nearest inhabited atoll, 1,410 miles from the commercial center of Kwajalein (Ebeye Island), and 390 miles away from the District Center of Majuro. The geographical location of Ujilali in relation to the sources of supply is obviously extremely unfavorable. These vast distances prevent Marshallese craft from sailing to Ujilali to lift copra and to supply the needed trade goods.

The Climate

Ujilali, which is situated in the northwestern sector of the Marshall Islands (being the westernmost of the Marshalls), shares the drier climate of this area in contrast to the heavier rainfall, richer soil and the lush vegetation of the southern Marshalls. (See the Meteorological Tables of the Jaluit Station and the Ujilali station in the Appendix.)

Eniwi, the former home of the Ujilali people is also one of the drier atolls. Unfortunately meteorological observations were not available to the writer. However, it is reported that "... Rainfall at Eniwi is lighter than in the Southern Marshalls. Reports indicate an annual average of 60 inches."

Census

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Total Pop.</th>
<th>Absentees</th>
<th>Total Pop. on Ujilali 3/21/55</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ebream</td>
<td>189</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joanej</td>
<td>183</td>
<td></td>
<td>175</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Kusaien missionary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Population Change Since Nov. 1952

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deaths</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ebream</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>1/19/53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebream</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>7/27/53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joanej</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>6/12/53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Births Group</td>
<td>Date</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebream</td>
<td>? 1954</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Joanej</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4/9/52</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>? 1954</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1/7/52</td>
<td>F</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3/8/55</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>? 1953</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>? 1955</td>
<td>M</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Grand total Births - 15
Total deaths - 3

Male Labor Force

The number of male workers on the atoll today - 36
Plus students at Majuro - 6
Plus students at Truk - 1
Visiting at Namu Atoll - 2
Total - 45

Those young men now at school will be available for work during summer vacation and when they return permanently. The men visiting at Namu will return in a few months. Most of the women and many of the younger males assist in the agricultural and fishing activities.

The Village

Ujila' Village is located in the central portion of the narrow ribbonlike main island of the atoll. The two socio-political divisions within the group: Joanej' group (the Enewetak people) - "dri Enewetak and Ebream" group (the Enjebi people - "dri Enjebi" occupy the eastern and western halves of the island respectively ("rear" and "relik"). The coral stone jetty on the lagoon beach marks the reference point of the invisible boundary line which continues through the middle of the church building and to the ocean reef.

The 46 single wall construction wooden buildings with sheet metal or tar paper roofs, are scattered along the length of the village area facing the lagoon road. These buildings were constructed by Navy Sea Bee and Marshallese labor prior to the removal of the Enewetak people to Ujila' Atoll in 1947.

Most of these buildings (which are little more than shacks by American, but not Marshallese criteria) have been torn down and moved to more favorable and desirable sites, primarily to be on separate land parcels. Additional cook-houses, copra storage sheds and the like have been built with part of the original building materials. The majority of these buildings have been well maintained considering the lack of additional building materials.
The church edifice, geographical and social center of the community, is the largest building in the atoll and is in the best condition. It is constructed of sheet metal on a wooden framework, set on a poured cement slab.

The smaller Council House, located across from the church and on the lagoon side, is of the same construction and in good condition, as is the much smaller one room school house to the left rear of the church and on the ocean side of the narrow island.

The copra warehouses and the stores (two buildings), are located adjacent to the jetty and the canoe landing beach. These buildings are of the same construction as the other public buildings and are partitioned off into separate units for each group.

A combination guest house, dispensary and infirmary was completed by the community last October. The neat and attractive looking building is a single wall unpainted wooden construction with a sheet metal roof and is partitioned off into three rooms; with a veranda running the length of the side fronting the lagoon. A smaller porch leads onto the open area ("plaza") facing the church. The materials were obtained from raising the smaller original dispensary and adding them to the schoolteacher’s house which was on the present site.

The village is clean and orderly and is located among the groves of tall coconut palms which date from the early commercial plantation period.

The entire surface of this central area is covered with a heavy layer of coral rocks, part of the debris of a disastrous typhoon and tidal wave which swept over the island in pre-European times.

**Building Count**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dwelling house</td>
<td>- 46</td>
<td>Utility buildings</td>
<td>- 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath House</td>
<td>- 9</td>
<td>Church</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Latrines</td>
<td>- 6</td>
<td>Council house</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cook house</td>
<td>- 11</td>
<td>Retail Store</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copra storehouse</td>
<td>- 16</td>
<td>Dispensary, guest-house, infirmary</td>
<td>- 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Total buildings</td>
<td>- 79</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A few temporary shelters of wood, sheet metal and local materials, in varying combinations, are located at a distance from the village area proper and are used as shelter from the rain and sleeping and cooking purposes, by people who may be making copra or engaged in other agricultural labor and do not wish to return to the village.
A few of these shelters are found on the subsidiary agricultural islands as well.

Public Health and Sanitation

The personal health level from a layman’s viewpoint, appears to be quite satisfactory. Medical treatment given was minimal and of a minor nature, during the course of the field study. (Treatment for ringworm, lacerations, cuts, burns, common colds, etc.)

The living quarters of the writer, separated as they were by only a thin partition and opening directly into the dispensary without benefit of a door, gave the investigator an excellent opportunity to view the operation of the outpatient "clinic".

Lambwe, the capable Health Aid, was assisted by his efficient wife who took complete charge in his absence. He is paid $15.00 per month from the district medical budget.

Certain aspects of the public health and sanitation situation are obviously unsatisfactory however; to wit:

1. Large numbers of house flies.
2. An appreciable number of rats.
3. Dirty and inefficiently utilized cisterns.

Recommendations

The obvious remedies are:

1. Supplying the Health Aid with DDT and spray guns as needed.
2. Supplying the Health Aid with rat traps and poison as needed.
3. Instructing the Health Aid and the "Iroij-Magistrates" and Council to have the cisterns cleaned out and to keep them clean.
   (Two of them were cleaned out by order of the "Iroij-Magistrates" during the field study.)

The Water Supply

Water is obtained on Ujila Island from two man made wells which pierce the water lens. Both furnish potable water although the water from the smaller well is slightly brackish. These wells supply the villagers adequately even during the prolonged dry season. In addition to the two wells in the village area, a small well is located on nearby Raij Island and also furnishes potable water.

In addition to the wells there is a total of nine cement cisterns, one of which is completely inoperative, the majority of the remainder are in various states of efficiency and cleanliness, from fair to very poor.
The maximum use of those cisterns in operation is not now realized because of the deterioration of cistern roofs and especially the leads from the catchment area (roofs of buildings and cistern roofs) to the cisterns. Leakage in the cement inside some of the cisterns is a contributing factor to inefficient operation, as well.

The local authorities should be advised to repair the cisterns to the best of their ability. It should be realized however that the necessary sheet metal, lumber, nails and cement are not available to the local people, who do not have access to the salvage material operation on NOB Kwajalein.

Perhaps governmental assistance can be forthcoming to help them solve this important public health problem.

Empty kerosene drums provide excellent water storage units and would be especially useful on the smaller islands of the atoll where cisterns are non-existent. There are only a few of these drums on the atoll now; additional water catchment units would be useful and welcome. One hundred drums would not be too many.

The atoll is fortunate in the almost complete absence of mosquitoes. Needless to say, possible inadvertent importation of more of these pests should be guarded against.

The sensible and time honored practice of using "the white rocks" of the ocean reef to void bodily wastes is used in preference to either the bushes or the few latrines (which are hardly used). This practice naturally cuts down the incidence of fly borne diseases.

The free roaming pigs, chickens and ducks are efficient scavengers and are a public health asset in this respect.

Dental Health

The Health Aid and the two "Iroj-I-Histrates" reported that many of the local people require intensive dental attention and requested that a dental team be sent to the atoll to remain until the dental needs are taken care of. It would be obviously economically unfeasible for the local people needing such care to go to Majuro and upon completion of the dental treatment, to wait the necessary 3 months or more on Majuro for return transportation.

If the dental requirements are as extensive as alleged and correspondingly as time consuming, holding the field trip ship at Ujilah until completion of said dental work would likewise be expensive.

Formal Education

In addition to "learning by doing", by watching their elders at work and imitating them or being actually instructed in specialized activities by their elders, the formal class room educative process is carried on.
The Elementary School

The government school is taught by a returned graduate of the Marshall Islands Intermediate School at Lajuro. Six grades are taught. The present enrollment is 11, consisting of 5 females and 6 males, ranging in age from 9 to 18.

The curriculum which is standard in the District, consists of arithmetic, English, spelling and a "little Marshallese language instruction." The latter was added by the teacher because he feels that "the students do not know Marshallese very well."

Classes are normally held in the morning, five days a week and are recessed in the summer to allow the teacher to return to MIIS for refresher training. The recess period is variable depending as it does on field trip schedules. The school was closed on Feb. 14 of this year by the "Iroij-Magistrates" "Because there is not enough food and the children are too rainy to study." This of course released the teacher and the older students aid in the food getting activities in general and the copra making activities, which were intensified at that period in anticipation of the arrival of the field trip ship, in particular.

The Elementary School will allegedly reopen after the field trip ship arrives with the required supplies of food.

The 19 year old school teacher, a son of "Iroij" Joanej, is paid a monthly salary of $15.00 from the central copra tax fund disbursed from Majuro.

The Protestant Mission School

A Protestant mission school has been conducted since July, 1953 by an English speaking Kusaiean missionary (Rev. Nelson Sigra). He has been in continuous residence on Ujilai since his arrival but plans to return to Majuro with the coming field trip ship or by mission transportation to attend the bi-enniel Protestant church conference and for possible reassignment.

Rev. Nelson was trained in church work on Kusaie by his father, the present King of Kusaie, and later by Miss Baldwin, an American missionary. He has been active in mission work for the past 25 years.

No formal grades, as such, are taught in the school other than "beginning" and "advanced" education. The present enrollment is 17 composed of 7 males and 10 females who range from 6 to 14 years of age.

The curriculum consists of singing, arithmetic, Bible study, spelling (Marshallese language) and English. Classes are held five mornings each week.

The 24 year old missionary teaches a group of older adults for one hour every Wednesday afternoon. Instruction is given in the Marshallese language in geography, singing, Bible and arithmetic.
In addition to teaching classes, the regular duties of a missionary; leading most of the church services, teaching hymn singing, etc. are carried on by the energetic and cheerful missionary. Some of these pastoral duties are shared with the local minister who was also trained on Rasaie but to a lesser extent than Rev. Nelson.

Rev. Nelson is paid $10.00 monthly from the Protestant Mission Headquarters on Rotowai Island, Majuro Atoll, as is the local pastor, Rev. Enej. The funds are derived from within the district from tithes and contributions of the Marshallese Protestants.

The missionary’s living is provided by the Ujila Community, the different families of which bring him prepared food twice a day; one family from each group provides one of the daily meals.

This outstanding individual commands a great deal of prestige and respect on the atoll.

**Organizational Structure**

1. **Ujila** is a well organized and well integrated community despite the insistence of the two component groups ("dri Enewetak" and "dri Enjebi") on maintaining their own group identities. This ethnocentrism is not completely clear cut however due to the close kinship and economic ties of the whole group.

In their relations with outsiders, whether Americans or Marshallese, members of both groups refer to themselves generally as "Enewetak" people or "Ujila" people depending upon the historical context of the conversation. The same terminology is employed by other Marshallese in reference to the group.

2. The atoll is divided between the two "Iroij" and their respective groups just as Enewetak Atoll was divided between the Enjebi people (Eream's group) who lived on Enjebi Island and smaller adjacent atolls and the Enewetak people (Joanej group) who occupied Enewetak Island and other smaller islands (roughly a 50-50 division).

Both of the "Iroij-Magistrate-Judges" cooperate closely with each other as do their followers and the atoll government is very well run.

3. The offices of magistrate, scribe, judge (and until lately policeman) are duplicated because of the socio-political situation peculiar to Ujila. The two "iroij" Eream and Joanej act as combination magistrates and judges as well as carrying on the functions of hereditary leadership, over their respective groups as they did on Enewetak Atoll before the group was moved off by the U.S. Navy. They automatically assumed the office of magistrate and presumably will continue in office as long as they so desire. These men maintain a tight control on the community and are the ultimate authorities on any matter of importance.
to an extent not found elsewhere in the Marshalls today. The mechanisms of free and open discussion and debate prevail however and the two "iroij" do listen to and accept advice from others, formally and at the regular bi-weekly Council meetings, as well as at special meetings.

Division of Labor

There is no sharp division of labor except between the sexes and even there the line is blurred in certain aspects. The general rule is that the males do the heavier and more arduous work connected with food getting activities; clearing brush, felling trees, husking the ripe nuts, climbing trees for fruit, handling the large sailing canoes, most of the types of fishing, sennet making, canoe making and carpentry and the like.

The women do most of the preparation and cooking of food and care of children (men will lend a hand at times however), helping to cut the meat out of the ripe coconuts for copra making, preparation of weaving materials, the easier forms of fishing on the exposed reefs, and the like. The women may also aid in clearing brush (the easier aspects of this arduous task) or help harvest fruit where climbing is not required.

The ordinary routine tasks involved in looking after a family and home are within the woman's sphere.

The above is not a complete catalogue but an overall description of the division of activities of the community.

This is the general pattern throughout the Marshall Islands.

The two "iroij" perform the same activities as the other men in the community but act, as would be expected, in a general supervisory capacity as well.

The teacher of the Government Elementary School assumes his share of the ordinary responsibilities during the times when school is not in session or is closed.

The Health Aid operates in much the same manner except that he is normally able to spend the major part of his time looking out for his own interests.

Much the same routine is followed by the local Protestant minister.

The only person who devotes all of his time to his specialty is the Kusalan missionary whose small salary is paid from Majuro and whose food is provided by the local people. Even he helps out in work activities occasionally. He does not, of course, possess land on Ujilani.

The General Work Pattern

Mutual cooperation in economic activities is the rule in this
society and is traditional even though land holdings are separate and worked by individual groups.

A cooperative work group "kumi" or "dorul" on a formal basis and with a primarily monetary motivation, has emerged recently and is operating in conjunction with the established cooperative mechanisms. Although possible bases of conflict are latent, with some manifestations having been observed, it is believed that this new type of cooperative work group will prove to benefit the economy of the atoll.

All of the population old enough to carry on work activities of any sort do so. Even the small children perform various tasks such as helping to tend babies, gather food, wash clothes and other tasks which they are capable of handling. Even the very old woman who is said to be over 100 years old assists in preparing pandanus leaves for mats, as well as weaving mats and other articles.

There are 36 able bodied males from the age of 16 upwards present on Ujilah now. The anticipated return of 9 men, 2 of whom are visiting relatives on Namu Atoll, one at school on Truk and the remaining 6 at school in Majuro, will increase the adult male labor force to 45.

Copa Loading Activities

All of the able bodied men in each group work on loading copra and offloading trade goods when the "Field Trip Ships" visit the island. The men are paid 50¢ per day by their respective "iroij" when the latter has cash on hand and are also fed at his expense during the operation.

The younger men perform the heavy work involved while the older men sew up the filled copra bags and perform the other less arduous tasks connected with the operation.

Mechanics of Trade

All copra is purchased by the two "iroij" from members of their respective groups. They also have the monopoly on trade good sales.

This arrangement appears to be satisfactory with everyone involved and is probably only possible because of the patriarchal social structure of the community with its closely knit kinship and economic relationships.

Comparison with the Kili Situation

The situation on Ujilah differs from that of Kili, the location of the ex-Bikini people, in that the salient problems of Ujilah are economic, not socio-political as well as economic. The psychological blocks against acceptance of re-location and adjustment to the new location, which have been observed on Kili, are practically non-existent on Ujilah.
The former Enewetak people are at home in their new environment and know how to utilize its resources because of the fact that Ujilaa is like Enewetak climatically and some of them lived and worked on Ujilaa when the atoll was operated as a copra plantation by the Jaluit Gessellschaft and later by the Nanyo Boeki Kaisha. In fact a few of the present inhabitants are descendants of the group which originally owned the atoll before it was "purchased" from the "Itoij" by German traders, in the usual "gin and trinkets" type of land transfer transaction.

These factors undoubtedly aided in the psychological adjustment of the displaced Enewetak people to their new location. Analogous factors were entirely lacking in the case of the displaced Bikinians.

Ujilaa and "Community Development"

Given the proper support, both logistic and agricultural, the Ujilaa people can carry on the process of successfully adjusting to their new home. Outside leadership and inspiration is not the crucial need here as it is on Kili, nor is it desirable. Technical advice and material support to improve the agricultural yield, to increase the food supply and cash crop (copra) is plainly indicated for Ujilaa in the way of "community development".
Note: In order to avoid any possible embarrassment to the Ujilani people and to protect the anthropologist's sources of information and cooperation for the future, it is requested that this Journal which contains many personal references, be restricted to the use of American personnel concerned with the problem only and not be allowed to fall into Marshallese hands.
The District Anthropologist and the Assistant Agriculturist, Marshalls Islands District, left Majuro at 7:30 A.M. on February 17, 1955 via TALOA for Ujilañ Atoll to conduct a special field study and survey.

A brief stop was made at Ebeye Island, Kwajalein Atoll to deliver the damage claims for the Rodlap and 'utrokk people to the Acting District Administration Representative, for transmittal to U. S. Navy officials.

The flight was resumed following this transaction and a landing was made in the Ujilañ lagoon at noon.

The two man field party and their baggage were transferred to a large canoe which had laboriously maneuvered alongside the aircraft. The operation was somewhat difficult due to the fact that it was necessary to keep the engines of the aircraft running; it being impossible to anchor the aircraft in the particular area of the lagoon.

The field party landed ashore at 11:40 A.M. (Local time). The two "iroj"-magistrates and most of the people were away on other islands engaged in agricultural activities. Most of them, including the two chiefs, Joanej (Johannes) and Ebream (Abraham), returned later in the afternoon.

The rest of the day was spent in renewing old friendships and acquaintanceships and introducing Izikiel Laukon, Assistant Agriculturist, to the community.

Later in the day Mr. Laukon and the writer walked half the length of the island, inspecting the condition of the buildings and the food plants and trees.

The evening was spent conversing on various subjects with some of the local people who had come to the house which had been made available for the use of the Field Party. This house was built by the community as a combination guesthouse and dispensary and is located conveniently in the mid-portion of the village, adjacent to the coral stone jetty and the canoe landing beach. The church is located about 150 feet behind the dispensary-guesthouse. Thus the latter is an excellent observation post for village activities; strategically located as it is. The only disadvantage lay in the fact that the building was invaded nightly by numerous large, hungry, aggressive and noisy rats. The space beneath the raised building provided a rendezvous for many of the village pigs who began their various noisy activities at daybreak and continued them until after nightfall.

February 18, 1955 - Friday

The morning was spent in making a brief agricultural and general survey of the half of the island not visited yesterday. A great deal of
evidence of burning off of underbrush was seen. Most of the trees are too close together and a great deal of clearing of brush needs to be done.

The afternoon was spent by the party in discussing plans for the field study.

Chief Joanej took lunch with the party (Chief Ebream was away on Bajj Island working). Joanej and the party discussed various aspects of the island life. A meeting of the two chiefs and the two field party members was set up for the evening, to explain the purpose of the visit and to discuss plans of action.

Economic Note. The supplies of imported foods have become almost completely exhausted. The shelves of the village stores are completely bare and it is alleged that only a few of the people have a little flour left. There is absolutely no rice or sugar on the island. The stock of kerosene (used in lanterns) is gone, there are only a few matches and fewer cigarettes remaining on the islands. It was alleged that this had been the case since shortly after Christmas.

The supply of local food is also very scanty. Arrowroot, an important staple here (as in the rest of the Northwestern Marshalls), has been out of season since December.

Pandanus is starting to come in but is not ripe enough to be satisfactory yet. It should be ready next month sometime.

Arrowroot season is from October to December, inclusive. Pandanus season from, usually, September or October and continues through January or February with the biggest crop harvested in March, April and May, a period of about nine months availability.

Breadfruit season is during the summer, June, July and August. Coconuts may be harvested all year round.

The local people are subsisting almost completely on coconuts and the small amount of fish caught. (The months of December through February are said to be unfavorable for fishing.)

A work group or as it is variously called here, "kumi", "kumiai", "dorul" or "team" (team), was organized by the local Health Aid, Lömbe, a very aggressive and intelligent young man, in January of this year. This cooperative work group is comprised of 17 men, 13 from Ebream's group and 4 from Joanej's group who volunteered for the enterprise.

The services of this group are available to anyone for $5.00 per day. They engage in group labor for each other at the same rate and share the accumulated money from their joint labor. Their familial duties and the duties to their respective "iroij" take precedence however.
This new type of work group differs from the traditional and less formally organized cooperative work group found throughout other atolls in the Marshalls in that the motivation is avowedly primarily monetary. "We have this group so that we can make money."

Traditionally, neighbors and kinfolk form cooperative groups to help each other perform tasks such as harvesting ripe breadfruit, etc., which require more of a labor force than a family or land holding unit can muster. The only compensation provided by the person being helped is a meal or meals while their land is being worked. The day's work usually concludes with a party, the food having been provided by the host and prepared by his womenfolk and if a large number of workers are involved, with the assistance of their womenfolk. This is the pattern found in many parts of the world and is analogous to the cooperative work groups of early United States history which participated in corn husking bees, barn raisings and the like. In the Marshalls, relatives may also be called upon to assist in labor, without monetary compensation provided. These relatives may however aid for assistance in the form of labor at a later date under the same terms.

The emergence of this group on Ujilañ with the cash motivation does not mean that the less formal cooperative work groups have been supplanted however.

The atoll people were busily making copra in preparation for the arrival of the Field Trip Ship. The working group "kumi", spent the afternoon gathering sprouted coconuts "iu", for eating and also in making copra. The afternoon activities of the "kumi" concluded with cutting the meat from the ripe nuts in a copra storehouse adjacent to the lagoon.

The older men made coconut sennet ("ekkwol") during the day and the women washed clothes, made mats, tended babies, cooked food, gathered food (coconuts, pandanus, etc.) and engaged in the other routine household activities as well as performing the lighter tasks involved in making copra.

A great deal of activity goes on in the lagoon, with the large sailing canoes arriving and departing for the other islands during the day, usually in the early morning and early hours of the evening. The people are attempting to exploit all of the available coconuts suitable for copra prior to the arrival of the field trip ship, so that they will have cash with which to purchase food, clothing and other necessities.

Ujilañ people are very industrious and hard working people.

They will tell a visiting American that they are in need of food when they are, but they do not go to great lengths in the narration and give all of the details of their problems as do the Kili people.

Their work activities begin very early in the morning and continue until late at night.
The "iroij" invited the field party to share the evening meal with them at the quarters of the latter. A metal pan from a pair of scales, full of doughnuts (about one dozen) and a boiled chicken were served by the "iroij" Ebream's wife and "iroij" Joanej's daughter. Both groups thus had a hostess. The meal was taken sitting on the floor and accompanied by coffee furnished by the writer.

After eating the two "iroij" and field party adjourned to the front veranda overlooking the lagoon, to discuss the plans for the coming weeks.

Izikiel outlined his work and the benefits to be derived from it. This was amplified by the writer who asked for the cooperation of the "iroij" and through them, all of the Ujilä people.

The "iroij" expressed great interest and enthusiasm for the project and promised the utmost cooperation.

They agreed that Monday would be a good time to start and would not interfere with any atoll work. It was planned to start the agricultural survey at Kalo Island, the most distant from Ujilä Island, and to work back toward the main island. This would give Izikiel a chance to survey all of the islands which support coconut trees and to select seedlings for further propagation. The palms on the main island were not deemed suitable for use as seedlings. Most of the trees are very old; dating from the German period.

The superior Kili coconuts (from the experimental acreage on the end of the island) should be brought in as soon as possible for replanting purposes.

The "iroij" were advised by the Assistant Agriculturist and the writer to tell the people not to burn the underbrush, as has been done recently, because it is extremely destructive. The chiefs stated that they have told the people this previously but would warn them again.

The writer and Izikiel promised that they would also discuss this when the "Agricultural School" is held and would read the section in the Trust Territory Code covering this. The writer will request the Field Trip Officer to do the same thing when he arrives and holds a council meeting.

Mr. Laukon told the chiefs of his plan to hold school for everyone, to explain scientific coconut culture. This would be held after the survey has been completed. One or two hours each evening for two or three evenings would complete the instruction. The chiefs expressed interest in this and were given two of the instruction books on coconut culture which are copies of handbooks issued by the Coconut Research Bureau of Ceylon, which have been translated into Marshallese by Izikiel.

The "iroij" were asked to provide a youth to climb trees to obtain selected nuts and also workers to make a nursery for the nuts which will be selected for propagation. It is anticipated that a dozen men can complete
All of the details had been settled to the mutual satisfaction of the four participants and the chiefs planned to meet with their people the following day to discuss the plans and work out the details.

To the surprise of the writer, Ebrahim's son, a recent Majuro Intermediate School graduate and another youth commenced arguing about the plan, stating that it would conflict with the plans for the "kumi" to which they belong. It seemed that the hard working and ambitious "kumi" had planned to clean the copra off the small islands next week and complete the work on the main island the following week in order to have all of the copra harvested, processed and bagged before the field trip ship's arrival.

Ebrahim, Joanej and the two youths argued heatedly for about fifteen minutes, then the former decided to call all of the men together for a meeting to discuss the situation.

Apparently the shortage of operable canoes (only eight at present) would render it difficult to conduct a survey in conjunction with the agricultural activities planned by them. The writer then told the "iroi" that the survey could be postponed if it interfered with the important copra taking activities.

At this point the writer and Izikiel made a tactical withdrawal from the situation "to go to bed". The group transferred their discussion to a spot outside the nearby retail store building.

Shortly after this, the meeting began and soon waxed hot and heavy. The writer and Izikiel strained their ears in a vain attempt to hear what was being argued.

At 10:00 P.M. the discussion had reached such a high pitch that the party was awakened by the noise. It was so intense and heated that it seemed to be a prelude to physical violence.

The meeting broke up at 11:10 P.M. and the participants retired to their various homes.

February 19, 1955 - Saturday

Early morning visitors stated, upon being questioned, that the plan of commencing the agricultural survey on Monday would be followed. Questions as to the reason for the intensity of the discussion of the previous night were answered evasively and laughingly: "I cannot tell you", "I am not the person to explain those things, the chiefs will tell you", etc., etc.

Ebrahim sent an emissary to the quarters to inform the field party that the original plan would be followed. Joanej arrived shortly afterward with the same statement. He stated that the heated argument concerned the C-rations which were left on Ujilah on the last field trip; 100 cases of which were taken by each group's store.
The question of payment for the C-rations had been brought up to the writer the previous evening by Erdej, storekeeper for Joanej. He asked whether or not the C-rations would have to be paid for when the field trip ship arrived. He claimed that payment in full would amount to all 65% of their money received from sale of the copra and that they would have nothing left for purchases of food and other necessities.

Erdej was told that this question could only be answered by the Field Trip Officer, who was authorized to answer that question and if not, the answer could be obtained from the District Headquarters.

It was alleged that the Field Trip Officer did not make a definite statement as to payment for the C-rations. He allegedly told the people that the C-rations would cost 3.65 per case; but when some of the older men pointed out that they did not have money to pay for them and had no rice, flour or sugar, the Field Trip Officer allegedly told them to eat the C-rations and it would be decided later whether the C-rations would be paid for by them or not.

This uncertainty created two methods of disposal of the much needed C-rations. Joanej and his group decided to sell the C-rations at the price quoted. Credit was granted to those asking for it. Only one hundred sixty odd dollars were collected as cash sales.

Ebream on the other hand distributed his 100 cases to his group immediately without asking for payment. He apparently thought that payment would not be expected by the Government.

The cause of the argument of the last night was the fact that Lømbwe, who is a member of Ebream's group, after consuming his share of the "free" C-rations, purchased seven additional cases from Joanej's store at the going rate. Lømbwe's argument is: "If the C-rations are not going to be charged for by the Government, Joanej should return my money to me."

Lømbwe was actively supported by four other men who also belong to Ebream's group. "Irotj" Ebream himself supported the active opposition, all six of whom argue that if the government does not intend to charge the people for the C-rations, Lømbwe is just out of luck and should accept it philosophically. He received his full share of the C-rations distributed among his own people, so the opposition does not feel sorry for him and feels that the money paid for a portion of the C-rations belonging to Joanej's group should remain with that group.

Lømbwe and Abnër who spearheaded the opposition reportedly almost came to blows at the height of the argument.

Abnër's younger brother, Aluo, came to the quarters at 9:20 A.M. and explained the situation, asking for the writer's opinion as had been decided upon following the inconclusive argument. He stated that Lømbwe and his supporters would come to ask the same question, about 4:00 P.M. after they have finished working on their copra lands.
Alno stated that the group agreed that the writer's decision would be final. The writer reiterated that the Field Trip Officer or the administrative officials in the higher echelons were the only persons empowered to make such a decision and that he would discuss this with the Field Trip Officer upon arrival of the field trip ship.

Alno attempted to obtain the writer's opinion on this obviously for purposes of quotation. Failing in his attempt he sought the opinion of Izikiel who told him that he did not know who was right and besides which it was none of the Assistant Agriculturist's business.

The writer has gone into some detail indescribing this situation because it illustrates these significant factors:

1. The independence of both groups on Ujilaafn despite the cooperation manifested toward each other and their close integration.

2. The growing strength of the younger men; viz: Lembwe, a young man of achieved status whose idea of a cooperative work group motivated primarily monetarily, has taken such a firm hold in a short period of time. The fact that Esream's son who challenged his father's will in the presence not only of his own people but in front of two visitors to the atoll. This is considered very poor form here in this conservative community and throughout the rest of the Marshall Islands as well. Mr. Laukon, an Arno man who is relatively sophisticated having graduated from PICS (Pacific Islands Central School) at Truk, and who has lived on Majuro as an administrative employee for the last two years, expressed his surprise at this outburst and disrespectful attitude. (This latter case is a minor point however and may be due to the individual aberration of a returning scholar who has been free from parental discipline and familial pressures for over three years.)

3. The minor crisis situation which threatens the harmonious interrelationships of the community, which was percpititated by indefiniteness of official policy.

4. The principles of open debate and discussion which are operative despite the obvious authority and prestige of the two "iroij". These principles have been observed by the writer in the past on Ujilaafn.

"iroij" Joanej and five others sailed off to Kalo Island, the farthest west of Ujilaafn Village, at 6:50 A.M. to join his wife and three other people who have been making copra there. The field party will meet him there Monday to commence the survey of the atoll.
The rest of the day was spent by the writer and Izikiel in walking around the island to observe the work pattern and further examine the agricultural conditions.

The "kumi" worked Fream's family land on the main island, in the morning and on Joanne's island in the afternoon. They will be paid $5.00 by each of the "iroij". The men who were arguing so heatedly last night were laughing, joking and working together today.

After the field ship arrives it is planned to repair the coral stone and dirt jetty as a communal project. All of the men in the community will work on this.

Nine of the "kumi" members sailed off for Raij Island, opposite Ujila" Village, at 3:40 P.M. to go spear fishing. The canoe worked the reef running eastward from Raij.

The mission school students commenced practicing for the singing with which they will entertain Izikiel and the writer this evening. The missionary from Kusaie, Reverend Nelson Sigra, extended the invitation yesterday.

Reverend Nelson called at 4:10 P.M. to invite Izikiel and the writer to the party. He was invited to share the meal which the field party was in the midst of, and did so.

The trio then adjourned to the missionary's house where a short program of songs ensued followed by refreshments consisting of two doughnuts, a drinking coconut and a piece of "iu" (the spongy center of the sprouted coconut) for each guest. This was served by the missionary himself.

The fishing party returned at 6:40 P.M. with 100 small and medium sized reef fish, one large octopus and about 100 "mjiimwær" (small bi-valves).

**Fishing Techniques** - The only fishing techniques used on Ujila today are spearing ("turch"), trolling from the moving canoes within the lagoon ("kokkojökjök") or close to the ocean reef, trolling in the open sea ("ilarök"), torch fishing at night on the exposed reef at low tide spearing and chopping the fish caught in the tide pools with machetes ("kabwil"), combing the reef at low tide during the day and the technique of surrounding the fish with palm leaf frond "ropes" and driving them into the beach ("Halele").

All methods of fishing known in the rest of the Marshalls are known here but the lack of nets has prevented using the profitable netting techniques; throw net, and drag net.

The four youths who have been to Marshall Islands Intermediate School at Majuro know how to make nets as do some of the older men and women.
The rest of the day was spent by the writer and Izikiel in walking around the island to observe the work pattern and further examine the agricultural conditions.

The "kumi" worked Foream's family land on the main island, in the morning and on Joanej's island in the afternoon. They will be paid $5.00 by each of the "iroif". The men who were arguing so heatedly last night were laughing, joking and working together today.

After the field ship arrives it is planned to repair the coral stone and dirt jetty as a communal project. All of the men in the community will work on this.

Nine of the "kumi" members sailed off for Raij Island, opposite Ujila Village, at 3:40 P.M. to go spear fishing. The canoe worked the reef running eastward from Raij.

The mission school students commenced practicing for the singing with which they will entertain Izikiel and the writer this evening. The missionary from Kusaie, Reverend Nelson Sigra, extended the invitation yesterday.

Reverend Nelson called at 4:10 P.M. to invite Izikiel and the writer to the party. He was invited to share the meal which the field party was in the midst of, and did so.

The trio then adjourned to the missionary's house where a short program of songs ensued followed by refreshments consisting of two doughnuts, a drinking coconut and a piece of "iu" (the spongy center of the sprouted coconut) for each guest. This was served by the missionary himself.

The fishing party returned at 6:40 P.M. with 100 small and medium sized reef fish, one large octopus and about 100 "mjimwör" (small bi-valves).

Fishing Techniques - The only fishing techniques used on Ujila today are spearing ("turch"), trolling from the moving canoes within the lagoon ("kokkojükjük") or close to the ocean reef, trolling in the open sea ("ilaröök"), torch fishing at night on the exposed reef at low tide by spear and chopping the fish caught in the tide pools with machetes ("kabwil"), combing the reef at low tide during the day and the technique of surrounding the fish with palm leaf frond "ropes" and driving them into the beach ("alele").

All methods of fishing known in the rest of the Marshalls are known here but the lack of nets has prevented using the profitable netting techniques; throw net, and drag net.

The four youths who have been to Marshall Islands Intermediate School at Majuro know how to make nets as do some of the older men and women
Who learned the technique which was acquired by their forebears generations ago from castaways from the Western Marshalls who landed on Enewetak Atoll.

Nets have been used on Ujilah but they became worn out. Net material had been ordered many times in the past but has not yet been delivered. It is recommended that every possible effort be made to obtain net material and that it be delivered to Ujilah as soon as possible in order to enable them to improve the exploitation of the marine resources of the atoll.

Turtles are caught with nets made of strong coconut sennet ("ekkwol"). This material is apparently too heavy for such nets but is very effective for capturing the large turtles. Ten of these large amphibians were netted this way during the past year, four of them last January.

Stone fish traps or weirs ("me") were not used on Enewetak and are not used here. It is said that they were not needed on Enewetak because of the abundance of easily caught fish and other marine life and that they have not been built on Ujilah because of unfavorable reef conditions which would render them of little value.

The writer believes however than an attempt should be made to encourage the people to construct at least two "me". The reef area at both ends of the main island appears to be suitable for the location of fish traps and the western reef area especially is regularly exploited for reef fish.

February 20, 1955 - Sunday

The early morning hours were spent by the people in preparing for church services. (The population is 100% protestant.)

Everyone put on their best clothes (from the scanty store of clothing possessed) and gradually filled the church, a large building of green painted sheet metal in good repair. This edifice was constructed by Navy Sea Bees before the Ujilah people were moved to the atoll from Enewetak and is in better condition than any building here. The interior is immaculate at all times.

The church is the focal point of the community and the activities of the church comprise most of the social life of the community. It occupies an extremely important part of the social structure here as in the rest of the Marshalls which are at least 90% Protestant.

At 9:00 A.M. one of the assistant pastors blew the conch shell ("jilel") summoning the populace to worship.

The bell was rung at 9:13 and the service began. The usual Protestant service of prayers, sermon and hymn singing ensued. Services concluded at 10:55 A.M.

A group of the people sang a few Trukese and Marshallese songs for the field party, standing around on the cleared and pebbled area in front of the church. This lasted for about twenty minutes.
Some of the congregation dispersed to their homes, others sat in the shade in front of the church and chatted; others sat around in the writer's quarters looking at the snapshots of Ujila people taken by the writer on a previous field study in October 1952. These pictures have been the subject of keen interest since they were the first made available for inspection, upon arrival of the party last Thursday.

The writer walked non-stop around the entire main island to gain a better perspective of the activities and agricultural potentialities. The total time elapsed from point to point was 2 hours and 15 minutes. A fairly regular pace was kept of approximately 3 feet per step despite the somewhat difficult coral stone and sandy terrain existing on most of the route.

The mid-day meal consisting of coconuts, "iu", and a few of the fish caught last night was taken at 12:50 P.M. by most of the people.

About two dozen people, old and young, ate together in the shade of a large breadfruit tree beside the church. These were the group of male and female adults known as the "Prajiden" (Presidents) and the "dri jeral in jar" (church workers). Most of them are married couples. These church workers, who act as sextons, "church guild" workers, etc., change from year to year and are elected by ballots cast by all of the congregation. There are two Presidents, six female church workers and eight male church workers at the present time.

Lambwe brought up the subject of the C-rations and asked the opinion of the writer and Izikiel concerning the dispute. His question as to opinion was unanswered, of course. He stated that the Field Trip Officer had said that the C-rations would have to be paid for.

Afternoon church services commenced at 4:00 P.M. and concluded at 5:10 P.M. The Sunday services differ from the rest of the Marshalls in that a man and woman preach at the same services here. In the other atolls, men and women alternate every week. Otherwise the procedure is the same.

Some of the congregation gathered outside of the church to chat. The women in one group and the men in the other.

Plans for tomorrow's canoe trip to Kalo Island and the other islands, to make a survey, were discussed by Ebrean and members of both groups.

Ebrean and several of the young men called in the evening and talked about various things.

February 21, 1955 - Monday

Daily activities commenced about 6:30 A.M., youths and small boys went out to collect coconut toddy ("Jekru") as is the daily routine.

The "kumi" members went out individually and in pairs to the place of work for today.
Some of the older men resumed their sennet ("ekkwol") making activities. Those men and women and children who plan to go to Bieto Island to finish up the copra making were waited for the tide to come in to a sufficient height to enable them to get their canoes out over the offshore lagoon reef. They expect to spend two or three days in completion of the work. Three canoes will sail for the island. The canoe for Kalo also waited the favorable tide.

All canoes got underway at 1:25 P.M. the Field Party and a five man crew including Ebream sailed off in the "Missouri" (named for the battle- ship). A short stop was made at Bieto to offload the passengers (two women, three children, and one man) who will work on copra. The "Missouri" arrived at Kalo Island at 3:45 P.M. One large fish was caught enroute.

Approximately half of the population are divided between Kalo, Baij and Bieto making copra. The remainder are working on Ujila Island.

The survey of Kalo was started immediately. Kalo supports a good stand of coconut palms; however they are crowded too closely together and only produce about ten tons of copra annually, according to informants.

About fourteen three year old breadfruit trees are in healthy condition. They produced fruit initially this summer. These are of the seeded variety ("mejuan")

A small stand of dry land taro of the almost inedible variety ("wut") is located in the center of the island. Edible varieties should also do well on this sheltered island which is comparatively wide. Numerous bearing papaya plants are scattered throughout the central section.

The soil appears to be very good. It is fairly moist and loamy despite the long lack of rainfall. It is alleged that the central portion of the island becomes very muddy during the rainy season. "Like a mud patch."

A large number of wild pandanus ("erwan") are scattered throughout the island. There are none of the desirable food bearing pandanus trees on the island nor are there any of the type which produces the best materials for mat making ("wummaah"), found on Kalo; nor are any of the latter found on any of the islands of the atoll.

Copra production could be increased considerably if proper agricultural methods were practiced.

The underbrush is quite heavy around the coconut trees throughout most of the island and consists mainly of large "kahal" trees.

Kalo is quite wide and salt spray should not be a serious problem as indicated by the successful planting of the breadfruit trees. Lime trees and soursop might do well here.
A few temporary huts constructed mostly of local materials with tin roofs are used when the island is being worked agriculturally.

After inspecting the island everyone took the evening meal together in a clearing among the coconut trees near the beach. After the customary blessing, asked by "Iroij" Ebream, the meal of "Mole" (a black skinned fish averaging about 1 pound in weight, which have very sweet white flesh), drinking coconuts, "iu", rice and canned meats (the latter two items contributed by the writer and Izikiel) was consumed by all of the twenty-eight people on the island.

A good catch of "mole" had been made earlier in the afternoon using the surround method known as "Walele". The school of fish is surrounded by a "net" of palm fronds tied together and the fish are chased into the shallow water onto the beach where they are speared.

Only a generation ago the commoners ("kajur") had to ask permission from the "iroij" prior to setting forth to catch this prized variety of fish. This tabu ended after the father of the present "iroij"died, in early Japanese times.

The tabu against catching "mole" without permission from the "iroij" died out quite earlier in the other Marshall Islands.

Tabus also extended to lend crabs (coconut crabs), turtles, porpoise, and tuna, on Enewetak Atoll. All of these had to be taken to the "iroij" first and then were divided by him and distributed.

These tabus do not exist today on Ujilaa as they previously did, with their strength and supernatural sanctions, but all large fish, mammals or amphibians caught must still be brought to the chiefs for division and distribution.

Izikiel made a brief explanation to all concerning the purpose of the trip to the small islands of the atoll and outlined the plan of operation for the coming day.

Three fires were lit in different parts of the "camping" area and the people grouped around and adjacent to them for some conversation preparatory to retiring for the night.

The writer, "iroij" Joanej and Lorenji, Ebream's younger brother chatted for a while. Their conversation was quite revealing.

They stated that they like Izikiel and think he is a very kind person ("ejoij"); which is the prime criterion for evaluating individuals in the area of personal relationships in this culture. They said that he "knows how to talk to them", unlike some of the Marshallese from the U. S. Administration, both Navy and civilian, with whom they have had contact.
The pair asked the writer to see if he could have some sailcloth sent to Ujilali. They have asked for sailcloth and paint for the upkeep, repair and operation of their sailing canoes, as well as fishing equipment many times in the past; but so far the sails have either been only partially filled or not filled at all.

The special field trip which the field trip ship made from Guam last December brought an inadequate amount of sailcloth, only enough for two sails. Only eight of the thirteen sailing canoes are in operation now because of this lack of material.

As the "iroij" said: "canoes and fishing equipment are the life of Ujilali. Without the canoes we cannot get to the other islands in the lagoon to harvest the coconuts. Without the fishing equipment we cannot catch fish to get enough to eat." The writer had heard the same request and complaints from "iroij" Ebream and others earlier in the day. The same requests and complaints were made to the writer in October 1952.

Net material (thrownet and dragnet) in large quantities, net sinkers, a large quantity of small and medium sized hooks and a smaller number of large hooks suitable for trolling for the bigger fish, are badly needed. A heavier weight canvas than that supplied from Guam on the last unsatisfactory shipment is desired. The lighter material is not of long duration. It is estimated that 500 yards of canvas will fill the requirements.

Paint necessary for the upkeep of the canoes which are obviously so important in the atoll economy has also been long on order.

The long awaited order of paint was "filled" only last December by the special field trip from Guam with 10 gallons of red metal bottom paint, 16 quarts of enamel "for garden furniture, etc." (neither of these are hardly suitable for wooden canoe hulls!) Marine paint suitable for wooden hulls is obviously required. The only worthwhile items delivered in the category of paint materials were 5 gallons of caulking materials and one quart of drier, and paint brushes. The writer discovered this blunder earlier in the day when inspecting the contents of the two stores.

The storekeepers and the two "iroij" were surprised and disappointed when informed of the nature of their purchase. They had planned to use these materials to paint the canoes after current crop of copra had been harvested and made ready for market. They plan to return this useless (to them) material on the next Field Trip.

It is recommended that 50 gallons of marine paint suitable for wooden hulls be obtained for the Ujilali people as soon as possible. This will take care of the current needs and provide materials for future upkeep for a period.

It is strongly recommended that every possible effort be made to get all of the materials mentioned above to the atoll as soon as possible. They are the "tools" of the economy here and absolutely essential for a self supporting community.
As the writer has pointed out before, in official written reports as well as verbal reports, these industrious and well organized people can take care of themselves if the equipment necessary for carrying on their economic activities are made available to them. This, with competent agricultural aid and advice and reliable logistic support to get their cash crop, copra, to the market and to supply the necessary imported staples, will bring economic stability to the Ujilah people.

February 22, 1955 - Tuesday

Cooking fires were lit at dawn and the morning meal consisting of boiled "iu" soup, drinking nuts, ripe coconuts and the raw and boiled fish left over from last night's meal was taken.

Intermittent rain prevented an early start but a follow-up survey of the island, with selection of seed nuts in view, commenced at 8:05 A.M. despite the light showers.

Ripe fallen nuts were selected from three "mother" trees. The maximum weight of the husked nuts was 1-3/4 pounds and the minimum was 1-1/4 pounds.

The trees were marked for future use as a source of seed nuts for propagation.

Izikiel explained the criteria of selection to the two "iroij" and the young men from each group who acted as his assistants. All expressed great interest in the operation.

A nursery site was selected by Izikiel. The area will be cleared of grass and selected seedling nuts will be planted after Mr. Laukon has given complete instructions to the group at Ujilah Village.

The survey and selection operation was completed at 9:00 A.M. and the party awaited the incoming tide to sail to Enemanit, the next island on the itinerary. Earlier high winds threatened to delay departure but they soon abated. Both canoes, from Ebream's group and Joanej's group respectively, were put in readiness while awaiting the favorable tide. Minor repairs were made to the hulls and rigging and one of the sails was patched up.

While the group waited for a favorable tide the women had prepared food and led by Joanej's wife brought it to the men who were sitting in a shelter out of the weather waiting for meal. "Kamolo" songs were sung by the women while approaching the shelter and while they stood outside of the shelter. One of the songs which was in a joking vein, concluded with "Two people came to this island: a white man and a man from Arno, we want them to come here to Kalo again and stay with us."

The food, carried on palm leaves, was laid before the writer, and the "master of ceremonies", Aluo, made a speech stating that the "food was small but is given from the bottom of our hearts and so we can all eat together". (The usual deprecatory routine) After the conventional acceptance
The meal consisted of one baked chicken which had been cooked whole in the earth oven ("um"), one sliced papaia (both served to the writer and Izikiel only), raw and cooked fish from yesterday's catch, bread prepared from the scanty supply of flour, using coconut toddy ("jekru") as yeast and grated ripe coconut "cream" as sweetening and baked in the "um", "jaibo" (a water and flour "gruel") and the inevitable drinking coconuts completed the menu.

This presentation of food accompanied by singing is called "kamakājkōj" (hurry it up), i.e., hurry up and partake of the food. This is distinguished from "tūl", the formal presentation of food to an "irojū" by a large group such as one "bukwun" (division of an island).

Some of the fish caught yesterday were hung over a coconut shell fire for smoke drying.

Several of the women gathered dried pandanus leaves to be used for making mats and initially processed the materials.

The minor repair work was resumed on the two canoes which had been drawn up on the beach. These local canoes are much bigger, in all of their dimensions, than the canoes in the other Marshall Islands. The bow and stern (interchangeable) of the canoes are narrower and curve up to a sharp tip which is always ornamented with a split section of palm frond. (This is not done in the rest of the Marshalls) The canoes measure approximately 40' long from bow to stern and 16' from the hull to the outrigger float.

The Ujilāh people handle these craft very smartly as might be expected from a people who have been so dependant upon canoe transportation in their daily activities.

Even some of the women sail the slightly smaller canoes by themselves and also go out fishing in them by themselves. Activities which are not performed by women in the other atolls of the Marshalls.

The high winds resumed and sailing was further delayed. Winds abated sufficiently to permit sailing at 2:30 P.M. A large turtle was sighted in the water when the canoes were about one quarter of a mile from Kalo.

Arrived Enemanit at 4:30 P.M. after a very difficult and wet sail with much tacking and battling the choppy waves. This trip only takes 30 minutes under normal weather conditions.
A brief survey was made and nuts suitable for propagation were taken and the "mother" trees marked.

This island is smaller than Kalo and there are less coconut trees on it. The soil is quite good. There are no papaya plants. Squash vines are found in good quantity and bore abundantly last summer. These are the descendents of the squash seeds brought in by the writer from Honolulu about four years ago which were obtained from the College of Agriculture of the University of Hawaii.

Copra production is said to be about two tons annually. There are six breadfruit trees on the island, only two of which have reached the bearing stage. The only pandanus found are the wild variety ("erwan").

Departed Enemanit at 4:45 P.M. and arrived at adjacent Enelap at 5:30 P.M. Enelap has more coconut palms than Enemanit and less underbrush than either Kalo or the latter island. The trees on the whole are spaced better as well.

There are five breadfruit trees here, only one of which has reached the bearing stage. The only variety of pandanus present is the "erwan". There are no papaya plants on the island. The annual copra production is said to be about four tons. The soil on the island appears to be quite good.

Four large nuts were selected from as many trees and the trees were marked for future reference. There were no copra workers on either of the islands at the time of the visit of the survey party.

Departed Enelap at 7:00 A.M. February 13, 1955, without delay thanks to favorable tide and wind conditions. The winds were still high although less so than the previous day.

Arrived Kilakon Island at 8:45 A.M. This island is smaller than any of the others visited and has less coconut trees. There are no papayas, pandanums, squash or breadfruit plantings on the island. Breadfruit were planted here previously but did not grow. The soil appears to be moist and good. Although not as good as the soils on Kalo. The annual copra production is estimated at perhaps one half ton. Kilakon is connected with several "bird" islands by reef and sand bars on both sides. These islets may be reached on foot at low tide. A large flock of birds were flying through and over the tree tops of the island at the time of the visit. The island was deserted of large forms of life otherwise.

Departed Kilakon at 9:00 A.M. and arrived at Bieto on the leeward side of the lagoon at 9:25 A.M. Bieto is larger than the islands previously visited with the exception of Kalo which is slightly larger.

There were thirty-five people working on the island at the time of the inspection, and three sailing canoes were drawn up on the landing beach.

The soil appears to be quite good here. There are twenty-nine breadfruit trees, only two of which have reached the producing stage. The
only variety of pandanus is the wild variety. There are only a few papaya plants on the island. Squash is absent but has been grown successfully. The coconut trees are healthy but are crowded too closely together although to a lesser extent than on the other small islands previously visited. Copra production is said to be about six tons annually.

Most of the island has been cleared of underbrush, more so than the other islands visited.

One of the survey party's canoes was damaged slightly in going through the reefs off Bieto and the necessary repairs delayed sailing from the island.

A meal of two boiled chickens, baked "bread" and drinking coconuts was prepared by the women on the island and served "al fresco" to the party of twelve, under the palm trees fringing the canoe landing.

The usual songs and speeches were made by both the hostesses and guests; with special humorous references to the weather to be encountered during the ensuing sail to Raij, the next island on the itinerary.

The two canoes departed Bieto at 12:45 and arrived at Raij across the lagoon at 1:35 P.M. after a smooth and easy sail.

Raij is about the same size as Bieto and presents approximately the same picture in regard to coconut palms, which are too close together, as usual. The underbrush has been pretty well thinned out however. The soil appears to be good but seems to be sandier than that at Bieto.

There are no papaya, squash or breadfruit plantings on the island. As usual the only pandanus present were the wild variety. Breadfruit seedlings have been planted here but died shortly after being planted. There is a well on the island, the only one on any of the small subsidiary islands of the atoll. There are two wells on the main island from which potable water is drawn throughout the year.

Departed Raij at 2:35 and sailed straight across the lagoon to the main island.

A school of three large porpoise was sighted midway across. The method of catching porpoise by encircling them with lines of canoes and frightening them onto the shore by clapping stones together under water ("jibuki") was used on Enenetak where porpoise are said to have been plentiful, but it has never been done by this group on Ujilah.

The two canoes arrived at Ujilah Island and beached at 2:50 P.M. It was said that under ordinary sailing conditions the entire round trip of the atoll could have been made in one day. (The lagoon area is quite small, only 25.47 square miles. One can sit in a canoe in the middle of the lagoon and see every island clearly.)
The conch shell was blown at 3:40 P.M. summoning worshippers to
the regular Wednesday afternoon church services.

At 3:45 P.M. both of the canoes were underway to return to Kalo
and Enemanit with additional supra workers and families aboard. The people
on the small islands will commence coming back tomorrow in order to spend
Sunday on the main island, to attend church services primarily.

The Wednesday afternoon services ended at 5:15 P.M. this included
the school for some of the older adults which is conducted every Wednesday
following church services by Rev. Nelson. The curriculum consists of Bible
study, arithmetic, geography and singing. Only fifteen adults, mostly
older people, attended today's services. Most of the others being absent on
the small islands.

Analysis of the atoll survey

It was observed that practically the same general conditions exist
all of the islands in the lagoon, to varying degrees, to wit:

1. Overcrowding of coconut trees. (Which is the rule
rather than the exception throughout the Marshall Islands.)

2. Heavy underbrush and non-foodbearing trees which
crowd out the coconut palms and rob them of sunlight, water
and other nutrients. The usual strand vegetation: Messerschmidtia argentina ("Wkirin"), Scaevola frutescens ("kōnōt")
and other varieties of creeping plants are ubiquitous and
form the useful and necessary functions of providing a wind
and salt spray break and in soil retention and soil building.

3. A total absence of the more edible and desirable
varieties of pandanus as well as the variety, the leaves of
which provide the most pliable and durable materials for
mats and other woven handicrafts ("humah").

4. The paucity and in some cases total absence of breadfruit trees, especially those which have reached the productive
stage.

5. The need for more plantings of food plants such as
papaya, banana, breadfruit, pandanus, limes, squash, pumpkins,
etc.

6. The scarcity of livestock.

7. In addition to the above, the importance of canoe
transportation in the economy was graphically impressed upon
the writer. These craft are absolutely essential in the
exploitation of the natural resources of the atoll, both ter-
restial and marine.
Unless the canoes, all of which are rapidly deteriorating, because of lack of paint and on half of which possess sails, are operative, efficient and satisfactory exploitation of these natural resources cannot be realized.

6. The migratory work pattern was seen in operation and well as the close cooperation between the two socio-political groupings. It was noted that people from both Fbream's group and people from Joanej's group were working together on each of the islands where copra was being made. Of course close kinship ties exist between the two groups, the members of which are related sanguinely and/or affinally.

Recommendations for Administration Action

The recommendations for administrative action are as obvious as the needs, even to the layman. It is recommended that the following action be taken to help the Ujila people improve their economy and general situation:

1. Continue the agricultural extension program initiated by Mr. Ixkkel Laukon, with him in complete charge of the operation in the field.

2. Concommitant with the program of education-demonstration, the necessary seedlings and plantings of breadfruit (several varieties, pandanu also in many varieties both for food and textile materials, better coconuts (such as the select variety found on Kili), bananas, squash and pumpkins. All of the items mentioned have proven out here. Other plants such as limes, dryland taro, tapioca, soursop, etc., should be experimented with.

The plantings should be brought in during the months which are favorable for planting because of sufficient precipitation.

3. The feasibility of taro pit construction for the raising of wet taro should be investigated. This would provide a reliable source of food.

4. Importation and upgrading of the livestock. Turkeys which thrived on both Enewetak and Ujila before the war should be brought in.

5. Make the materials necessary for greater and more efficient exploitation of the marine resources available to the Ujila people, i.e., fish net materials, fish hooks, line, etc.
6. Make the materials necessary for greater and more efficient exploitation of the agricultural resources available to them, i.e., spades, axes, machetes, etc.

7. Make the materials necessary for operation and maintenance of the sailing canoes available to the Ujilam people. This is absolutely essential and cannot be over emphasized.

8. Insure regular, reliable and adequate logistic support to meet the basic needs of the people of this isolated community: to make staple imported food stuffs and supplies available and lift the cash crop, copra.

This coupled with an improved agricultural program should stimulate increased production of copra.

The major cost of this program should be borne by the Administration and written off as an investment in the economic rehabilitation of the Dispossessed Enewetak people.

A very minimal token payment on a long term basis should be asked and would be desirable for psychological reasons, but it would be unrealistic to force the community to assume the complete expenses involved, indebted as they are at present to NIECO for necessary food shipments received in the past when insufficient copra was on hand to pay for said food.

If the above recommendations are followed, plus any possible additional recommendations by the agricultural experts in the local and staff levels, it is believed that economic stability can be achieved in the near future. This will obviously enable the local people to make a more satisfactory adjustment to their new environment.

The problem is not a difficult one as may be seen. The ex-Enewetak people do not yet have the "dole psychology" which has been manifested by the ex-Bikini people now on Kili Island. However if administrative aid to them consists of only the emergency shipments of food needed to stave off hunger and necessary clothing, they may very well fall into the Kili, and the unfortunate but unavoidable Rachlap, "D. P." attitudes of the outstretched hand and the begging bowl.

This undesirable condition can be avoided by long range planning for basic economic stability along the lines recommended and implementation as soon as possible.

February 24, 1955 - Thursday

The normal routine activities continued. Rev. Nelson took breakfast with the field party. An interesting discussion was had concerning his career and experiences as a missionary in Puluwat in the Truk District.
Local attitudes were also discussed. The missionary expressed his admiration of the industry and friendliness of the Ujilafi people. This has also impressed the writer and Mr. Laukon.

Rev. Nelson stated that when he first arrived on Ujilafi two years ago, he had the same difficulty that most strangers experience in understanding some of the local dialect. The dialectical variation from "standard" Marshallese is quite marked.

Three canoes, each carrying four 100 pound bags of copra, arrived from the small island of Bieto at 8:00 A.M., and the crews unloaded their cargoes, carrying the bags on their shoulders through the then shallow water. All of them returned to Bieto at 9:15 A.M.

Most of the "kumi" members joined in making copra on the main island. Less than thirty people were on the main island. The others were making copra on the smaller islands of the atoll.

The desire to make as much copra as possible prior to the arrival of the field trip ship is obviously uppermost in the thoughts of the Ujilafi people at this time.

One old man spent the morning attempting to patch up a tattered canoe sail.

Two canoes loaded with bagged copra arrived from Bieto at 3:40 P.M. and off-loaded their cargoes.

Over two hundred "mole" or "elik" were caught off Bieto, using the surround method ("alele"). A portion of the catch was brought back and distributed on the main island. Every household received its share. Some of the catch was eaten raw, some was roasted over the coals and a portion will be sun dried for future use.

The two canoes returned to Bieto at 5:10 P.M.; sailing weather had been good all day.

February 26, 1955 - Friday

Two canoes with the "kumi" members aboard departed at 6:10 A.M. and 6:20 A.M. respectively, bound for Kalo where they will spend the day making copra.

One canoe arrived from Kalo at 7:00 A.M. A portion of a large catch of "mole" was unloaded. Over 100 of these delicious fish were caught by the "alele" method at Kalo yesterday. These fish are available all year round but the catch varies according to weather conditions and the habits of the fish.
A clutch of 120 turtle eggs was found on Bokûn Island and brought back for distribution.

Both "iroij" brought a portion of the cooked catch of fish to the field party's quarters and shared breakfast with the latter who were in the middle of it. Tamer, "iroij" Ebream's wife (who had carried part of the food) sat on the floor just outside of the room and was passed portions of food by her husband.

At 8:15 a canoe loaded with passengers and their gear arrived from Bieta and gear, the women and children were carried ashore. The canoe departed at 8:32 to return to Bieta. Routine activities were carried on by the people remaining on the island.

Most of the mid-morning was spent discussing various items of interest with the two "iroij" and two other older men.

Joanej brought over two large roasted coconut crabs ("barni lip") and accepted an invitation to remain for lunch only after being assured that the field party had enough food.

The two "iroij", Dr. Læmbwe and several others have expressed concern as to whether or not the party's supplies will be enough until the field trip ship arrives.

The Ujila people are extremely food-conscious as might be expected from atoll dwellers who obtain their living from the sea and soil the resources of which are not great and who have come to regard the imported foods such as rice, flour and sugar, as staple items of their diet.

Marshallese can survive on a diet consisting of coconuts and fish plus whatever vegetable products happen to be in season, indeed, most of them did just that during the war years when the supply lines from Japan were cut off by the American blockage. Although these items will sustain life they do not fill the psychological hungers for the imported foods of the diet pattern acquired, in the case of some atolls, almost a century ago when these staples were added to the aboriginal diet.

The Marshallese do not any more wish to go back to the diet of their ancestors exclusively, than would the average American wish to be confined to the coarse and monotonous diet of his forbears or to canned goods alone.

The Ujila people are especially dependent upon imported foods because of the scarcity of the important seasonal staples of breadfruit and pandanus, even when in season. Thus, although they have year round supplies of coconuts and a fairly good source of supply of fish, varying of course with the weather conditions and habits of the forms of marine life, the Ujila people anxiously await the arrival of the field trip ship with its supplies of the staple and storable items of rice, flour and sugar.
The statements which they have made and are now making: "We are hungry. There is no food on the atoll." etc., should be analyzed in this light; especially now during the present period of shortage.

One need hardly emphasize that hunger is a psychological as well as a physiological phenomenon in the human organism. Close at hand proof of this, if indeed proof were needed, is the concern and dissatisfaction expressed by the American Trust Territory employees, especially the housewives, when shipments of frozen and chilled food stuffs (as well as the staple dry goods) do not meet their expectations or felt needs. Some of these individuals become highly emotional and quite voluble at the mere mention of lettuce, tomatoes and other edibles which although commonplace in Guam, Honolulu and points east, are rare delicacies in the Marshalls.

All of this concern is manifested despite the fact that canned-substitutes or quasi-substitutes for most staple American foods are available most of the time.

The local Marshallese vegetable and other fresh food products, even if available in sufficient quantities, would not be acceptable substitutes for the foods to which the average American has become conditioned.

"Iroij" Joanej spent the bulk of the afternoon cutting out side-planking for a canoe from a large piece of driftwood with a metal bladed ax. The log is one of the many which drift to the islands of the Marshalls from the west coast of the North American continent.

In earlier days driftwood, which was highly prized, in this area where heavy hardwood timber is scarce, was the tabu property of the "iroij" and had to be turned over to him forthwith. This was true of all worthwhile flotsam and jetsam. The custom had been in abeyance throughout the Marshalls, Enewetak, and UjilaM since Japanese times however.

At 5:15 P.M. the conch shell was blown by Elji to call the women to their Friday afternoon services. The minister's wife, who according to the church organization should perform the function of leading the women's services has delegated this authority to Elji. The church services concluded at 6:00 P.M.

February 26, 1955 - Saturday

Regular routine activities continued. Copra was spread out to dry on the special drying mats ("jinsai") in front of most of the houses. Copra is sun dried exclusively here on UjilaM and in the other atolls of the Northwestern Marshalls. This is in contrast to the areas of heavier rainfall where the technique of smoke drying must also be employed at times.

Two sailing canoes loaded with passengers arrived from Biito at 4:40 P.M. Only about 30 "mole" were caught on Biito today in a "surround" operation.
A flurry of excitement was created when a small boy fell 15' from a coconut tree. Apparently his bones were not broken but he was shaken up considerably. Unfortunately the local Health Aid was still enroute from Kalo and was not able to see the boy at the time of the accident. The victim was carried to a nearby house and laid on a mat to await "Dr." Lömbwe's arrival. (He later diagnosed the case as not serious.)

Four canoes loaded with passengers and coconuts arrived from Kalo just before sunset. About 140 "mole" had been taken at Kalo using the "alele" technique of fishing.

All of the available ripe coconuts ("waini") on Bieto and Raij, the personal islands of "iroij" Joanej and Ebream respectively, have been made into copra. The islands of Enelap, Enemanit, Kilkalon and the small amount of copra nuts remaining on the main island will be fully exploited at the end of next week.

February 27, 1955 - Sunday

Two canoes arrived from Kilakon Island at 8:00 A.M. loaded with passengers and coconuts of the ripe and sprouted variety.

All of the atoll people who have been away on the smaller islands have returned to the main island, with the exception of ten people who remained on Kalo to look after the drying copra which remains.

At 9:00 A.M., one of the church elders ("dri komat") blew his conch shell announcing that the time for Sunday worship was at hand. The people commenced drifting toward the church at this time and continued to do so for the next hour, despite the fact that services had commenced at 9:30 (as soon as a sizeable congregation had assembled). This apparent informality is the regular and accepted pattern throughout the Marshall's.

Church services concluded at 11:00 A.M. "iroj" Joanej and a small group of the older people sat chatting in the shade of the coconut trees outside of the church.

"Luncheon" consisting of ripe coconuts ("waini") on the "half-shell" was eaten at 1:00 P.M. by the group, who dispersed shortly afterward to their various homes to enjoy the Sunday afternoon "siesta", as did the rest of the populace.

The peace and quiet of the village was interrupted at 3:20 by the sonorous call of the conch shell, blown by another elder.

The regular Sunday afternoon church services were held shortly after the call to worship had sounded. "iroj" Ebream and a group of people from both socio-political groupings, most of them young men, gathered outside the church and conversed for several hours after services.
The week day activities connected with household routine commenced. The conch shell blown at 7:25 A.M. called the male church members together for the monthly "jar in komat" (church meeting of the elders). After a short religious service, church business will be discussed and plans for the coming month will be made. The "dri komat" commenced assembling immediately and the meeting commenced at 7:25. Only church members in good standing may qualify to have a voice in church affairs, i.e., non-smokers, non-drinkers, non-adulterers, etc., (The offences of drinking alcoholic beverages and committing adultery have apparently not been a problem with the Ujilah people). There are a sizeable number of "smokers" ("dri kapatat") in the group however.

The presidents ("prejiden") met in the foyer of the church. The two "iroij" were with the group as might be expected considering their conservative natures. The "dri lale" (people who look after things) met outside under the coconut trees, at a distance from the senior group. The "dri lale" older and younger men. The senior group is composed predominately of older men. Each group discussed its business separately until 6:00 A.M. then the "dri lale" joined the "prejiden" outside the church for a joint meeting.

The formal meeting concluded at 8:10 A.M. and most of the group gathered outside to chat and eat their breakfast of coconuts and a small amount of freshly baked bread. The food was divided up and passed around by "Iroij" Joanej. Several children as well as Joanej's wife and another member's wife were invited to share the food.

Some of the other men, church members and non-church members alike joined the group, sharing in the food and participating in the conversation. The group commenced breaking up around 9:20 and everyone had dispersed by 9:35.

At 9:45 a small canoe which had sailed down to the western end of the island early in the morning, returned loaded with bagged copra which was then offloaded and stored in the copra warehouse which is located adjacent to the jetty and the canoe landing beach. All copra is transported either by canoe or on the men's backs. There are no wheeled vehicles on the island.

At 10:00 A.M. Izikiel and a group of twenty-five men of all ages commenced preparing the site for the coconut seedling "nursery". An area 30' x 15' adjacent to the church and protected from excessive salt spray by the adjacent store building, was weeded and sand will be brought from the nearby lagoon beach to provide a bed for the selected coconuts.

This operation was planned with the two "iroij" last week. Most of the able bodied men on the island worked on the project.

Sand was carried in copra bags, buckets and palm leaf baskets and deposited in the area which had been enclosed with stakes and lengthwise
pieces of sheet metal. This will keep the bed at a uniform level of about 10 inches.

After the work had gone on for an hour or so, it was decided to break up into four work groups ("kumi") each one to finish one assigned section. Lorenji, Ebream's younger brother was asked to name the groups. This action was taken because it was decided by most of the group that the work was proceeding too slowly and was unequally distributed. (Izikiel had nothing to do with this decision.)

The project was completed at 11:20 and the group gathered under the palm trees in front of the church to enjoy a lunch of "soup" made of eight cans of tinned meat and seven pounds of rice which were provided by the field party. These were cooked into a thick and tasty gruel which was enjoyed by all and had the expected psychological effect of turning a hard piece of work into a "party".

Izikiel met with all of the men in the Council House at 1:20 and spoke for one hour on improved methods of planting coconuts and other agricultural problems. The lecture was excellent, both as to subject matter and delivery, and was received with interest, as evinced by the intelligent questions asked during the period open for questions. Mr. Laukon handled both his material and audience expertly.

The "kumi", both "iroij", and others remained after the lecture to discuss plans for copra making for the period remaining before the field trip ship arrives. The meeting became quite spirited as most of them do. All plans of the "kumi" must be approved by the "iroij" before they can be executed.

The reason for the unusually spirited meeting where Ebream's voice was raised to almost a shout at times, was revealed later when Adrim and Taniel, two member of "kumi" and among the more aggressive members of the community, sought the writer's opinion on the cause of the heated argument. The "iroij" allegedly objected to the "kumi" making more than $5.00 per day, as they plan to do. This may be done when two different landholders request the services of the "kumi" for half a day and each pay the work group $5.00.

Adrim and Taniel were reluctant to name "the people who object to the "kumi" making $10.00 per day," but finally admitted that it was "iroij" Ebream and Aluo (who naturally is not a "kumi" member). The reason for the objection was allegedly not given the "kumi" by Ebream and Aluo.

The writer of course was noncommittal about the strictly community affair. This situation is noteworthy as an interesting problem in cultural dynamics. It is significant in that a recently formed group such as the "kumi", composed of most of the young men of the community, is strong enough
the question the decisions of the established authority (the "iroij"). The "kumi" represents a potential threat to the established authority and may or may not undermine said authority, eventually. However, it must be added that "Iroij" Joanej sided with the "kumi" in this particular argument.

Ebream stated that he thought that the men should clear brush as well as make copra and that the final decision on the course of action which will be followed: "is not clear yet, but will be soon."

The strength of this work organization composed as it is of the younger element (including the older sons of both "iroij") and with a monetary orientation, is an important factor to be considered in any administrative planning for "community development" or any other similar extension scheme.

The rest of the afternoon was spent in bagging copra and readying the canoes for tomorrow's sail to Enelap, Enemanit where the rest of the ripe fallen coconuts available will be made into copra.

A group of small boys spent part of the afternoon sailing home made model canoes in the lagoon shallows beside the stone jetty. This amusement is known as "kadriwutwut".

The field party had been informed in the late afternoon that the women of the island were preparing food for a party for them.

At 8:15 P.M., the writer and Iziikiel were asked to go next door to the Council house where all the women were waiting. A table, covered with a clean and ironed, blue and white checkered tablecloth (a rarity here) and surmounted by a kerosene lantern, had been prepared and the visitors were seated, as was each "iroij" later, one of the latter on each end of the table.

The large corrugated metal Council House, which is also used for canoe sail storage, was soon filled with females of all ages.

Tamer, the wife of Ebream, and Bila, the wife of Joanej, acted as official hostesses and mistresses of ceremony, directing the singing and distribution of food and mats.

The "makōjkōj" proceeded according to the time honored pattern: Bila stepped forward from the group which stood in a semi-circle before the table, and made the customary deprecatory speech: "We thank God, that he has allowed us to be together as one heart here this evening to be happy together. We wanted to visit you and bring you a little food and sing some songs. The food is not very much, as our atoll is poor, but we want to visit you and enjoy this evening together nevertheless----", etc., etc., etc.

The food was then served by Bila and a younger woman. A plate containing a baked chicken leg, a large chunk of bread and a baked "iu"
was placed before the writer first, then another plate was served Izikiel. A pan containing the same foods was placed before each "iroi" after the visitors had been served. Additional chunks of bread and two more small baked chickens were placed on the table before the guests of honor.

The two "waitresses" withdrew to the rest of the group and Tamer jokingly announced that the "guests should eat and we women will try our best to sing a song; we cannot sing very well but we will try." etc., (the usual apologetic routine.)

The customary blessing was asked by Joane, the meal was started, and the entertainment began. One of the most interesting songs presented was one which had been composed last December by a local Balladeer. This is a song of friendship to American visitors to the atoll.

"Dri Amerika"

Trans: American (person)

"Here is one of the arrangements made in order.
The promises will never be bchanged,
bring you from there to here,
Just be patient so that you will have the final result.
American, whom we are welcoming to
join our feast and to enjoy the food on this table."

The climax of the evening came when the women formed two lines and slowly walked in opposite directions around the table singing a "kumalo" song. Head leis ("wut") were placed on the heads of the visitors and four sleeping mats were placed on the table by Tamer and Bila.

Another highlight of the evening was the welcoming dance ("erertktok") performed with grace and verve by one of the prettier young matrons. This was accompanied by the singing of "Dri Amerika" by the entire women's "chorus". (The word "erertktok" means the beaching of a canoe on an island and alludes to welcoming a visitor to an island.)

The customary speeches of thanks were made by the writer and Izikiel and the party broke up after a farewell song was announced by Tamor and sung by the entire group who waved their hands in a farewell gesture as they sang. Tamer then announced "Well, it is finished now, good night." The group then dispersed.
Table conversation had been on the whole in a light vein commensurate with the situation; however the two "iroij" did bring up several serious questions which should be reported. Joanej asked if the writer could "show them a way" to better logistic support and increased contact with the outside market and source of supply. Ebream and he both complained bitterly of the isolation of Ujilam and the inadequacy of the present contact with the outside world.

They cited the more advantageous position of the other atolls in the Marshalls which were serviced by Marshallese boats and more recently by the MIECO schooner, MILLICENT, as well as the quarterly service of the Field Trip Ship.

When the writer asked them if they preferred to be under the administration of the Ponape District they stated that if this meant more frequent visits of the field trip ship than at present and no increase in the price of trade goods nor decrease in the purchase price of their copra, a shift of administration would be desirable. Otherwise it is immaterial to them whether they are under the Ponape or Marshall Island District Administration.

This seems to be the general consensus of opinion of the Ujilam (ex-Enewetak) people, who are quite ethnocentric and who were part of the Ponape District with its diverse ethnic groups, during two previous foreign regimes (German and Japanese). There seems to be a growing attitude among some of the younger people however, of kinship with the larger Marshall Islands community. This is especially true of those among them who have attended school and/or have taken training in the Marshalls (at Kwajalein and Majuro) and formed friendships with other Marshallese there. The entire group of course has been oriented economically toward the Marshalls since the administrative shift following the American occupation.

Joanej himself told the writer that the advantage of being with the rest of the Marshalls administratively is the common language, His attitude in this respect has changed considerably since 1952 when he went to great lengths to let the writer know that: "we are neither Marshallese nor Carolineans, we are people from Enewetak Island and Enjebi Island who lived on the atoll of Enewetak." Joanej told the writer, in the course of last night's conversation: "We are Marshallese just like any other Marshallese; they told us that at the last Marshallese Congress we attended (1953).

A canoe loaded with passengers arrived from Kalo at 10:30 P.M. The clear moonlight night allowed this nocturnal sailing.

March 1, 1955 - Tuesday

Aluo came in at 7:30 A.M. to explain his attitude toward the "kumi" This aggressive and intelligent young man, who is "iroij" Joanej's nephew,
stated that his main objection is that the original agreement of the cooperative work group was to work copra only on a contract basis on the land of anyone who requested the service of the "kumi" The going wage was to be $5.00 to be paid the group for working from 8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.

His argument is that the work group should work on a daily basis and when the coconuts have all been made into copra on a piece of land, the "kumi" should not collect their pay and move onto another person's land to make an additional $5.00 but should remain on the first job contracted for and finish out the day's work clearing brush or doing anything else needed for the agreed upon compensation for the whole day's work (8:00 A.M. to 5:00 P.M.).

The initial plan of operation had allegedly been satisfactory to everyone until it was realized that most of the land parcels have a relatively small amount of coconut trees on them which allowed the "kumi" to finish up the copra in half a day in most cases. Ebream and Aluo therefore felt that the work group should continue working on the same piece of land for the agreed 5.00, even though the copra had been finished, to which the "kumi" objected.

The writer believes that Joanej, who is not as farsighted as Ebream (as had been demonstrated on other issues), is siding with the "kumi" because the size of his own family lands on the main island would give him a full day's work from the work group in producing copra, from which he will get a quick return. Ebream, whose family holdings are also extensive, on the other hand appears to be taking an overall and long range view of the whole situation from the point of view of improvement of agriculture on Ujilalaf.

The work of bagging and weighing copra continued, canoes travelled back and forth from the copra lands on the ends of the main island unloading bags of copra at the warehouses on the lagoonfront.

The regular monthly service of the church members, "Jار نان أليغ" (church at the beginning of the month) commenced at 8:30 A.M. The non-church members, most of whom are the young men continued the economic activities.

The services concluded at 9:47 A.M. and the group gathered outside and in the church foyer to chat. The groups dispersed at a little after noon.

A group of small, naked boys enjoyed surfing off the ocean reef during part of the morning.

Church school was held by Rev. Nelson for the children, following the church services for adults.
The cement cistern next to the Council House was cleared out by a group of men, both old and young. It has been extremely filthy and full of empty cans and other trash which floated around in the small quantity of scummy, greenish water.

A canoe loaded with workers left for Enelap at 2:40 P.M. to finish up the copra there. Another left for En allocation at 5:15 and the remaining four departed for Ene Manic and Kalu Islands between 4:30 and 5:45 P.M. They all expect to remain on the small islands until Friday or Saturday when they will return to the main island.

"Iroij" Ebream and his wife and small children and a few other people went to their copra lands at the ends of the main island to spend the night and work on copra for the rest of the week. Only a few people remained on the main island and fewer still remained in the village area proper.

March 2, 1955 - Wednesday

Ordinary household tasks were carried on by the few remaining people in the village which has assumed an almost deserted appearance.

Rev. Nelson held church school in the church Building, in the morning. It consisted mainly of singing various religious and secular songs.

The last canoe (in operable condition) left for Enelap at 4:00 P.M. with men, women and children aboard.

The faithful were summoned to Wednesday afternoon church services ("Jar in Wonje") at 4:15 P.M., only a few people were on hand to attend. The service were followed by the usual church school for adults, also conducted by the Kusaiean missionary. School was recessed at 5:15 P.M. Most of the group gathered outside in front of the church and sat chatting until sunset.

March 3, 1955 - Thursday

Routine activities continued. The Reverend Nelson held church school for children in the morning.

Six small pigs were killed in the afternoon and cooked in the earth ovens. Some of the meat was eaten together by the church group plus the two "Iroij", at 8:00 P.M. outside Joanej' house. The remainder will be eaten tomorrow.

March 4, 1955 - Friday

Routine activities continued. Church school for the children was held in the morning. At 4:45 P.M. the conch shell was blown by a female church committee member ("Dri Komiti") to summon the women to their weekly service ("Jar in Körë") women's church. This service is held on Thursday rather than on Friday throughout the rest of the Marshalls. The services were followed by a singing lesson conducted by the energetic missionary, scion of Kusaion royalty and Portland, Maine seafaring folk.
March 5, 1955 - Saturday

The normal routine continued. The cistern next to the copra warehouse was cleaned out, all the water bailed out, etc., by Joanej and three small boys. It had been in a very filthy condition. Joanej’s wife and a couple of young women assisted in the operation later in the afternoon.

Six canoes returned from Kalo, Enelap and Enemanit in the early part of the afternoon. One of them returned to Enelap to pick up additional passengers and return tomorrow morning.

All of the copra has been made on all of the subsidiary islands now except for Enelap which is almost completed.

March 6, 1955 - Sunday

The regular Sunday routine was followed. Church services and Church Committee meetings were held in the morning as usual followed by worship in the late afternoon. No food was cooked by the local people as per regular church injunction. An exception was made for the visitors however.

March 7, 1955 - Monday

Several of the canoes were repaired; plank lashings of semnet replaced, seams caulked with strips of prepared pandanus leaves ("mafi"), etc., in preparation for transporting the remaining bagged copra from Enemanit, Kalo and Enelap to the copra warehouses.

Church school was held for the youngsters in the morning at Rev. Nelson’s house.

Most of the canoes departed on the favorable tide in the later afternoon. Two round trips were made by the two "iroij" in one canoe, to Raij to pick up bags of copra. Raij island is directly opposite the village and only a short distance by canoe.

A nest of about 100 turtle eggs was uncovered on Raij and the prized delicacies brought back and distributed to all of the villagers, proportionate to the size of each family.

The people have become increasingly anxious during the last few days as the anticipated time of arrival of the field trip ship draws near.

The exact arrival date has been subject of much conjecture and questioning, as the UjilaH people have hurried to get as much copra made, bagged, and in the warehouses prior to the arrival of the ship with its eagerly awaited supplies of staple food stuffs and other badly needed items.
Jera, wife of Rev. Ernej, and several other female relatives prepared a meal of "mokwon" (pandanus which has been boiled then baked and served with a coating of grated fresh coconut); drinking coconuts and a baked chicken. The food was brought to Rev. Nelson's house at 8:00 P.M. and served informally with a few songs following as entertainment. Among those was a Trukese song taught the Ujilah people by Rev. Nelson who had previously served as a missionary on Puluwat, in the Truk District. (A good example of how songs as well as other culture traits have been and are diffused throughout this area.)

March 8, 1955 - Tuesday

The routine activities continued. A healthy boy was born at 6:00 A.M. The case was handled by some of the older female relatives of the young mother, in the absence of "Dr." and Mrs. Liboue, who are making copra on their land on Kalo Island. (The young father subsequently named the boy "Tobin" after the writer). Most of the men remaining in the village, including the two "iroij" went to the eastern end of the main island to go reef fishing; using the surround technique ("alele").

Five canoes returned from Kalo Island just before noon, loaded with the rest of the copra from that island. They all departed for Enelap shortly before noon to collect the remaining bagged copra there and transport it to the warehouses. Two trips were made to Enelap, the canoes remaining on Enelap on the last trip, to bring the remainder of the copra back in the morning.

The fishing expedition returned at 2:00 P.M. with about 80 "mole" which were divided among all of the families and eaten raw by most of the people.

Harta, the local "seer" ("dri Kanaman"), who is not on Enelap dreamed that the field trip ship will arrive tomorrow. Most of the local people believe that it will arrive because Marta has had dreams foretelling ship arrivals and four non-specific deaths which have come about just as she stated they would.

Church school was held in the late afternoon for the children.

The people on Enelap will have a party this evening to celebrate the completion of the hard work of getting the copra ready for the field trip ship.

March 9, 1955 - Wednesday

Routine Activities continued. Church school was held in the morning.

The canoes loaded with the remainder of the bagged copra arrived from Enelap in the late afternoon.

Two hundred "mole" were caught by the "kumi in an hour, on the Enelap reef area by the "alele" technique and part of the catch was brought back to the village for distribution. The local people say that the appearance
of large schools of "mole" such as have appeared recently, after a period of scarcity of fish, pressages a move from the atoll. Just before they were moved from Knewetak, unusually large schools of this fish made their appearance. Perhaps this current belief and discussion is a reflection of basic insecurity.

Rev. Nelson stated that on Kusaie just before the American forces arrived, large schools of fish known as "tuöö" appeared causing the Kusaiaenas to suspect that something unusual was going to happen.

Further evidence of local belief in natural signs which foretell the future, (a widespread belief throughout the world, including the United States), was exhibited during the evening when Jam and others saw a seabird flying past the missionary's house, where they were sitting, and heard it cry out. This is a sign that one of three things will occur: a death, the arrival of a ship or important news. Of course, the group interpreted this particular bird call to mean that the field trip ship would arrive the next day (today). (An indication of the intense interest and anticipation felt in regard to the arrival of this ship.)

March 10, 1955 - Thursday

Routine activities continued. The rest of the recently arrived canoes returned to Kalo and Enelap in the early morning for passengers and more bagged copra. Church school was held in the morning as usual.

The past week has been quite rainy, especially today and the two preceding days.

March 11, 1955 - Friday

Routine activities were carried on. The intermittent rains continued. Women's Friday afternoon church services were held as usual.

A canoe returned from Raij in the late evening.

March 12, 1955 - Saturday

Routine activities continued. High winds occurred during the night and continued with increasing intensity, coupled with high tides and "white caps" on the surface of the usually placid lagoon.

A canoe sailed off to Raij in the midmorning.

Four young men went spear fishing separately on the reef of the main island in the mid morning. The total catch was 35 medium sized fish; practically all of which were "bvilak".

Two canoes returned from Raij and Enelap in the late afternoon. Everyone had returned from the smaller islands by sundown except for a handful of people who remained on Kilakon.
The high winds and intermittent heavy rains which had abated during the forenoon and early afternoon, resumed with increasing force during the night and into the next mornin.

March 13, 1955 - Sunday

Routine Sunday activities were carried on.

The "we are hungry" statement has been heard increasingly; especially since the last of the slender and carefully hoarded supply of flour became exhausted. There is now no imported food whatsoever on the atoll. Coconuts, a small amount of pandanus and whatever fish may be caught, plus a very small amount of arrowroot and arrowroot flour (the preserved product) are the only foods available.

The field party's food supply (canned goods) will be expended in a few more days. Many of the local people, especially the two "iroij", have expressed their concern regarding the sufficiency of said supplies.

Following the late afternoon church services and the usual group discussions outside the church, all of the "Council" and the younger boys gathered outside the copra warehouses and discussed work plans for the coming week.

It was decided that six pigs would be killed to provide needed meat. The men not thus engaged would clean up around the village area of their respective groups. (the Enjebi people and the Enewetak people.)

The pigs will serve a dual purpose; in addition to providing the needed meat they will provide the feast food for a farewell feast ("mōttä" in Kajemlok) lit., "food at the ending" for the Rev. Nelson who may receive his orders from Miss E. Wilson (American head of the Protestant Mission) to proceed to Kajuro; and the field party.

This type of feast is given when people depart from an island to be away for a prolonged period or permanently and also after a person's funeral.

March 14, 1955 - Monday

Routine activities plus the work plan for Monday, as decided last night, were carried on. The pigs were rounded up with the aid of numerous noisy and excited small boys and were slaughtered, dressed and put in the earth ovens for baking, in the afternoon.

Other men and women both old and young, spent the afternoon gathering and preparing drinking coconuts, ripe coconuts and pandanus for the evening feast.
The prepared food was placed in large coconut palm leaf baskets ("kilkil") which were piled up under a coconut tree in the gravelled area in front of the church.

Most of the villagers gathered there in the late afternoon and watched one young man from each group cut up the meat under the direction and hawklike eye of "iroij" Joanej. Ebream sat at one side and merely observed the operation, none of the proceedings escaped his attention however.

Rev. Nelson, Rev. Ernej and the two Field Party members were seated on a mat and their portions were served first, by Joanej. After the usual prayer given by Rev. Ernej and brief speeches by the two "iroij" explaining the purpose of the gathering and deprecating the food, the guests of honor were urged to start eating.

Joanej, and an old patriarch from Ebream's group carried a large "kilkil" full of husked drinking coconuts through the group and distributed them to each representative of an eating group (family) in proportion to the size of the family. Two young men (one from each group also) did the same thing with the pork which had been cut up into chunks which averaged roughly a pound each.

A small amount of "mokwon" was also apportioned out; most of this delicacy was given to the small children. Several people expressed their regret because of the lack of bread or rice to accompany the meat.

The pork which was left over after everyone had received their portion, was divided up among the group.

There was no entertainment, nor were gifts offered.

A part of the meat was eaten on the spot but most of it was put in baskets and taken home to be eaten later in the evening and the next day by both those who attended the feast and the other members of the family who remained at home for various reasons. This is the usual pattern at Marshallese feasts.

The length and prolonged feasting on the spot until all of the food has been consumed, which is found in other culture areas is not the norm in the Marshalls.

Pigs are slaughtered and eaten by the group as a whole whenever a food shortage creates the need to do so. The method of handling the operation is noteworthy.

There are six "kumi" three from each of the two groups on the atoll. The members are adult males most of whom are married and represent the female
relatives and children of the immediate families. A few of the group are unmarried younger men. Each member of the "kumi" contributes a pig in turn or if he does not happen to have one available for slaughter, he may contribute the money with which his "kumi" will purchase a pig. The total number of pigs to be slaughtered is decided by the Council. This was done at the meeting outside the copra warehouse Sunday evening when it was decided that each "kumi" would contribute one pig. All of the "kumi" members are expected to cooperate in the slaughtering and dressing of the pigs and their womenfold to cook them in the shallow earth ovens ("um") which the women also dig and prepare.

This is an excellent example of the mechanisms of cooperative endeavor which these »toll dwellers have evolved to meet their common needs and problems.

March 15, 1955 - Tuesday

Routine activities were carried on.

The pork left over from last night's "MÖÄN in Kejemlok" was consumed by many of the families at breakfast.

Preparations were made in the morning for the monthly council meeting. The Scribe of Joanej' group swept out the Council House and put it in order. The council meeting which followed lasted two hours. The writer was not invited to attend, so did not do so.

Two canoes sailed off for Enelap and Raij respectively, loaded with men, women and children and their equipment; pots, pans, sleeping mats, blankets, machetes, buckets, etc., these people will spend the rest of the week on the islands or, if the ship comes in before Saturday, until then, making copra.

Unfortunately, the canoe bound for Enelap had to return after only 15 minutes sailing because the badly worn and tattered sails finally gave way under the strain of the medium-strong wind. Unless the crew can manage to patch up the sail again this will mean that one more canoe will be out of commission, with the consequent additional impairment to the local economy.

March 16, 1955 - Wednesday

Routine activities continued.

A canoe and canoe crew stood by to take the field party out to the TALOA plane which is expected to land in the lagoon to pick them up on the way to Majuro from Ponape on the regular bi-monthly flight. The wait for the aircraft proved fruitless and the would-be canoe crew dispersed to carry on their various work activities.
A canoe loaded with passengers and their equipment sailed for Enelap. One canoe returned to the village in the late afternoon, with only the crew aboard.

March 17, 1955 - Thursday

Routine activities were carried on.

The principal item of local gossip now is the "divorce" two days ago of one of the young men and his wife. This action has caused unfavorable comment as it is the first divorce to occur within the group. All of the married couples are "really married"; that is to say, married in church. The institutionalized common-law marriage ("kobə bajjok") lit, trans. "just together", which is commonly practiced throughout the rest of the Marshalls, is completely absent on Ujilah.

The husband in this case simply told his wife that they were finished as man and wife. He plans to obtain a "divorce paper" from "the Office at Majuro"; apparently realizing that the "troj-magistrates will not give him a divorce because of their deep religious conviction that divorce is a sin. (They later told the writer that they would not give anyone a divorce because of this reason.)

The dissatisfied husband's mate has moved in with her grown son from a previous marriage and the children born to her and her estranged husband have been living with her part of the time and her estranged husband and his relatives part of the time.

A group of men from both Finsam's and Joanej' group practiced singing under the direction of Rev. Nelson. The two groups ("Jebta") will compete against each other in the annual Easter singing contest. Singing contests are held every Christmas as well. This form of competition is practiced throughout the Marshalls. The "jebta" (from the English word "chapter" may be either intra-atoll or inter-atoll; the latter particularly in the urban centers" of Ebeve Island on Kwajalein Atoll and Rite-Ulika-Dalap on Majuro Atoll, the populations of which are drawn from all over the Marshall Islands. Schools such as the Protestant Mission School at Röhr Island, Majuro Atoll and the Marshall Islands Intermediate School, Rite (Jerej) Island on the same atoll also compete on the two religious holidays. The singing is of very high quality and beauty, in the local context, and once heard is not easily forgotten.

March 18, 1955 - Friday

Routine activities were carried on.

A group of men sailed off to the leeward reef between Bieto and the western tip of Ujilah Island, on a reef fishing and shellfish gathering expedition.
The canoe Missouri sailed off to Enelap with a copra making party (after spending three hours repairing the tattered and worn sail and re-caulking the hull).

Ebream and a group of men went out to the windward reef between Raij and the eastern tip of Ujilâh Island to fish and attempt to capture a turtle which is expected to return to Raij tonight to lay additional eggs. The amphibian was last detected, by her fresh tracks in the sand, twelve days ago when she deposited her eggs. The usual egg laying cycle is every twelve days for three to six times.

Another fishing party left at the same time with Ebream's party, to fish the same area. Most of the first fishing party returned at 3:30 P.M. with a catch of about 150 "mejinwör" which average about 6 oz each. They were not able to catch any fish however.

The two "iroîj" and three other men remained on Raij to attempt to capture the turtle. The planned to spend all night there and return in the morning.

The second group returned at 4:00 P.M. with a catch of two large octopus (about 3 pounds each), one "kuro" (a species of rock fish) weighing about 2 pounds and approximately 200 "mejinwör".

The copra working party returned from Enelap at 5:30 with a load of copra. The familiar sound of the conch shell, blown on this occasion by Jera, Rev. Ernej's wife who is the leader of the women in church activities, summoned the village women to their regular Friday afternoon services.

The complaints of "we are hungry" and "there is no food, nothing to eat but coconuts, Ujilâh is no good now, there is no American food, no rice and flour", etc., have been on the increase in the past week, especially the past few days. The supply of pandanus fruit, mostly of the wild variety, has increased slightly since the arrival of the field party on Ujilâh, but it is still scanty. A very small amount of arrowroot has been dug lately to take the place of flour which is almost completely gone. Small amounts of the latter are being carefully rationed by a few fortunate families.

The people are becoming increasingly anxious as to the arrival date of the field trip ship, as are the writer and Izikiel, whose planned stay of a three week maximum has extended to 31 days at this writing and whose supply of food is almost exhausted.

Attitudes toward the Present Administration

The attitudes of orientation toward the U. S. Navy and dissatisfaction with the civilian Administration, as observed and reported by the writer in October 1952 and reported again in October 1954, have not weakened;
indeed, they have been strengthened. The writer has been told by the "iroij" and other leaders of the community as well as various individuals of ordinary status (i.e. a good cross section of the group) that the days under the Naval Administration at Enewetak "iimin pein Navy), were very good but the life on Ujilarn under the Civilian Administration ("iimin pein Jibilian") is not very good. These statements of criticism are more frequent and more pointed than they were the last time the writer heard them over two years ago.

The more than three year period at Enewetak and Kwajalein under the aegis of the Navy have taken on all of the aspects of a "Golden Age" and are referred to nostalgically by the Ujilarn dwellers. This attitude might well be expected from a group which after having been exposed to the traumatic experience of daily aerial and naval bombardment and a bloody invasion where several of the group were killed, then was suddenly showered with unexpected largess and a flood of food, clothing and other desirable items, in amounts which to members of the group, seemed incredible. These were initially given them later made available for purchase for cash and "exchange for handicraft".

After a prolonged period of being supported by the Navy in this fashion and at the same time being able to exploit the natural resources of the islands of Enewetak Atoll which were not being used by the armed forces, being able to retain monies from the copra sales, and salvage many items discarded by the Navy, it is not surprising that this displaced group is dissatisfied with life on Ujilarn where they have not been supported by the administration, where the land and lagoon areas are considerably smaller than Enewetak and where the logistic support has, in the recent past, been neither reliable, regular or satisfactory.

With this background and the factors mentioned it is not surprising that unfavorable comparisons are made by the Ujilarn people between the U.S. Navy administration and the present administration.

These attitudes were reinforced recently during the period when the field trip ship did not visit Ujilarn for a six months period, (near the end of that period). The supply of imported food stuffs had been long exhausted and the local supplementary foods, except for the ubiquitous coconuts, were either not available or available in very small amounts. The people had no idea when the field trip ship would arrive.

At this stage of the game, a military aircraft made an unexpected visit to the atoll. The two "iroij" took advantage of this opportunity to send a letter (written for them by Rev. Nelson Sigra) to General Clarkson then S.O.P. at Enewetak, asking for help. The letter allegedly stated that the regular field trip had not arrived as per schedule and that the people were all out of food and were very hungry. It went on to explain that although the adults could live on coconuts, the children needed other foods such as rice, flour, etc. The letter ended with a plea for assistance and was accompanied by a gift of two sleeping mats.
Two days later General Clarkson personally brought down the requested food supplies. 300 pounds of rice, 500 pounds of flour and 250 pounds of dried beans, were given the Ujilani people. Payment was allegedly offered the General, but refused by him. The General and his party made a short tour of the village, chatted with Rev. Nelson and others (the "iroij" were away fishing) and the General had his picture taken with Rev. Nelson and others, by the official photographer who accompanied the party. The group departed shortly after arriving and accomplishing their mission.

All in all it was a very dramatic and impressive incident and in the particular context, one bound to reflect unfavorably upon the civilian administration as far as the Ujilani people are concerned.

The obvious conclusion was that the military would and could accomplish in two days that which the civilian administration had not done in many months.

The present attitude toward the logistic support of the recent past is also extremely invidious, so it was in 1952. It must be admitted that this dissatisfaction has valid basis. The writer was told, "The Navy sent a field trip ship to Ujilani every three months regularly and without fail; not like nowadays."

The turtle hunters returned at 7:30 A.M. after a fruitless all night vigil. The armored amphibians did not return to the island.

March 19, 1955 - Saturday

The ordinary routine activities were carried on.

A fishing and coconut gathering party sailed off in the mid-morning for Enelap, followed shortly afterward by three canoes bound for Raij Island for the same purpose. (The group averaged six men per canoe.)

The food obtained will provide meals for the rest of today and Sunday when food gathering and preparation is forbidden except under very extenuating circumstances.

The past two weeks have been quite rainy and the unfavorable water situation has improved as the dry winter season ("aheneafl") draws to a close and the summer season ("rak"), June-September approaches.

The fishing parties returned consecutively during the course of the afternoon. The number of fish speared was fairly small. The total catch consisted of 20 "mere" (about 1 pound each), 1 large eel ("drap"), approximately 200 small clams ("mejimwër"), approximately averaging 6 oz.

The unfavorably high tide conditions had prevented the use of the surround technique ("alele").
March 20, 1955 - Sunday

Routine Sabbath activities were carried on.

March 21, 1955 - Monday

The church school was held in the morning as it has been practically every weekday since the arrival of the writer. The total regular enrollment of 17 children from the ages of 6 to 14 has been increased by 5 of the 11 students regularly enrolled in the Government Elementary School which has not been in session since February 14, allegedly "because the school children are hungry and weak and cannot study because of this". Strangely enough, this alleged lack of nourishment has not seemed to affect the regular attendance at the Church School. Perhaps the "spiritual nourishment" which the students presumably receive there helps to sustain them corporeally. In any event, the volume of their shrill singing and recitation does not indicate physical debilitation.

The intense activities of preparing all available copra for market ceased over one week ago and practically everyone has moved back to the village. No move has been made however to re-open the Elementary School.

This situation would seem to indicate that the Ujilahi people consider the release of the few older students to aid in the food getting activities to be of more importance than the schools and what they have to offer. Although food getting activities are of the essence at this particular time, it would seem that the school-teacher and the few older students could be spared from the work effort now that the present copra work has been completed.

The schoolteacher is a son of "iroij" Joanej and closely related to Ebream, as such he could certainly obtain sufficient backing and sponsorship if the community leaders (who closed the school) were at all interested in the matter.

Rev. Nelson was advised to close his school at the same time but insisted on remaining in session; with the students attending on a voluntary basis. So far there has been only one absentee, and for only the few days when her parents went to another island and she had to go with them. According to Rev. Nelson, the 5 students from the Elementary School have been attending his school because they want to learn songs for Easter.

This situation could be interpreted as further proof of influence of the church and/or this particular missionary. However, it should be pointed out that the Mission School enrollment does not include any of the teen age males, who are capable of the copra making, fishing and other food getting activities.
Thirty of the men walked to the eastern tip of the island in the mid-morning to wait for the favorable tide for reef fishing using the "alele" technique. They returned empty handed in the mid-afternoon. Although the tidal conditions were right the fish were not there.

A canoe loaded with men, women and an infant and their equipment left for Kilakon Island in the late afternoon to join a handful of other people who had remained previously to make copra and clear brush.

Rev. Ernej, his wife Jera and adopted son Erdej went torch fishing on the ocean reef at low tide. 40 small reef fish were caught, 15 "kubah", 5 "nili", 10 "buoj", 5 "kuri" and 5 "utot". Seven were fried and brought to the field party the next morning and the rest were divided up between Ernej, Erdej and his family and Devij (a relative) and his family.

March 22, 1955 - Tuesday

A great deal of noise and activity ensued before dawn as preparations were made by three canoe crews and passengers to get underway while the early morning tide remained favorable.

Two canoes left for Kalo Island at the westernmost end of the lagoon where they will obtain more copra and, it is hoped, catch some fish to augment the coconuts and small amount of arrowroot and pandanus which the people have been living on.

A third canoe will fish the reef area between the western end of Ujila Island and Rieto Island and Enolap. Rev. Nelson declared a school holiday in order to join the quest for the badly needed fish.

Almost all of the able bodied men will take part in the fishing operations. Four of the older men, two women and two children combed the ocean reef behind the village area at low tide, for shellfish and tide pool fish.

A fourth canoe left at 9:30 to fish off the windward reef between the western end of Raij Island and Kilokon Island.

Various nuclear family groups and other dispersed throughout the island to gather pandanus and coconuts from their lands as usual. Others searched the lagoon reef for shellfish and tide pool fish.

It may be seen that the local economy is on a level just above bare subsistence with only a narrow margin between hunger and minimal satisfaction of the basic needs. The scanty resources of the atoll do not allow the preservation and storage of surplus foods against the period of shortage as is possible on most of the other atolls in the Marshall Islands. The few breadfruit and pandanus trees which have reached the bearing stage only produce enough fruit for immediate consumption.
The situation in this respect will improve of course when the young trees commence bearing, 3 years for most of the pandanus and 3 and 4 more years for most of the breadfruit trees.

The amount of copra produced does not provide sufficient cash money to purchase enough of the storable staples of rice, flour, sugar, etc. required to satisfy the needs of the people between field trips and to provide the necessary insurance against shortages of the locally derived foods.

As previously stated, an improved agricultural program with emphasis on re-planting of the coconut groves and importation and transplanting of the food bearing trees such as pandanus and breadfruit (of different and better varieties) plus improved logistic support, will increase the economic resources of the atoll and thereby raise the standard of living so that enjoyed by more favored Marshallese.

If the writer seems to be belaboring these points, it is simply because they are belaboring him. They are so obvious, so basic, so immediate and so crucial that they are cut for the attention which has been long overdue.

Joni another local seer whose prophetic abilities are reputed to be very reliable, broke his long silence this morning to predict that the field trip ship will arrive this week. He has been promised a reward of imported food-stuffs by some of the "cigarette hungry" young men if his prediction comes true.

The people who sought fish on the ocean reef in the morning brought in the following catches: Livsi and his wife, 16 "bwilak", 1 "imim" and one octopus ("kuit"). Ebreem, li. "bwilak". All of the catch were small specimens. The other fishermen and women returned empty handed.

The first fishing party returned at 1:25 P.M. with the following catch: 32 "mejenwör" (clams) and 24 fish mostly "mao" and "jutakilule". These fish varied in weight from about 3 pounds (only four of the latter).

At 3:36 the second canoe arrived with a large catch of 270 "mole" (averaging one pound apiece). These had been caught on the reef area off the end of Kilakon Island. About 70 were reportedly retained by the people who went to Kilakon last evening and who aided in the fishing operation.

The canoe which had sailed to Kalo returned at 4:02 P.M. with a cargo of bagged copra, 10-100 pound bags and 3 large basket of "iu" (nearly 50 nuts in each basket ("kilik")). This group had not had any time to go fishing.

The other canoe which had been on Kalo arrived at 4:19 P.M. with a cargo of 5 one hundred pound bags of copra and 2 "kilik" of coconuts (approximately 100 nuts).
Everyone on the island will receive a share of the catch as is customary when an appreciable number of fish are brought in.

Rev. Nelson led Ebreme's "jebta" in an Easter singing contest practice session in the late afternoon, followed by a separate session with Joanej' "jebta".

The latest topic of conversation now making the rounds is the dream that Lorenji (Ebreme's brother) had last night. He dreamed that the field trip ship will arrive this Saturday. The Marshallese (as do other groups, including a good number of Americans) believe in the efficacy of dreams. "Some of them come true."

All of these reported dreams and prognostications are obviously an indication of the importance of the field ship as the only communication and logistic support to the Ujilah people and their economy. These manifestations and the attention paid them reflect the anxiety and anticipation of the group regarding the ship.

March 23, 1955—Wednesday

Routine activities continued.

Two canoe loads of fishermen sailed away to exploit the reef area off Bieto Island. The first canoe, with six men aboard left at 6:40 A.M. The second, a smaller canoe, with two men aboard, sailed off at 6:43 for Kilakon to pick up additional fishermen and to proceed to the reef area of Kirinen Island, further to the west. A third canoe with five men aboard left at 7:13 to work the area between Raij and the main island.

Practically every sector of the atoll will be covered as is the usual pattern of group exploitation of the local marine resources.

The yield of pandanus although scanty, has been progressively increasing, especially during the past week. Some of the fruit has been brought in practically every day, mostly from the agricultural lands on the main island.

The process of fruition is commencing on some of the breadfruit trees, with the increased rain and the approach of the breadfruit season.

"Iroij" Joanej called to register an official complaint in the name of himself, Ebreme and the Council. He wanted to know why MIECO uses Ujilah men as stevedores aboard the field trip ship during the copra loading operations. He stated that the four or five men so commandeered reduce the effectiveness of the operation on shore besides which he and Ebreme have to pay their wages (.50 per day) plus their food. Food, although supplied by I.T.C. in the past is allegedly not supplied by MIECO to the local men who work copra and cargo aboard ship.
Joanej stated that if this is the standard practice throughout the Marshalls, he and Ebream will not care so much; but if it is only done on Ujilafí, they definitely object.

The writer informed Joanej and his storekeeper Erdej, who was with him that as far as he knows it is standard practice throughout the Marshalls to commandeer local labor to work the copra and cargo aboard ship.

The second report of local dissatisfaction was that the Master of the M/VA Torry who immediately preceded the present Master, did not give the Ujilafí"people enough time to load the copra aboard. Joanej, Edej and Aluo stated that copra had been left behind on two occasions because of the Master's hurry to leave the atoll.

The men stated that this complaint is not directed at the present master of the field trip ship, but that reason for bringing this complaint to the writer's attention was so that it could be reported to the higher authorities in order that the unsatisfactory conditions of the past could not recur any time in the future.

A request was made for a special field visit by a dentist in order to take care of the dental work which cannot be done during the short stay of the field trip ship. Dr. Lämbwe, also made this request and stated that there are many people requiring intensive dental attention.

The writer assured the group that he would bring these matters to the attention of the proper authorities.

Church school was not held. Rev. Nelson spent part of the morning discussing and explaining certain passages of the Bible with the Rev. Ernej.

"Iroij" Joanej worked from 9:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. almost continuously in finishing up a section of a new canoe, using a metal bladed adze to chop out the heavy timber. He quit working at 3:00 P.M. to prepare for church services and singing practice.

The canoe which had been fishing the reef between Raij and the eastern tip of Ujilafí Island returned at 2:35 P.M. without any fish. At 2:34 a canoe returned from Kirinen Island with a catch of 4 "mön" (approx ½ pound each), 1 "kolaupar" (approx. 1½ pound) and 2 "mole" (approx 1 pound each).

Ebream's canoe arrived from Kirinen at 2:36. This group was unable to catch anything. A medium sized seabird, a "bwijwak" was brought back alive and will be eaten by its captor and his family.

Following the regular Wednesday afternoon church services both groups practiced singing for Easter separately for about one half hour under the tutelage of Rev. Nelson.
March 24, 1955 - Thursday

The normal routine continued. Two canoes with four men in each one sailed off at 6:30 to fish the lagoon reef at the western end of the atoll.

The mission school resumed operations following the two day recess.

Onil and Taniel, individually, and five young women as a group, combed the reef at low tide, from noon until around 1:00 P.M. Onil was able to spear only 5 "bwilak". Taniel spearred 20 odd fish, mostly "bwilak" and the young women caught over ten with their hands, reaching under the rocks in the tide pools for them. (This is not the normal behavior for women in the rest of the Marshall, but is an eastern Carolinean practice.)

Joanej spent most of the afternoon continuing roughing out his canoe section. The first fishing party returned at 2:04 P.M. with a catch of only 30 "mole" (approx 1 pound each) and 4 "mao" (approx 3½ pound each). The fish were caught by the surround technique.

The second fishing party returned at 4:30 P.M. The "kekajikjik" technique had been used (trolling in the open sea) however only one fish was caught; an "ikari" weighing approximately 4 pounds.

Singing practice was again held by both groups in the late afternoon. A small number of people went night reef fishing at low tide, using torches for illumination and killing the fish trapped in the tide pools with machetes and spears.

The composition of these groups and their catch was as follows:

1. A father and 11 year old daughter: 5 "amrok" (av. 3 oz.), 22 "kubam" (av. 1 oz.), and 3 "kurlaj" (av. 1 oz.)

2. A young wife (not espoused to #1) and her 10 year old sister: 20 "kubam" (av. 1 oz.), 20 "kuraj" (5 oz.), 2 "ranna" (1 oz.), 1 "mën" (1 oz.), 1 "jo" (1 oz.), 3 "mëmë" (1 oz.), 1 "ikari" (1 oz.) and 5 "baraj" (1 oz.)

3. A father and four small sons and nephews: 50 odd "kubam" (av. 1 oz.)

4. A young man and wife and his foster mother: 70 odd "kubam" (av. 1 oz.)

5. Two older teen-age boys; a total catch of 37 incl. "jo", "drena", ("bejrek"), "kubam", "mëmë", "kurlaj", and "buaj". The only good sized fish caught by the boys were a few "jo" (1 pound each).
The rest averaged in weight as above. The hours between about 10:00 P.M. to midnight were spent in the operations. Most of the fish were cooked by the individual family groups at their homes on outdoor fires. A portion was eaten at that time by the families involved, who gave some of the catch to relatives and friends and ate the rest the following day.

March 25, 1955 - Friday

Preparations commenced at daybreak for a driftwood expedition to Kalo. Two canoes from Ebream's group left at 6:30 A.M. to bring back logs for canoe building. Permission had been received from their "iroij" yesterday. A total of nine men and one woman were involved in the party.

A third canoe from this group sailed off at 7:22 A.M. to go fishing off the particular small islands across from the main island in which the members of the party possess land rights. This canoe carried an older man and his spouse, a younger man and his wife and her young sister, three small children and an infant.

Ujilau is suddenly taking on the atmosphere of a "divorce mill". The latest deviation from the normal pattern of marriage, on Ujilau, is the "divorce" of one of the younger matrons from her husband. She left him last night and went home to her own family, moving from Joanej' side of the village (of which her spouse is a member) to her own family's home on Ebream's half of the island. The two older children remained with the father and the youngest one, an infant, with the mother. They will circulate back and forth informally, of course, as is customary in cases like this throughout the Marshalls. The estranged husband spent this morning at his wife's new domicile in an apparent attempt to effect a reconciliation.

Whether there is any connection between this separation and the one which occurred last week, is not known by the writer. It is doubtful that there is any connection however.

Three women and four small girls spent the mid-morning searching for edible marine products on the exposed lagoon reef adjacent to the central portion of the village area. The yield was negligible however.

Two young men who had been engaged in underwater spear fishing since 11:00 A.M. returned at 5:50 with a total catch of 6 "aile" (av. 1½ pounds each). "The weather is no good for fishing today," was the explanation given for the scanty catch. An almost dead calm prevailed all day and continued into the night.

Benjamin's canoe returned from Kalo at midnight with two large pieces of roughly cut driftwood for canoe construction and repair. Half of the 80 "mole" surrounded earlier in the day with the aid of the few people
who had been working on the island, were brought back; the rest having been consumed by everyone on Kalo.

March 26, 1955 - Saturday

Routine activities continued.

A canoe with eight young men aboard got underway at 7:20 for a fishing expedition on the windward side of the lagoon, close to the main island. The other canoe which had gone to Kalo yesterday to obtain timber, returned at 10:37 A.M. with two large pieces of driftwood for a canoe prow or stern.

Izikiel, the Health Aid, the school teacher and two other young men spent three hours, from forenoon to early afternoon gathering ripe coconuts from the best coconut lands on the western end of the village area. These were carried to the coconut nursery and planted for future propagation.

The canoes which had been absent from the main island commenced arriving at 2:55 P.M. All five of them had returned by 4:45 P.M. The fishing party brought back a catch of 20-odd small sized reef fish of similar variety and size as those which have been caught in the past few days. Forty-odd "mole" were brought back in the canoe that had been at Kalo. These had been caught as usual by the "alele" technique. The last canoe to arrive from Kalo brought 20-odd "mole", their share of the same catch.

Marta, the "dri kansar" or seer, whose prophecy of two weeks ago regarding the arrival of the supply ship did not come, and Maria, also noted for her abilities to foretell the future, but to a lesser degree, told the people "do not worry, the ship will arrive tomorrow."

March 27, 1955 - Sunday

The regular Sabbath routine was carried on. Two of the "dri Komat" met in front of the church at 6:45 A.M. and after sitting and chatting for 15 minutes began getting the church ready for the morning services.

The peace and quiet of the morning was suddenly shattered at 7:45 by loud, jubilant, and excited shouts of: "Jail O! Jail O! E walok tema! Sail Ho! Sail Ho! The steamer has appeared!" The prophecies of last night were realized.

Most of the villagers streamed happily over to the ocean side of the narrow island to view the eagerly awaited ship with its supply of badly needed food stuffs and other necessities.

After the excitement had subsided, preparations were commenced for the copra loading operations. The older men and the women and children
continued the normal Sunday routine and prepared for the church services as usual.

The American flag was hoisted shortly after the ship was sighted. Ebream ordered this done and castigated the responsible young man for not being quicker at performing this duty.

All of the people were very happy and excited at the imminent prospect of eating "pilaua" (flour, bread, and rice and smoking cigarettes again.

The two "iroij" and others informally discussed the quantity of flour, rice, etc., to be ordered.

The "Iroij"—magistrates and the Health Aid put on their best clothes (cleaned and pressed khaki shirts and long khaki trousers) in preparation for meeting the Field Trip Officer and the ship's Captain. The sailing canoe was made ready to take the official party out to the ship.

The "Torry" anchored at 12:00 and the group sailed out to it followed closely by a second canoe loaded down with eager passengers.

The copra loading and trade goods off-loading started almost immediately and continued through the next day.

The "iroij" and others expressed their satisfaction at the arrival of the ship well within the three month period of normal schedule. They stated: "if the ship can be as reliable as this, every time from now on, there will be no trouble.

The following business was transacted:

Copra purchased by MIECO and trade goods sold to the Ujilaii stores, 3/29/55

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Total Cost</th>
<th>Whsl.</th>
<th>Total Amt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Joanej' copra</td>
<td>lbs</td>
<td>30,479</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>1,371.56</td>
<td>296</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ebream copra</td>
<td>lbs</td>
<td>25,153</td>
<td>0.045</td>
<td>1,131.89</td>
<td>214</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>55,632</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,503.45</td>
<td>540</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Trade Goods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Total Cost</th>
<th>Whsl.</th>
<th>Total Amt.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Flour, 102 bags</td>
<td>lbs</td>
<td>5,100</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>540.60</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice, 5 bags</td>
<td>lbs</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>.149</td>
<td>74.50</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sugar, 4 bags</td>
<td>lbs</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>28.80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee, 1 case</td>
<td>lbs</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>52.40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kerosene, 2 drums</td>
<td>gal</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>.595</td>
<td>64.26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Soap, 5 cases</td>
<td>box</td>
<td>720</td>
<td>.112</td>
<td>80.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Items

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Unit</th>
<th>Unit Price</th>
<th>Total Price</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mackerel, Jap.</td>
<td>2 cases</td>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>24.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fishline</td>
<td>10 hanks</td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cigarettes</td>
<td>1 case</td>
<td></td>
<td>500 pkg</td>
<td>86.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laundry soap</td>
<td>1 case</td>
<td></td>
<td>60 bar</td>
<td>8.04</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Financials

- Previous indebtedness to MIECO: $1,017.68 - paid
- Balance of indebtedness to MIECO: $511.27 - unpaid

---

Neither sailcloth, paint nor fishing equipment, except for a small quantity of fish line were part of the manifest. A small quantity of all fish hooks were purchased from the supercargo acting as a private trader and the Field Trip Officer from the "Torry" also traded some fish hooks for sea shells with some of the local people.

Vigorous complaints were registered by the UjilaM "iroij" and others because of this lack of badly needed items and requests for them to be sent as soon as possible were again made.

The MIECO representative (supercargo) provided food for the local stevedores working cargo aboard the ship and states that this was his normal routine when he made the field trips. He stated that he did not know whether or not the alternate supercargo did likewise.

Following the completion of regular administrative field trip business and the commercial operation, the ship got underway and departed UjilaM at 1.15 P.M. on March 29, 1955.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Aile (n)</td>
<td>A species of reef fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Alele (v)</td>
<td>The surround method of fishing, using palm fronds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Aiwenea (n)</td>
<td>The winter season</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Anrök (n)</td>
<td>A species of reef fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Baraj (n)</td>
<td>A species of reef fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Berulip (n)</td>
<td>Coconut crab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Bejrak (n)</td>
<td>A species of reef fish (local name &quot;drena&quot;)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Bijvak (n)</td>
<td>A species of sea fowl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Buoj (n)</td>
<td>A species of reef fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Drep (n)</td>
<td>A species of salt water eel (largest found)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Dri Kanan (n)</td>
<td>A seer or seeress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Dri Kapatat (n)</td>
<td>Smokers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Dri komat (n)</td>
<td>Church elders or leaders in the Protestant Church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Dri lale (n)</td>
<td>Church committee members (lit. people who look after, or supervise things)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Ekkwol (n)</td>
<td>Sennet made from fibers of the coconut husks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Ereröktok, erök (v)</td>
<td>Beaching a canoe (Allusion to welcome to the island)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Erwan (n)</td>
<td>Wild varieties of pandanus (generic term)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Ikari (n)</td>
<td>A species of reef fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ilarök (n)</td>
<td>Trolling in the open sea outside the lagoon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Imim (n)</td>
<td>A species of reef fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Iroij (n)</td>
<td>Chief or king</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Iu (n)</td>
<td>The spongellike edible center of the interior of the sprouted coconut; i.e., the bulk of the sprout</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
23. Jar (n. & v.)  To pray (v), church (n)
24. Jar in komwot (n)  Monthly church services and business meeting of the church elders (dri komwot)
25. Jar in Kora (n)  Church services held every Friday by the women only
26. Jar nan ellôhi (n)  Church services and business meeting, held regularly at the beginning of each month
27. Jar in Wonje (n)  Church services held every Wednesday
28. Jebta (n)  Competitive church groups (Fr. English "Chapter")
29. Jilel (n)  Large shell used for summoning people to church, etc., by blowing into a small hole bored into the end
30. Jim (n)  Special small mats used in the process of sun-drying coconut meat to make copra
31. Jinai (n)  A species of reef fish
32. Jo (n)  Kind (adj.), kindness
33. Joij (adj)  A species of reef fish
34. Jutaklule (n)  Small boy's amusement of racing home-made model canoes
35. Kadriwutwul (v)  Commoner (n), strong (adj.), strength
36. Kajur (n. & adj.)  A celebration or party
37. Kamolo (n)  Species of tree (pisonia grandis)
38. Kañal (n)  Large basket woven out of coconut fronds for general utility
39. Kilik (n)  Species of tree (Hesserschmidtia Argentia)
40. Kirin (n)  Institutional common-law marriage (Lit. "just together")
41. Koba Bajjök (adj)  Trolling within lagoon or close to ocean reef
42. Kokkojökjök (v)  Species of reef fish
43. Kelaolap (n)  Species of tree (scaevola frutescens)
44. Kônbô (n)  Species of tree (scaevola frutescens)
45. Kubař (n)  A species of reef fish
46. Kumi (n)  Group or team (from the Japanese language)
47. Kur (n)  A species of reef fish
48. Kurlaj (n)  A species of reef fish
49. Kure (n)  A species of reef fish
50. Kwit (n)  Octopus
52. Mak (n)  A species of reef fish
53. Makëjkëj (n)  A special type of festive food giving
54. Me (n)  Stone weir or fish trap
55. Mejinwër (n)  A species of bivalve similar to a small clam
56. Mejuan (n)  A species of breadfruit, seeded
57. Mere (n)  A species of reef fish
58. Mokwon (n)  A dish made of prepared pandanus and grated coconut meat
59. Mole (n)  A species of reef fish
60. Mën (n)  A species of reef fish
61. Mën in Kejemlok (n)  A farewell feast (lit. food at the ending)
62. Rak (n)  The summer season
63. Ranna (n)  A species of reef fish
64. Tuëi (n)  A species of reef fish (found in Kusaie)
65. Turbo (m)  Spear fishing
66. Utot (n)  A species of reef fish
67. Waini (n)  Ripe coconut

- 54 -
68. Wunamafi (n)  The variety of pandanus producing the best textile materials (from the leaves)

69. Wurin ni (n)  Drinking coconut

70. Wut (n)  Head garland or "lei" woven from leaves and flowers
BIBLIOGRAPHY


4. Bryan, E. H., Jr., op. cit
### STATION - UJELANG, MARSHALL ISLANDS - Position, latitude 9° 46' N. longitude 160° 58' E. Altitude, 33 feet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>Mean Maximum</th>
<th>Mean Minimum</th>
<th>7 a.m.</th>
<th>2 p.m.</th>
<th>Average amount (inches)</th>
<th>Number of rainy days</th>
<th>Maximum in 24-hours (inches)</th>
<th>Mean velocity (knots)</th>
<th>Percentage of observations from -</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>7 a.m.</th>
<th>2 p.m.</th>
<th>Cloud amount (0-10)</th>
<th>Number of days with sales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>2.36</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1.95</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>3.12</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6.06</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>6.99</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>8.21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>9.21</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>9.30</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10.83</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>10.70</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>9.59</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>13.0</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>4.61</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>18.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>82.96</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extreme</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of years</td>
<td>4-5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6-7</td>
<td>6-8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13-14</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>14-15</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. \(\frac{1}{2}\) (maximum + minimum).
2. Days with 0.01 inches or more rain.
3. Maximum fall during the 24 hours from one morning observation to the next.

**Authorities:** Deutsch Uberseeische Meteorologische Beobachtungen
**STATION - JALUIT.\(^1\) - Position, latitude 5° 55' N., longitude 169° 38' E.**

Altitude, 202 feet

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Air temperature, °F</th>
<th>Mean(^2)</th>
<th>Mean maximum</th>
<th>Mean minimum</th>
<th>7 a.m. relative humidity (percent)</th>
<th>Rainfall</th>
<th>Average amount (inches)</th>
<th>Number of rainy days</th>
<th>Mean velocity (knots)</th>
<th>7 a.m. cloud, amount (0-10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>January-----</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>13.46</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>E E E E E E E E E E</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February----</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>7.23</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>E E E E E E E E E E</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March-------</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>10.22</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>E E E E E E E E E E</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April-------</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>78</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>11.12</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>SE E N E E E E E E E</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May---------</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>11.72</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>SE E N E E E E E E E</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June--------</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>12.35</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>SE E N E E E E E E E</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>July--------</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>11.73</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>SE E E E E E E E E E</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August------</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>11.28</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>NE E W E E SE E E E</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September---</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>12.39</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>E E E SW E E SE E E</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October-----</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>11.68</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>E E E E SE SE SE SE</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November----</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>15.78</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>E E E E SE E E E E</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December----</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>16.54</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>E E E NE SE E E E E</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Mean(^2)</th>
<th>Mean maximum</th>
<th>Mean minimum</th>
<th>7 a.m. relative humidity (percent)</th>
<th>Rainfall</th>
<th>Average amount (inches)</th>
<th>Number of rainy days</th>
<th>Mean velocity (knots)</th>
<th>7 a.m. cloud, amount (0-10)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mean--------</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total-------</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>36.90</td>
<td>267</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of years</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^1\) All data secured from information based on 1 observation a day at 8 a.m.

\(^2\) Barometer 20\(^\prime\) above ground; thermometer 4.6\(^\prime\) above ground.

\(^3\) Mean = (mean max. + mean min.) / 2.

\(^4\) Number of days with .001 inch or more of rain.

Authority: South Seas Bureau
Handwritten addition by [name] 2/3/64

(from pen tracing in original report by John de Young files at Hi Com - Saipan)
DISTANCES BETWEEN MARSHALL ISLANDS

UJILAN to Mili - 700 miles  
EBON to Bokak - 600 miles