

Christship

Makin.

When the Hea started to beniben on Makin
& Kiska, there were only two uta who
did the work. All other landowners
"lay down & hid their faces."

(Beniben = the High Chief's right of taking fruits
of the lands of his vassals).

Death.

all incorporated

Chiefs + Heas were denied,
On Makin and Butanitari the head
was always east: never in any
other direction.

Two fires lit. one at head one at
feet. Could not be touched for
certain lengths. An old man

Rights and privileges over land of the various social groups on Butaritari.

Butaritari

Te Uea (The High Chief).

The High Chief was, in theory at least, the overlord of all lands on the island. His status gave him the right to demand tribute of the produce of any land. As need or occasion arose he would send his messenger out to carry his orders to those in possession of the land: this messenger, if of the slave class, would probably remain on the land in question, both to help the workers in their task and to supervise the carrying out of the order. More usually, this duty of Katangi bai was performed by a member of the chief-class, who would pass the Uea's word on to the workers, and probably have one of his own servants in supervision of the task.

The Uea could limit his own rights over the whole island, by giving away the High Chiefship in respect of different lands or districts. It was perfectly understood that the people on the lands in respect of which he receded his rights owed no further obligations to him; they owed the land-tribute to the chief who received such authority from the Uea.

It was to a member of the Uea's own utu alone that such status of high-chiefship was ceded. The privilege must have been sparingly granted at all times, for at the present time, after generations of High Chiefs on Butaritari, the ^{present} Uea preserves his rights over 886 out of 1093 pieces of land.

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Toke (the Chief).

High Chiefship was an accident of war. A dynasty of High Chiefs was established only by force. It followed that the various family groups, who succeeded by force of arms in establishing such a dynasty, must receive some sort of reward for their services. The reward they did receive was the chiefship over blocks of land which varied in size according to the services rendered. The chief-right of a toke over the land allotted to him was exactly the same in character as the high-chief-right of the Uea over all Butaritari: he exacted dues from the workers on the land, and there appears to have been no limit set to his power of extortion except the premier right of the High Chief to the fruits of all land. Having seen that the demands of the High Chief were satisfied, a toke could take what he liked from his own holdings.

The tokas might fight among themselves, undisturbed by the Uea, for their various holdings. The chief-rights might thus pass from hand to hand, according to the fortunes of war, in quick succession. It might happen that a chief had two separate holdings — one at the North end of the island and one, say, in the middle. From his Northern holding he might be driven by some other family group. Then he might approach the victors in pacific spirit, and beg to be allowed to remain with his family on the land as a worker (taimakeri). This request being granted, he would take the status of a peaf in respect of his Northern lands. But

in the middle, never having been driven from his holdings, he would retain the status of toka.

best
①
correct

It was often the policy of the High Chief to provoke quarrels among the tokas. Having a grudge against some chief — which might have been born, for example, from a suspicion that the Hea's interests were being neglected on the holdings of the chief — he would incite other chiefs to drive him from the land. If the dispossessed chief happened to be related by a marriage-tie to the High Chief, the latter would see that he was not reduced then to serfdom. But if there was no bond of blood or marriage between victor and vanquished, and therefore no danger of the victor's losing prestige by having a slave as a relative, the deposed chief would have to work for a living — probably on the very land over which he once held chief-rights.

Often, if war seemed imminent, the workers or serfs on the land of a chief might turn against him, and invite some more powerful toka to be their rabuna, or 'covering'. Such an invitation would usually be made to the very man who threatened their chief. Thus war was avoided, and the deserted chief, having no one to fight for him would lose his rights without a blow.

It often happened that some small and solitary toka was surrounded by powerful enemies, and rather than risk his fortune to war, he would ask one of his strong neighbours to be his rabuna. In this

manner, he got protection and safety, but he forfeited his chief-rights to his protector, and became a toro or serf — a worker on the land. Nevertheless, the social status of such a succeeding chief was always superior to that of one who had become a serf by true conquest. The women of his family could be taken in marriage by other chiefs, and the dues exacted from him as a worker were never so heavy as those levied upon a true slave.

Another class of chiefs were the Ba-n-uea or members of the Uea's utu. These had no lands or rights over land in the concrete. They were "fed by the Uea". Generally, these acted as the Uea's messengers when a levy was to be raised for the Uea's benefit. They carried the royal word to the various resident chiefs, and saw that the order was passed on and obeyed. As a reward they were generally given a share of the Uea's revenues, and were allowed to raise levies of their own with the royal permission.

In toro (the ^{verb} serf)

The serf acquired his status by belonging to the vanquished party in any war. The chief of yesterday is the serf of today.

The unfailing custom of war in Butaritari and all the other Gilbert Islands where chiefship prevails was to set the vanquished chief as a serf or traj makuri on his own land. As the worker, he was entitled to all the fruits of the land that might remain after the levies of Uea and chief had been

N.P. (1)

A chief in one district might become a worker in another district by inheriting the rights of a party that had fallen in war and thus been reduced to the status of workers.

paid. On Butaritari the seaf, being the original owner of the land, was always considered to have an inalienable right to remain there, and ~~with~~ his issue inherited this right in the usual course. The toka ~~had~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~power~~ ~~of~~ ~~disposing~~ ~~as~~ ~~he~~ ~~liked~~ ~~with~~ respected this right, and seldom, if ever at all, was a case known where the toro or his issue were dispossessed in time of peace. In time of war it was different. A victorious chief would take possession; ^{and} the fallen chief would then have the first claim to work on his lost lands. Thus he would oust the people who had formerly been his toro, and these would be landless. Generally, they would find some sort of menial work to do for one chief or another, especially if they were skilled fishermen, canoe-builders, or healers. Often, however, they preferred to seek their fortune in another island and would migrate en masse in their canoes.

22/ If a worker acquired land from ^{an} outside source, it came under ^{the} chief-right of the worker's chief. Conversely, if his chief acquired land from outside, he had ^{the} right of working on this extra land. If ^a worker committed an offence, his chief paid ^{the penalty incurred,} e.g. baim aine (land in

confession for assaulting a man's wife or daughter).

Vide Case 191 (General)

High-chief right. Butaritari.

The High Chief could either (a) Transfer, or (b) Abandon his High Chief-right, in respect of land.

- (a) A transfer of the H.C. right would most usually be made from the Uea to one of his own utu. It was hardly likely that the Uea would care to dispense the utu's possessions by giving away its powers to one of another utu.

Transfers of High Chief rights from the Uea to one of his near relations were made when the Uea desired to have a man of influence residing in a particular district, for political or other reasons. Such transfers were sometimes made only in favour of particular persons, and not of their issue. In any case, if the recipient of the High Chief right, or his successors, should die without issue, the right passed not to the next of kin, but back into the High Chief's hands

(Illustrate by genealogy of Teitirere)

- (b) The Uea would often abandon his High Chief right over a single piece, or a few pieces, of land, in favour of one of his workers, who held such land direct from the Uea, without an intermediary Chief. In effect, such a favour amounted to the installation of a worker on the land, free from "taxation". The

grant would be made in return for favours received: for example, it could be conferred as a bai-ni-aine, or a bai-ni-kuakua.

(Illustrate from genealogy of Takibo and Tenene).

In this case again, if the lineal descendants of the first recipient die without issue, the High Chief right lapses into the hands of the Uea.

6.

Slave or working-class. Butaritari.

By the use of a "legal fiction", members of the working class on Butaritari could improve their status. They would agree with their chief to adopt him as their toba. For this, they would acquire land ~~with~~ utua (te ba-n-wi). This would not have the effect of obliterating the chief's chief-right over such land, but it would bring the chief theoretically into such relations of filial piety towards his adoptors that the status of the latter would be considered as equal to his own on that piece of land. Further, the transaction had the definite effect of differentiating the land from the other family possessions of the chief. Thenceforward only he and his issue had the right of sharing possession with his adoptors and their issue. If at any time the direct issue of the chief died out, the land became the property of the adoptor's utua, with only the Uea's High Chief rights upon it.

There were several different methods used by the people for bringing up a boy and preparing him for the estate of warrior. Each method or system had its name.

The system called Ukenkenci is said by the people to have produced the most violent and quarrelsome spirit in a young man. Those who were brought up by this method are said to brook no contradiction whatever; they return violent answers to peaceful questions; they show anger on the slightest excuse; they seize the nearest weapon and break everything in sight. Further, they eat lizards, human flesh and filth of every sort without showing disgust, and cannot be made ashamed or nauseated by any sight, word or deed.

The system described in the f. R. A. I. is called Tuahaona.

The method most in vogue at Butaritari and Makin is called Bareman and is said to have been handed down from Rairaveana-te-Imatani, the son of Batiku, who came from Samoa. At about the age of 4 a boy's hair

was first cut. When it grew long again came the second cutting, which would be a year or two afterwards. The third cutting came when once more the hair was long.

For three days after each cutting the boy's food was only coconut. The nut was laid on the palm and cracked into halves with a single blow. The two halves fell to ground. Only the halves which fell with the cup upwards could be eaten by the boy. Those which fell face downward were given to the girls and women of the utia.

When the boy's third haircutting was done, he was put on short rations. He might eat nothing but what was given him by his tibu. He must touch no food that had not been prepared by the hands of his own utia. He must sleep apart from all women.

At about 16 years the boy was given his Kana ni mane. A coconut tree was sought on the east shore of the island on which grew three nuts alone on one stalk, facing the east. These nuts were not

cut, bit torn off on the stalk. For a period of three days the boy's sole food was the water of these nuts, at the rate of one a day.

For three days after this he returned to a full diet; on the fourth day he was given sea water in a coconut shell, stirred with the barb of a stingray. One such drink of seawater per day for a space of three days was his sole diet.

He was then a man, but not yet fit for a wife. When the pectoral and axillary hair was well grown — say at about 22-24, he was taken by his tribe to the Eastern shore of the island, and there taught the incantation called Kanti made to the rising sun. This was magic for the stiffening of the heart and the awakening of courage, and completed the lad's education.

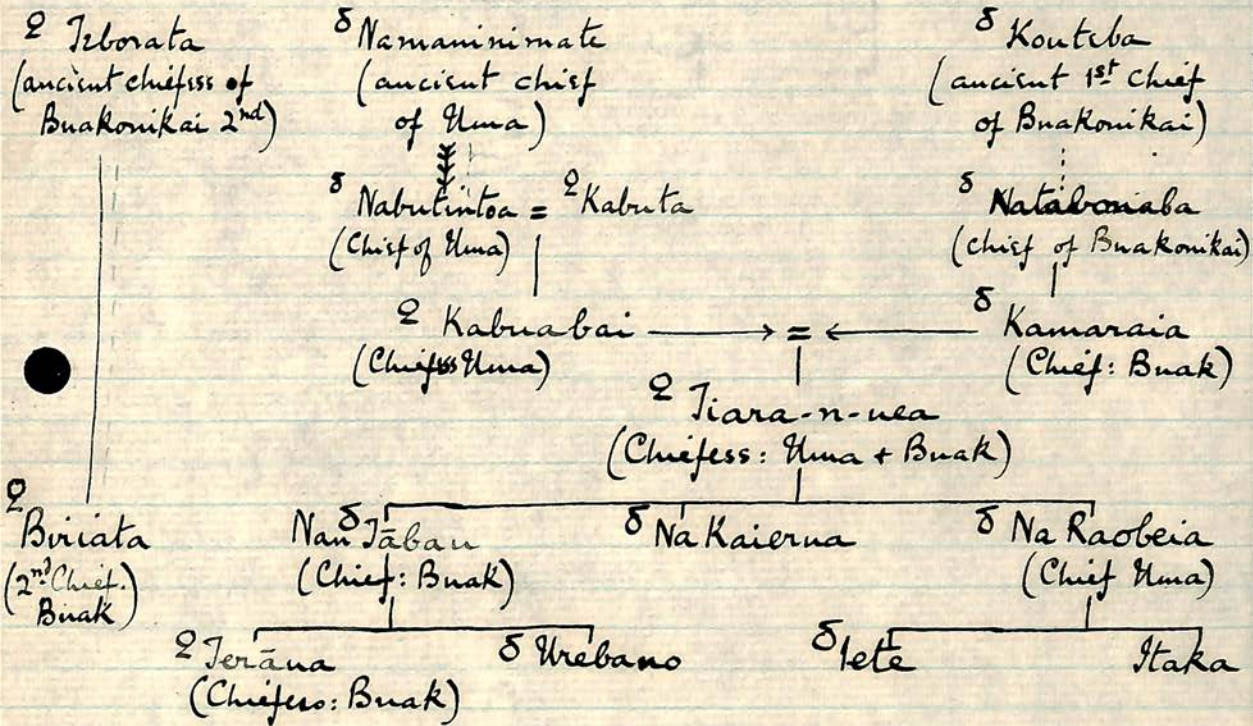
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Chiefship: Banaba.

- ① Men and women had absolutely equal treatment in the inheritance of chiefship. It depended generally on primogeniture.
- ② But primogeniture again was subject to the will of the parent, who, if he had some objection to an eldest child, might appoint a younger to follow him as chief (aomata). An eldest son might be displaced for a younger daughter.
- ③ It is stated that a chief might give his adopted child the succession, but I have found no genealogical evidence to support this.
- ④ Chiefship could be inherited from either father or mother, or both:-
 - | A is chief of Uma - a woman
 - | B is chief of Tabwewa - a man.
 - | They marry. Their single child is the chief of both places.
- ⑤ Chiefship passes laterally: if there are children, the brother of the chief cannot succeed.
 - | A is a woman, a chief: she has a brother B, and a child C. On A's death, C succeeds, B can only become regent until C is old enough to take control.

⑥ But if a chief prefers his brother's or sister's child, he can give him succession to the exclusion of his own children.

⑦ Genealogical illustration.



⑧ In Buakonikai district there is a second chief, whose authority is just less than that of the first. The second has the privilege of "speaking second" in council and assembly. Does not belong to same family (originally) as first; is descended from one of the same canoe crew which originally came from Bem. See above Teborata.

Family quarrels; Reconciliation: Banaba

In about 1913, the people of the families descended from the ancestors Namaninimate and Anteiati (who call themselves a single ute, because the said ancestors made a pact of brotherhood) quarrelled over the rights claimed over a waterhole in the district of Uma. The waterhole belonged ancestrally to the Namaninimate folk, and to the collaterals descended from Namaninimate's "brother" Na Kainnako. On a point of proper pride the Anteiati people, who really had no blood-relationship with the real owners, refused to participate any further in the use of the waterhole. In every other family affair they continued to share as brothers and sisters of the Namaninimate people: they danced, and fished, and played together as theretofore. Only in the matter of the waterhole they seceded.

This lasted until 1922, when a reconciliation was effected. To signalise this a small ceremony took place in the village maneaba. On a given day, in the afternoon, the parties to the quarrel, men women and children, collected — the one at the northern end of the maneaba, the other at the southern end. The senior of the Namaninimate group was a man, the senior of the Anteiati folk a woman. The daughter of the senior Namaninimate

man arose with a wreath of flowers in her hand, crossed over to the Anteiati chiefess, and sitting before her put the wreath about her neck. No words were spoken on either side. I was informed at the time that any sort of wreath might have been used, so long as it was sufficiently handsome of its kind.

After the wreath had been adjusted the girl returned in silence to her place.

A feast immediately began. Heaps of food, which both parties had brought with them, were set out in the middle of the maneaba and distributed.

First share was given to