Native Thought and the War in the Pacific:
A Study of the Effects of the Pacific War on a Native Community of the Markham Valley, Australian Mandated Territory of New Guinea

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NATIVE THOUGHT [illegible] THE [illegible] IN THE PACIFIC -

The Effect of The Pacific War on a Native Community in the Madang District, Australian Mandated Territory of New Guinea -

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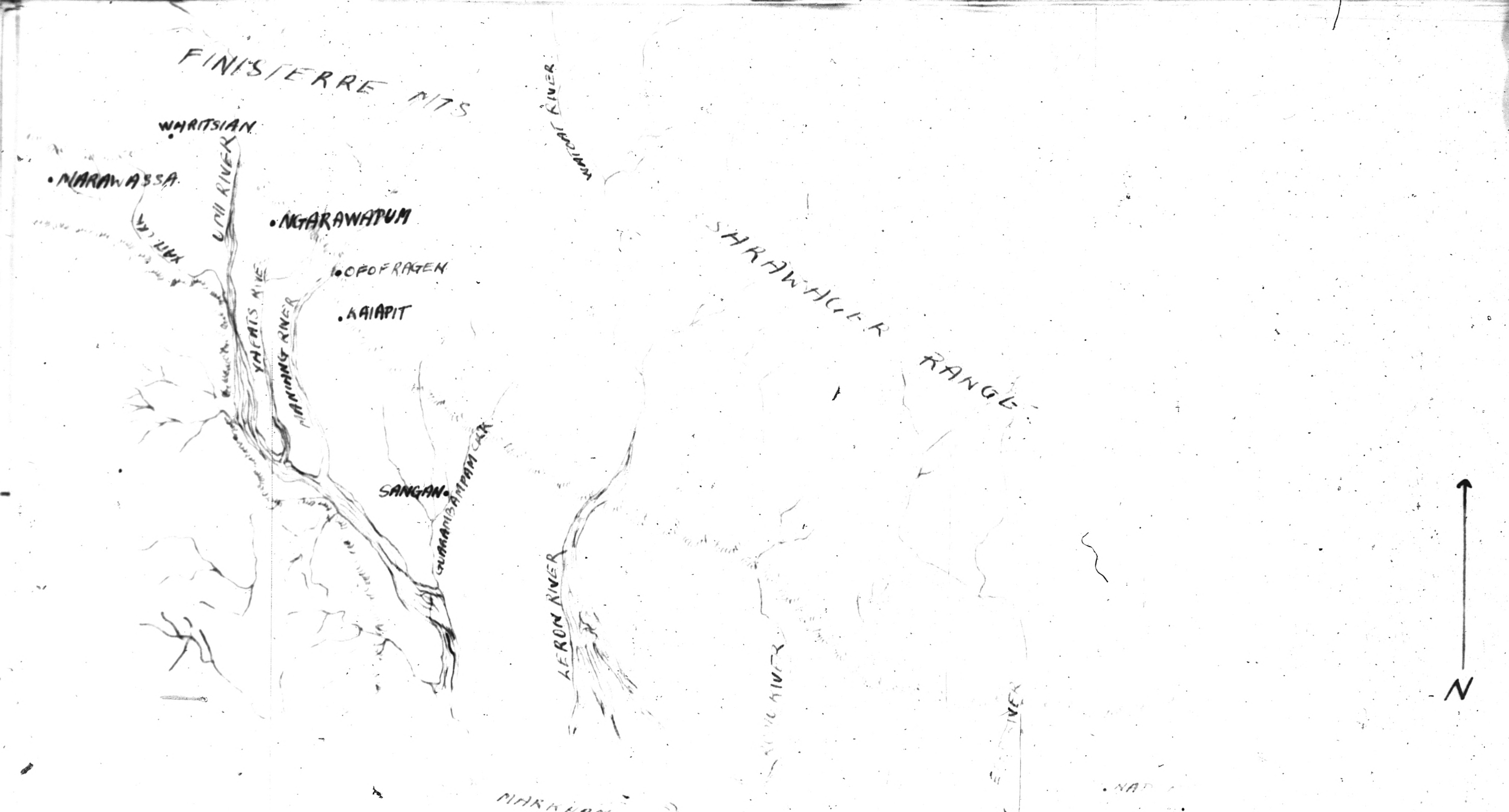
K.E. Read

"Gentleman, you have taken me to a place cold;
You must [illegible] to fetch, and I [illegible] my
[illegible] Brotherton Row."

MAP A


FINISTERRE MTS
WAHITSIAN
MARAWASSA
GOH RIVER
NGARAWAPUM
OPOFRAGEN
KAIAPIT
YAEMTS RIVER
MANANG RIVER
SANGAN
GUMAMBAMPAM CR
WATOAT RIVER
SHAWHUCK RANGE
AERON RIVER
N

I N T R O D U C T I O N

INTRODUCTION

The Scientific Approach to Primitive Society

To admit that as yet we do not know all that there is to know in the study of man is not to discount the enquiries which have been made, or are being made, nor to suggest that their results may be disregarded. As the physicist does not claim to know all that can be known of matter, so the anthropologist does not claim omniscience in the sphere of human relationships or institutions. But he does claim that "a proper study for man is man", and just as the study of physics requires specialised training and techniques, so the study of man as a social animal requires the knowledge and the methods of the specialist. The value of this specialised training, however, the layman is often reluctant to concede. Against the anthropologist, who remains in the field for periods totalling only a few years at the most, he places the planter or the government official, whose work has placed them in the same area, among the same people, for the greater part of their lives. How, he asks, can the anthropologist claim to know more of a people than those who have been in contact with them so much longer? The planter, however, is primarily concerned with the people as an employer of labour. Even over the space of a decade, daily contact with his employees in the copra sheds or the rubber plantations would not qualify him as an authority on village life or native economics. The duties of the government official may give him greater opportunities for observing the life and habits of the people in their own setting, but even he cannot devote the time and attention to such matters that the anthropologist does, living with the people, learning their language and joining in their daily work. Furthermore, and here the question asked by the layman is given specific answer, contact alone, no matter for what length of time, does not of itself produce understanding. To understand, it is necessary to enquire and examine, and enquiry involves a knowledge of what to

look for.

The lay observer who claims to "know" a native people will voice his knowledge in the form of moral judgments, claiming, for instance, that all natives are lazy and unwilling to work, that native women are merely the slaves and chattels of their men. Whether such statements are justified, and nine times out of ten they are not, does not affect the argument here. The point to be noted is that such statements are statements of comparative valuation; they are statements applied to groups of people whose conduct appears to be below the standards required in his own society. The anthropologist, however, is not concerned with the native as he should be, but as he is. He is not concerned with evaluating observable behaviour with preconceived moral standards, but he is concerned with studying behaviour in its own cultural setting. In other words his interest in the native rests in the native's membership in a human society; his problem is the problem of what makes a people one.

Organisation is therefore his chief concern. He is not attempting to "get behind the native mind", but to discover the manner in which co-operation is arranged, how man is bound to man and group to group in the integrated [redacted] whole synonymous with the word society itself. The questions he asks and seeks to answer are: What attitudes of behaviour are required among the people he is studying; what are one's duties towards one's parents, one's relatives, one's children; what constitutes authority and how is authority enforced; what rules and obligations assist the people in obtaining a living; what institutions provide for the passing on of knowledge? And in seeking the answers to these questions he is not concerned with evaluating his discoveries in terms of comparison with his own or other societies, but sees them as responses to the needs of the people he is studying. As his ultimate aim is to discover general laws of human behaviour, the comparative examination of many societies in many parts of the world is an essential part of his work. But this examination is not undertaken for the purpose of passing favourable or unfavourable judgments on the values and

institutions of one society in terms of those of another. The value of an institution can be assessed only against a background of the particular circumstances in which it is set, and as these circumstances differ or correspond from place to place, and as human behaviour differs or corresponds to meet them, so this examination assists in the search for general laws which will cover all the circumstances.

These, then, are the problems germane to the work of the anthropologist, problems of which the laymen is generally unaware. In addition, in recent years, yet another field of study has come within his sphere, the problem of the effects and changes wrought in these indigenous institutions by European ideas and forms of government.

Culture Contact:

The idea that colonial powers have, in their colonial territories, duties other than those which serve the economic and strategic interests of their own nationals is of fairly recent development. These twin interests, economics and politics, must still determine policy to a large extent, but it is generally accepted that the colonial powers have also a duty towards the indigenous peoples of the territories they govern. One result of the acceptance of this principle of sacred trust has been the growth of interest in and controversy over the policies pursued within these territories. Changes in the life and habits of primitive people are recognised as inevitable when these people are forcibly brought in contact with the totally different values of a more highly organised and complex European Society. Change itself is not the problem, for no one to-day could seriously advance that such people should be left alone, in their "natural state." The problem is rather, by what means should these changes be carried out and where should they ultimately lead? Within the limits of these two questions controversy rages back and forth, yet, as one writer has pointed out in regard to Africa, few of the interested parties have so far realised the essentials of the argument:

"Some, turning in distress from the locations of Johannesburg, or the native quarter of Nairobi, or from some account of the disintegration of family life, say: "Let us give Africa only that in our civilisation which is good," or even, "Let the Africans be free to reject what seems to them to be unworthy of imitation in our ways." Others hold that we have deliberately withheld from the African, in order to perpetuate our domination over him, those gifts of our own culture which would enable him to rise to our level - an education equal to that which we give our own children, and the opportunity to control his own political life through those democratic institutions which some of us still claim as civilisation's greatest achievement. Almost all accept it as a starting point of argument that there are certain respects in which European civilisation is undoubtedly superior to any other, and that it is a positive duty to spread its superior elements through all those regions where European domination extends.

In all these views there is an element of truth, but all fail to grasp the essentials of a problem which is not one of point of view, of more or less liberal conceptions of fair play, but of the objective analysis of facts. In the debates which rage over policy in Africa, the partisans of economic interests and of disinterested humanitarianism alike focus their attention upon what ought to be to the exclusion of what is. Both sides are convinced that the policy which they advocate must produce the best results, but neither, so far, has paid much attention to the effects which policies now in operation do produce."

To the social anthropologist, the analysis and examination of these effects is a legitimate and important field of study. And it is not only the more obvious and spectacular forms these changes take, the economic or industrial aspects, the drift to towns, the emergence of a landless, disinherited class of natives, it is not only these outward features of the problem which receive his attention, but also the changes, readjustment or disintegration within the institutions of native society itself. Nor, in studying these changes does he view them in the light of any preconceived political aims.

institutions, ultimately are composed of the behaviour of individuals, and it is the reaction of this behaviour to the influence of imposed European control, commercial and administrative, and the influence of Christianity which forms the basis of his study. The questions he asks are: What happens in society when these influences are imposed on it; how do these influences affect society's institutions and so alter the social configuration of society itself; what changes in behaviour to meet the new situation are apparent, and how do these changes affect related institutions?

From a theoretical point of view the answers to these questions are important in the light they may throw on the processes of cultural change in general. From the point of view of the administrator they must be of equal value. If in the past he has been accustomed to regard society more or less as a collection of individuals with similar ideas and characteristics who in time, with the aid of a little patience and firmness, will learn to accept the changes he is making, application of the scientific approach may well reveal why the results have so far fallen short of the aim. To change society, if change is aimed at, more is needed than mere good will or strong administration.

Social Anthropology and The War

At the present time a third field of study lies before the social anthropologist. In the past few years the primitive peoples of the Pacific have been brought in contact with a particularly violent aspect of European civilisation, the destructive war of these Europeans with the Japanese. During those three years these peoples have been faced with a variety of situations entirely new to their experience, situations whose violence has varied according to the geographical or strategic position of the places concerned. But even those people whose villages and lands did not become an actual battleground, were faced with what one might term the negative aspects of the struggle, the withdrawal of those alien influences to which they may or may not have become more or less

accustomed, and the cutting off of supplies of those few European goods and services which they may have come to need. In either case it needs no help of the imagination to realise that these three years cannot have helped but have profound effects on the lives of these people, and the fact that some of us may think the sacrifice was equal; that what we did we were doing for them as well as ourselves, is merely begging the question, or at least attributing political views or knowledge to those who may not have shared them at all nor even been aware of their significance. But to take the more obvious aspects first.

The dislocation and destruction of village life and village economics in these areas which stood in the direct path of the fighting surely needs little elaboration. The often fortuitous, but sometimes systematic destruction of native food supplies and native dwellings raises the obvious question of rehabilitation, and perhaps in some cases not only material rehabilitation, but also the mental rehabilitation of the people who found their livelihood destroyed.[1] For immediate purposes such damage to native supplies and resources should be examined and, where it is necessary, some form of help be offered. In addition, the period which must elapse before recovery of the damage and destruction should be estimated. During this period it can be taken for granted that the people concerned will be under a more than normal strain, and the administration which reimposes those controls, which in themselves involve some strain to meet them, will be prolonging a situation which, even if looked at in no other light than the practical, is fraught with discontent and problems for the future.

But, in addition, problems of a more purely sociological nature arise. To some extent, and perhaps to a very great extent, it can be presumed that the life of the people has been thrown out of gear. Faced with the destruction of their normal means of support, perhaps compelled to leave their villages and take up a new, if temporary, manner of life, society may be found to be in a state of disequilibrium.

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1. I am told this is the case in the Prince Alexander Ranges behind Wewak, where native villages have been burned as a matter of policy and the destruction suffered at the hands of the Australia Forces is greater than that suffered at the hands of the Japanese.

In the new circumstances accepted values may possibly have no place, or at least may be in need of considerable modification; famine alone may bring this situation. In either case the readjustments necessary to meet the new situation must be studied. It is not suggested, however, that marked or permanent changes in society's institutions will be found. The degree of change and the permanency of change must depend on the duration of and the extent to which the new situation requires extraordinary means to meet it. If, for one reason or another, there has been serious disintegration, then it is surely of major importance to discover it, and, if necessary, take measures to counter it or prevent its spread. Nor is it beyond the bounds of reasonable possibility that such disintegration may have taken place or be in the process of taking place. Theoretically, the situation may be reviewed as one in which society's institutions are functioning under extraordinary stress, and the organisation of society to meet the new circumstances may well throw valuable light on the nature of its institutions and the relative strength of the needs which they fulfil.

Even in areas which may not have suffered destruction or dislocation to a marked degree, problems no less important arise. The question of what happened during the period when European influences, both Governmental and Missionary, were forced to withdraw, must be of interest both to the social anthropologist and to the administrator alike. Did the people show a marked return to former ways of life? In places which had been under European control for sufficient length of time for European ideas, forms of law and administration to have found acceptance, in such places what happened when these influences and mechanisms ceased to function; what took their place? How did the people regard the removal of these controls? Did they regret some features of them, or did they regard it, perhaps, as a liberation? In the light of subsequent contact with the Japanese it must also be ascertained if any new political factors have entered the culture contact situation.

The influence of missionary activity in native life has

always been a storm centre of controversy. Now if at any time, when mission influence no longer functions in many places, and has not functioned for many years, it should be possible to form some estimation, on non-ideological lives, of the extent to which Christianity has been able to take the place of and fulfil the needs formerly satisfied by the indigenous beliefs and customs.

On examination of all these questions, to name but a few, and any new factors which may have arisen in the contact situation, may lead to valuable conclusions. From the point of view of the administrator such an examination may point the way to changes which could be made with profit to all concerned, and if it is too much to hope that many of these changes would be politically expedient, it can do no harm, and may do much good to be in possession of all the facts.

The Scope of This Study

In the following pages I intend to apply these questions to the people of a native community of New Guinea. Implicit in such a study is an examination of the immediate effects of the Pacific War as these people have experienced it, but in addition I shall examine their attitude towards the pre-war government in the light of this experience and endeavour to point out the direction in which some changes might be made. For this purpose I have divided the study into three main sections. Part One, Valley, Village and People, deals with the organisation of native society, its indigenous institutions and methods of co-operation. Part Two, Crisis and Reconstruction, deals with the effects of the Pacific War, economic, social and political and native reactions to the mechanisms of European control. Part Three, the Way to The Future, makes some suggestions based on the findings of Parts One and Two.

Basis of The Study

From September, 1944 to the first week of May, 1945, I lived among the people concerned at Ngarawapum, a group of five villages

situated in the upper Markham Valley some 120 miles by road from Lae on the Eastern coast. During this eight months period I resided for varying lengths of time in three of the villages, but as no village is separated by more than two hours walking distance from its furthest neighbour, I was able to study conditions in all five, though actually my most intensive work was carried out in those in which I lived.

The characteristics of the Markham people are familiar to anyone with a knowledge of New Guinea. Physically, they are tall and well built; in some cases both men and women are six feet in height and I would place the average somewhere about five feet nine for males and a little less for females. Skin colour varies from a light bronze shade to a pure black with the intermediate tones predominating. Ideals of male and female beauty invariably stress the colour of the skin, the lighter shades being preferred. Features sometimes have a distinctly European resemblance, approximating to some Mediterranean types. Generally, the forehead is broad, the nose straight and the jaw hardly ever prognathous. The eyes may have a slight upward slant at the outer corners.

Before contact with Europeans, males went completely naked. Females have always worn the Markham version of the ordinary grass petticoat, cut off in a straight line some three inches above the knees in front and extending two inches below the knees in the rear. Children of both sexes up to the fourth or fifth year spend the greater part of their time without clothes, though on some specific occasions they, too, like to "dress up".

Warfare was once an important feature in the peoples' lives, the spear being the weapon used both in raiding and hunting. Today, however, they lead a settled agricultural existence, their diet consisting chiefly of bananas, yams, taro and sweet potato. This overwhelming preponderancy of starchy foods places a high value on meat as a dietary variant, and for this reason the importance of the vast stretches of kunai plain surrounding the villages cannot be overestimated, these grass lands being the favoured haunt of the

wild pig and other small edible animals. In the days of inter-district hostilities human flesh was also prized, and raids were often carried out for the sole purpose of obtaining this delicacy.

The five villages as a whole comprise almost six hundred individuals, and though my acquaintanceship did not extend over the whole of this number, the majority were known to me, many of them to an intimate degree.

Elements in The Contact Situation

To treat all the factors in the contact situation in detail at this stage would be to anticipate later sections of the study. Some information of an introductory nature is necessary, however, and I shall briefly indicate the main elements and the direction in which they may have had some effect on native life and thought.

In the first place, the distance of the Ngarawapum villages from the chief centres of European population has had a limiting effect on the relationships of the two cultures. Nadzab, approximately ninety miles nearer the coast, is the closest settlement of any importance, and consequently the problems which arise in their most intense forms in some coastal villages, where natives and Europeans are living in the same area, do not pertain to the Ngarawapans. But though to a great extent distance has been a shield between the people and the more intensive aspects of European commercialism, the relative ease with which the whole valley may be traversed from one end to the other, made for early penetration of European administrative influences and the mechanisms of European law and order. A government station is situated at Kaiapit, eight miles from Ngarawapum itself, and prior to the war, this station formed the headquarters of the area Patrol Office. The Ngarawapans, therefore, have had relatively lengthy and intensive experience of European governmental control. This intensive experience does not mean that all aspects of native life were continually under surveillance. In normal circumstances the Patrol Officer probably visited the villages twice in one year, but the mere fact of his presence within the area constituted a more or less permanent influence.

At Kaisapit there also existed a branch of the Lutheran Mission whose influence, from the nature of their work, was certainly more intensive in purely village matters than that of the administration. The mission [redacted] was the sole agent through which the younger generation could hope to obtain a rudimentary literary education. A native mission teacher lived in Tofmora village and conducted classes in a native built "shed" which served the dual purpose of school and church. Instruction was carried out in pigin English, Yabim and to a lesser extent in Atzera, the language native to the area. As the school had ceased to function before I arrived, I am unable to detail its syllabus or activities, but from an examination of text books used and from questioning those who attended it, I am convinced that the most it could hope to give was an extremely elementary education on religious and literary lines. A few youths - I knew only one of them intimately - had had the added advantage of attending the Lutheran Mission School at Finschafen.

Few of the younger generation have not had some experience as indentured labourers with European commercial enterprises or as domestic servants in European households. The distance to European centres has always meant that these young men must leave their village, often for considerable lengths of time. Nothing the Ngarawapans grow or make has any commercial value, and the present stage of the country's development, the difficulties in transport and communications, must remain a limiting factor if commercial crops are introduced. The native, therefore, has no other choice than to leave his village to obtain the money for his head tax and small household necessities.

The War's New Factors:

Briefly, this remained the picture until 1942 when in that and the succeeding years the events of the Pacific War introduced four new elements - the withdrawal of governmental and missionary influences the ensuing inter-regnum when there was no alien control, the arrival and presence of Japanese near the villages, and finally the

return of the Australian Military Forces and the re-establishment of Australian administration.

Lae fell to the Japanese in the early part of 1942, and with its fall European administration in the Markham Valley ceased. I know of at least one small party of European refugees who passed through the Ngarawapum villages after this date only to be killed by the Japanese on the Ramu side of the valley; but, for all practical purposes there was no further contact with Europeans from this time onwards until the recapture of Kaiapit in the later campaigns, a period extending up to September 19th, 1943.

During this period the Japanese established themselves in force at the Lutheran Mission and native villages of Kaiapit, while Sagerak at the lower crossing of the Omi River became an important centre in their Markham-Ramu lines of communication.

The somewhat isolated position of the Ngarawapum villages protected them to some extent, but all places within the valley are easily accessible, the one from the other, and regular Japanese foraging parties, both from Sagerak and Kaiapit, visited the villages. Shortage of food seems to have been one of the main Japanese problems and native produce in the shape of bananas, not vegetables, pigs and fowls were constantly commandeered and taken away. Male inhabitants of the villages were utilised to carry this produce to the Japanese centres and also as carriers along the Japanese lines of communication. Thus, if their villages were not actually occupied, the people were nevertheless in constant contact with the Japanese Forces.

On September 19th, 1943, Australian troops arrived at Kaiapit and during that day and night a sharp engagement was fought. By mid-morning the following day the Lutheran Mission and the Kaiapit villages had been recaptured with a total of 198 Japanese dead.

Part of the Japanese Forces retreated to Sagerak and part beyond the Yafata River to the Ngarawapum villages. This latter section passed through the village of Yanuf, where a casualty clearing station had been established, to the upper crossing of the Omi River and the villages of Ngaratomoa and Waritsian. During the

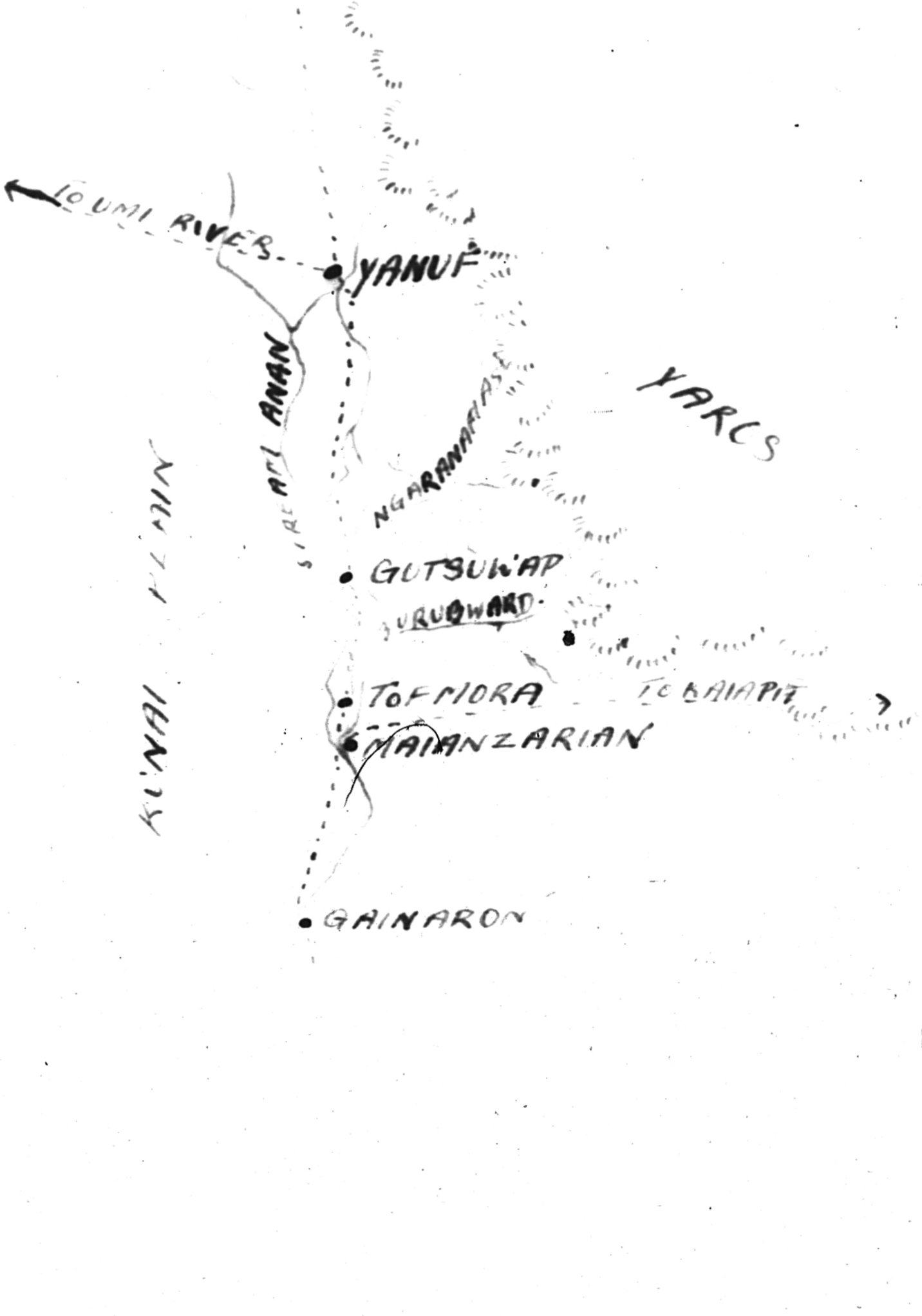
next five days engagements occurred near the Ngarawapum villages of Gainaron and Maianzarian. On September 25th Sagerak was recaptured.

Australian reinforcements arrived during 27th, 28th and 29th of September, and by nightfall of the last date the village of Marawassa had been occupied and the campaign, as far as it affected the Ngarawapum villages, concluded. But for some months after this the high ground behind Tofmora village served as an Australian camp, and throughout the remainder of the Markham and Ramu Valley campaigns the villages were in close contact with the Australian Forces.

In September, 1944, when I arrived at the villages, administration had been functioning again for one year.

MAP

IBIAC, A


TO UMI RIVER
YANUF
ARI ANAN
NGARANAFAS
YARCS
GUTSUN'AP
BURUBWARD
TOFFIORA
TO BAIAPIT
MAIANZARIAN
GAINARON
KI'NAI

VALLEY VILLAGE and PEOPLE

Valley, Village and People

(1) Valley and Village

Geographical Situation

Looking at a topographical model of the Eastern half of New Guinea, the least astute geographer must be impressed by one outstanding feature, the great diagonal rift running North West from Lae to Awar on the Northern Coast. This rift is composed of the contiguous valleys of two river systems, the Markham and the Ramu, the one reaching the sea at Lae on the Huon Gulf, the other near Awar on the North coast. It will also be noticed that the divide between these two rivers is negligible. Throughout the whole of its length the rift provides a relatively simple mode of access from one coast to the other. There are no mountain barriers; the sole obstacles are the swiftly flowing but infrequent streams and rivers.

Such country is not the type usually associated with New Guinea. Covered with head-high kunai grass, the level plain which forms the floor of the vast depression holds back the mountains on either side, isolating the whole of the Huon Peninsula and part of the North coast from the rest of the land mass to the South. Down the centre of the valleys the streams and rivers cut a series of changing courses, and these, together with the isolating factor of distance, are the sole impediments to travel.

The South Eastern portion of this rift comprises the valley of the Markham River, extending from Lae on the coast to Gusap in the North-Western interior. On the Northern side of the valley a continuous chain of mountain peaks, from the Finisterres through the Saruwageds to the Rawlinson Ranges, extend outwards to the Huon Peninsula; Southwards the Kratke Ranges lift up to the mountainous interior and the adjoining Territory of Papua. Streams which feed the Markham came mainly from the Northern side of the valley. The largest of these, the Leron, enters the main river near the village

of Sangan, situated approximately in the centre of the valley; but three lesser tributaries must also claim our attention, the Maniang, the Yafats and the Umi, the last named carrying the greatest volume of water of the three. These streams enter the valley by way of deep gorges cut through the mountain foot hills. They are swiftly flowing and in times of flood, during the wet seasons of the year, are often impassable; but in normal times they are not the barriers they appear to be on maps. Here the representation of a single wide watercourse falsifies their nature, for the volume of water coming down from the mountains spreads out and forms innumerable channels, channels which constantly change their direction and whose destructive propensities are therefore to be reckoned with.

The Markham Valley itself presents but little variation throughout its length. The wide plain, as far as the eye can see, presents a uniform aspect of green-brown monotony, the colour of the kunai grass which grows to a height of six feet and more. This same monotony of colour is carried upwards by the first steeps of the foothills, for these, to a height of some two or three hundred feet, are uniformly devoid of trees. Behind these foot-hills the mountains rise in ever-increasing steeps and heights, their peaks invariably hidden by clouds which, in the early mornings, sweep down to the plain itself and lie like a ring of surf along its outer edges. During the day, the climate becomes extremely hot; but the nights and the early mornings are generally mild and often cold. Winds, as they sweep up and down the valley sometimes attain the force of gales; on the elevation of the foot-hills a breeze is always present. Timber is scarce. Vast stretches of the plain are without a tree or sign of human habitation. In the lower sections of the valley the population is fairly evenly distributed along the main river systems, but North of Kaiapit the central floor is uninhabited. In this upper section the villages are situated on the extreme edges of the plain, Land against the mountain foot-hills and a group of these must claim our attention now.

The Ngarawapum Villages

Some eight miles beyond the Government Station at Kaiapit an arm of the valley pushes almost due North to the Finisterre Mountains. The Southern side of this arm is formed by the Yafats and Maniang Rivers as they enter the plain from the hill district of Yaros; the Northern side is the line of the Umi River as it crosses the central plain. Between these two rivers, the Umi and the Yafats, lies an area of some sixteen square miles, the territory of the Ngarawapum villages. A footroad from Kaiapit to Ngarawapum leads over the stony declivites of the Maniang and Yafats, and from the elevation of the latter stream, as it leaves the mouth of its gorge and descends the stony slope to the plain, it will be profitable to stand aside for a moment and view the villages we are going to study.

Ahead of us the upper section of the valley sweeps out in a vast club-shaped depression, the foothills rising sheer from its sides. Tall kunai grass covers the whole of the plain below. As far as the eye can see there is not a sign of timber; the pencil furrow line of the Umi River, cutting its way to the Southern side of the valley, where it meets the Markham, is the only natural barrier discernible. But immediately below the hill on which we stand a long, uneven line of coconut palms extends along the nearer edges of the plain, following the curve of the foothills as they rise towards the Finisterres. These coconut palms indicate the situation of the Ngarawapum villages.

Looking down on them, we can see that the chain of palms is composed of five segments separated by varying distances from one another. A closer view will also reveal that each segment represents a single village. The largest segment, at the Southern end of the chain, nearest the central route along the valley's floor, is the village of Gainaron. Moving north along the chain from Gainaron we come next to Maianzarian, some twenty minutes walking distance farther on. A few minutes walk from Maianzarian lies Tofmora with Gutsuwap ten minutes father along the chain, and

finally, forty minutes walk from Gutsuwap, the hamlet of Yanuf at the extreme northern end of the valley's arm, the jungles and mountains of Ibiaga rising immediately behind it. [1]

This preliminary view of the five villages from the heights immediately behind them has the detachment and clarity of an aerial photograph. At once, without moving nearer, we can make out certain salient features. Firstly, we can see that each segment in the chain of coconut palms is an elongated and indented oval, the one connected with the other by a narrow foot road extending the length of the chain. Beneath the palms, we may also notice the houses congregated round the outer edges of the oval segments, squat and beehive in shape, their conical roofs thatched with kunai grass from the plain. Surrounding the oval segments themselves, filling the narrow tract of level land between the villages and foothills and extending a short distance out on the plain towards the Umi River, the light green foliage of banana plantations can be seen, squares and adjoining rectangles of neatly tended gardens, with here and there a large-leafed bread fruit tree standing up in their midst. A clear, swiftly-flowing stream basin between the villages and foothills, and through the banana plantations narrow paths converge towards it. Farther out on the plain a rectangular patch of cultivated ground enclosed by a fence is plainly visible.

These features, noticeable even from a distance, enable certain conclusions to be drawn at once. The foot roads connecting the villages reveal a certain amount of movement between them: we can expect that people travel from one to the other. In the banana plantations we can see evidence of garden agriculture: we can surmise that some part at least of the people's time is spent in tending these. The densely growing coconut and areca palms denote a settled existence: without prior knowledge we could say the population would be relatively fixed within the area. The streams running beside the villages reveal their source of water.

The thatched roofs of the houses is evidence of one

1. Vide Map B.

important use for the kunai grass on the plain.

But though these features are discernible immediately, the questions raised outnumber them, and to find the answers to these we must enter the villages themselves.

Topography of The Ngarawapum Village

Down the centre of the Ngarawapum village a path leads from end to end, continuing out to the kunai plain and the neighbouring settlements. Coconut palms and shade trees fill the whole of the space contained by the elongated ovals, their branches meeting overhead so that even at mid-day, when the sun is hottest, there are dark patterns of shadow and cool places to escape the heat. Beneath the palms the ground is swept and periodically cleared of weeds and grass. Houses line the outer edges of the ovals, separated from one another by varying distances, sometimes not more than a few feet, sometimes as much as twenty yards. At first sight the houses seem to be arranged according to the fancy of their occupants, but later, as we shall see, it becomes clear that they fall into a number of groups, all those people with a common tie of blood building and living near each other. There is no central place or square as in many Melanesian villages; the social meeting place is the family hearth, the bare ground immediately outside each dwelling. Here the cooking is done, and here, in the afternoons, plaited mats of coconut fronds are laid and men sit down to smoke, chew the betel mixture and talk. Houses are beehive in shape, erected on a framework of saplings lashed together with rattan cane. The outside walls are composed of the broad central rib and the coconut frond placed vertically against the framework. Coconut fronds themselves are placed, one over the other, on the conical framework of the roofs, and on this foundation bundles of kunai grass are overlapped and tied, the thatch extending in overhanging eaves below the level of the walls. A narrow doorway, two feet six in width and five feet high, faces

in to the centre of the village. The thatch above the lintel is trimmed in a semi-circular fashion to permit an easy entry. At night, and during the daylight hours, when its occupants are away, this doorway is closed with woven mats or pieces of timber placed vertically against it. Inside the house, extending almost the entire width from front to rear, is an upper platform, firing, used for storing household utensils, personal belongings and occasionally foodstuffs. Beneath this platform is the living space. t night, the placing of woven mats and bark cloth blankets on the beaten ground transforms it into sleeping quarters.[1] A small fire is usually smouldering in the centre of the house. Within this circular living space firewood is also stored, though some families erect an additional house of the same design, but left open for the width of one side, which serves as a storage place for wood and a shelter for taking meals in rainy weather.

The interior of the house is dark and blackened by smoke, but it is not unpleasant. The kunai thatch, which lasts a number of years, is completely waterproof. Both men and women sleep together in the house, though once again, as we will notice later, each group possessing a common tie of blood has an identical dwelling used exclusively by the youths and, to a lesser extent, by the married men.

Immediately behind the dwellings a hedge of evergreen shrubs of the cordyline species encloses the village. Beyond this on both sides, lie the garden lands, and farther out, the bare, mountain foothills and the kunai plain. Well worn paths lead from the village to the gardens, these also, in several cases, bordered with head-high evergreen hedges on either side. Numerous small streams rise in the foothills and traverse the boundaries of the village. From these the women draw water in the late afternoon, carrying it back to their houses in bamboos and brown hollowed gourds stopped with young banana leaves. Leading out from the villages, paths traverse the steep slopes of the foothills to the yam and taro gardens situated there.

1. In some houses, notably the boys' houses, "bunks" are built round the walls at a height of two feet from the ground.

(2) SOCIAL ORGANISATION

Geographical features of the Markham Valley emphasised in the preceding section raise a number of questions bearing directly on the manner of life of the people inhabiting the area. The absence of mountain barriers and similar isolating factors - the relative ease with which the whole vast rift may be traversed from end to end - these are features which might be expected to bring a peaceful way of life and a feeling of common interest to the villages scattered over the plain. Language - itself so often an isolating factor in New Guinea - must also be taken into consideration, for from Langam village as far inland as Marawaesa, throughout the whole of the upper section of the valley, changes in speech are relatively few, though often existing almost side by side. Thus in Nararawalum the term for wife is Finian, while eight miles away, in the Kapit villages, the wife is termed Finin. Such changes, however, are solely dialectic variations and present no insuperable obstacles to communication from place to place; difficulties are fewer than those encountered among the counties of England, and on one occasion I was present when the Paramount Zulua of Erori, for a whole morning, passed on the instructions of a Patrol Officer to some two hundred representatives of all the upper Markham villages, using the Utzera tongue exclusively. But to reason from this that bilingualism of language and facility of access means solidarity and community of interests over wide areas, is to reach an entirely false conclusion. On the contrary, and with some justification, it might be said that in the valley of the Markham all men are enemies, for language and geographical situation notwithstanding, a warlike pattern extended throughout the length and breadth of the area. Near neighbours may also

e ..ear enemies, and raids of vengeance and counter-vengeance ..ere conspicuous features of life. Suspicion of strangers ..s at the base of sorcery beliefs, and over a period of ..ears whole villages were decimated and disappeared, the few survivors being forced to migrate to the sanctuary of friends or relatives nearby. The value attached to human flesh as an item of diet meant that raids took place as much for the purpose of obtaining this commo ity as any other: the boast of the warrior is that he was "strong in bringing human meat to the village."

Obviously, however, the statement that all men are enemies can not be left to stand as it is. Qualification is necessary, if only to explain the co-operation inherent in raiding and warfare themselves; but from what we know of other primitive peoples, we might suspect that co-operation has a more important role than this, and furthermore, that such co-operation is not the result of some fortuitous set of circumstances, but depends on legalised systems of obligations and belief. Suspicion of strangers, patterns of warfare and raiding, are not so inextricably involved that order is not apparent beneath them. Kinship is the chief co-ordinating principle in this as in other Melanesian societies, and the examination of society's structure must evolve along kinship lines.

SOCIAL GROUPING: Clan and Village.

Throughout the valley, villages vary in size, though the largest number of inhabitants in any one village does not exceed four hundred, and the average approximates to one hundred or one hundred and fifty. But whether a village contains sixty individual or two hundred, common residence in a confined area must bring commonality of interests and a feeling of solidarity: the term for stranger, and enemy, garam buman, is never applied within the village boundaries.

Each village is situated within a defined area of land, streams or some other natural feature, such as a line of trees

or ridge of foothills, serving as boundary marks. As a result of extra-village inheritance, small groups of people may be found with cultivation rights on the land of a village adjacent to them; but such cases are rare, due to exceptional circumstances, and as a general rule it may be said that village lands comprise those areas, both hill and plain, immediately surroun ing the group of dwellings. Should t espass take place, t ere are simple but effective ways of asserting ownership. A handful of earth is wrapped in banana leaves and placed in a conspicuous position near the spot concerned; in addition, if unauthorised cultivation has taken place, the work, as far as it has progressed up to the time of discovery, will be destroyed. Both the placing of the earth and the systematic destruction are effective warnings against further encroachments, but in reality trespass is extremely rare. Temporary alienation of cultivation rights may be granted when permission is asked, and the rights so granted may be withdrawn at any time.

embership of the village group, and the right to cultivate certain sections of the village lands, derives through males in the direct male line. The village itself is subdivided into a number of smaller groups in which individual membership is determined by the ability to trace descent to a common male ancestor or group of ancestors. The number of such groups in any one village varies with the size of village itself; Tofmora, with one hundred and seventy inhabitants, comprises seven such subdivisions. The group itself possesses certain resemblances to a joint-family, but the localised clan, common in other parts of Melanesia, is more in keeping with its structure. Genealogical knowledge is not extensive. The names of ancestors are seldom known beyond the generation of the great-grandparents, and my own persistent enquiries in this direction would draw the somewhat irritated remark: "How can we

remember so far back? If we could write like you, we would know. It is too long ago. These men are dead." Similarly, full genealogical knowledge is only gradually attained. Men of thirty-five, when questioned on some particular point of relationship, would inform me they were young yet; that they did not know; that their fathers would teach them. Within these limitations, however, the test of clan membership is the possession of a common male forebear or forebears, often a group of brothers, each of whom possessed a common biological father. Men and women who acknowledge this common tie are considered to be true blood relatives, and as such, cannot intermarry. This distinction is clear and unequivocal. "He is my true brother," men will say. "His father and my father were true brothers; they had one father, but different mothers."

No term is used to distinguish the group of people related in this manner through males. The clan itself is not named. The members of one such group are forbidden to eat of a certain green vegetable, but this distinguishing taboo is exceptional and associated with the possession of magic of rain and sun. The group, however, is distinct and forms the most important co-operative unit in economic and ceremonial matters. Rights to land, normally passing through the males, are held within the clan. Village territory, both hill and plain, is subdivided into a number of named sections, and each clan possesses rights in one or more of these; in addition, clan membership brings the right of village residence. Marriage is patrilocal, the wife leaving her own village and living in that of her husband, with his group; in a few exceptional cases the husband takes up residence in his wife's village and co-operates with her clan group there, but his adoption is never complete. The members of his new village speak of him as "belonging" to the village from which he came, and these people regard him as one of themselves, though no longer a resident. Furthermore, his children retain their rights to land in his village by birth, and

the jealousy of their maternal relatives is sometimes the cause of them returning to take up these rights on the death of their parents.

As a general rule, members of these patrilineal clans erect their dwelling near each other in the village. This feature, however, is not as marked as in former times. The present form of the village - an elongated and indented oval, containing up to one hundred houses - derives from the edicts of European officials who have compelled the people to congregate in one area for administrative purposes. Native custom differed considerably, each clan group erecting its dwellings and residing on those areas of land on which its members possessed the right to cultivate. These clan hamlets, as they may be termed, took their name from the areas on which they were erected. They were seldom separated one from the other by more than two hundred yards, and in the majority of cases, by considerably less. Foot roads connected them with each other, and as the single village of to-day recognises an inclusive name which expresses the solidarity of the groups residing in it, so the members of these inter-connected hamlets recognised a name inclusive to them all. The persistence of this former structure is evidenced not only in the different names which various sections of the village bear to-day, but more importantly, in the expression of cultivation rights, such rights to land deriving from the fact that one's ancestors "lived and worked here before; their coconut palms are standing yet."

Members of the same patrilineal clan group are forbidden to inter-marry, but there is no prohibition o marriage with members of other clans of the same village. As a consequence of this, it will be found that almost everyone is related in some way to everyone else. When marriage takes place within the village, the wife does not have to move far from her own paternal relatives. As in extra-village marriage, she goes to live with her husband's group, but this seldom

necessitates a removal of more than a hundred yards. The almost general inter-relationship throughout the village, the result of intra-village marriage, is further emphasised by the fact that the members of one clan, marriage apart, may stand in a loose relationship category with the members of another clan. No theory of combined descent from an original forbear is advanced to explain this. The people concerned will state that formerly the progenitors of their respective groups helped each other: they were friends (linun), and because of this, they, their descendants, are friends now; they are not brothers, but they help each other like brothers.

Membership of the residential and land owning group is patrilineal. This group, as we have pointed out, constitutes the localised clan. Maternal relatives, however, are not the nonentities which the emphasis up to this point might suggest. At birth, the child becomes a member, first of all, of his father's group; his true blood relatives on this side are all those people who, together with himself, trace descent to a common male progenitor. At the same time, but to a lesser extent, he also becomes a member of his mother's group, and once again, all those people who with his mother trace descent to a common male forbear, are his true blood relatives on this side. This relationship, however, is more sentimental than practical, and less rigid. His mother's brothers are his indulgent guardians, and should he be orphaned it is probably these men who will adopt him, but naturally enough, the practical nature of the relationship loses much of its value if the mother belongs to a distant village; in such cases, the mother's brothers are seen but rarely during short visits, and apart from the knowledge of friendship existing in a somewhat distant area, little is held in common with them. The same is true of his father's sisters, and of the children of both these groups of relatives. These children, his cross-cousins, are the relatives of his own generation with whom he

has the closest ties outside the immediate circle of his patrilineal clan group. His female cross-cousins are termed 'sisters'. A special term (yaran), is used for male cross-cousins, and the most favoured type of marriage is between the children of yarans. Theoretically, the children of those yarans who trace descent to a common male progenitor are true blood relatives, and cannot marry; but this belief, rigid within the patrilineal clan group, is frequently relaxed, the children of maternal, 'true' cross-cousins marrying with little or no opposition. No definite, inalienable rights accrue through the relationship with maternal kin. Occasionally, the inheritance of land takes place through the female line, and men whose maternal relatives reside in the same, or an adjacent village may cultivate sections of the land on which these people have rights. This latter practice is not widespread. Permission does not have to be asked before such cultivation takes place, and yet it could be refused. That it is allowed in most cases is not due to the fact that it is regarded in the light of a definite right, but rather as an expression of the indulgence due to maternal kin. "He is my sister's child," men will say. "It is all right if he makes his garden there. I cannot be angry with him." Similarly, the child is placed in a general relationship with all the people of his mother's village. If his mother came from Maianzarian, he is "a man sprung from Maianzarian", (mama yamun Maianzarian), and as such, may expect to be received with friendship there. But the fact that his mother came from Maianzarian does not give him the right to erect a house or live there; in point of fact, no clan group bases its residential rights on the female line.

This preliminary examination reveals two basic co-operating groups, the patrilineal, localised clan and the village. There is, however, a wider and more extensive social group which must be dealt with next.

SOCIAL GROUPING: The District Group

Throughout the valley, it will be found that villages tend to fall into a number of local groups. These groups of villages are situated in areas where small streams and rivulets provide a constant and manageable water supply, round the edges of the central plain north of Kaiapit, and southwards, towards the southern side of the valley. The area of land contained by these groups of villages is therefore circumscribed. Each is relatively close to the other, and without further examination, they might be expected to posses some common interests; in any case, their survival in such close proximity to each other must suggest some modification of the warlike pattern described in the introduction to this section.

In most cases, these groups of villages acknowledge a common name inclusive of them all. No accepted terminology fits them exactly, but District Group, implying their localised nature and their solidarity, seems a successful designation. The group's solidarity may rest on the somewhat problematical basis of a common genealogical past, or historical migrations from a former site. Constant inter-marriage between the villages composing the group is perhaps a more obvious basis for this feeling of common interest. The normal pattern of warfare and raiding never applied between the respective villages of these district groups. Furthermore, the term for stranger (garam buman), is never applied within the district boundaries, this fact in itself being no small expression of a common interest when it is remembered that the term is applied to all individuals residing outside the district boundaries, regardless of language or proximity, and that to kill such strangers was not only justifiable, but commendable. In addition, certain economic pursuits, the yearly burning of the Kunai in particular, express the district solidarity. For this occasion all the villages of the district combine their labours, the activity involving complicated examples of

reciprocity between them. Similarly, harvest festivals, the attendant feasts and dances, were almost exclusively confined to the members of the district group, though to-day they are immensely broader in scope, guests being invited from near and far. The mourning ceremonies following on the death of important individuals reveal in a like manner the basic ties uniting the several villages within the group.

Ties of friendship were also extended beyond the boundaries of the district group by the custom of contracting alliances with one or two villages outside it. Such alliances were the outcome of, and were cemented by an exchange of women between the villages concerned. The alliance so made does not include the totality of one district group with another, but only the respective villages of each district who make the exchange.

Some of these alliances were unquestionably the result of political expediency. Thus at one stage in the past, the villages of Tofmora and Gutsuwap were forced to leave the plain by the warlike activities of the villages beyond the Uni River. They retired to the foot hills of the ranges, and to protect themselves from the Yaros villages of Mangya and Babadaia, into whose sphere of influence they migrated, formed an alliance with them by exchanging women. But when sufficient time had elapsed, when they had recovered their strength, they withdrew these women and returned to their original place of habitation on the plain: relations with the two Yaros villages returned to a footing of mutual distrust and enmity. Nor did these alliances give absolute immunity between village and village, let alone the respective districts as a whole. In several cases, when warrior prowess was being discussed, I was informed in terms of admiration that the man concerned "killed his mother's relatives. They were all the same to him; they were all garam buman." In fact, though visits were exchanged between these allied villages outside the district group, such visits were almost exclusively confined to members

of the respective clans of each village within which the exchange had been made, and an element of danger was always present. Perhaps the visitor on his arrival would find his relatives absent from the village. He would be met by members of the other clans and invited to sit down while word was sent to his relatives in their gardens. He would be given food and set at ease, but as likely as not he would be killed as he ate, while his relatives were absent and unable to protect him. On visits to relatives which entailed a considerable journey, a man would contrive to arrive near their village in the afternoon. He would then wait in its environs until word of his arrival had reached his relatives. They in their turn would escort him to the village, and later, accompany him for part of his return.

This evidence appears to contradict previous statements that by reason of birth a man is placed in a general relationship of friendship with his mother's village. But at the time, it was pointed out that the attitude to maternal kin is chiefly sentimental, and considerably less rigid than within the patrilineal clan group. Such dangers were not present if the village of one's mother happened to be one of the villages comprising the district group. But if it lay outside the district boundaries, the fact that one's mother came from there was not necessarily a guarantee of safety.

But in the majority of cases, these alliances by marriage did extend the bonds of solidarity beyond the village and the district group. They were never sufficiently extensive to cover the whole valley, or even large portions of it: I, personally, know of no case where alliances outside the district group exceeded four; but economically, they formed, and still form, a basis and mechanism for trade. The Ngarawapum villages in particular manufacture but one article for which there is any demand, the grass petticoats worn by the women. All places manufacture this article, but certain vegetable dyes and

coloured earths are found only in the Ngarawapum district, and these enhance the value of the Ngarawapum article. On the other hand, spears are made in the Yaros district, and the black clay cooking pots, in which all meals are prepared, in the area beyond the Umi River. A Ngarawapan would therefore trade coconuts, which do not grow in the hills of Yaros, for spears, and spears or grass petticoats for cooking pots, his channels of exchange being maternal relatives in the respective areas.

The two basic units, patrilineal clan and village, may now be seen as the central features of a considerably more extensive social structure; and though this structure by no means covers the whole valley, or even large areas of it - the largest unit, the district group, being itself a localised unit - it does represent a marked modification of the statement from which this examination began, namely, that in the valley all men may be regarded as enemies. But so far the examination has been concerned mainly with general principles: social institutions have been examined in the abstract, with little reference to the human individuals who comprise them. Scientifically, this is permissible, for the concept of society as an ordered, integrated mechanism for the satisfaction of human needs, implies the existence of such general principles as an essential feature of the structure. But at the same time, it must be remembered that, ultimately, it is human behaviour upon which society rests. Institutions exist, but they exist only in relationship to the human individuals who compose them.

THE KINSHIP SYSTEM:[1.]

As in other primitive societies, the basic cohesive principle running through Ngarawapum institutions is the system of defining kinship. Kinship terms are applied not only to a single individual, but to whole groups of individuals. Thus, all males on the same generation level as the speaker's father, and his father's father's son's sons, are referred to by the same term as the father. Similarly, all female collaterals are referred to by the same term as the mother. All the sons and daughters of these people are termed brothers and sisters. A special term, however, is applied to all those females whom the father calls sisters, and another term to all those males the mother terms brothers. The sons of these people are referred to by a term which differs from the normal term for brother, but their daughters are referred to as sisters in the normal manner.

The male Ngarawapan is therefore surrounded by a multitude of people whom he calls father, mother, brother and sister. Obviously, his contact with all these people cannot be of an equally intimate degree. He is born into a biological family group consisting of his father and mother and their other children, if any, and his early years are spent almost entirely within this group. With these people he has the strongest bond. But as he grows older, he learns to apply the terms he uses within this family group to other individuals outside it. Later still, he learns that within this larger group there are individuals to whom he is bound in a closer degree than others. These are his 'true' relatives, those who have the same ancestor as his father. He learns also that the relatives on his mother's side form yet another group. It will be necessary, therefore, to trace the steps by which the Ngarawapum child, as it grows up, learns to distinguish between these individuals, to find his place amongst them and amongst the corresponding institutions.

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i. See Appendix A.

LIFE HISTORY OF THE NGARAWAPAN: Birth and Infancy

The duties of the mother and father towards the child, begin some months prior to the actual birth. While his wife is pregnant, continence is enjoined on the husband, for to have sexual intercourse at that time would endanger the mother and damage the foetus.[i.] The woman herself is under no stringent taboos at this state, but she is expected to be circumspect and to think of the welfare of her child. Foods which 'scrape' should not be eaten, that is, foods with astringent qualities like salt, or hot foods like the soup which is made from ginger roots (asam). However, the mother continues her daily work up to the time of birth, going to the gardens and cooking her husband's meals in the normal way. A few days before the birth of their child, I have seen women carrying heavy bundles of firewood in the string bags which they suspend from their foreheads.

Birth itself necessitates no special preparations. It takes place in the ordinary dwelling house, the mother lying on a bark cloth blanket spread on the ground, and attended by her husband's mother or his elder sisters.[ii.] During the woman's labour, if it is a first child, the husband does not enter the house, but sits outside. He also refrains from chewing the betel mixture lest its astringent qualities sympathetically induce a difficult birth. When the child is born, the attending midwife severs the umbilical cord with a clean bamboo knife. She collects the after-birth on a piece of banana leaf and buries it on the edge of the village. No magical properties are

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i. Physiological parenthood is understood by the people. The foetus is believed to be egg-like, composed of seminal fluid and menstrual blood. But intercourse must take place a number of times before the seminal fluid is able to dam the menstrual blood and form the foetus. Both male and female are recognised as necessary to the formation of the foetus.

ii. Some women, owing to the "shame" they feel in the presence of their husband's parents, prefer to carry their child in their own paternal village. But these cases are exceptional.

prescribed to the umbilical cord or the after-birth: they are simply disposed of in a quick and efficient manner. The husband may now return to the house, but for some time he is circumspect in sleeping there. Until the child is comparatively self-sufficient, until it can walk about and make its needs known in some fashion, the father is supposed to control his sexual impulses. Intercourse during this period would be dangerous and would probably result in the death of the child, who, taking its mother's milk, would imbibe some of the seminal fluid which had entered her and would become "sick in its belly". But even to sleep continually in the same house as his wife during this period is dangerous. It is not uncommon to hear women with young babies angrily berating their husbands and telling them to sleep in the boy's house. During my residence at Gutsuwap a child was born to a man, Awan, who was notoriously tenacious of his wife's affections. His continuing to sleep in the same house became an open scandal and cause of anger, and when the child died at the age of six weeks it was considered to be the result of his behaviour.

At birth, the child is given a personal name, usually by its father, though the paternal grandmother may name it as she cleanses its body. Names thus given to children are invariably the name of some living or dead relative. Desire for children is very real, and also the desire to perpetuate one's name. On the birth of a child to a clan relative, a man without children may send his wife to the house of the new-born and tell her to name it. She wipes it and cleanses it, and in return for this service she is allowed to give it her husband's name. The general feeling also exists that the child should inherit the qualities of the person after whom it is named.

After birth has taken place, the mother remains in the house with the child for a period of from three weeks to a month. [1] During this period her husband's female relatives

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1. For second and following births the period is very much shorter, in some cases only four days.

cook for her, carry her water and firewood, while her husband takes his food at their households. Male relatives do not go inside the house during this period of confinement, not for any religious or magical reasons, but because the mother sleeps naked with the child, and the appearance of males other than her husband would be highly embarrassing. The period of confinement is a time when the mother devotes her whole attention to the child, sleeping with it and suckling it whenever it cries. It is also recognised as a time necessary for the mother to regain her strength.

When the "umbilical cord is dry" mother and child come outside the house. When the child is the firstborn, the father and his relatives make a feast for the occasion. The father will tell his clan brothers that now his wife wishes to bring the child outside. A day will be appointed for the ceremony, and other relatives will be bidden to attend. The day before the feast takes place, the father and his brothers repair to their gardens, collecting bananas, yams, taro and other foods, the greater bulk being provided by the father. This food is then carried back to the village by the women, and there the men arrange it round the walls and over the roof of the house where the mother and the child are confined. On the morrow, the guests arrive with food gifts for the husband. A special dish of yams cooked in coconut cream and called Monsitz, is placed on the ground before the door of the house, and round this dish, bananas, yams and taro are laid. When all is ready, the mother appears in the doorway, and holding the child in her arms, she comes outside, stepping over the food placed in her path. At the conclusion of the meal the food displayed on the roof of the house is dismantled and distributed to all those guests who brought a gift with them.

At first, the child derives its sustenance exclusively from the mother's breast, but after the eighth month it is also fed coconut milk and gradually, other foods. Weaning, however, does not take place until the child can walk and talk and generally make its wants known, usually about the end of its second year, though the period is sometimes longer. During this time it is

almost exclusively in the company of its mother, who carries it wherever she goes, placing it in the shade of a banana palm while she works and leaving her work to give it the breast when it cries. The father is also in daily, if less intimate, contact with it, for husband and wife normally work together, and the new family are all present at the daily meal. Sometimes the father is left to mind the child while the mother carries water or busies herself with the cooking. The father, in fact, displays an interest in, and tender solicitude for, the child equal to that of the mother, nursing and playing with it as he sits outside his house in the leisure part of the day, and later, when it is a little older, taking it with him as he goes about the village to sit and gossip at the house of some relative.

It will be remembered that members of the same patrilineal clan almost invariably inhabit the same section of the village. From its birth the child is thus in almost daily contact with these people, all of whom display an active interest in it. Married women within this group, and without it, will not be allowed to nurse the child. Such women may have had sexual intercourse recently, and it is believed that if they nurse the child the "smell of the intercourse" will make it sick. Old women, young girls and pregnant women may nurse it with impunity, and the child is often in their company, either at its parents household or at their's. Thus, by the time it is able to walk, it is already familiar with a number of people of the same village, its own parents, its paternal grandparents, its father's brothers and their wives and his unmarried sisters. In addition, if its mother belonged formerly to the same village as her husband, its maternal grandparents, uncles and aunts will be known to it. As yet, however, it cannot distinguish between these groups of people. The first kinship term learned is that for mother (Rinang), and towards the end of its second year, the child is able to lisp an infantile form of this. Later, it can accomplish the term for father (Ramang), and often it applies these terms indiscriminately to the other people with whom it comes in contact. Such

indiscriminate application of kinship terms is regarded as amusing, but at the same time, correction invariably follows, one of the amused onlookers holding the child and pointing to the person wrongly addressed, saying, "Not father; mother's brother, mother's brother." When it is able to toddle a little it may be seen clinging to its father at some communal meal until some relative holds out a piece of food to it, repeating the child's kinship term for himself as he does so, coaxing it to take the food.

Weaning, as has been mentioned, takes place when the child is somewhat independent, usually at the end of the second year or a little after. For some time previous to this it has been taking solid foods as well as the breast, but now it is broken from the latter completely. Unlike some primitive communities, the child is not sent away to relatives during this period. The mother will smear her nipples with the bitter juice of a tuberous root and the child soon learns to do without the breast. The wrench is not as great as might be imagined, for the child is still indulged. The Ngarawapan infant, in fact, is surrounded with affection. No one likes to hear a child cry. Should it fall down and begin to wail I have seen female relatives rush to pick it up, and bending down, give the ground a sharp slap with the palm of their hand, exclaiming at the same time: "Bad ground!" (Intap maes!), just as in our own society. But a contributing factor to the comparative ease with which the child surmounts the emotional wrench of weaning is undoubtedly the fact that its family dwelling is situated in very close proximity to the dwellings of quite a large number of its relatives, and all these relatives display interest in, and affection towards the child. At this very early age it is familiar with most of these households: there is always someone to whom it may turn.

Childhood to Marriage:

Even before weaning, small demands may be asked of the child by its parents and relatives. Thus a father may call out to a mere toddler, telling it to fetch his cane knife from the house. Demands

of this nature continue to be asked through childhood, but for the first six years no one becomes annoyed if the child refuses to obey. These years find the child doing very much as it likes. When its parents set out for work in the early mornings, it may accompany them, playing in the gardens and down the garden roads with other children while its parents toil. On other days it may remain in the village when its parents set out. Elder children are always present to look after the very young, and the groups play under the coconut palms and about the nearer gardens. Games played are of both an active and a sedentary nature. Sometimes the elder boys will play at hunting, using the long stalks of the kunai grass as spears. The game consists of rolling a coconut shell, or some other object, down the centre of a double rank of children. As the object approaches a child's position, he aims and throws his kunai 'spear', attempting to kill the 'pig' as it passes him. This same game often develops into one of warfare, the children chasing each other about the village, hiding behind the boles of coconut palms and throwing their 'spears' at every opportunity. Another game consists of collecting the round pods of a type of shade tree which is commonly found in the village. With these pods beside them, two or more children sometimes sit for hours on the ground, arranging them in straight lines and geometric patterns. Smaller children delight in collecting a large, winged beetle from the kunai. Threads of grass or vine are fastened to the heads of these insects. Then, with the threads held in the hand, the beetle is allowed to fly, the children chanting in unison: "He goes up; he falls down! He strikes the ground; he flies again!"

The more active types of games are played by the older children, but the very young are not excluded, and whenever a game is being played they will be seen running about on the outskirts, each with his own kunai 'spear' which he hurls at his neighbour or the 'pig'. The groups of children do not resemble an age grade, including in their numbers boys of seven or eight and babies of three or four. But nearly always the group's members belong to

the same patrilineal clan; in other words, children whose dwellings are near each other tend to play together. In former times, when the clan hamlet existed as a separate unit, this feature would have been more marked, but even to-day it is only on moonlight nights, or on occasions of festival when the whole village is gathered together in the village, that children of more than one clan group gather together for any considerable time. Maternal relatives resident in the same village are more frequently members of the play group.

After the age of three or four, the male child is taught he should not be continually in the company of his mother or other women, and gradually he spends more and more of his time with his father. At times of feast he sits invariably with his father and his male relatives, eating with them and listening to their talk. He is not excluded from any adult activities at this stage, but when he reaches the age of about fourteen he sits apart on these occasions, eating with the other youths. Almost certainly his father will have given him a small spear and killing stick by now, and these he carries to dances with his elders, decorating himself beforehand and taking part in the singing and movement. From the age of four onwards he will accompany the men and youths to hunts, though as yet he does not take an active part, remaining with the old men in some nearby banana plantation. The demands made on him increase gradually after the age of six, though even until puberty he is not asked to do anything more than general fetching and carrying, such as bringing his father's lime gourd or holdall from the house, climbing coconut palms and collecting the betel peppers from the gardens or the nearby bush. If he is reluctant to do as he is asked he will be reproached with the term Ringatang! (you not hearing!). Anger is seldom displayed, persuasive tactics, repeating the request and encouraging the child to do as he is told, being preferred. Certain allowances are made for him up to the age of ten, but after this disobedience does bring an angry

outburst and a threatening attitude. Children who do as they are told are spoken of with approbation. "He hears what his father tells him," men have said to me with satisfaction, and similarly, the disobedient child is referred to with disparagement. This is more noticeable when the child approaches an economic age, that is, when he is expected to do some work in the gardens. Outright and continued disobedience, however, is extremely rare, and on the other hand, the spoilt child is seldom found. Affection between parents and children is one of the most pleasant features of village life. Native thought attributes the child's love and obedience to the fact that its parents have looked after it when it was small; they have given it food, attended to its needs, watched over it and protected. Without the help of the parents it could not have grown up to boyhood, and later, manhood; its body is strong by reason of the good food they have given it. "The child remembers this," men say. "When it was small, its parents and relatives fed it. They cared for it and tended it; it is strong because of the food they gave to it, and now it remembers these things." Whether or not the child does think in this manner when young is somewhat problematical; but in later life men do refer to their parents in these terms. When a death has occurred, men sitting down with me have remarked sadly: "Oh our fathers! When we were small they carried us about; they fed us and cared for us. Now they die and we see them no more. Our bellies are heavy within us now." Similarly, a young man of twenty of my acquaintance had scant respect for his father for exactly the opposite reason. When he was a baby, his father took a second wife, and being unable to agree with this woman, the youth's own mother returned to her parents village nearby, taking him with her. The youth grew up in his mother's village until, in his own words, "My father saw I was strong and pulled me back. But it was not his food that made me big. Why should I work for him and help him now?"

While boys, in the years following weaning, are taught to spend more and more of their time with their own sex, small girls remain with the mother. Until the age of four or five girls and boys do play together, but after this they begin to be caught up in their respective spheres, as these spheres are culturally defined; girls, in fact, begin to participate in the daily work at a much earlier age than boys. While the latter are still playing about the village and doing much as they please, their sisters of the same age will be going to the gardens with their mothers, weeding, carrying small bundles of firewood, drawing water from the streams and, on occasions, helping with the preparation of the evening meal. From the age of eight or nine, boys also leave the family dwelling to sleep at night. For this reason, each clan group possesses an additional house which is known as the boys' house (sar), the term for the ordinary dwelling being 'unga'. Brothers and sisters are not taught to avoid each other, but as they grow up they naturally see less and less of each other during the day. But at night all are present together at the evening meal, and the relationship of brother to sister remains extremely strong. He is regarded as her guardian and her protector, and later, as we shall see, his chance of obtaining a wife may depend very largely on her own marriage.

As he approaches puberty, the boy is expected to take an interest in economic life. At first his efforts are somewhat in the nature of play. While his father is busy in the banana plantations he may take a stick and begin to plant the suckers for himself. His father will encourage him by showing him the correct way of holding the digging stick, and the method of placing the young banana tree in the ground. When the boy tires and leaves the work the father may stop what he himself is doing and complete what his son has left unfinished. "I help him like this", one father said to me. "He clears a little kunai. It is his play, and when he is tired he leaves it. Then I will help him. This is the way he learns." At this stage the boy is also

encouraged to plant some produce of his own. At first it may only consist of a few pineapples, a patch of onions or melons planted in his father's garden, but the produce is known as his, and he may do as he likes with it. Later, a small strip of ground will be given him to plant bananas and associated foods. From time to time, his mother and sisters will help him in this garden, and the produce is added to the family resources. Relatives who see him idlying now may speak to him harshly, asking why he has not gone to his garden. The example of other youths of his own age will also be used to spur his endeavours, people contrasting his idleness with the activity of so-and-so, "whose gardens are large because he works."

By fifteen the boy invariably has his own banana garden. These boys' gardens are sometimes situated together in the same area, but the more normal practice is for the youth to cultivate a section of that land on which his own patrilineal clan possesses rights, usually a section adjoining one of the gardens of his father. Attending to this garden now occupies some of his time, but in addition he is expected to help in his father's gardens and those of his relatives. When a new yam or taro garden is being constructed, he is told to attend. This assistance, he finds, is expected of him as a matter of course; but at the same time he cannot fail to see the advantage of giving it. At times of feast, when the meal has been eaten and the people sit down in the shade for the remainder of the afternoon, the leaders of the clans and village rise in turn and harangue and vilify the youths, exhorting them to be assiduous in assisting their relatives, publicly shaming those whose conduct has fallen below standard, threatening them and expressing the debt the youths owe to these relatives for the care they gave them when they were young. The fact that one helps others because it is to one's advantage to do so appears in the youth's relationship with their elders just as it does among the elders themselves. For one thing, the youths must rely on these elders for the obtaining of a wife,

and in the public harangues this fact is frequently mentioned. Similarly, the youths themselves are more ready to help those who give them something in return, than those who take their assistance as a matter of course. In these terms young men would explain to me why they were more ready to do the bidding of one of my friends than another: "We do as Angab tells us because he will give us food when the work is over. He will take us to his house and tell us to eat. But Sampui does not think of us. He does not ask us to eat. His way is another kind."

With these increasing demands on his assistance there also comes a definite change in the youth's bearing in front of his elders. When he was a boy, he sat with the old men at feasts and shared the luxury of pork with them. Now he finds that meat is forbidden him in public; this is a luxury reserved for the elders and given as an indulgence to the young. If he wants meat, and the value of meat in a predominately starchy diet has been remarked on, he has to rely on the good graces of his elder relatives who virtually control the meat supplies. When these people receive a gift of pork, they may keep some of it for him, but he has to go to their houses at night to obtain it. He will not have pigs of his own until he is married and his parents give him some. He may go out with others of his age and hunt the wild pig, but unless they consume the pig away from the village, in the bush, they will have no share of their catch. Even after his marriage this prohibition remains. He may be approaching twenty-five or more before he eats meat in public as a matter of course, and young men of this age have drawn my attention to the fact that they have been given meat at a feast, saying: "I work hard and they give me meat. The big men are pleased with me; if one works hard their bellies are good to you."

Learning Kinship Terms:

By the time he is sixteen the youth is conversant with all

his near relatives; he also knows the majority of his more distant kinsmen by name and kinship terminology at least, even though he may not be able to trace the genealogical steps through which these distant relationships derive. In addition, he is able to distinguish quite clearly those groups with which his interests are most closely bound. He knows the behaviour expected of him, and what he can expect in return.

This process of finding his place among his relatives is one which has been going on throughout the whole of the two periods discussed above, partly by specific instruction in kinship terms, and partly by practical experience as he grows up and takes an increasing part in the activities of the groups to which he belongs. As we have seen already, he is familiar with a number of his paternal relatives at a very early age, these people inhabiting the same section of the village as his own parents. In addition, it is the children of these people with whom he plays. The kinship terms for all these people are learned next to those which apply within the biological family. When the child is old enough to walk about, its parents will give it a gift of food, telling it to take the gift to its 'father' so-and-so, indicating the house where this individual dwells. These relatives themselves will call to the child as it passes their houses, addressing it by its kinship term and bidding it come and eat. Less formal instruction takes place during the leisure periods of the day. In the afternoons, when work is over, the men congregate in small groups outside their dwellings. Children of all ages sit with the groups, listening to the gossip, and many opportunities present themselves for instructing the children in kinship terms and obligations. Because such instruction is not specific is not to underestimate its importance. The child is asked to bring fire for one relative, this man addressing it by its kinship term. If it is reluctant to do as asked, its father will urge it sharply, saying, "Bring fire for your father. Do as he asks you. Go quickly."

such practical teaching is widespread. At almost any time, when the child is playing about the village, relatives may make similar requests of it; furthermore, these requests are almost invariably worded in the terminology of kinship, whereas in ordinary circumstances the child's personal name is used.

If the father married a woman of his own village, the maternal relatives also live nearby. Contact with them is not as intimate as with the paternal relatives, but on numerous occasions these people will be present at the child's own house or the house of one of his paternal relatives. The maternal grandparents will show an interest in the child equal to that of the paternal grandparents, and as the mother is frequently at their house, in their part of the village, the child is soon familiar with these people. Furthermore, the parents will spend some of their time in the gardens of the wife's people and the child, who accompanies them on these occasions, learns to feel as much at home among its maternal kin as it does with its father's relatives. If the mother came from a distant village, specific visits are made to her people when the child is young, one reason for the visits being "to show the child to its mother's relatives." In the normal course of events these visits are repeated as the child grows older, the mother's brothers also paying visits to her household.

As the child grows up and accompanies its father about the gardens, further occasions present themselves for instruction in kinship. During the walks along the roads to and from the village the father will point out the gardens passed, giving the names of the various cultivators, and children of nine and ten are remarkably well versed in these matters. Several such children who often accompanied me on walks were able to give the names of over fifty percent of the cultivators of all the gardens passed, and the cultivators of gardens on the land of their own patrilineal clans were known without fault. As society's chief activity is food production this latter fact is hardly surprising. In the gradual extension of his food producing activities from childhood to manhood, the child is integrated within the structure of

society. The economic functions of clan, village and district group, are functions more constantly present than any other, and the gradually increasing participation in economic activities brings with it an increasing knowledge of the nature of the groups to which the child belongs. As the child accompanies his father, and later begins to take part in the work himself, he learns that all those people who live in the same section as himself, and to whom he has been applying certain kinship terms, normally work together and help each other; that these are the people who assist his father, and whom he himself is expected to assist; furthermore, that these are his true blood relatives, having the same ancestor as his father. His maternal relatives, he learns, are another group. Co-operation and assistance comes from them as well; but it is a different kind of co-operation and the demands made are fewer, particularly if these people reside outside his own village. The third group consists of all those people inside and outside his village to whom he has been applying the same kinship terms as those which he applies within the smaller groups. These people, he learns, are not his true blood relatives. Their part in the affairs of everyday economic life is small, but on occasions, their help may be asked or his own assistance demanded by them.

Marriage:

The Ngarawapan youth has now reached the age of sixteen or seventeen. His chief needs are still supplied by his own biological family group. It is to his father's house that he goes for his meal in the evening, receiving the food his mother and sisters have prepared. He has his own banana garden, though as yet he does not have a strip in the yam gardens. Some of the time he works in his own plantation. For the rest he assists his father and his other clan relatives, going out with them to clear the new land; to burn the undergrowth and to plant the yams; to construct the fences; to cover the bunches of fruit in the banana plantations. At this age, also, his relatives may begin to think

of providing him with a wife.

The male Ngarawapan may obtain a wife in three ways, but as in each case the sociological principles remain very much the same, only one type will be dealt with here, namely, the case where betrothal takes place when the youth is somewhere about his sixteenth year.

The youth takes no part in the betrothal arrangements. When he has reached this age, his father or his legal guardian will consider obtaining a wife for him. Usually the father looks to those relatives who are classified as his mother's brother's children or his father's sister's children, that is he looks for his son's wife among the children of his own cross-cousins, his 'yarans'. The children of clan sisters of his father and clan brothers of his mother are, however, his own true yarans, and it is not desirable that his children and theirs should marry. It does sometimes happen that they do marry, but normally it is some more distant yaran relationship to which he looks. In either case, the youth marries a classificatory sister.

When the youth's father has decided on the girl he wishes to obtain for his son, he broaches the matter to his clan brothers and asks their assistance in the match. It is important to note here that this assistance may be with-held if the youth himself has been perverse in carrying out his obligations to, and assisting his clan relatives. Once the father has made the matter known among his own relatives, he approaches a classificatory father of the girl. The girl's own biological father is never approached at this stage; it is considered that he would refuse to part with his daughter, to whom he is strongly attached. The father of the youth thus approaches one of her father's brothers and makes his desire known. He is told to return later, after his wish has been communicated to her other 'fathers'.

Discussions now switch to the girl's relatives. Her biological parents are excluded, but her father's brothers, her

own brothers and her clan brothers, meet at night and consider the matter. The girl's brothers do not take the chief part in the discussions, but their wishes are important and always considered; in certain circumstances, they may be a deciding factor against the marriage. If it is known that the youth is notoriously lazy, that he does not assist his clan relatives and that they themselves are dissatisfied with him, the match is certain to be refused. But if there are no objections to the youth, the decision will be made in his favour.

Following on this decision within the girl's clan, her relatives will inform the male members of the village as a whole that they propose to marry her to the youth concerned. The village in general will not do other than acquiesce in the decision made by the girl's relatives, but it is important to note that they are advised of the intention.

When the youth's father returns, he will be told the decision and a future time will be stated when the betrothal is to take place. He returns to his village and acquaints not only his clan relatives but the whole village of the decision, asking their assistance in providing the bride price for the girl.

Only now is the girl's own father informed of the marriage arrangements. On being told, he will display distress and anger, demanding why they have taken his daughter away from him, why everyone knows of the matter but himself. At first he may even refuse to entertain the idea, but later, after persuasion and even anger, he will acquiesce. I was told that however much he grieved, however much he disliked the idea of losing his daughter, "his brothers had spoken; he could not go against them."

Now the day of the ceremony arrives; and in the morning the girl's father calls out to the whole village, telling them not to go to their gardens, that today his daughter is to be married and he will kill pigs; all will go to the youth's village to receive the bride price, and later they will feast.

In the youth's village, the pigs, which form the most important item of the bride price, have been killed and are lying trussed outside his father's house. His clan relatives have also brought cooking pots, spears tied in bundles of from two to six, and strings and bundles of a large cowrie shell (rarop). These are placed upright round the walls of the house. The remainder of the villagers bring contributions from their own stores of valuables, knowing that they themselves may need assistance of the same kind in the future, and that the prestige of the village depends on the ability to satisfy the demands of the girl's party.

Now the girl's village appears at the house of the youth's father, bringing the girl in their midst. First of all the pigs are handed over to her clan relatives (her father and mother do not accompany the party). Then the great bulk of the spears and valuables are handed over to this same group. When they have received to their satisfaction, the remaining valuables are distributed among the girl's fellow villagers as a whole. While this is taking place, the youth's father and male relatives are asking, "Is it enough? Do you want more?" and several hasty trips may be made for more valuables until the girl's principal clan relatives are satisfied that sufficient has been given. Quarrels may occur at this stage, and the girl may be forcibly withdrawn and taken back to her own village. There is even a danger that this may happen at a later stage, for the girls party now return to their own village where a feast is made with the pigs handed over as part of the bride price, and with the additional pigs killed by her father that morning. During the feast, some relatives or members of the village may express dissatisfaction with the share of valuables they received. The girl's father will thereupon add to their share from his own store of valuables. But if there are many of them, and their dissatisfaction is great, they may threaten to bring the girl back. I am convinced that this seldom happens, but I was assured it was a possible contingency.

In the youth's village a similar feast is held, and after the feast he is subjected to harangues by the village and clan elders in which he is exhorted to give his assistance to his relatives, to carry himself circumspectly in their presence and not to forget what he owes them.

The following day, the youth's female clan relatives, his brothers and his father, repair to the garden lands and collectively cut a new banana plantation for the betrothed couple.

But the youth's period of trial and test is not yet over, for he cannot cohabit with his wife. He must avoid her on all occasions; he cannot speak her personal name - a taboo which lasts throughout his life - and if she is taking a meal at his father's house, he must go elsewhere for his food. If he sees her coming along the road, he must turn aside and hide in the kunai; he can have no physical contact with her.

For her part, the girl is under the same stringent avoidance. After the betrothal, she remains for a period at the house of her betrothed's parents; but it is recognised that this is a time of strain for her, and one of grief for her parents. Accordingly, after a short period in her new village, she is escorted back to her father's house with a gift of food. There she remains for some considerable time, until her parents' grief has been assuaged, when her own relatives in turn escort her back to her parents-in-law, carrying a food gift with them. From now on she remains in her new village.

When the betrothed couple are approaching their twentieth year, the man's father will decide they are old enough to cohabit. His mother gives her daughter-in-law a string produce bag and she is told to follow her husband to the gardens. A friend described to me this first meeting of the boy and girl in the role of husband and wife. "I saw her come into the garden," he said, "and I tried to run away. I called out to her, 'Why do you follow me? you see I am here!' But she said my father had sent her. Then she came up to me and we talked. Later we went to the bush together."

Brother-Sister Exchange in Marriage:

For reasons of continuity, one important aspect of Ngarawapum marriage has not yet been dealt with, namely, the exchange of brothers and sisters in the marriage contract. Though such exchanges are not necessary before a marriage may take place, they are the most desirable type, and whenever possible, such exchanges are made.

In the case described above, if the youth has a sister younger than himself, and the girl, whom his father has decided he shall marry, a younger brother, then the marriage arrangements will almost certainly include the simultaneous betrothal of these two young people. In fact, should the girl have a number of younger unmarried brothers, her relatives will not consider a marriage for her until such an arrangement has been made.

When marriage arrangements include the exchange of brothers and sisters, the amount of valuables handed over is considerably less, and conforms to a direct exchange of goods between the contracting parties, rather than a 'payment'. On the day of the betrothal, the youth's party, who instituted the proceedings, go to the girl's village, taking his younger sister with them. Outside the house of the girl's father, the two contracting groups exchange a like amount of pigs and other valuables, the youth's relatives 'paying' for his wife, and this girl's relatives in turn 'paying' for the youth's sister, who now becomes the betrothed of her brother's wife's brother. The goods exchanged in these circumstances are exact equivalents of each other, two spears being handed over by the youth's relatives, and two spears being received by them, two rarop for two rarop, and so on.

If, as often happens, the youth's sister and the brother of his intended betrothed are very much younger than the principals, the actual subsidiary betrothal may not take place at the

Instead of the two bride prices being exchanged simultaneously, the mother of the second boy will formally 'mark' the elder youth's sister by placing a string of beads over her head and giving her a new grass petticoat. This is a public indication that the girl is 'marked' for her brother's wife's brother, and later, when the two reach the age of puberty, the formal handing over of valuables will take place, the amount again being equal to that received for the boy's sister.

In times of inter-district warfare, such exchanges of brother and sister in marriage were the normal means of forming or cementing an alliance; it was a guarantee that the respective women would be well treated in their new homes, and in a wider sense, that relations between their two villages would remain on a friendly basis. The exchange is also a strong factor in the permanency of the marriage bond. The two girl's know that the welfare of their respective brothers depends upon their own behaviour, for should one of them incur the wrath of her husband or his relatives, should she so transgress that she is divorced by them, then her husband's sister will be removed from her brother's household and brought back to her own village; the marriage contract will be null and void, and not only will she have lost a husband, but her own brother will have lost a wife.

Even more importantly, the exchange emphasises the economic aspects of marriage, the value placed on a woman's services and the relationship of brother and sister.

Husband and Wife: The Nature of Marriage:

Some time after the father has given his permission for the betrothed couple to live together as man and wife, male and female members of the man's clan combine to erect a house. The house is erected near the house of his parents, in the same section of the village, and is occupied by the old people, the young couple being given the use of their former dwelling. Pigs are given them by the man's father; household utensils, such as cooking pots, are supplies by both his mother and the girl herself. In addition, the

eople have an extraordinary memory for the amount of pigs and valuabl
y in all kinds of gifts, and an equivalent return is always looked fo
size of pigs is taken into consideration and is often a bone of
n when, for one reason or another, bride price has to be returned.
ppendix B: Brother-Sister exchange in Marriage.

man has cooking pots of his own which he uses at times of festival and feast. Of valuables, such as spears and cowrie shells (rarop), they have very little to begin with, but their joint household is in being; they are husband and wife as distinct from betrotheds, and as such, they have advanced one stage further along the road to becoming full members of society. Marriage is considered a normal condition of manhood. The number of unmarried men over the age of twenty-five is but an infinitesimal fraction of the total male population, and in each case it will be found that there is some specific reason for their state of bachelorhood. The mentally deficient, the conspicuously deformed and the anti-social character do not marry, and the unmarried man has small chance of becoming a leader in his community.

With the establishment of their household, husband and wife form not only a sexual, but also an economic partnership. The sexual side of marriage cannot be dismissed, but at the same time, it must be remembered that sex is not the only aspect. Marriage gives the husband the exclusive right to the sexual services of his wife, and these rights themselves are based on the exchange of valuables at the betrothal. The term for adultery is the same as that for stealing any other object; it is taking something that does not belong to one. Because adultery is common, it does not mean that it is not a serious offence; among the younger men, the dangers of discovery give the act an added attraction, and private boasting of one's extra-marital affaires is a favourite form of gossip. On their part, the women know that their sexual organs are the exclusive property of their husbands, and this aspect of the marriage

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. It should be mentioned here that polygamy is permissible, but nowadays relatively rare. In such cases each wife has a separate dwelling and separate gardens, and the husband divides his time between the two. Relations within the polygamous household are more strained at first, but later the co-wives settle down and even become strong friends.

and is often used against them. Adultery, from the woman's point of view, is often 'paying back' for a prior offence or injury on his part. Because the act itself is carried out in secret, and the husband has no knowledge that this means of retaliation has been taken, does not alter the fact that women will advance this as a reason for contracting an extra-marital alliance. It is not suggested, however, that even where this is specifically advanced it is the sole reason behind the act. Whatever the motive, and sexual attraction must be one of them, the important fact to be noted here is that these statements imply the idea of sexual exclusiveness as an integral feature of matrimony. In many cases they are an attempt to condone the offence, to shift the blame from the woman to her husband, but at the same time they are an explicit acknowledgement of this aspect of the marriage bond. At times of festival, it is not unusual for some classificatory brother of the husband to approach the woman and demand to have intercourse with her, stating that as he handed over some of his valuables at her betrothal, he has a right to enjoy her sexual favours. Such behaviour, however, is not condoned, and if discovered, will be treated as adultery.

Husband and wife are therefore a sexual partnership; but they are also an economic partnership. As long ago as the day following their formal betrothal, emphasis has been placed on the economic duties of the young couple, the youth's clan relatives at that time going to the garden lands and cutting a new banana plantation for them. In addition, the youth is given strips in the clan yam gardens; he is given pigs, and the new household is started on the road to self-sufficiency. Produce from their own gardens supplies the constituents of the daily meal, which is eaten at their own house, prepared by the wife herself. This sharing of the daily meal by the husband and wife is, in fact, a symbol of their union and respective duties. On the man's part, continued absence from or refusal to share

bond is often used against them. Adultery, from the woman's point of view, is often 'paying back' for a prior offence or injury on his part. Because the act itself is carried out in secret, and the husband has no knowledge that this means of retaliation has been taken, does not alter the fact that women will advance this as a reason for contracting an extra-marital alliance. It is not suggested, however, that even where this is specifically advanced it is the sole reason behind the act. Whatever the motive, and sexual attraction must be one of them, the important fact to be noted here is that these statements imply the idea of sexual exclusiveness as an integral feature of matrimony. In many cases they are an attempt to condone the offence, to shift the blame from the woman to her husband, but at the same time they are an explicit acknowledgement of this aspect of the marriage bond. At times of festival, it is not unusual for some classificatory brother of the husband to approach the woman and demand to have intercourse with her, stating that as he handed over some of his valuables at her betrothal, he has a right to enjoy her sexual favours. Such behaviour, however, is not condoned, and if discovered, will be treated as adultery.

Husband and wife are therefore a sexual partnership; but they are also an economic partnership. As long ago as the day following their formal betrothal, emphasis has been placed on the economic duties of the young couple, the youth's clan relatives at that time going to the garden lands and cutting a new banana plantation for them. In addition, the youth is given strips in the clan yam gardens; he is given pigs, and the new household is started on the road to self-sufficiency. Produce from their own gardens supplies the constituents of the daily meal, which is eaten at their own house, prepared by the wife herself. This sharing of the daily meal by the husband and wife is, in fact, a symbol of their union and respective duties. On the man's part, continued absence from or refusal to share

the daily meal may be the cause of violent quarrels and may lead to divorce itself. The wife expects him to sit down with her at the end of the day, and to eat the food she has prepared: if he does not do so she becomes jealous and suspects him of looking elsewhere. If the man sits apart from her and does not offer to share the food she has placed before him, she is equally liable to take offence. From the man's point of view, he expects to go home in the evening to the meal his wife has prepared for him. This is one of her duties, and if she is lazy in this respect he may consider divorce as a means of retaliation. Refusal to cook the meal and give it to her husband is also a means of expressing dissatisfaction with him.

Wife-beating is not considered reprehensible; all men, it is recognised, may use this means of controlling and punishing their wives. In the households of young married couples there is sometimes a great deal of suspicion and jealousy. Quarrels are common, but it is seldom that they lead to divorce. Cases of divorce are most prevalent when the couple are childless. When children have been born to the union, relations settle down in an even groove. In old age, husband and wife show a particularly pleasant relationship.

In Ngarawapum society, contact between the sexes is not fraught with any special dangers and consequent safe-guards. There is no period at which a woman, because of the functions of her sex, is regarded as especially dangerous to men, and is therefore to be avoided. Even a menstruating woman is surrounded by no taboos or ceremonials as in some other societies. To have intercourse with a menstruating woman will result in illness, but other contacts are not forbidden. The menstruating woman cooks her husband's food in the ordinary way, though she must take the hygienic precaution of thoroughly washing her hands before preparing the food. In the same way, the menstruating woman will sit down in the streams surrounding the village, not for magical reasons, but merely for purposes of cleanliness. No special rite

is carried out at a girl's first menstruation.

Thus, with one limiting factor, the sexes are free to intermingle. This limiting factor is the belief that intercourse, and even constant close association with the female sex, is debilitating, that it robs a man of his virility and induces premature old age. As a result of this belief, the young husband spends almost as much time in one or other of the boy's houses in the village as he does in his own dwelling. He takes his meals at his own house in the normal manner, but when it is time to sleep he carries his bark cloth blanket to the boy's house. The importance of this custom in times of warfare, when the physical vigour of the warrior was of first concern to himself, needs no elaboration. Nowadays, the husband who shows marked reluctance to leave his wife's company earns the ridicule of the village. His wife may even take a direct hand in the matter, roundly abusing him in public for his laxity and apparent disregard for his health. In Gutsuwap, there was a striking example of this; the man concerned, Yamuen, being a particularly ineffectual type. He refused to leave his wife at night, and though others of his same generation were in the full vigour of manhood, he was an old man in appearance and habits. His condition was probably due to some physical defect, but the village attributed it to the fact that he never left the presence of his wife. This woman herself was in fact, if not in name, the head of the house, and it was not an unusual experience to see her beating her husband and abusing him, demanding to know why he did not sleep in the boy's house for a change.

Normally, however, the husband remains the head of the household. It is he who decides what work will be done during the day. He is the repository of garden lore and knowledge; his control over the produce of the gardens is almost absolute, the qualification in this respect being that the woman is free to gather certain foods, the sweet potato in particular, as she pleases, but foods like yams and bananas cannot be gathered without the husband's

permission. Both man and wife have their own separate spheres in the activities of food production, and generally speaking, the more arduous tasks fall to the man. The work itself is divided between their own gardens and the gardens of relatives, for with the setting up of their own household these obligations have not ceased. Now, even more than before, it is to their advantage to give assistance when it is asked for, for they themselves are in need of assistance in their own economic affairs. In addition, an essential feature of the woman's duty is to look after her father-in-law, providing the help and attention which was given formerly by his daughter. Moreover, within their respective economic spheres, both husband and wife are expected to be equally industrious. An industrious wife is regarded highly as an economic partner, and often for this reason alone a husband will be circumspect in his extra-marital amorous activities, lest he offend her. For this specific reason, my own best friend at Outsuwap was chary of taking a second wife, though all his relatives had given their approval. "I am thinking of Igona", (his wife), he said to me. "She is a good woman. She works hard. She is never angry with me. She is not like the wives of some other men." Similarly, laziness in the man, his failure to supply the household with food, is sufficient reason for the wife deserting him.

The value of a woman's services are not, therefore, confined to her sexual role alone. Bride price itself emphasises this fact. One essential feature of the 'payment' is that it is in the nature of a recompense to those who looked after the girl when she was small, and who now lose the benefit of her services. "They looked after her when she was small. They gave her food; she grew strong on their food," were among the explanations given to me. Polygamy itself stresses the economic value of a woman. Apart from sexual attraction, which was admitted, men who expressed the desire of taking more than one wife would say: "With two women, gardens are larger. The man who has two wives has all the good foods."

Affinal Relatives:

But if marriage means an advance in social and economic status, it also means that the youth contracts a new set of relatives and obligations. Through his wife, he is placed in a culturally defined relationship with her relatives, who may be either members of his own village, or who may reside at varying distances outside it. In the first case, the ties between the young man and this group of people will be considerably more intimate; but whether his wife's people reside near him or at a distance, the basic attitudes towards them remain the same. Characteristically, patrilineal and matrilineal sentiment can be understood only against a knowledge of the functions of the two groups of kin as they are defined in the marriage relationship. Such functions are both social and economic. They may be negative, inhibiting contact, or they may be positive: but in either case the child's later attitude towards the groups into which he is born is largely derivitive from the culturally defined relationship which comes into being at his parents' marriage.

It will be remembered that the most favoured type of marriage in Ngarawapum society is between the children of cross-cousins, (yarans), preferably between the children of yarans who are not 'true' yarans. On marriage, these yarans become 'true' yarans, a fact which applies even if the respective parents of the young couple did not happen to stand in this relationship to one another before; in other words, when boy and girl are married, their respective parents, of either sex, term each other yaran, a term which is identical with that applied to the cross-cousin. The relationship between the parents-in-law, the yarans, is one of strong and intimate friendship. Normally, it does not imply economic assistance or economic obligations. It is therefore distinct from the relationships within the patrilineal clan. When an exchange of brother and sister has taken place, the reciprocal ties between the two sets of parents are obvious, for each set possesses a daughter-in-law in the child of the other set. The

relationship does not involve restrictive taboos or prohibitions; the yarans are united in a bond of mutual esteem and consideration. At times of feast, or at clan ceremonials, yarans are always invited guests. They sit together and eat together; if they live near each other visits will be a regular feature between them. The receipt of a gift of pork, the killing of a pig, involves the despatch of part of the meat to one's yaran. When one yaran dies, the other is a principal mourner. For a week or more after the death - the length of time varies - he refrains from chewing the betel mixture, th period of his sympathetic self-denial ending when he makes a feast at his dwelling, inviting the clan relatives of the dead man.

But if at the apex of the new relationship, the tone is one of unrestricted friendship, the required social behaviour between a man and his wife's parents is almost entirely prohibitive. To the husband, his wife's parents are his buan, and their personal names are strictly taboo to him. Both this term and the taboo are reciprocal, that is, the wife's parents cannot call their son-in-law by his personal name, and similarly, his own parents cannot call their son's wife by her personal name. In each case, a new personal name is given to both husband and wife by their new relatives, the woman's parents giving a name to their son-in-law, and the man's parents giving a name to their daughter-in-law. From now on they are known by these names to the respective groups which have given them. Similarly, husband and wife apply these names to each other, their own personal names, it will be remembered, being taboo. The new personal name given by the man's parents to their daughter-in-law is normally that of some clan sister of her husband who has married elsewhere. The name given to the man is that of some clan brother of his wife.

With the taboo on the personal name of his wife's parents, a feeling of shame in their presence goes hand in hand. The husband is not forbidden to sit with them; he is not enjoined to avoid them, but at the same time he is never completely at ease with them. He has taken their daughter from them and is self-conscious of the

debt he owes them. On his own account, he will never visit them or sit down with them in an informal manner; he will never eat meat in their presence. If they live at a distance, his wife makes periodic journeys to their village, but it is seldom that he accompanies her. Economically, he has few obligations towards them. If his wife belonged to the same village as himself, his parents-in-law naturally live near him. Communal village activities find him co-operating with them in some activities as a matter of course, and in addition, he spends some time in their own gardens. But such economic help takes up but a small part of his time; nor is it a definite obligation which must be fulfilled; it is more in the nature of an expression of the respect which he feels for them, a somewhat distant respect tinged with the prevailing feeling of shame. If his wife belonged to a village outside the district boundaries, or even another village within the district group, such economic assistance is rare, its nature and scope varying directly with the distance which separates him from his parents-in-law. When his wife pays a visit to her parents, she will carry a gift of food, cooking pots or spears with her. When the members of her clan are celebrating some event, when they are making a feast, or on some other ceremonial occasion, she and her husband will be expected as a matter of course; word is always sent to them, and for their own part, they invariably carry a food gift with them. On the death of one or other of his wife's parents, the husband forms one of the main group of mourners who occupy positions round the body itself.

The husband refers to his wife's sisters by the same kinship term as that for wife, and there is no taboo on their personal names. The personal name of his wife's brother, however, cannot be spoken. The reciprocal term used between husband and brother-in-law is Mimik, but the taboo on their respective personal names is the one restrictive feature in their relationship. In the presence of his wife's brother the same element of shame and debt enters, in this case because the husband has taken his Mimik's sister, and brothers

and sisters are ideally presumed to be close to one another. At the same time, however, the Mimik relationship is the strongest bond outside the patrilineal clan group, though once again the practical importance of this bond depends on the proximity of the respective villages of the two men concerned. Where husband and wife's brother reside in the same or adjacent villages, it will be found that they are firm friends, that on most occasions they seek each other's company in preference to that of their own clan brothers. The man who visits his sister's house is always assured of a welcome. He is treated as an honoured guest, and if he is in trouble it is there he will go until some indication is received that his personal safety will not be in jeopardy if he returns to his own house. Confidences between Miniks are a striking feature of their relationship. Their adventures into adultery are freely related between them, and they need not be afraid of betrayal. Economic assistance is not an obligatory condition of their relationship; the husband does not have to spend a part of his time in the gardens of his wife's brother, nor is this man compelled to give his labour to his sister's husband. At the same time, if they live within the same village, the two men frequently work together from choice. Such co-operation does not extend over the whole range of economic activities; the husband's principal economic interests remain with his patrilineal clan group, but in addition it will be found that he and his wife's brother share some joint undertaking. They may combine in the construction of a yam garden, and the sister's husband will be given an individual strip in it; or, alternatively, they may jointly clear and share a sweet potato patch. Each may expect food at the other's household.

In the case of brother and sister exchange in marriage, a man may often use his sister to discipline his own wife. The sisters-in-law enter a relationship comparable to that existing between their respective brothers, the reciprocal term which they apply to each other being Paats. The taboo on personal names

plies to the women as well as the men, and similarly, they are intimate and friendly with each other. Should one of them prove recalcitrant and neglect her husband, or should she give cause for [illegible] int, his sister will be the first to take his part, abusing the wife and pointing out that she herself does not act like this with her husband. Does her brother's wife want to see her own brother treated in this way? Does she want her own brother to have a lazy wife, one who abuses him, who does not heed what he tells her? Does she want him to lose his wife altogether? Once again, however, it is obvious that a sister's disciplinary functions are largely dependent on the proximity of her own husband's residence to that of her brother. The case of one man of my acquaintance expresses this clearly. Since his return from [illegible] a short time before, he had been prosecuting an affaire with another man's wife. The village was unaware of what had been going on, but his own wife had become suspicious. By nature she was a jealous woman, and the few glances she was able to intercept between her husband and the other man's wife were sufficient to raise her suspicions to the point of certainty. One night, when her husband was sitting with her brother at the other end of the village, she took his killing stick, and passing behind the houses in the darkness, she attacked him where he sat, beating him about the shoulders and head. In the ensuing uproar, her husband's sister, who was the wife of her own brother, abused and vilified her for her action, threatening to treat her own husband in the same way. This man himself was not without offence, as he too had been having an illicit liaison with the wife of another, consequently he joined in the abuse of his sister, for, as he said in explanation to me afterwards, "Wanufan (his sister) does this to Ngah (her husband) and now my wife will beat me and be angry with me in the same manner." Privately, the husband injured in the first place, confided in me that if his other and eldest sister had been present in the village - she was married to a man of the neighbouring village of Tofmora - his wife would have suffered for what she had

done, for this eldest sister would have beaten her and made her see her error.

Kinship Sentiment and Behaviour:

The formation of these new ties at marriage, the duties and obligations of a man to his wife's kin, are important later in the formation of the matrilineal sentiment in the children of the union. Descent and inheritance, it will be remembered, are patrilineal, but at the same time there is sentimental attachment to the kin of the mother, and the nature of this attachment can be understood only against a background knowledge of the respective spheres of these two groups as they are culturally defined at marriage.

The childs first tie is obviously one of nutrition, with its mother, and even after weaning, this tie still remains to a great extent, for until he leaves his father's house it is still the mother who is the provider of cooked food; it is she who prepares the daily meal and to whom he goes for nutritional satisfaction. But after weaning, the boy is also expected, and taught, to be more in the company of his father than his mother. Within the family circle he also learns the respective places of male and female, and sees his father as the head of the household. The father as economic controller of the food supplies has, in fact, an important nutritional role. Directly, it is from him that the household prospers, to him that it owes its prosperity, for from him it derives not only the rights to the land which supports it, but in his hands, theoretically at least, is concentrated the knowledge, the garden lore, necessary to work the land. They boy, then, knows in what direction his future interests lie, and as he grows older, his identification with his father and his father's group is marked. After about his seventh year his relations with his mother never return to the state of affection and intimacy observable in infancy: he is constantly in his father's company.

But although the ideal relationship of mother and child disappears after the seventh year, the mother does not become a

nentity in the child's life. In point of fact, this very identification with his father's group, his common interests with others of this group, brings him into realms of control and conflict which do not exist on his mother's side. He learns that all the members of this group whom he looked on formerly as 'secondary' providers, now demand his assistance, his physical labours. Moreover, he learns that these same people are watching his behaviour, that they have the power of holding him up to ridicule and making him conform to what may seem irksome standards of conduct and social duties. He learns the hard way that all he received from them in childhood is expected to be repaid, and that such repayment will last throughout their lives.

With his mother's kin there are no such stringent economic ties and resulting conflicts and points of irritation. Within this group of people, he has few obligations and may expect many privileges. It will be recalled that though he has no absolute rights on their land, he may construct some portion of his gardens there without asking their permission; they would not turn him away.

Occasionally, when his mother's brother dies without heirs, he may inherit his land. His male cross-cousin is his yaran, and when in time he is looking for a wife for his son, he will look among the children of a man who stands in this relationship to him. Marriage will cement the relationship and he now becomes a 'true' yaran of his son's parents-in-law.

The tie to the mother's kin is thus somewhat loose in nature, a distinct contrast to the ties within the clan itself. As a group the clan members are all 'true' blood relatives, and as such they are expected to stand together and support each other. This fact is emphasised in all native thought, and perhaps the most striking instance of this desire to preserve the clan solidarity is to be found in the attitude towards adultery within the clan, particularly adultery with a brother's wife.

The wife of a clan brother is called by the same relationship

erm as one's own wife, but this does not give any sexual rights ver her. On the contrary, should she be left a widow a clan rother of the deceased may not marry her. She remains the possession' of her husband's group, but it is always some lassificatory brother of the husband from outside the clan group ho re-marries her.

I learned these facts quite early in my residence at garuwapum and therefore, when a case of adultery with the wife of a clan brother came to my notice, I was interested to see what ould be done in the matter. At first nothing seemed to be done. ll the men I questioned shrugged the matter aside, and I was told, "It i his brother's wife. They are brothers. It is all right if they do this." I even entered a note to the effect that adultery ith a brother's wife is not reprehensible because of the close relationship existing between these men. Needless to say this conclusion was entirely false. Two months later, with the return of the injured husband from indenture, the case burst into the full publicity of a village exposure, and resulted in one of the bitterest quarrels that I observed throughout my stay. Moreover, tongues were now loosened and I was able to form an entirely new set of conclusions, conclusions which received full corroboration from other cases during the following months.

Because of the ideals of clan solidarity, there is a feeling that outsiders should not meddle in their affairs. Everyday opinion emphasises this solidarity by trying to minimise the importance of breaches of law and order within the clan. As such social transgressions lead to estrangement and even exile, it is felt to be a far more serious affair when they concern members of the same clan, for the structure of the clan, its solidarity and co-operative aspects, are thrown out of equilibrium. For this reason, an attempt, in theory at lease, is made to gloss over the importance of social transgressions within the clan, an attempt, it might be added, which is hardly ever successful. In the above case, the adulterer was taken before a visiting patrol officer and received a sentence of six months

imprisonment. When the news was received in the village, his female clan relatives set up a continual wailing as though he had died. In all the villages, the case was discussed and the gist of what I heard can be summed up as follows: "It is his brother! It is bad when these things happen. A brother is angry with a brother; will he sit down with him and work with him? No, they are not the same again." Before this man set out for Lae to serve his term he sent word back to the village that when he returned, he would not look at his brother again; he would not sit down with him and eat with him; they would be as strangers; he would leave the village and live with other relatives.

This clan solidarity does allow a greater degree of criticism within the clan than outside it, for because the clan members are considered to be the same blood, criticism of one's clan relatives is permissible to a degree which would never be countenanced with outsiders. But because such criticism is allowable and frequently indulged in, it also sets up points of irritation within the clan. Relations are more likely to be constrained where there are controls, and the majority of controls are exercised within the clan. In everyday life, such points of irritation are hardly noticeable; a superficial observation would lead one to suppose that relations within the clan, and particularly between brothers, are uniformly without incident. But casual gossip, and complaints made privately, reveal an entirely different state of affairs. Such tension does remain under the surface for the greater part of the time, but when some breach of law and order takes place within the clan, between clan members, they are liable to appear in a full blaze of publicity.

Ideally, brothers are required to be very close to one another, and there are many expressions of this ideal. In later life, indeed, their relationship does lose much of this under-surface tension, and when one of them dies there is genuine and deep grief. But on the younger generation levels, though there are conspicuous examples of brotherly affection, a good deal of this under surface friction exists. This is more often the case when there is marked

disparity in age among the clan brothers, for then the elder group have a large measure of control over the younger, and the latter may even depend on them in obtaining a wife. The economic services required of the younger group are in themselves a contributing factor to what is at least a feeling of irritation, and it is significant that these economic services are not required by people who are classed as mother's kin.

Kinship, Reciprocity and Obligations:

From the preceding sections it should be clear that kinship is not merely a convenient way of grouping relatives into various categories, but that it forms a basis for society, a basis for co-operation, social intercourse and the activities of obtaining a living from the soil. Each category of relationships implies a certain kind of mutual help in social and economic matters, an obligation to give assistance and reciprocally, to repay such assistance in kind. This is naturally most marked in the sphere of economic activities.

Much of the economic activity of the Ngarawapan demands the assistance of someone else. All economic activity becomes lighter and is completed more expeditiously when such assistance is obtained; and the means of securing such assistance is to be found among one's own group of relatives. Such assistance is implied in kinship, and the man who does not give it when asked will find that he himself will be without help who he needs it. It is to the advantage of all to give this help in economic and social matters. The advantages, in fact, are frequently expressed in native thought, and on numerous occasions when I enquired why a certain man had come forward with his help, I was told concisely: "He will need help himself sometime." I would, indeed, be giving a false picture to come away with the idea that the obligations of kinship are automatic and altruistic. If they do appear to be automatic it is because the advantages of co-operating are obvious, and the disadvantages of refusing assistance are equally apparent. It would be a permissible

exaggeration to say that no assistance of a social or economic nature is given without an eye on the return it will bring. The nature of such a return may not be apparent at the time; but it is certain that in the natural course of events some form of return will be required at some future date. Thus it is to my own advantage to help my brother in his taro garden to-day, for shortly, I myself will want to construct a taro garden and will need his assistance. Again, some clan section of the village desires to make a feast. It is to my advantage to contribute to it from my own food supplies, for in the future I myself may want to make a feast and receive the prestige accruing to it.

But over and above such economic assistance, the obligations of kinship weave a fluid pattern throughout all aspects of village life. The killing of a pig, or a gift of pork, demands that portion of it be sent to one's relatives, and a return gift is always looked for. I was somewhat surprised at the way news of the killing of a pig travels from village to village, and often when such news was received, the man in whose company I happened to be at the time, would remark: "I will have pig now. They will send me some." On some occasions when such a gift had been received, the recipient would express dissatisfaction to me: "They send me a small piece! I gave them a whole joint of the pig I killed." Although there are no written records for reference, each gift made, or service rendered, is remembered and when a gift is received from a certain individual, or group of individuals, it is known for what original gift it is the return, even though the original gift may have been made some months previously, and though at any time a man may have up to a dozen unfulfilled gifts waiting their return.

<u>Maturity and Old Age</u>:

As we have seen, the young man, even after his marriage, remains for many years under the control of his elders. He cannot eat meat in their presence, and must, therefore, keep in the background on all occasions when it is on the menu, occasions of festival and feast. At these gatherings he is invariably exhorted, harangued and insulted by them all, all his faults being made public.

in the ceremonial life of society he takes a back seat. "We do not know these things," men of thirty would say to me. "If we did it we would do it wrongly and be ashamed."

Nowadays, when fighting no longer takes place, his one way of enhancing his prestige is to conform to the ideals of social conduct, being generous to his relatives with food and assistance, making large gardens and working with a will. Though such industry was always a measure of prestige, the cessation of fighting, and consequently the disappearance of the emphasis on warrior prowess, have combined to accentuate economic industry. Young men who conform to the above type are always spoken of with commendation. One of my own friends, who had recently been appointed a village official, explained his appointment as the result of the esteem in which he was held by all, telling me that his gardens were larger than those of anyone else; that he was always assiduous in looking after his relatives; that everyone spoke of his generosity and looked up to him above all others of his own generation. Apart from a slight and pardonable exaggeration, I found this to be the case, that he was a paragon of what the young man should be, and that he occupied a position in village affairs out of all proportion to his age.

Later, as his sons grow up and generation succeeds generation, the young man in turn has others to work for and to assist him: he, in his turn, becomes the privileged in society. He continues to work in gardens until the very end of his life, then, as he lies dying, all his relatives come to sit beside him, and in their presence and their grief he knows his life has been unblemished, that his going is genuinely regretted.

THE NGARAWAPUM DISTRICT GROUP:

Throughout the preceding sections, we have been concerned with the Ngarawapan as a member of clan and village. From his birth in the house of his father, we have traced the successive stages through which he passes, becoming in turn a member of a family, a patrilineal clan and a village. In addition, we have

seen the manner in which the network of his relationships is widened at marriage, and we have examined his attitude to this new group of people. But at the same time it will be remembered that over and above his membership of a village, the Ngarawapan is also a member of a district group. The five villages we looked down upon from the heights of the Yafats River are in reality one unit, bound by ties of descent, marriage and residence within a common area. It remains, then, to examine the nature and basis of this solidarity.

Historical Basis of The District Group:

The limitations of Ngarawapan genealogical knowledge exclude the existence genealogies extending back into the remote past. Unlike some other primitive communities, the unity and solidarity of the group is not founded on the direct evidence of descent from some original ancestor, either real or mythical. Myths of original emergence are not cited, nor do they exist. And yet, the conclusion I reached in the early stages of my enquiries - that 'there is no evidence for, and no belief in a common descent for the Ngarawapum villages' - proved later to be very wide of the mark.

In reality, the question of common descent and original ancestors - the question of 'where we came from' - is one which puzzles the Ngarawapan almost as much as it puzzles the ethnological enquirer. He feels that somewhere along the past there must have been some original group from which the present population of the villages has sprung, but it is too long ago for him to be certain; the men of those times have all died; those who might have known have omitted to pass on the information. But in spite of this he feels that his membership in the district group, and the solidarity of that group, derives from some such common descent. The old men, almost without exception, will reply to such questions with the statement that the original group from which the Ngarawapum villages derive, existed at Taboratza, and somewhere in the past an original ancestor, or group of ancestors also existed at this place.

Taboratza itself is an historical site on the foothills above the Yafats River, about half way between the present villages

and the villages of Kaiapit. Here, the progenitors of the present villagers lived and worked, probably in a series of hamlets which acknowledged the inclusive name of Taboratza. In time, the Yafats River, deepening its gorge and destroying garden lands, forced a migration of these people to the gentle slope immediately below the foothills. Here, for the first time, the group becomes known by the inclusive name of Ngarawapum. Old Men's descriptions of this original Ngarawapum reveal it as a "large place, with many coconut palms. It was on the hills where now there are only stones." Invariably, when walking across these slopes to Kaiapit, the site is pointed out, and one is told that "we lived here before. This is the place of our ancestors."

But once again, the destructive propensities of the Markham Rivers forced a migration. As quite frequently happens, the Yafats River changed its course and swept through the garden lands of Ngarawapum. The people were forced to move, migrating to the arm of the plain north of the river, some three miles from the old site. In the migration groups of related clans formed the new village of Tofmora, and others the two villages of Maianzarian and Gainaron. The emergence of the remaining villages of Gutsuwap and Yanuf is a later development yet. Two generations ago a quarrel over the killing of a pig split the village of Tofmora and representatives of three of the Tofmora clans, under the leadership of a man named Yafu, broke away from the main group, constructing a new village in the untouched jungle. This village they named Gutsuwap, which means, literally, 'cutting the bush.' Yanuf arose when Awan, a man of Tofmora, returned from a period of work with the German Administration, and fearing the results of white penetration, took his family to the bush where Yanuf now stands. The present inhabitants of this village are his descendants, together with related members of other Tofmora clans who reside there to be near their garden lands. Yanuf is merely a somewhat distant section of Tofmora village and is regarded as such by both its inhabitants and the inhabitants of the remaining villages.

The common identity of the five villages is recognised in the inclusive name of Ngarawapum, a name which applies not only to the villages as a whole, but also to the area of land on which they stand. According to the village of one's birth, one is first of all a 'man of Tofmora' or a 'man of Maianzarian', as the case may be (garam Tofmora, or garam Maianzarian); but in the widest sense one is also a 'man of Ngarawapum', (garam Ngarawapum), and one is regarded as such by residents of villages outside the district boundaries. In former times, all these people were either male or female enemies, (garam buman, or sagat buman), whom it was justifiable and commendable to kill, the search for human flesh taking the Ngarawapum raiding parties as far south as Sangan, and north to Marawassa. Describing these raiding parties as a search for human flesh may seem an exaggeration; admittedly other factors must be taken into consideration, factors such as sorcery and vengeance, but the fact remains that human flesh was a prized item of diet, and that raids did take place for the sole purpose of securing this luxury. But no raids took place between the five villages of the district group. Furthermore, in the event of one village being raided by an outside group, assistance could be expected from the other Ngarawapum villages.

Membership of the Ngarawapum district group gives one a residence on the 'Ngarawapum land'. Each village has exclusive rights to but one section of this total area, but there is one economic activity above all others which reflects the common interests of the group as a whole. From the edge of the villages, stretching out to the Umi River, lies the vast expanse of kunai plain. Without trees or natural divisions of any kind, it appears on first acquaintance to be an economic liability, in the season of the trade winds, a dry expanse of tinder, ready for a spark to kindle it and start a twelve mile conflagration. But because it is frequented by species of game, friends would describe its importance to me by saying, "It is our 'store'. Our meat is in the kunai."

Each village possesses its own section of the kunai, and

every year, about September, a grand burning is inaugurated. Complicated ceremonial and examples of reciprocity are involved, but the chief feature is that though each village is responsible for the burning of its own section, the burning cannot take place without the consent and co-operation of the whole five. Should one village burn its kunai without prior consultation, then as soon as the smoke from the fires appears, conch shell trumpets and slit gongs will sound in the other villages, and armed with spears, their male inhabitants rush to the offending village, slaughtering its pigs and fowls and any living thing which crosses their path.

In the past, harvest ceremonies, which are accompanied by feasting and dancing, were also an expression of the common give and take. Nowadays, such festivals have broadened in scope, but in the time when garam buman retained its original connotation, such ceremonial activities were predominantly affairs for the district group, each village being in turn the host and guests of the other villages.

Internal Structure of The District Group:

But it must not be presumed that the villages of the district group are without their points of conflict and internal tension. Each male inhabitant is a 'man of Ngarawapum', but more exclusively he is a 'man of Tofmora', or the village of his birth; furthermore, there is a distinct, subsidiary grouping within the five villages as a whole.

When the people of Gutsuwap left Tofmora and erected their new village, mutual suspicion was such that the new village seldom joined with the old in communal activities. Though the site chosen was only ten minutes walking time from the old village, a road was cut round it through the kunai, and people of Gutsuwap who wished to visit Maianzarian would travel this road in preference to passing through Tofmora. Nowadays, however, the cause of the original split is remembered not as a reason for suspicion, but for a common solidarity. The three subscinding clans of the Gutsuwaps

were originally members of Tofmora. They are related by ties of descent to the Tofmora people, and this common relationship has been reinforced by inter-marriage and by branches of the present day Tofmora clans settling in Gutsuwap to be nearer their gardens. Throughout my residence, I was continually hearing explanations of the commonality of interests between the two. "We are one place," my friend Maiamuta of Tofmora would tell me. "Gutsuwap is not another place; they are not another people." This does not mean to say that the feeling of common identity is all embracing. Both villages remain independent units, each with its own defined area of land and its independent, everyday economic pursuits. A man of Gutsuwap is 'garam Gutsuwap' and never 'garam Tofmora'. Points of tension exist between the two, and gossip of a defamatory or subversive nature is common. But the fact of their common identity in the past is sufficient to outweigh these minor disturbances; insults and breaches of law and order, which would result in positive action between other villages, produce a less noticeable reaction in Tofmora and Gutsuwap because of the feeling that basically, 'we are one place.'

The garden lands of Maianzarian and Gainaron adjoin each other. In addition, these two villages possess traditional ties of friendship and these ties are based on, and strengthened by constant inter-marriage. The feeling of unity discernible between Tofmora, Gutsuwap and Yanuf is equally applicable to these two villages. Invariably, for the festivities accompanying harvest - or for dance festivals in general - the Maianzarian-Gainaron section combine, and similarly, the Tofmora-Gutsuwap-Yanuf section. To a man of Tofmora there is a slight difference between a man of Gutsuwap and a man of Maianzarian; he will be more ready to notice insult or suspect the motives of the latter than the former. Similarly, an insult aimed at Maianzarian is far more serious than the same insult aimed at Gutsuwap.

Perhaps the most grievous insult that one village can level at another is to belittle its economic enterprise, its food supplies or generosity. Unfortunately for Tofmora, their present luluai,

Gia, is prone to make such statements. During the last months of my stay at Ngarawapum, Gainaron and Maianzarian had made a large dance festival concurrent with their yam harvest. Less than a fortnight after this they instituted another on a smaller scale in which the produce of their banana plantations formed the main item of display and distribution. The day before this festival, information reached them, as it invariably does, that Gia had been passing slighting remarks, calling to question their ability to institute another dance, asserting that the food was little enough at their previous effort and surely there would not be enough to go round at this one. I was living at Gutsuwap at the time, and Umab, the luluai of Maianzarian, paying a casual visit to relatives there, informed them that at the dance on the following day, the Maianzarians intended to shame Gia because of his unguarded talk. When the time came for the bananas to be distributed to the visitors, it had been decided that as each bunch was brought forward, the bearer would carry it to the place where Gia sat, holding it up before him and shouting, "Have you got this? Have you got this?" Then holding the fruit above his head, the bearer would break into the circle of dancers while the Maianzarians beat their drums and indulged in shouts of derision and triumph at Gia's expense.

The projected retaliation formed a topic of conversation in Gutsuwap that night, and discussing it with two other men, I learned that Gia had made the same type of remark concerning Gutsuwap some time previously. I asked if Gutsuwap had taken offence in a similar manner. Gutsuwap had been incensed, my friends informed me, but nothing comparable had been done, for, one of them remarked, "We are one place. If he wants to talk like that about us, that is his affair. Tofmora may cross us, but Maianzarian is different."

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(3) LEADERSHIP

With no hereditary system of chieftainship, each male Igorewumpan is born with the same potentialities of leadership. The variable factors of physique and temperament are important, for the weak and the indigent have little chance of aspiring to authority. Though they are few, each village possesses individuals who are notoriously lazy; but the improvident - partly dependent on the generosity of relatives - invariably occupy a position of inferiority. Industry, as we have seen, is given a social emphasis throughout the Ngadiwumpan's education. The young man who is assiduous in helping his relatives, earns their respect; but in addition, he must look to his own economic enterprises, for generosity brings prestige. The man who has large gardens occupies a position of eminence. He himself will point to this fact with no little pride. When men come to me, one man explained, "I sit them down and call to my wife to bring them food. Here, there is always food for them. There is so much food that it cannot be eaten. They see my banana gardens and my yam gardens, and they are not like those of other men. They say: 'Ngadiwagin knows more than other men. This manner of his is good.' Then their bellies are warm towards me. 'This is a true man,' they say.

But to state that industry and generosity are essential conditions of prestige, is not to imply that leadership is based on these two qualities alone. Food is an item of wealth, and vigorous application to the activities of food production - large gardens, and the assistance of others in making these gardens - is essential for its acquisition. As in other primitive societies, the possession of wealth leads to social differentiation; the indigent stand at one end of the social scale, the economically industrious at the other. But wealth, in the form of food, cannot be stored away or used to buy

additional comforts for its possessor. The man of wealth differs from the indigent not in the numerical superiority of material possessions retained in his own keeping, but in the fact that he is able to give to others. Prestige is not in possession itself, but in the opportunities for giving which possession brings.

The man whose food resources are large - the man whose industry has enabled him to cultivate extensive gardens - is able to win the approval of his relatives by giving them food whenever they visit his house. When a hunt has taken place and the wild pig is brought back to the village, he will be able to supply the bulk of the additional food, bananas, yams and taro, and in return for this the meal is made at his house. The prestige of the host is his and the villagers are in his debt to the extent of the additional food he has supplied. Supernatural approval of his action and his generosity is also apparent, for the spirits of his ancestors, partaking of the meal in a way which will receive elaboration in a later section, are presumed to be pleased with him; he has honoured them as well as himself. Prestige will accrue to him from the part he is able to play in the large dance festivals concomitant with yam harvests. Such festivals are made on a village basis, though originating in one of the village clans, and the man whose industry has enabled him to gather a large herd of pigs, may receive honour on these occasions by supplying the bulk of the pigs essential to such festivals. The dance is then held in the vicinity of his dwelling. The food display, which necessitates the erection of a carved post (Mugus), is placed near his house and the house itself is decorated. The festival over, the Mugus itself remains as a visible reminder of his generosity. "People will see the Mugus there and know that this man is not as other men. The man with many Mugus near his house, he is a man who knows much," one friend explained to me. Provided he has the necessary resources in pigs and food, he may place a taboo on some minor economic activity, forbidding, for instance, the collection of fish from the streams for a period of one month. When this period has expired,

the village as a whole will go to the streams. The catch is brought back to the village and a feast is made at his house, his pigs and garden produce again providing the bulk of the additional food.

Wealth, however, is not - and never can be - the sole condition of leadership. All Ngarawapum festivals and ceremonial occasions are primarily clan affairs, though the whole village is normally involved. There is no occasion when one man may institute a feast with the sole object of enhancing his own reputation; a man cannot rise to a position of absolute authority on the strength of his generosity and ostentation alone. Prestige within the clan - and the good opinion of other villagers - will, to a large extent, be directly commensurate with his ability to contribute to clan affairs. Each clan member is expected to contribute on these occasions - occasions such as harvest festivals and the series of feasts which follow the death of important individuals - and the man who is able to contribute more than his fellow members, gains their respect; conversely, the man who refuses, or is unable to contribute, is held in low esteem. Such prestige is important in adding to his social stature. It brings him the support of other members of his clan and gives additional weight to his opinions; it brings him their assistance in his undertakings, and they, in their turn, benefit from his industry and generosity. It does not, however, give him legal claims to the obedience of his fellow clansmen as a whole; it does not bring absolute authority over others.

Authority, in fact, is vested in the elders of each clan within the village, these elders being the genealogical heads of the various family groups which comprise the clan. Such men are known as 'garam tzira' (big men), a term which I shall apply in referring to them from now on. Mere seniority, however, is not sufficient to create or support the leader. The term garam tzira implies not only age - and therefore genealogical seniority - but also warrior prowess, industry and generosity. Thus, the lazy and ineffectual, no matter what their age, never attain the respect

which is due to the garam tzira. But seniority, as one criterion of leadership, means that the qualities on which authority is based, are not directly observable or operative at the present time. At any period, the garam tzira are not the most powerful warriors or the most economically industrious men; such qualities necessarily demand the stamina of youth. But respect accrues to them from the fact that they were, in former years, the men who displayed these qualities to a marked degree. When, at village gatherings, they rise to their feet to harangue the people, they will shout: "Do you think I am nothing? Did I not kill men of many places before? Was I not strong in bringing human meat to the village? Did I not fight the men who attacked us? How is this that you think you need not heed me? Am I of no account?" In other words, the garam tzira of clan and village are notable elders, those who command the most allegiance on kinship lines, a fact which explains why the young men cannot assume a position of authority by reason of wealth or ostentation alone. The prestige the young man derives from industry - and in former times from warrior prowess - is of first importance in winning the approval of the elders and raising him nearer to their level. It is not sufficient to supplant them in the respect of others, but it does form a basis on which respect is built, a basis on which authority is carried over from generation to generation.

THE PLACE OF THE WARRIOR:

Without exception, the present garam tzira of the Ngarawapum villages are former warriors. Prowess in warfare is the quality which is stressed when their abilities are under discussion; it is the quality which they themselves will indicate in public when their powers of correction or coercion are called into play. The quality itself was obviously of first importance in a society where friendship was confined to the people residing in the relatively small area contained by the district group; where enmity for 'outsiders' carried raiding parties from one end of the valley to

the other, and where attack was likely to come from any of these directions. In such circumstances, the function of the warrior received explicit cultural emphasis, and the training of the young included preparation for their role in warfare.

excluded from no adult activities within the village, the Ngarawapan child was aware of the emphasis placed on murder from his earliest infancy. He witnessed the return of raiding parties and was present at the ensuing celebrations, taking part in the dances and eating the flesh of the slain. In his boyhood games, as we have seen, he played at warfare with others of his own age. Skill in handling the spear was learned as he grew up and took part in the hunts for wild game. Ability to use the shield, the agile movements of body and arm to parry the missile of the enemy, were learned in demonstrations given by his elders. Each day, as he accompanied his father to the gardens, he carried his own small spear, and perhaps on some occasion he heard the drums beat and the conch shells sound, and hurrying back to the village he learned that some man or woman had been killed in their plantations, a party of garam buman creeping up to them through the kunai, the wind concealing their movement through the grass. At times of feast he heard himself and his elder brothers harangued and insulted by the garam tzira. All his faults were made public; he was told that if the village must depend on him to defend it, then all its inhabitants would surely die. He learned that until he killed he could not cohabit with his wife; that until he had proved himself in battle he could not use the red dye of the warrior on his body and hair. Then one day, when he was about seventeen, he was formally inducted to the warrior life.

On this day he was led away from the village by the garam tzira, he and the other youths of his own age, while the women assembled and wailed to see him go. He was taken to the bush and there tied to a tree. At his feet a hole was dug and lined with fresh banana leaves. The elders stood in a group before him while one of their number - a man who possessed the requisite magic - cut

pieces of bamboo and fashioned them as knives with a sharpened stone. Holding the leaves close to his mouth, he recited a spell to make the blood of the young men flow freely. Next he took a bundle of leaves from a certain tree, (tsumpi), and recited a spell to give them courage. Knives and leaves were then passed to the elders, each of whom approached one of the young men.

Holding the bespelled leaf in his hand, the elder rubbed it over the initiate's penis. (The juice of the tsumpi leaf was said to be cold, to numb the penis and minimise the pain.) Then taking the bamboo knife, he made a deep incision, and as the blood flowed down to the banana leaves at the feet of the youth, he smeared it over his forefinger, drawing a line upwards along the initiate's forehead from the bridge of his nose. The knife was then given to the youth himself, and again and again, in front of the garam tzira, he was compelled to incise his own penis. When this had been done, stalks of banana leaves were heated and the wounds cauterised. The blood on the leaves at the feet of the youths was carried back to the village and there consumed by the elders, both men and women.

On their return to the village, the young men were incarcerated in the boys' house of one of the clans, and a long period of seclusion began. They were allowed to see no one but the elders. In the evenings their mothers and female relatives would cook a soft mash of bananas or a stew of native greens, and this was carried to them by the garam tzira. No other food was allowed them, and this could be eaten only in small quantities, the greater portion going to the elders. No specific instruction was given to the youths but the whole period was one of trial and test in which they were cut off from the normal life of the village, their future status receiving emphasis by the abnormal circumstances of their segregation.

The ceremonies of initiation were instituted when some other Ngarawapum village - or an allied village outside the group - had proclaimed its intention of holding a dance in the near future. As the appointed time for this festival approached - perhaps a week

after the youths had begun their period of seclusion - the elders prepared the final stages. On the morning of the day preceding the dance, a large fire was lit in the boys' house and the door securely fastened. Already weak from fasting, the youths were quickly overcome by the smoke. Outside the house, the garam tzira, painted and decorated, placed a row of banana leaves on the ground, one leaf for each initiate. Beyond these the village assembled. Then, to the accompaniment of shouting and the beating of drums, the elders broke open the door of the house, disappearing through the smoke. To the villagers outside it seemed that some kind of slaughter was taking place, for the elders fell upon the almost insensible youths, beating them about the chest and shoulders, knocking them to the ground. Then one by one they were lifted and carried outside. To those who watched, according to my informants, it seemed that the youths were dead, and as they were laid on the row of banana leaves, the women set up a continual wailing, calling the names of their sons and brothers. The elder who had performed the magic over the knives at the ceremonies of mutilation, passed down the row of supine figures striking the breast of each with a bunch of bespelled leaves. From a possible resemblance to death, the youths either rose up of their own accord, or were lifted by the elders and carried to the village stream to wash while the drums and conch shell sounded and the women danced, waving bunches of red cordyline leaves before them.

In the afternoon the village made a large communal meal. Though the initiates were not yet allowed to eat their fill, they sat with the elders who taught them spells of physical attraction and showed them the leaf which was chewed before going into battle, the leaf whose astringent qualities 'turned the belly' and made one fierce to kill. Singing and dancing, in preparation for the morrow's festival, continued far into the night.

The following day saw another communal meal at mid-day, and in the afternoon the initiates were decorated, their bodies and hair anointed with magic oils which had been prepared by the elders. Then supported by others, for they were weak yet, they went at the head of the people to dance.

The Character of Warfare:

The young man had now been formally inducted into manhood, but he had yet to prove himself by taking his place among the ranks of the warriors and killing. The red dye of the warrior was not his prerogative yet; he was not considered fit to cohabit with his wife. Killing alone could advance him to the next stage of becoming a full member of society.

Among other things, Ngarawapum warfare was overlaid and influenced by religious beliefs. Not all raids were the outcome of such manifestations, for the raid of pure retaliation, of blood vengeance, was a conspicuous feature. But in estimating the importance of warfare in Ngarawapum society, and the prestige accruing to the warrior, it must be noted that in addition to such legalistic sanctions for murder, there were other considerations which emphasised the importance of killing as such, and in all probability it was such a raid which introduced the young man to warfare as an actual participant.

Briefly - for the subject of religion will receive specific attention in a later section - the Ngarawapum recognise the survival of the spirit after death. The form in which this spirit (Urumung) survives is variously described, according to circumstance, as a rat, a snake or some other animal. But when not assuming these shapes, it exists as air, or wind, present but invisible to the living. It has an abode in the bush, but does not remain there exclusively. It visits the houses of the living and their gardens, shows an interest in their affairs and assists them in their economic enterprises. More specifically, it gives advice in dreams. Thus, 'a man would dream at night that he crept through the kunai and came upon some stranger, killing him and taking his body back to the village. On waking, he would know that his urumung had visited him and told him to go forth and kill, 'that they would bring the enemy to his spear.'

Such a visitation would be sufficient to institute a raid,

the party setting out the following day or soon afterwards.

In the monsoon season, the wind (madzamwantz) blows down the valley from the Umi river towards the hills of Yaros. During the season of the South-East Trades, the wind (manis) blows towards the Umi. In general, according to the winds, raids were undertaken either in the territories beyond the Umi or the areas towards Kaiapit. In the first case, the manis wind, blowing the kunai towards the Umi, would conceal the movement of the warriors as they set forth in that direction. Similarly, the monsoon winds would assist to conceal them as they journeyed into the Yaros or Kaiapit areas. Occasionally, these raids were nothing more than quick sorties and the murder of some unprepared and unsuspecting individuals in their gardens. But if the approach of the raiding party became known, a standing fight between opposing sides took place.

When the raiders withdrew, the bodies of the enemy slain were collected and tied to litters. These were then carried shoulder high by the younger men and the party returned to their village. As they approached, the sound of their victory chant would reach the villagers in their gardens, and along the roads they were met by a welcoming throng who beat the drums and sounded the shell trumpets.

In the village, the bodies of the enemy slain were placed on a platform of saplings (tiriang). Beneath the tiriang sat the warriors who had done the actual killing. their faces painted with coloured earths, the yellow crests of the white cockatoo in their hair. Additional food was gathered from the gardens and brought to the village. Fires were lit and cooking pots brought from the houses. The meal itself, as on all ceremonial occasions, was prepared by both men and women, the sexes sitting in two groups, men peeling bananas and filling their cooking pots, and similarly, the women. The prepared pots, however, were placed on one long fire and tended by the women. Meanwhile, the bodies of the slain were taken from the platform and quartered

in the same manner as a pig. Portions of the bodies were given to the important warriors, and several cooking pots prepared with the flesh alone. Later, servings of the cooked meat, and raw joints, were sent to relatives in other Ngarawapum villages by those who had received at the distribution. The flesh of the slain, however, was forbidden to those who had done the killing. To eat the flesh of the man one has killed - and similarly, to eat the flesh of the wild pig one has killed - is to run the risk of impairing, or of temporarily losing one's prowess; arm and eye will be 'heavy' on the occasion of the next raid or hunt, and considerable personal danger may ensue. Portions of the cooked meat are retained by these men, however, and placed on the upper, interior platform of their dwellings as an offering to their Urumung, their success being due to the favour of these spirits who 'placed the man (or pig) in the way of their spear.'

Feasting continued throughout the afternoon, and at night, at the dwellings of those who had received at the distribution of the joints, further family meals were made.

THE YOUNG MAN AND THE ELDERS:

From this initial introduction to warfare, the young man embarked upon a life in which the recurrent pattern of raid and counter-raid was a conspicuous feature. In all probability it was for a considerable time before he himself had killed; but participation in warlike activities was expected of him as a man. Even when his spear had drawn blood and he was allowed the distinction of using the red dye on his hair and body, he was expected to continue in the warrior role. The importance of warrior prowess from the point of view of defence is obvious. Though there were long periods when the village led a life of peace, danger from the enemies beyond the district boundaries was an ever present possibility. Each day men went armed to their gardens. As a precautionary measure, I am told, workers tried, as far as possible, to keep near each other in the gardens. This was not always

practicable as gardens cover a wide area and not all the labour involves the co-operation of people outside the family; but man and wife would keep together, seldom venturing far alone. The solitary worker, in fact, was in danger of not only the enemy raiding party, but of sorcerers (garam upa) and a malignant spirit (mamafi maes).

But the emphasis placed on the male as a warrior was not confined to his defensive role alone. Prestige was correlated directly with offensive spirit. The man who was eager to go out and fight, the consistently successful warrior, acquired a respect which in some cases has raised him almost to the stature of a legendary figure. Thus men of to-day will speak of their grandfathers in glowing and exaggerated terms. "He was taller than anyone now," they will say. "His thigh was as thick as a coconut palm. If he placed his foot against a tree he could push it down. When he was tired of sitting in the village he would rise up and say he was hungry for meat. He would take his spear and go forth and kill." The attributes of the old men now living are described in similar terms. "Mother's blood was nothing to him," people would tell me in reference to the present luluai of Tofmora. "He was a man who loved meat. When he was younger, there was meat all the time." The taste for human flesh itself meant that the warrior earned the gratitude and respect of his relatives, for it was they who normally received the major portions of the slain. The man who was powerful both in offence and defence, built up a reputation over the years. The aggressive qualities he displayed would later form the basis of his authority. They were not of themselves, however, sufficient to raise him to a position of leadership at once, nor were they the only socially desirable qualities. The young and vigorous warrior - just as the young and industrious man of to-day - remained subservient to his genealogical seniors.

The Privileges of Age:

The dependent and inferior role of the young is culturally expressed in certain prohibitions. In other words, age - or genealogical seniority - brings definite privileges which are denied to others. The chief of these are dietary, certain foods being the prerogatives of the elders. These foods are among the Ngarawapans' favourite dishes; they are luxury items, seldom appearing on the daily menu, and their denial - on specific occasions - gives rise to a good deal of murmured irritation. At the same time, they serve to emphasise the corrective and coercive qualities of the elders, their function of surveillance and their ability to give rewards to those who conform to accepted standards of conduct.

Of these dietary privileges, meat is the chief item denied the young. The prohibition, however, is not extended to cover all occasions when meat is consumed; society orders that the young shall not eat meat in public: it does not prohibit the consumption of flesh entirely. But at the same time, the shortage of meat means that it is only on important occasions that it is present in any quantity. Festivals and feasts of all kinds demand that flesh be provided for the guests; certain ceremonies cannot be held unless it is available. In other words, the prohibition is most frequently operative when large numbers of people are gathered together for some kind of celebration - whether it is a harvest festival or a mourning feast - and the public nature of the occasion draws attention to the differentiation. In the evening, after dark, the young man will go to the house of some relative who received a joint at the distribution. If he has been assiduous in discharging his kinship obligations to this person, he will find that meat has been kept for him. Senior members of the kinship group are able to win the respect and good opinion of their juniors by providing them with meat in this manner; similarly, the man who consistently refuses to share the meat he has received loses their assistance: social disapproval of the most serious kind is reserved for those

who 'hide their meat', eating it in secret and omitting to share it with others. The prohibition is not reinforced by any religious or magical beliefs. If the young man eats meat in public, there are no repercussions other than those of a social kind; he does not place himself in a situation where supernatural punishment is likely to ensue: but apart from the fact that the opportunity is seldom presented to him, the disapproval which would follow his action is a sufficient deterrent. One young man of my acquaintance continually acted contrary to public opinion by following his father to ceremonies in neighbouring Ngarawapum villages, sitting down unashamedly and consuming meat with his father's relatives. His action became the subject of universal comment in his own village. Disapproval was expressed not only by the garam tzira there, but also by his contemporaries. The latter contended that 'Wapum had no shame,' that he was guilty of presuming above his station, and if a certain amount of jealousy was discernible in their remarks, their attitude on the whole was typical of the irritated contempt we ourselves extend to the 'windbag' or the boastful. On a later occasion, he was publicly taken to task by the garam tzira who informed him they had noticed his habit, demanding to know if he thought he was someone of note. "Who are you to eat meat on all occasions?" he was asked before the whole village. "Are you such a strong worker that men are pleased with you? Look to your gardens or someone will defaecate in your cooking pots!"

In addition to meat, yams, when cooked in a certain way, are reserved for the elders. This dish, called monsitz, is prepared by cooking the yams in coconut cream, the ingredients being stirred over the fire until they are the consistency of thick porridge. When cooked, the mash is turned out on banana leaves and allowed to cool. It sets into a solid cake not unlike our own 'coconut ice', very pleasant to eat but also very rich. Being a luxury item, it is seldom prepared as a normal constituent of the

meal; its position in the diet is almost exclusively ceremonial, an essential feature of all large feasts and most communal meals. At dances, it is tied in bundles, wrapped in banana leaves and distributed in six to eight pound blocks to the guests. Once again, it is only the elders who consume it at the public gatherings. I myself invariably received a 'bundle' of monsitz at the dances I attended, and on my return to the village, my house became a gathering place for the young men who had been less fortunate.

These dietary privileges - and the manner in which the young man is able to obtain the foods - are important means of social differentiation in themselves; but in addition, they draw attention to the chief public function of the garam tsira as arbiters of conduct.

As a general rule, the Ngarawapum feast takes place during the first half of the day. Food for the meal is collected and arranged for display on the day before. On the morning itself, the village rises early. The area where the meal is to be held is a bustle of activity, men and women sitting down in their respective groups, peeling bananas and preparing other foods for the cooking pots. The first dishes are ready by about ten o'clock. Banana leaves are placed on the ground and the boiling food is turned out on these. There are no stringent rules of eating - though a man will not sit down with his wife's father - but a marked degree of grouping on kinship lines is maintained, related men sitting together and eating the food they have prepared themselves. The major portion of the food is consumed by mid-day, but additional dishes keep arriving until evening; the ideal feast is that where the quantity of the food allows continual and almost uninterrupted consumption all day, where, in fact, it is impossible to dispose of all that is prepared or displayed. But the afternoon's proceedings are somewhat desultory when compared with the activity of the morning. The sun is hottest

then, and the people retire to the shade of trees to chew the betel mixture and gossip. This period, when all are replete and resting, is chosen by the garam tzira to address the company. The man who has some complaint, or some matter to discuss which he feels that all should hear, rises to his feet and stands in the space between the men and women. Whatever he has to say is shouted at the assembled people. His words are often accompanied by violent gestures and every indication of extreme anger. If it is some accusation he has made, or some controversial topic on which opinions differ, his place, when he has concluded, will be taken by another who may have something to add, or a reply to make to what he has said. Quite often, a series of opposing groups develops, and the cross fire of imprecation and counter-imprecation becomes intense; at any moment it may seem that the gathering will degenerate into a fight.

The subjects discussed on these occasions vary. Not all of them are applicable to the content of the present section, but such discussions invariably include a recital of, and tirade against the faults of younger members of the village, either in general terms or with reference to particular cases. With some justification, it can be said that nothing escapes the eyes of the elders - which is not surprising when the smallness of the community is taken into consideration - and the lengthy harangues themselves, the individuals and the social transgressions signalled out and commented upon, give a valuable picture of the attitudes of behaviour required by Ngarawapum society. Thus, on one such occasion, the young man with the predilection for eating meat in public, was made the subject of the remarks already quoted, remarks which drew a roar of derision and amusement from the people. The man who has been remiss in helping his relatives, the man who is lazy or who has been guilty of hiding the pig he has killed, the man who has flaunted his disrespect for his elders, all will be marked for public chastisement on these occasions. Awan is told that men have noticed how he is loth to work. He is told to

remember that Wansa procured him his wife and to think of the help he owes to Wansa. Impegai berates his sons (actually his father's brother's son's children). He has heard that they have been asking why should they work hard for him, that they have said he is lazy and does not give them food. He asks who it was that fed them when they were small. Gurmai has spoken disrespectfully to Sagum. He is told to remember that Sagum is a man of note, that if he continues in this manner he will find no one to help him or support him. Collectively, and in general terms, the young men are told to think of their relatives and not to disregard them, to work hard and give food to those who come to sit down with them. If they do these things, as the big men are telling them now, others will be pleased with them; they will say that their manner is good. But if they persist in other ways, then no one will want to visit them or talk to them; they and their wives will just sit down in their own houses and no one will think of them.

The harangues often continue until after darkness. The young men sit in silence while the flow of abuse and instruction continues. Very rarely one of them is constrained to rise to his feet and shout a reply. Should he do so, several of his elders will leap up and shout him down. The wisest policy under such circumstances is obviously to sit still and say nothing, and in general the young men do just this. "We sit and hear them; we have nothing to say; we do not answer," they would remark to me afterwards.

<u>hy the Young Men Conform:</u>

These remarks, however, do not mean that such privileges and corrective powers are exercised without friction or tension on the part of the young. Wherever controls are exercised, a certain amount of dissatisfaction is likely to exist, and in private - and among themselves - the young men chafe against the continual surveillance of the elders. The same group who remarked that they simply sat in silence and listened to what the

elders had to say, would attempt to make light of the proceedings, pointing out with superiority of the chastened that all the old men did was talk; that this was their 'fashion'; that one had to listen, but that really they had more to do than sit there for hours on end and listen to such aimless ramblings. "We do all the hard work and they eat pig all the time," they would say. "They are angry with us and tell us what to do, but do they work in the gardens all day like us? All the good food is their's. What do we get after hunting all day? Is it we who eat pig when we go to dances?"

Such points of conflict are expressed too frequently to be ignored. It is true that they are mainly concerned with the dietary privileges of the elders, that they are given vocal utterance on occasions when corrective powers have been exercised in their most public and strident form; but at the same time, they are indicative of an underlying feeling of restraint which is not, by any means, peculiar to Ngarawapum society alone. There are times when the young men feel that their relationship with the elders is extremely one-sided in nature, that they are asked to give without receiving anything in return. From the evidence, I would go so far as to assert that all Ngarawapans experience this feeling of irritation at some period or another; authority, and the duties which go hand in hand with authority, do not appear equally beneficent on all occasions: often, from the immediate point of view, they are irksome and the benefits of disregarding them appear to outweigh those which conforming may bring in the future. Yet the number of really anti-social individuals is but a minute fraction of the total population. People do conform to the accepted standards, and this fact alone seems to indicate that the rewards are greater on the road of civil acquiescence than along the path of civil disobedience.

In the first place, public opinion itself is marshalled on the side of authority, and in a small community public opinion may exercise a very chastening effect on the would-be recalcitrant.

the number of wrongdoers at any one time is not sufficient to form a bloc, and those whose actions have not been subject to reproach are not likely to associate themselves with the smaller group. On the occasion when the young man Wapum was chastised for eating meat, the general concensus of opinion among his contemporaries was that he had deserved it. Nor was this an isolated instance. The young may voice a collective disaffection on these occasions, but individually they are equally ready to draw attention to the faults and transgressions of others among their number. Purap would tell me that Gurmai was lazy; that his brothers had not asked him to work with them and had not yet given him yams because of this. Tsangisi would point to Sampui's gardens and inform me that Sampui did not work hard enough. When Wapum was guilty of open disrespect to Gia, the opinion of his contemporaries was unanimous in ridiculing his self-importance and his boasting. Furthermore, the publicity in which these faults are aired means that the maximum effectiveness of public opinion is attained; its importance as a form of punishment and means of restraint cannot be overlooked. Ridicule is quite a powerful weapon, and the ridicule of the assembled village is something which the young man does not willingly encounter. Whenever these harangues had taken place, the majority of those whose conduct had been found wanting confessed to feeling a sense of shame. The demeanour of the young men who came to me afterwards was definitely at variance with their attempt to discount the whole proceedings. Wapum informed me that when his misconduct was under discussion he could only look at the ground. "Could I speak?" he said. "I was ashamed before them. There was nothing I could say." The shame which is felt when misconduct becomes known remains a deterrent even at a mature age; the man who has quarrelled with another and knows he is in the wrong will avoid his company because of the guilt he feels. "He does not want to sit down with him," Maiamuta said. "He is ashamed for what he has done. He cannot eat with him." Furthermore, the ridicule which is aroused on the occasion itself has a habit of persisting for some time

afterwards. Where the young unmarried man is concerned it is also a moot point whether the laughter and derision of the girls is not equally as effective as the anger of the elders themselves.

But public opinion, acting as a means of restraint, does not tell the whole story. It is true that at times the younger members of society express and evidence a feeling of irritation with their elders; but it is equally true that respect and affection for these people act as deterrent factors. Obvious material disadvantages face the person who sets out to flout authority. In most cases, these are sufficient in themselves to restrain him; but in addition, a sense of loyalty is apparent. The true garam tzira - the handful of really senior men - are either one's great-grandfathers (tafan), one's grandfathers (lumpun), or one's fathers (ramang). The ultimate basis of their authority is their seniority in the kinship system; respect is due to them by reason of this alone. Rivalry, which might be a factor of some importance if they were younger men, does not enter into the qualities of their authority. Rivalry, where it exists, is confined to members of the younger generations, and all these, without exception, owe the same allegiance to the elders. Nor is their relationship the one-sided affair that it seems on some occasions.

It is true that the garam tzira are the arbiters of conduct, that they, to a greater degree than anyone else, exhibit the distasteful aspects of authority - the corrective and coercive qualities; but at the same time, the respect which is theirs by right of seniority in the kinship system involves the reciprocal duty of attending to the needs of their followers. During my stay at Yanuf, my friend Bangragin was made the village Tul-tul. When his cap of office was received in the village he invited most of the people of Gutsuwap and Tofmora to a feast to celebrate the occasion. In the afternoon the usual form of harangue took place, the garam tzira of both villages addressing their remarks to Bangragin. Among other things he was told that now he had been given the government's 'hat'. It was true that the government had

made him a leader, but at the same time he must not forget the people who looked to him. It was not part of his office to be angry with the young men all the time; if he was angry without cause people would cease to listen to him. The way he must follow was that of the garam tzira. Their manner was good. If he followed their example, then people would respect him. If it was some other way he followed, then no one would look to him.

The most respected of the garam tzira are those who command the affection as well as the duty of others. "His manner is good", men will say of these people. "He is not a man who is angry all the time. He is sorry for others. If he has food, he gives of it. His way is true; he is a good man." Tolerance and generosity do pay dividends in the respect and affection they bring, and men are well aware that these are desirable qualities to inspire in others. "The man who was good to others is not alone when he dies," I was told. "People will think of him and cry for him. They will think of his kindness and their bellies will be heavy within them. But no one will cry for the man who does not think of others: no one will sit beside him and weep".

But apart from the influences of public opinion and affection, submission to authority brings its own very definite material rewards. The man who works in the gardens of his relatives is fed by them at the end of the day. He who willingly gives his assistance is rewarded by sharing the gifts of meat and other foods which are received by his elder relatives. Conversely, the man who refuses to help others will find that he himself is without assistance. Labour is lighter when there are many to do the work, and the man who helps others benefits himself at the same time.

In clan and village affairs, the garam tzira are the final authorities. Activities which demand the co-operation of large groups depend almost entirely on their knowledge. They are the repositories of magic and custom. In ceremonial affairs it is they who know what is demanded and what must be done. "We do not

know these things," other men say on these occasions. "If we did them, they would be wrong." In the ultimate analysis, the material benefits which accrue to clan activities derive from the garam tzira in their capacity of organisers of the work. The man who places himself beyond the orbit of their authority must face the fact that at the same time he places himself beyond the reach of these benefits. In economic affairs he loses the advantage of their superior knowledge, their magic and their organised co-operation. At the same time, he forfeits the support of others. His share in the prestige and wealth which derive from festivals and clan ceremonials is insignificant; being unable to give, he does not receive. Similarly, the man who is industrious - he who adheres to the accepted rules of conduct - is rewarded by the good opinion of the garam tzira. Not only does he secure the support of others, but the elders themselves may very well reward him by passing their knowledge on to him.

THE ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS OF THE GARAM TZIRA:

Stated in general terms, these remarks mean that the role of the leader is not solely - nor even mainly - confined to correcting the recalcitrant. This quality of leadership is undoubtedly of importance; but at the same time, it could not be the effective means of control it is if it was not apparent that submission to authority brings definite advantages - advantages which only the leader has the power to bring. Respect for the senior members of one's kinship group may be a contributing factor to the position these people occupy in the community, but such respect is not entirely altruistic. Powers of correction and control lose their force if they are not based on other qualities besides these. It is no artificial process which selects the leader and places him in a position of authority, elevating him above the other members of society and endowing him with the prerogative of commenting on their behaviour. The force of his comments, the very fact that he is able to make them, derives from

the fact that he, as leader, has something to give which others cannot give.

As we have seen, the prestige which accrues to the successful warrior is an essential attribute of the Ngarawapum elders. Society placed a cultural emphasis on warfare, and active participation in warlike activities was required as one of the functions of manhood. Furthermore, to a large extent, prestige was correlated with the degree of participation. Warfare, however, is but one aspect of a cultural whole. No society is organised round war alone, nor is the warrior continually in that role. When the battle is over, the warrior must return to his place in the less spectacular events of every day existence. The part he plays in these affairs is also culturally defined, and whatever its scope it is equally important in arriving at the total picture.

The fact that Ngarawapum warfare belongs to the past yet the leadership and the authority of the elders remains, presupposes that their role as warriors was never their only function in society. The memory of the part they played in a vanished aspect of their culture may assist the building of legends; it is an aspect of their prestige, but it is no longer operative. Yet their authority remains and their pre-eminence is recognised. Disobedience has definite disadvantages, submission its rewards, and the reason is to be found not in the perseverance of some departed form of respect, but in the economic and ceremonial functions of the garam tzira as the genealogical heads of the different kinship groups.

<u>The Character of Food Producing Activities</u>:

Ngarawapum land consists of two types, hill and plain. Village lands, it will be remembered, are those areas of both types immediately surrounding the group of dwellings. These areas themselves are subdivided into a number of named sections, and each patrilineal clan in the village possesses cultivation rights on one or more of these sections. Where plain land is concerned, a certain amount of 'over-lapping' is apparent; that is, the members of

several clans may be found to possess rights on the same area. But this is not a normal feature; it is due to exceptional cases of inheritance, and the regular feature is for members of the same kinship group to cultivate the same area or areas. The subdivisions of hill land are cultivated entirely on this basis.

With very few exceptions, the type of land indicates the type of cultivation. The plain immediately surrounding the village is watered by innumerable springs and small streams which rise in the hills. The soil is somewhat sandy, and in many areas covered with a layer of gravel or small stones. This latter condition helps to retain the moisture of the streams, particularly during the wet season when they are swollen and break their banks, spreading out in innumerable directions. On this type of soil the staple crop, bananas, flourish, and cultivation of this fruit is confined exclusively to the level areas surrounding the villages. Moisture is recognised as an essential in banana cultivation. Often the plantations are placed on the very banks of streams, and in seasons of flood they suffer considerable destruction. But the flood waters, as well as providing a rather severe type of 'irrigation', deposit stones and sand on the surface of the soil. Weeds are therefore less prolific where these conditions prevail, and much of the work attendant on banana growing is rendered less arduous.

The soil of the foothills is richer than that of the plain, consisting of a layer of dark loam merging into a reddish clay. For the most part, these hills have been denuded of all tree and plant life to a height of several hundred feet. Each village, however, possesses mountain areas which are covered with jungle yet, though these areas are often up to several miles from the villages themselves. The soil of the wooded areas is richer than that of the bare kunai hills. It is preferred to the latter, though both types are used. Ordinary cultivation, in fact, is confined mainly to the bare hillsides nearer the villages, timbered areas being reserved for large scale co-operative undertakings.

The crops grown on these soils are yams and taro. Both vegetables are planted together or separately, and hillside gardens also contain subsidiary crops like sugar, anuka, maize, native greens, beans and cucumbers.

Sociologically, the cultivation of bananas and the cultivation of yams reveal considerable differences, both in method and approach. Bananas are cultivated individually; that is, the basic economic unit in the cultivation of bananas is the biological family, a man, his wife and, before they have gardens of their own, his children. The work consists of three main stages, clearing the kunai, planting and weeding. In the first stage the help of relatives is frequently obtained, but more than one family never combine in all stages of the labour. In other words, the whole banana plantation - usually of six hundred square yards - 'belongs' to one man, he and his family having exclusive rights to all the produce therefrom. Each male member of the patrilineal clan has the right to make as many plantations as he desires on the land to which his clan has cultivation rights. Banana growing, however, entails continual work throughout the year, weeding, tending the fruit, replacing old trees and extending the area, and few men have more than three plantations. The young, industrious man desiring to make an impression may set out to cultivate larger banana gardens than anyone else, and the results of his labours - the wealth in his abundant food - does contribute in large measure to his prestige. To be able to 'smell the bananas rotting' is a source of great satisfaction, the distinction between plenty and mere sufficiency; applied individually it is also the distinction between the gardens of the industrious and the indigent.

Unlike yam gardens, the banana plantation is not abandoned after the first year. As far as I was able to estimate, the fruit itself does not begin to bear until after the tenth month, and its most prolific period is during the second year after planting. Consequent on this, banana plantations remain in cultivation for many years. When a man dies, his own biological children inherit

his plantations, but they, together with the other members of their clan, have the additional right to cultivate on any of the unused areas of the clan land.

Yam growing entails work which is harder, if less continual, than the labour in banana plantations. For this reason, it benefits from co-operation on a large scale. If the garden site is a wooded area, the trees have first to be felled - no light task when the most efficient implement used is the European tomahawk. At the same time, the undergrowth is cleared from the soil. Later, the rubbish of leaves, vines and fallen timber is burned. On the bare hillsides, the patch of ground selected for the garden is first of all cleared of kunai and burned in a similar manner. In this case, however, the following stage consists of an over-all cultivation, the men working down from the top of the slope, turning the soil with long saplings. The richer soil of jungle covered areas is not treated in this manner; the plants are merely planted in shallow holes.

After cultivation, the garden is divided into horizontal strips, the general principal being that each worker receives one strip. These strips are later divided from one another by the planting of crotons and other small coloured shrubs. The planting of the crop itself is once more a communal task, the workers repairing to the garden in one party. Each family group, however, labour in their own strip. Planting completed, the work during the ensuing months includes the training of the vines - they are trained to run up the slope of the ground - weeding, and finally harvest. After harvest, the garden site is abandoned. Kunai or jungle are allowed to cover it again and the new season's crop is planted in another area. Eventually, gardens have to be returned to cultivation, but though it is impossible to estimate the cycle with any degree of certainty, I hazard a guess that it is ten years before this happens.

As a food, the yam stands in high esteem. As far as quantity and prevalency on the daily menu is concerned, its place

in the diet is not as important as the banana; but the fact that it is less common adds, rather than detracts, to its value. Furthermore, the attitudes and beliefs, the rules and customs which impinge on yam production are far and away more complex and significant sociologically than are the cultural attitudes towards the banana. Again, yam production invariably involves the co-operation of fairly large groups of people, whereas banana growing is chiefly the concern of the biological family. Hill land is divided into named sections in an exactly similar manner to the areas of kunai plain. Each patrilineal clan has exclusive rights on one or more of these hill sections, and each member of the clan may make gardens there. Individual patches of taro and sweet potatoes are cultivated according to this latter right, but the man who cultivates a yam garden on his own is exceptional. Various sections of the clan may combine in several gardens, but in addition there will be at least one garden in which the whole clan combine. Most frequently, this clan yam garden is situated in a wooded area, though the kunai hillsides are also chosen. The clan yam gardens - and the larger extension of this type, the village yam garden - are undertaken under the aegis of the garam tzira. It is this form of activity more than any other which reveals the economic function of their leadership.

<u>The Garam Tzira and The Clan Yam Garden</u>:

In the afternoons, when the people have returned from work, the men drag their woven mats outside the houses, place them in the shade of trees and palms, and with their lime gourds, areca nuts and tobacco leaf beside them, sit down to talk and gossip while the women prepare the evening meal. Relatives move from group to group along the village. Children play down the central tracks under the trees, or sit near their fathers, listening to the talk. The scene, coupled with the hour, the sound of voices and the atmosphere of rest, is one of the most pleasant I know. From the point of view of the anthropologist, it is also one of the most profitable times of day. Innumerable topics are

discussed on the coconut mats under the trees; the intimate details of family life are there to be observed, and more importantly, for our present purposes, the clan and village councils of the garam tzira take place in this setting.

Except on specific occasions, these councils are quite informal - the term 'council', in fact, is hardly applicable. The elder who wishes to discuss some matter which concerns the whole clan, will inform his relatives during the day, and in the evening they come to sit down with him at his house. Often, he himself has a preliminary and tentative discussion with one of his clan brothers, hearing his opinion before he makes the matter known to others. In this case, the informal meeting of the whole clan will take place on the following afternoon or soon afterwards, depending on the nature of the matter he requires to bring to their attention. Very frequently, particularly if some economic or ceremonial event is concerned, the matter will have been touched on by the elders on previous occasions, in the normal course of conversation, in the gardens or on the way back from work. In their role of clan 'overseers' the same things occur to them very much at the same time, and though the actual discussions are set in motion by one man, in normal circumstances the garam tzira as a whole know beforehand what is going to take place. If their views are at variance with what is proposed, or if they have something to add to matter, they will bring these forward at the right time; the general content, however is known to them.

Males of all ages sit in on the discussions; even children are not excluded from sitting near and listening to what takes place. The younger men, however, remain a little in the background. They are not forbidden to voice their own opinions, but they seldom do; nor could they successfully oppose the garam tzira. "In these things we hear the big men," they say. "It is not for us to disregard them." The garam tzira, in fact, hold the centre of the picture, sitting together on the coconut mats,

the men next in seniority beside them. A small fire is smouldering in the centre of the circle, and from this they light their rolls of tobacco leaf. Lime spatulas work in the lime gourds and the red juice of the betel mixture is spat on the ground. Talk is general for a time. Other members of the clan arrive to hear what is taking place. Then the elder who has intimated he has something to say, broaches the matter. Nothing is arranged in a hurry. The matter is discussed thoroughly. Those who have something to add are given every opportunity. Finally, if the matter demands it, future arrangements are made and the group dissolves. If work at some future date is required, each man will inform his wife and family of its nature later in the evening; and when the time comes, all the members of the clan - or those who are taking part - know what is expected of them.

Where the meetings which inaugurate the clan yam gardens are concerned, it is distinctly probable that all the garam tzira of the clan are thinking along the same lines at the same time. The time for making a new clan yam garden - or for deciding not to make one - is when the present garden is almost ready for harvest; the new garden then takes the place of the old one, and the continuity of the food supply is maintained. On numerous occasions different elders will have discussed the state of the present garden and the food supplies in general. Each of them, as well as other members of the clan, will therefore be tending towards the same direction when one of their number finally suggests that a new garden should be made. The suggestion arising in an informal manner and receiving tentative agreement, an afternoon is fixed for the more formal arranging of the work.

When the men are gathered outside the house of the elder from whom the suggestion emanated, he will begin the discussion by remarking on the state of the present crops. The younger men may come in for some criticism at this stage, receiving the blame for the poor condition of the clan's gardens. They will be told that their work is unsatisfactory and a general form of moralising may

be directed against them. Then it is suggested that a new garden should be made. This matter is talked back and forth, and the elders being in agreement, it is suggested further that the garden should be made on a wooded area of land. "Our last gardens are poor," the elder may say. "It is time we left the kunai and went back to the cold ground of the bush. There the yams will swell and go down far. If we make our gardens on Silu (naming the area) we will have food in plenty like other men." The discussion then continues around this point. Finally, the area of land and the size of the garden is decided upon, the latter depending on the number of people who will be given strips. A garden 'leader' is also chosen. This man is normally the garam tzira who initiated the proceedings. Sometimes the elder who possesses the knowledge of yam magic is named - knowledge of this magic is not possessed by all the clans - and on one rare occasion I have known the leadership of the gardening team to be given to a young and very industrious man who had recently returned from indenture, the garam tzira on this occasion informing him that they 'would try his hand.' When the leader has been chosen, the day on which the work is to be commenced is decided.

The first stages - the felling of the timber and the clearing of the scrub - do not require the attendance of the garam tzira. This is the most arduous part of the work and demands the physical vigour of the youths. The working party, consisting of all the younger members of the family groups, set out for the selected site at dawn, working through until mid-day or early afternoon. If the site chosen is on the jungle covered sections of the land, a return to the village each night is impracticable. For this reason, garden houses are usually situated nearby and the labourers sleep in these, sometimes doing their own cooking but sometimes attended by their wives. Depending on the size of the area to be cleared, the work may take from four days to a week. At the completion of this stage the workers return to the village and the normal routine associated with the banana

plantations is continued.

A period of approximately ten days is allowed to elapse before the timber and undergrowth is considered dry enough to burn. Towards the end of the ten days, the garden leader will visit the site and examine it. Another meeting of the garam tzira takes place and the day for the burning is fixed. The burning involves no magical procedure, nor does it need the help of all the workers. A small party-perhaps only one man - set out for the garden and light the scrub. The ash is allowed to remain on the ground, the people being aware of its fertilising qualities.

After the burning, another meeting of the garam tzira takes place and the day for the planting is fixed. If the clan possesses the requisite system of magic, the magician will offer his services and inform the meeting that he will go out the following day to collect the ingredients for his spells. If the clan does not contain a garden magician, the garam tzira may decide to request the services of such a man from another man. In this case he will be asked to attend and the desire will be made known to him. He may demand payment for his knowledge, but if the group requesting his attendance are related to him, this request is seldom made; in either case he will be given a strip in the completed garden. All the arrangements centred round the performance or engagement of the magician are left in the hands of the garam tzira. The final decision, at all stages of the work, rests with them. Throughout the period when the younger men are cutting the scrub and burning the undergrowth, attention is centred round the progress of the garden. In the evenings this forms the main topic at many household hearths. It is discussed by the garam tzira as they sit together and chew their betel or smoke. As each stage is concluded the workers refer to them; on their authority the next stage is begun.

While the magician is engaged in collecting his secret leaves and waters, the males go to the garden and allocate the strips. It is the duty of the garden leader to see that all

married males who have helped in the work receive a section in the garden. Dependent individuals - widows and women whose husbands are indentured labourers - are also allocated sections of their own. These strips are indicated by arranging sticks and saplings in vertical lines from one end of the garden site to the other, the garden leader - attended and assisted by the garam tzira - moving from one to the other and naming the man or woman to whom it belongs.

The day of the planting arrives. Early in the morning, before dawn, the village wakes and stirs. The seed yams - their young shoots protected by small sticks - are lifted from the tiriangs of the dwellings and placed in the string carrying bags by the women. Men and women, youths and small children, set out in a long procession down the tracks to the garden site. On reaching the area each family group scatters to its own section. The bags of yams are placed carefully on the ground. Workers, like ants over the steep hillsides, busy themselves with a final clearing, digging away the vines which escaped the burning, moving the fallen timber aside and preparing the holes to receive the yams. No fires may be lit near the garden site or in the village. Children who cry are given the breast to quiet them. Angry words are taboo, for the yams - closely associated with the ancestors - are present; they must not be offended lest they refuse to grow.

At the bottom of the hillside the magician is busy with his gourd of water collected from streams known only to him. He takes his bundle of secret leaves and chews a little of each, spitting the pulp down the mouth of the gourd. Holding this to his lips he recites his spell and blows gently on the water inside. The performance impresses as being an essential part of the work, as necessary as the physical labours associated with the actual construction of the garden. While he is preparing, people are busy in their strips, some of them planting a few banana suckers of a special kind, others scattering the seeds of native spinach or maize. In each section the yams are placed in a tidy heap, carefully brushed and cleaned of earth. Conversation continues,

but no loud chatter or shouting is indulged in. In several sections the men and women stand beside their yams looking towards the magician and waiting.

He finishes his work and passes the gourd of magic water to one of his relatives who has been assisting him. This man mounts the hillside and passes from strip to strip along the garden. As each section is reached he halts near the heap of yams and pours a little of the water on them, passing from one heap to the next until all have been cleansed and treated. Behind him, the work of planting commences. This is done by the men. A hole is dug in the hillside and the soil arranged in a projecting 'platform' about four inches high. With the young shoot pointing down the hillside, the yam is placed on top of this and lightly covered with earth to a depth of approximately three inches. Small sticks may be placed round the front of the 'platform' to retain the earth. All the yams are planted on the first day, but the planting of subsidiary crops - taro, greens, cucumbers, maize and sometimes melons - may not be completed until four or five days have passed. This work is left to the women, for the men are engaged on fencing the garden to protect it from the depredations of wild pigs. For this purpose a double row of vertical saplings is erected round the site. Between these supports, other saplings are placed horizontally one on top of the other to a height of four feet, the whole being lashed together with lengths of vine.

Some weeks later, when the yams have shot and the new vine has begun to spread down the hill, the formal training takes place. Small forked sticks are placed at six to eight inch intervals up the slope and the vine is 'turned' in this direction, spreading upwards instead of down. Simultaneously, the magician repeats his performance at the planting, the bespelled water being poured on the ground where each yam is planted.

From now on weeding is the major work associated with the garden. When yams are planted, sexual taboos begin to operate.

intercourse is forbidden in so far as the man or woman who have had sexual congress are not allowed in the garden. Until the yams are well established, there is a feeling that man and wife should not sleep together, but as this involves a period of some months - and as it is too much to hope that men will remain continent for this length of time - it is considered sufficient precaution if the couple who have slept together refrain from visiting the garden. The man who is lax in this respect will have to suffer the anger of the garam tzira, and during my stay at Gutsuwap the young men were blamed collectively for the poor quality of the last yam crops, the elders accusing them of 'copulating all over the bush like dogs.' Throughout this period, in fact, the elders assume the position of guardians of the garden. Since they are considered too old for sexual recreation, they may visit the garden at any time. They make numerous visits to the site, watching the progress of the crops. If fences are damaged and need repairing, they organise the working party from the younger men. Provided they have kept the sexual taboo, others are permitted to visit the site at any time and to attend to their weeding; but in addition, the garam tzira will note the plots which are becoming choked through neglect, informing the owner and intimating that he should attend to his clearing. The subsidiary crops are ripe some months before the yams are ready. These are harvested individually, the owners of the respective strips collecting their produce as they desire it. Towards the end, work in the garden slackens off. The yam vines are dense over the hillsides and people wait now until their leaves begin to yellow and dry. Interest in the garden begins to increase at this time. The time for harvest approaches and men speculate on the crops. The yam, which has lain so long underground, hidden to human eye and intelligence, assumes an important place in discussions and casual conversations. A rudimentary knowledge of the process of growth is possessed by all. It is known that under the soil, the new yam springs from the old; that 'it swells and its fingers push down,

moving the earth outwards as it grows'. The vine itself, yellowing as it ages, is some indication of the stage reached; but the growth itself, the size and splendour of the yam must be inferred until the soil is carefully raked away and it is lifted out.

Harvest Ceremonies:

The harvest of yam gardens provides the setting for the most elaborate of Ngarawapum festivals. At the same time, it must be pointed out that these festivals are not entirely dependent on the yam harvest. Festivals concomitant with the harvest of yam crops embody features which are distinct, ceremonies and forms of display which are applicable to no other occasion. Two essentials, however, are necessary before they take place; the crops themselves must be large enough to warrant them - prestige depends on this - and there must be a sufficient number of pigs to provide a gift for all the guests as well as a meal for the village on several days before the actual dance takes place. This latter feature is perhaps the most important of all. Visitors will pass judgment in terms of the number of pigs which have been slaughtered and distributed; festivals which have passed are recalled in these terms, and future festivals are compared favourably or unfavourably with them. For this reason, the group which supplies the pigs receives the credit and the 'name' of the festival.

Harvest festivals originate in one of the clans. Sociologically, however, their scope is broader than this, eventually including the whole village. The most important individual is the man who supplies the bulk of the pigs. This is a recognised means of gaining prestige, but in practice it is only rarely that a young man is able to supply the necessary amount. Normally it is the garam tzira - those who can count on the assistance of the largest number of relatives - who provide the pigs and receive the credit. Even if this is not the case and some younger man is able to provide the requisite quantity, he

he needs the assistance of the elders and is dependent on their knowledge throughout the series of ceremonial events.

Towards the time of harvest - as the leaves of the vines are turning yellow - the prospect of a dance and feast will be uppermost in the minds of the majority of the villages. Not only are these festivals remembered and looked forward to from year to year, but the prestige of the village depends on them to a large extent. Other villages will have made similar festivals and they will have been present as guests; if they are unable to return this hospitality the way is open for the other villages to cast aspersions at their industry and food supplies. Except in an unguarded moment, these remarks would not be made in the open, but the fact that they do not reach the ears of the people concerned does not render their utterance any less probable. Where industry and food are concerned, people are extremely jealous of their reputations. The most grievous insult between villages is to belittle or ridicule the food supplies of the other. But such remarks are commonly made and the village which is unable to justify itself openly before others is reasonably justified in assuming that its resources are being commented upon in this manner. During my stay at Ngarawapum only the villages of Gutsuwap and Tofmora were unable to institute a harvest festival, and it is no exaggeration to state that they felt their position of inferiority. In private they belittled the festivals of Maianzarian and Gainaron, comparing them with past ceremonies of their own; but at the same time the pride of the latter two villages, their air of superiority, was like an open wound to the former. Where gardening and industry was concerned they were forced to be circumspect and restrained in their speech. When the unguarded talk of one of my Tofmora friends reached Maianzarian, they were forced to suffer the challenge and the insults of that village, being unable to justify his statement by making a festival themselves. For many nights the Maianzarians beat their drums and sang in derision, and people of Tofmora who heard them were unable to retaliate. The atmosphere of constraint was such

that on one occasion a man who was sitting with me cried: "Why don't my pigs grow quickly! The yams are enough, but it is pigs we need. If my pigs were grown I would kill them all and call to the men to dance!"

The festival itself is inaugurated in the same manner as the yam garden. The man who has sufficient pigs - generally one of the elder members of the clan - will approach his garam tzird on several informal occasions and make his wishes known to them. The matter may be discussed for some days in this manner until eventually everyone has a fair idea of what is in the wind. The 'council' of the clan follows these tentative arrangements, and on this occasion help is requested from the other members of the group. One man alone - no matter how industrious - cannot supply the full number of pigs. Others will come to his assistance, actuated in part by the duty towards a kinsman, but also helping themselves by helping him.

When the arrangements have received the tentative approval of the clan group, the whole village is acquainted with their intention. This information is given at another informal meeting held at the house of the man who is donating the bulk of the pigs. The garam tzira of all the clans meet there and discuss the matter. Provided there is general agreement that the yam crop is sufficient to warrant the festival no obstacle will be placed in its way. The part of the other villagers is to add to the food supplies with bananas and yams, sugar and pit-pit from their own gardens. For this reason it is a normal feature for the garam tzira to place a taboo on the plantations. On a day appointed by them, a magical ceremony is performed in the gardens and simultaneously a time is set during which no one may gather the fruit from his plantations. This period is usually three weeks or a little under, its duration being indicated by reference to the position of the moon.

At the end of this period a day is appointed when the village will go forth and look at their yams for the first time.

Once more they set out early - both men and women - each clan going to its respective gardens. There the family groups disperse to their own sections and the highly exciting work of digging the yams begins. Very little is said. The women stand about or collect a little sugar or taro while the men, spears in hand, pass intently up and down the strips. The leaves of the vines are pushed aside and the earth removed with the point of the spear. Great care is shown in order not to damage the yams. The soil is scraped away with the hands and one or two from each section are lifted out and arranged in a heap. Now that the months of waiting are revealed at last, there is either pride or disappointment. Men stand over the heap of yams, discussing their size and drawing general conclusions from this. The garden has revealed the results of the previous months of labour; the yams, so intimately bound up with pride and personal prestige, are there for all to see.

When the excitement is past, they are placed in the string bags and carried down to one of the nearby streams by the women. There they are washed in the clear waters and carried from thence back to the village. Bananas and other foods are brought from the plantations and the village sits down to the first of a long series of communal meals. In the afternoon, the men will discuss the state of the gardens and the next stage of the festival is arranged.

This normally involves the cutting of the ceremonial posts which are the essential features of the display - these may be cut a little later during the proceedings, however. These posts (mugus) consist first of all of the trunk of a tree called Maramugus. A suitable tree is one which is from two feet six to three feet in circumference and which ends in a fork about four feet six from its base. Two such trees are chosen and felled by the young men. They are carried back to the village in silence, for the spirits of the dead take an increasing interest in the proceedings from this point onwards. They are presumed to be

present as the mugus is carried back to the village, their presence apparent in the weight of the trunks as they sit on them and are carried along. One mugus post - that which will be used in the yam display - is placed near the house of the man who supplied the bulk of the pigs. This post is later carved in the rough resemblance of a man, the two projecting forks being carved as 'ears', a circle of lozenge shaped markings some five inches below these being 'his' decoration of small shells (sasia). The second post is not carved with the same care. It is erected near the house of another member of the clan who has also contributed pigs to the festival. A framework of saplings and rattan cane - exactly similar to one which will be described below - is built around it and the whole structure hung with coconuts, completely hiding the post. On this day, as on every day until the conclusion of the festival, another large meal is made by the village.

With the coconut mugus erected and the yam mugus carved and waiting near the place of its final erection, work turns to the yam gardens themselves. From now on, the magician and his assistants hold the centre of the stage. The details of each day are arranged by the garam tzira during the afternoons, but the actual work is incidental to the ceremonies which can be performed by the magician alone. Throughout the proceedings he has two assistants, a young virgin and a youth of about fourteen years of age. These two children are invariably members of the clan initiating the festival and sometimes - though not necessarily - the children of the man whose pigs will form its main constituent.

On the evening before the workers set out for the first series of yam gardens, the men's spears are collected and taken to the house of the magician. With his bundle of magical leaves beside him he recites a spell and sprinkles them with hot water from a cooking pot which he keeps for this purpose alone. The following morning, the village sets out.

Men are decorated, their faces painted with coloured earths in intricate patterns, their hair adorned with the crests of the white cockatoo and plumes of the bird of Paradise. They file through the gardens in a long and brilliant procession, the magician and his two child assistants leading them. Over the shoulders of the youth, a cloak of snow white bark cloth has been fastened. The young girl carries a string bag filled with the large cowrie shells (raraop) which figure in the exchange of valuables at marriage. Behind them, a party of youths bear the drums; then comes the long line of men with their spears, and finally, the women. Once again, when the gardens are reached, the men disperse through the various plots. Earth and vines are carefully scraped away and the tubers lifted out. Small, open crates and larger litters are made from sticks and saplings lashed together with vine and the yams are placed on these according to size. Great care is taken that the tubers are firmly tied to their supports. Each man marks the tubers from his plot with a distinguishing design in coloured earths; later, when the display is taken down at the end of the festival, these yams will be returned to him.

The crates completed, they are placed in the women's carrying bags. The litters, holding the largest yams, are attended by the younger men. All over the garden the groups stand waiting ready to move, then simultaneously the loaded bags are hoisted to the foreheads of the women. The drums beat a rapid triumphant.tattoo and a shout goes up from the assembled workers. The young men shoulder the poles of the litters, and one by one the laden procession files down the garden slope. The magician and his acolyties stand at the border of the garden itself. As each garden worker passes him, he touches their yams with one of his spelled leaves; and when all have gone, he takes his place at the head of the line.

Meanwhile, a small pig has been killed and placed near the entrance to the village on the road the returning procession will

take. Each carrier, as he reaches this spot, steps over the pig. The band of youths, following the magician and his acolyties, beat the drums again, and the whole procession breaks out in joyous song. Those men and women who have remained behind to collect the food for that day's meal, hear them approach, and waving bunches of red cordyline leaves, they stand at the village entrance to receive them.

In triumph, to the accompaniment of singing and dancing, the yams are born to the house where the future mugus will stand. There they are lowered gently to the ground and placed against the walls of the dwelling. A 'pen' of saplings is erected round them and here they remain until they are placed on the mugus itself. By this time it is almost mid-day. The whole village once again sits down to a festive meal, only the magician and his acolyties eating apart. For them, a piece of bark cloth is spread on the ground near the pen containing the yams. Special food is prepared and brought to them, they alone being able to eat from the cooking pots in which it is served. Yams, in small quantities, are consumed by the rest of the villagers, but neither the magician nor his assistants may eat of them; nor may they eat the flesh of the pig.

Throughout the afternoon, the festive atmosphere prevails, food being consumed until the evening. The sound of laughter and excited chatter fills the village. The garem tzira, sitting under the trees, call to the youths and boys to beat the drums and sing. Every now and then one of them rises and races in and out through the assembled people, brandishing his stone axe and his killing stick, exhorting them with every indication of fury to sing and rejoice, that now their yams have come into the village; that now their bellies are good within them. When darkness falls, the young people of both sexes dance and sing until long after midnight.

The succeeding days - as each series of clan gardens are harvested - see a repetition of this pattern. Each day sees the arrival of more food in the village; each night the drums beat

and the young people celebrate to herald the coming dance. Large quantities of food are consumed in the communal meals each day. Old and young decorate themselves continually. In the afternoons, the women put on their brightest and newest grass petticoats; bunches of flowers and coloured leaves are placed behind their ears; the men's hair is powdered with coloured dyes ranging from crimson to purples, blues and greens. While the boys beat the drums and practice their songs, their elders sit beneath the trees, chew the betel and comment on the yams. Time and again the pen which holds them is studied, its contents handled and re-arranged as the produce of each successive garden arrives. No other occasion in Ngarawapum life is quite like this; at no other time is the excitement and interest sustained for such a length of time. Nor is it confined to the celebrant village alone. In all the other villages the main topic of conversation is the progress of their preparations. At night, the drums and the singing carry for miles, and people become impatient for the festival itself.

Four or five days after the harvest began - the time depends on the number of areas from which the product is brought - the yams from the last garden site have arrived in the village. The pen at the side of the dwelling is filled, and the final stages of preparation begin.

In the morning of the following day, the magus is erected. A hole some three feet in depth is dug beside the dwelling. The magus is carried to this and placed on the ground beside it, its base resting near the edge of the hole. Boys with drums gather near it to one side. A cooking pot of yams is handed to the magician; one of his relatives stands beside him holding a freshly husked coconut. A dozen or so of the younger men line up each side of the magus. Bending down, they feel its weight, gingerly at first, raising it a few inches from the ground. Then suddenly, at a word from one of their number, it is raised in the air. Simultaneously, the boys beat out a loud, staccato rhythm on the drums. The whole company breaks into a long, high pitched shout and the base of the

mugus slides towards its resting place. At the same time, the magician throws his cooking pot of yams and this is followed by the coconut. They shatter on the base of the mugus, the pieces falling into the hole as the base slides into place on top of them. Quickly, the earth is pushed around it; the carved post stands firm and upright near the house.

Within the next two hours, a complicated structure of saplings and rattan cane is erected about the post. Then the final work of putting the yams in place begins.

During the whole of these proceedings, the atmosphere in the village is tense. The women, preparing the food for the day's meal, move to another part of the village: the smoke from the fires and the smell of the food must be kept away from the yams. No one talks. One unguarded word, one loud sound or sign of anger may ruin the whole proceedings; the yams may take offence and slip through the fingers of the men as they lift them from the pen and place them on structure round the post. Directions must be given, but they are given in hoarse stage whispers. Men crowd round the yam pen and the mugus. Beneath the latter, the magician and his two acolytes sit. The young girl passes him leaves which he chews and spits through the mouth of a water gourd. He recites his spell and blows on the water. Each of them holds a sweet-smelling tuberous root. Bundles of grasses - noted for their perfume and planted for magical purposes in the yam gardens - are tied round their necks. One by one, the smaller yams are lifted from the pen and passed along a chain of men to the magician. Leaving his hands - after he has spat on them and anointed them with water - they are taken from others and tied to the mugus post itself, the workers beginning from the ground and working up until the whole post is completely covered with yams. At this stage, th magician, his acolytes and four or five workers transfer to the structure of cane and saplings above the mugus. Now the larger yams in crates and litters are handed up to them. A thick bed of crotons and magical, sweet-smelling

grasses is laid on the structure, then the yams are tied in place. Throughout the work, the labourers chew the sweet, tuberous root and spit the juice about the yams and mugus. The gourd of magic water is poured from the top of the structure over the yams and post. On the outskirts of the crowd, the elders give hoarse and fervid instructions. Crate after crate of yams is lifted up and tied in place. Soon there is no sign of the mugus or the scaffolding of cane and saplings erected around it. In its place, a tall, tree-like structure composed entirely of yams appears.

When the pen beside the dwelling is almost emptied, the concentration of the workers, the tempo of their actions, increases with marked intensity. No one pauses; all eyes are turned to the mugus. At a word from the elders, the boys bring their drums and stand nearby. The last yam is lifted up and tied in place, then a minor pandemonium breaks out. Drums beat loudly and voices are raised in the distinctive battle song. Women dance and sway on the edge of the crowd; but in the midst of all the rejoicing, it is the elders who hold the centre of interest. Fully decorated, with shields and stone axes in their hands, they rave in and out among the people, seeing no one, their arms raised towards the mugus, their voices lifted high above the sound of drums and singing. "Oh my fine yams!" they shout. "Oh my large and splendid yams! Now I see you up there; now my belly is glad at the sight of you! Who else has yams like these? Who can beat me at growing yams? My yams are a multitude! My yams are larger than those of other men! Oh my yams, it is good to see you; my belly is big at the sight of you! Look at my yams! Look at my yams!"

The following day is spent in collecting the rest of the food from the gardens. Bananas, pit-pit, sugar, coconuts and taro are gathered and brought back to the village. A ladder-like scaffolding is erected over the roof and down the walls of the dwelling where the mugus stands. Bunches of bananas, canes of sugar and the other foods are tied to the rungs and vertical

supports until the whole is covered, the completed display resembling a swathe of foods some two yards wide, stretching from the summit of the conical roof to the ground. (In all the ceremonies I witnessed, there was sufficient food for three such displays, the second and third dwellings chosen being the houses of other members of the clan who had contributed pigs for the occasion.) In addition, platforms of saplings (tiriang) are built nearby, several of these holding the long canes of sugar, others, empty at present, for the joints of pig which will be killed and cut the following day. In the afternoon, the women prepare the bundles of monsitz. At the same time, couriers are sent in several directions over the valley to spread the news that the preparations are complete, that the following day the dance will be held.

On the day of the dance itself, villages from nearby keep arriving singly from mid-day onwards through the afternoon. Each village enters to the sound of its own drums and its own songs. In a dense mass, led by the men, they dance forward to the space before the mugus. There, they spread out in a wide circle, the drummers leading, the women with seed pod rattles and bunches of leaves following behind. In their right hands, the men hold their spears; in their left, their killing sticks. Circling in a swift, jogging motion, the two weapons are clashed together in time to the drums, an exercise which becomes extremely tiring to the muscles of the arms. The grass skirts of the women sway and lift with the movement of their limbs, the purpose in their dancing being to lift them as high as they can to the tempo of the drums. Each village sings its own songs in turn, and while one performs the others remain silent. Between villages there is a fierce competitive element. Each is jealous of its singing and dancing prowess, and during the night serious quarrels sometimes occur, one village trying to outdo the other. For this reason, the villages with which I went to dances performed a magical ceremony over their drums and spears before they set out, the object being

to make the dancers strong, to preserve their strength, and to prevent any other village from out-singing them. At the same time, spells of physical attraction are recited and magic unguents are freely used by the males. In the hours from darkness to dawn a good deal of sexual licence takes place.

As each new village enters and begins to dance, the garam tzira of the host village watch from a position near the tiriang which holds the joints of pork. On their instructions, bunches of bananas are carried forward and given to the women; joints of pork are lifted down and placed on the spears of the men. Not everyone receives. Those who are given pig are first of all relatives of people who supplied them. After, these gifts are borne to the sons of garam tzira, from other places, who may not be relatives (the garam tzira themselves, being infirm, are seldom able to make a long journey). Nor do all relatives receive. Generally speaking, if many are present, the gifts go to several of the eldest representatives of each group, though sometimes a very young but highly esteemed member may be singled out for a special favour. These nearby villagers, who arrive during the daylight hours, seldom stay more than an hour. They receive their gift and leave the village as they came, returning to their own dwellings where they cook and eat the food given to them. At night, however, they return again and join with the more distant places who live too far away to make the two trips practicable.

At night there may be over a thousand people in the village. Fires are lit on the outskirts of the dancers, and the patterns thrown by their flames combined with the mass of circling figures, the sound of the drums and voices, provide a remarkable spectacle. Their stamina is surprising, for the dance lasts without a halt until dawn of the following day. Enjoyment and excitement never flags; rather it increases as the night goes on. Then quarrels must be reckoned with and a certain amount of sexual hysteria is present, women tearing their petticoats from their bodies and bursting in amongst the men whose songs or actions have excited them.

Control is kept by the garam tzira, who order the number of songs one place may sing in succession. When this number has been completed, it is the turn of another village. A fairly strict watch is kept on the younger members; fires are lit and a moonlight night is chosen to hamper their amorous activities. But such things do occur, and individually, the garam tzira condone - and are even proud of - their younger men who are able to unsettle the women of other places. Disciplinary duties fall most heavily on the hosts.

When dawn has broken, the dance will be stopped by the garam tzira. Now the villages which arrived late are given their gifts of pig. The food displays are dismantled and distributed; the bundles of monsitz are handed out and all return the way they came. Only the garam tzira attend to the distribution, consulting with one another before each gift is made, remembering who has received and who has not received and allocating the food accordingly.

For the remainder of the day the village rests and sleeps. The following day, the mugus structure is dismantled - the post, however, remains - and the yams are distributed among the men from whose plots they came. These yams are placed on the tiriang of the respective dwellings and left to shoot when they will be planted in the new gardens. None of them may be eaten. They have been subjected to magic and must remain for seed. For this reason, the total contents of the gardens are never harvested for the mugus, some remaining in the ground for later consumption.

<u>The Garam Tzira and The Value of The Mugus</u>:

The whole period covered by the activities associated with the mugus is one of festival and plenty. It is also an important religious occasion, a time when the spirits of the dead are intimately associated with the affairs of the living, when the clan section who institute the proceedings gain the approval of their ancestors, and by this approval, their help. These religious aspects, however, must be left to a later section. For the present

it is the secular aspects and the role of the garam tzira in the ceremonies which must receive attention.

In the first place, the dance which brings the period to its conclusion is the largest and most important social occasion in Ngarawapum life. Dancing and singing themselves are the favourite forms of recreation, and no dances take place without some justification. The primary requisites for a dance are food and pigs; no dance may be inaugurated without them. Thus, though these forms of amusement are universal favourites, they cannot be indulged in at any time; there must be an occasion and there must be food. For this reason, the whole village is indebted to the group who supply the bulk of the pigs, and more particularly to the one man who supplies the majority of these. The extent of this indebtedness is apparent in the enjoyment obtained from the dancing, such ceremonies being remembered long afterwards, the details being recalled with avid pleasure. And in this respect, the competitive atmosphere cannot be overlooked. When the dance is over, the exhausted men proclaim that their singing was better than that of any place; that their songs were more appreciated; that they are superior dancers; that no one else could prevail against them. Rivalry between village and village is still apparent in these features; each considers itself better than the other, and any incident which adds to its own idea of its prowess is a source of conscious and even overweaning pride. It is thus to the obvious advantage of all the other groups to contribute from their own food supplies when one of their number decides to supply the pigs. Not only is it to their own advantage from the point of view of pleasure, but also because they themselves, in the future may want to initiate a dance of their own and receive the attendant prestige.

This prestige is centred first of all round the man who supplies the bulk of the pigs. It is his house which becomes the centre of the festivities; it is here where the mugus is erected, and he receives the 'name' of the feast. The remarks of my friend

Bangragin that 'the man who has many mugus near his house' is a man to wonder at, is a fair indication of what this means in a personal way. Usually such a man is one of the elders, but a young and very industrious man may secure this prestige for himself by giving his pigs. This was the case with Bangragin who provided the pigs for a memorable mugus ceremony. For doing this, he was taught the mugus magic by the elders of his clan, and his appointment as Tul-tul of Yamuf was a further consequence of the esteem in which these elders held him. "They saw my ways were good", he himself said to me. "They saw my gardens and the food I gave them. I was above other men like an eagle. They said they would teach me the things they knew." One man, however, could not undertake a festival as large as the mugus without the assistance of his fellow clansmen. Once again, the duties of kinship require this assistance; good opinion, to a large extent depends on it. But at the same time definite material advantages accrue to them by rendering it. At future dances given by other places, it will be their group who receive the majority of the gifts of pork and food, these being made in return for the pork that they themselves give away at their own dance. And then, just as in their own distribution, it will be their elders who are the prime receivers, their share depending on the generosity and duty of these men.

But prestige accrues not only to the clan, but to the village as a whole. Once again, the factor of village rivalry is important here. The yam display is not only a religious and magical ceremony, but a form of ostentation, an exhibition of gardening skill and industry. We have seen how the village which is unable to inaugurate a mugus festival suffers from a feeling of inferiority; it is open to aspersion and insult; it is at a definite disadvantage in that not having given, it does not receive at other dances. By the same token, the village which makes a mugus ceremony feels a pride in its powers and its knowledge. It justifies itself in the eyes of others, and strangers must be careful what they say about it. The sight of food has meanings

and overtones of emotion which cannot be entirely understood or shared by the European. The emotional setting in which the yams are placed on the mugus structure is one of the most intense I witnessed. Nothing else is important at the time; everyone is entirely engrossed in the work, and the joyous, emotional outburst as the last yam is raised into place has to be witnessed to be believed. Again, the yam display is the most remarked upon feature by the visiting villages. Time and again it is compared with other displays, and judgments, either favourable or unfavourable, are made accordingly. On the amount of food displayed and distributed, the prestige of the village depends; in both these features they exhibit their industry and knowledge and state their claims to supremacy in their own and others' eyes. On the top of the mugus structure a piece of white cloth is usually fixed and visitors, entering the village to dance, turn their eyes to this. "They see the white cloth higher than a tree, and their bellies turn inside them. Then they think: 'This village is better than all. Their yams are splendid in size and a multitude in number. These people know more than anyone else.' Then they are silent. They have nothing left to think. They have no more talk. We are better than they are."

The mugus ceremony cannot be regarded in the isolate. It is the centre of an inter-related complex of institutions, religious, magical and sociological. It is a time when there is plenty in the village, and it is therefore a time of rejoicing. It is a time when industry and gardening prowess are given cultural emphasis; when prestige, individual, clan and village, is gained. It is a time when religious beliefs are given their most specific public recognition. Furthermore, it is a time of great importance economically. By means of the mugus ceremony co-operation in the harvest is arranged; the benefits of magical knowledge are dispersed throughout the whole village; the yams are 'treated' and prepared for the new season's planting.

The part of the garam tzira in all these aspects of the

mugus is best summed up in the words of the younger men: "We do not know these things. If we did them, they would be wrong. We would be shamed. The garam tzira know them." From the initial proceedings at the first intra-clan 'council', it is the garam tzira who guide the ceremonies through all their stages. Through all the complex of activities - the wide-spreading movement which often threatens to hide them - they remain the people in control, discussing the matter among themselves on the outskirts of the throng, reaching their conclusions and giving their directions. It is they who dictate what gardens shall be harvested on what day and what stage of the proceedings will be undertaken next. At times, when technical operations are in progress, their form of guidance takes an obvious turn. Thus, when the structure round the mugus post is being erected, it is they who give verbal directions to the workers; when the yams are being tied in place, it is they who watch and point out errors, ordering this or that to be changed. But for the most part, the work itself is carried out without their manual help. They form a central 'committee', organising the work with the aid of their superior knowledge and experience. From this knowledge, they know what should be done and how it should be done; each step is talked over and agreed upon between them. Finally, the important matter of the distribution of the food gifts is left in their hands. At this time, they stand out clearly from the rest of the people. Grouped round the tiriangs, they order the moving and the handling of the joints and food, indicating to whom they should be given and in what quantities. As each gift presented brings its return, food flows back to the village according to their judgments and decisions. Not only are the villagers indebted to them for the unmistakeable pleasure derived from the occasion, but pleasure in the future - in the food they receive when they themselves are guests - stems from their ceremonial role and knowledge at the present moment.

Arbiters of Conduct and Repositories of Knowledge:

The role of the garam tzira in the spectacular activities of the mugus is not, however, an isolated instance of their overall control and the benefits which accrue to others from the exercising of their powers and knowledge. In the ultimate analysis, it is but a heightened form of the control they manifest through all the affairs of a more mundane, run-of-the-week existence. In the mugus ceremonies, the qualities of leadership are silhouetted against an abnormal and spectacular background. This limming of the outlines in broad relief serves to draw attention to the same qualities when present under a less intensive light.

Control over the behaviour of the younger members of society receives its most explicit manifestation in the public harangues following on ceremonial occasions. But again, this is but the public aspect of a control - or rather, a watchfulness - which is apparent in every day affairs. The young man who has offended is frequently subjected to more individual verbal chastisement, the garam tzira of his clan calling out to him at night as the people sit outside their houses. A less public form of punishment is revealed in their refusal to help him when he needs their help, and his exclusion from the clan economic activities. Nor is instruction confined to the underlining of individual faults. When the garam tzira rise to speak, the recalcitrant are singled out, but in addition, speeches of general content are directed at the people as a whole. Thus, the whole company is exhorted to be generous to their relatives, to give food to visitors, to render assistance and to be industrious. On one occasion, the village was subjected to a lecture on the art of hunting. Their lack of co-ordination, they were told, was responsible for the poor results they had been obtaining. They went out and worked hard all through the morning, and yet they came back empty handed. If they paid more attention to organising the hunt correctly, this would not

occur. Then they were given a dissertation on the proper methods of organising the activity.

Again, the mugus ceremony is but one of many ceremonial occasions which depend on the organising knowledge of the garam tzira. Mourning ceremonies are equally dependent on them at all stages of the proceedings. There is, in fact, no major clan or village occasion in which they do not play the all important role of co-ordinating the various associated activities and drawing them to their successful conclusion.

Ultimately, the garam tzira are the repositories of knowledge, and the benefits derived from submitting to their authority stem from the fact that through their leadership this knowledge is made available to all. To cut oneself off from this source of knowledge is to lose the very definite material benefits it brings, the benefits of co-operation and all the attendant pleasures. The knowledge they possess, and the advantages which accrue to society in their exercising of this feature of their leadership, receives no better delineation than in the field of economic magic.

Magic is primarily a clan possession. Systems of magic exist for nearly every crop which is cultivated, but it is rarely indeed that any clan group possess knowledge of more than one system: some do not possess any. Furthermore, it is the elders of the clan groups who retain control of this knowledge. This knowledge normally passes from father to son, though once again a man who has earned the good opinion of his clan elders may be rewarded by being selected as the person most suited to carry on the knowledge. The system possessed by the clan is guarded with great jealousy. If it is decided to pass it on to someone else, it is first of all necessary for all the elders to agree. As far as clan activities are concerned, the knowledge possessed by each clan is exercised on behalf of the clan as a whole. In other words, if the elders of one clan possess the system of taro magic, this knowledge will be utilised for the benefit of the clan as a

whole, the specialist himself deciding when it is necessary for him to put his knowledge into practice. This pattern, however, is extended to cover the village. Thus, with each clan possessing knowledge of various systems, it is known at any time to whom to turn for a particular purpose. Outside the clan, payment for the services of the magician may be demanded. This is quite customary if the request comes from outside the village; but it is rarely asked for from another clan within the same village. More generally, the specialist exercises his knowledge for the benefit of the village as a whole. The garam tzira discussing the state of the crops in their informal meetings may decide that the services of the specialist are required. The request is then made to one of their number versed in the particular field, and he will make his knowledge available to the village. These specialists among the garam tzira often reveal a general supervision of the economic activities over which they have a magical control. Thus, the man who possesses the knowledge of banana magic will watch the state of the banana gardens, and if they appear to him to be below standard, he himself will suggest to his fellow elders that he exercise his powers. If they are in agreement, he will perform his rite on the village gardens, all of which are then placed under a taboo for a pre-determined length of time.

In life, these benefits which derive from the garam tzira's knowledge are often overlaid by a great deal of extraneous activity. A mass of detail must be sifted before they become apparent; but at death it is the debt which is owed the elders which receives explicit cultural expression. Then, when the garam tzira dies, the mourners farewell him as a warrior. In lament and ceremonial, dancing and wailing, it is his position as a generous patriarch which is emphasised. Women cry his name, demanding who will look after them now. His role as the provider is remembered; his magnanimity with food is recalled, and the whole village gathers for four days beside his body to do him honour.

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(4) THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.

The Ngarawapum believes that in his dreams his spirit leaves his body and goes forth from the house where he is sleeping. meeting and conversing with the spirits of his relatives and other living villagers. Occasionally it may leave his body when he is awake. Other men may meet it in the gardens or along the roads; they may speak to it and question it; they will be unaware that it is not the man himself whom they address. On such occasions he has nothing to fear provided his spirit is open with those whom it meets. But should it attempt to evade discovery, should it leave the path and try to hide, it means that it wants to leave his body forever, that he will die. Often the spirit's evasive action appears as a funnel of wind that sweeps across the road and through the kunai as someone approaches. But even so the startled traveller may recognise it and when he reaches the village he will recount what happened, ending his tale with the prophecy that 'so-and-so will die now.'

When death occurs, this spirit part of the human organism leaves the body as a rush of wind. From this time onwards it enters the world of the dead and there it exists with others of its kind. But it is not forgotten by the living. The world of the supernatural and the world of everyday life are closely bound together. The inhabitants of one depend on the inhabitants of the other in much the same way as the living are co-dependent. When life ceases the duties of kinship do not end with it, nor do the dead forget their relatives. Their chief interest remains with the affairs of their descendants; by their help the living prosper, benefits accrue to them and difficulties are overcome. Conversely the living owe certain marks of respect to the dead and failure to fulfil these obligations places them beyond the reach of supernatural aid.

FUNERAL RITES FOR A GARAM TZIRA:(1)

On the death of a garam tzira the whole village becomes involved. Genuine and deep regret is felt by the close relatives of the dead man, but in addition society as a whole is presumed to sorrow at his parting. There is little doubt that his contemporaries experience a sense of loss. On numerous occasions they have joined their judgment with his; mutual respect has bound them to each other in the village meetings, and now their councils must take place without the benefit of his opinion. Similarly, the more responsible members of the younger generations are aware that death has taken one of their leaders from them, that social life is a little less rich and the future a little less certain now that he is no longer there to guide them.

The outward expression of this sorrow is an essential feature of the funeral ritee and all men desire that when they die there will be many to gather beside their body and honour them. Conversely, the display of grief and other marks of respect are held to deserve the gratitude of the dead man's spirit; in return, it will look favourably on the affairs of the living.

When a man becomes ill his relatives gather at his house to express their sympathy and to succor him with their presence. Various rites may be carried out to secure his recovery. A gourd of water is passed from hand to hand, each man in turn breathing on it. This is given to the sick to drink. Embrocations of leaves and unguents are applied to his body; the services of a specialist in magic may be secured. If the illness is protracted, male and female relatives of the ailing man sleep in his house each night, the women sitting beside him and watching

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(1) Funeral rites for young men, women and children are less elaborate than the ceremonies described in the following pages. The essential features remain the same but they are telescoped into a fraction of the time which is spent over the death of an important man.

over him. If one or more of his daughters have married at a distance, word is sent to them and when he dies all the chief mourners are present at his side.

As soon as death takes place the women begin a frenzied wailing, calling his name and the kinship term which each of them applies to him. Work ceases in the village and the surrounding gardens. Twenty slow beats are sounded on the slit gong. The notification of death is taken up and repeated by the chain of villages, from Gainaron to Yanuf. Wailing women hurry through the village and disappear inside his house. The men cluster in subdued groups on the ground outside. Throughout the succeeding ceremonies it is the women's duty to cry, though close male relatives of the deceased join in the stylised, sobbing lament from time to time. But for the most part, the men sit together in silent groups or retire apart to be alone with their sorrow.

Soon after the death has been announced the widow takes her husband's cooking pots from the upper platform of the house and shatters them against the ground, crying his name in the following terms: 'O husband, O husband! Who will bring food to me now?' Simultaneously, the principal male mourners, his sons or his brothers, hasten from the village to his gardens. Several banana trees are felled; yams are torn from the ground and scattered over his plots; an areca palm and a coconut palm may be cut; the total produce of his tobacco plot is picked and carried back to his house. The men weep unrestrainedly, calling on the dead as they lay about them with their knives. Informants agreed that on these occasions his spirit may appear to the mourners, demanding angrily why they destroy his food. If this happens, the sons clasp their father's spirit to them. They cry together in the garden and the dead man is pleased at the depth of their grief.

After dark the body is carried outside the house. Three spears are driven into the ground to support it in a sitting position. The widow and chief mourners, men and women, surround

it. Plaited coconut mats are placed in a wide half circle around this central group. Fires are lit and people from all five villages gather. Soon afterwards the drums and shell trumpets begin to sound. Each village sings its songs in turn. Young girls, holding bunches of cordyline or pieces of white cloth, dance through the throng of men, waving their emblems towards the body. All the songs that the dead man heard or sang are rendered during the night. Not only his own spirit is thought to be pleased at the honour they do him, the spirits of men who have died before are presumed to be present and some among the people are able to hear them singing with them. During the pauses between the songs the chief mourners' laments break out with renewed vigour. Women, almost hysterical with grief, rise and address the body, leaning over the others whose voices fade to an indistinct sobbing. Then the drums and songs begin again, drowning the wails of the central group.

On the following day, and for two days after, this pattern of grief continues without ceasing. Each night the body is brought outside the house, the people gather and sing and dance. Food is forbidden the members of the village to which the dead man belonged. From time to time fresh coconuts are gathered to quench their thirst, but nothing solid passes their lips. During the daylight hours the dancing ceases, the body is placed inside the house and tended by the women.

Burial takes place on the fourth day after death. On the third day a group of younger men have prepared the coffin, a slab box open at the top, and now the body is placed inside. All the elders are dressed in full battle regalia, their faces and bodies painted with coloured earths, red being the predominant colour. In their hands they carry decorated spears and shields; their hair is adorned with bird of paradise plumes and the yellow crests of white cockatoos.

When the whole village has gathered outside the house

of the deceased, the coffin is raised by six young men who bear it shoulder high. Accompanied by the drums and trumpets the people move through the village in a final dance of farewell, visiting each house where the dead man was accustomed to sit with his relatives or friends. At each stopping place along the procession's route three of the older women are conspicuous among the dancers. One of them carries a cooking pot, one a half coconut shell and one a piece of white cloth. They move ahead of the others, bobbing slowly to the music, touching the objects to the ground and calling to the dead. 'Here is where you sat and talked with your brother,' they cry. 'Here you ate pig. Here you chewed your betel and smoked. Never again will you sit with him now. Never again will you smoke his leaf or chew the betel peppers he gave you. You, whose ways were good, have departed from us now. Who will look after the young men? Who will have meat to give to us as you did? Who will bring food for the women to cook?'

Towards mid-day the coffin is carried to the place of burial.

In the afternoon the neighbouring Ngarawapum villagers carry gifts of food to the kinsmen of the dead man. Bananas, coconuts, fowls, yams and perhaps a pig are brought and arranged in heaps according to the village of the donors. To this an additional quantity is added by the relatives and the whole is then distributed among the visitors. The food received is consumed on the spot, groups of related people sitting down and sharing together. Fires are lit and vegetables or flesh are cooked in the glowing embers. Cooking pots may not be used on this occasion.

That night, and for ten nights following, male and female relatives sleep at the widow's house to be with her in her grief.

On the day after the burial the village rests. In the

afternoon men and women go to their gardens and bring back food. Bananas and yams, sugar cane and coconuts are carried to the house of the dead and arranged in display on the roof and walls. Two or more pigs are killed by the kinsmen.

On the morrow, the village breaks its fast. Early in the morning, the people gather at the widow's house. Food is distributed by the principal male mourners. Cooking pots are brought forth; fires are lit and the meal prepared. Relatives and important guests from other villages arrive with gifts. Under the trees the men sit apart from the women, each sex cooking its own meal, related groups sitting and sharing with each other. By mid-day the greater part of the food has been consumed, though dishes keep arriving throughout the afternoon. Affinal relatives of the dead man and those people who were conspicuous during the funeral ceremonies receive gifts from his kinsmen in token of the grief they displayed. Cowrie shells, spears and garden produce change hands in considerable quantities, the recipients bearing them back to their respective houses or villages. Later, the elders harangue the assembled people. In their speeches they elaborate the good qualities of the dead man. The young men are told to remember his ways and to follow in his footsteps. His sons are exhorted to remember their father and to look after their widowed mother.

From this time onwards near female relatives of the dead man wear long grass petticoats reaching to their ankles. In addition the widow must cover her arms and the upper part of her body. Taboos are most stringent where she is concerned. For several weeks she cannot come outside her house or work. Her daughters and her sons' wives care and cook for her; no one else sees her. When her husband's male relatives consider they have sufficient food a feast is made at her house and she is once more allowed to appear in public. Simultaneously, the dead man's daughters change their mourning garb for skirts of normal length. Again at this feast the food is displayed on the roof and walls of the widow's house. Tobacco, cut from the dead man's plot on

the day he died is distributed to the guests and tied to the branches of the trees above the place where the elders sit.

After this the widow is allowed to appear outside her house during the day. She may cook her food and sweep or weed in the immediate vicinity of her dwelling but she can go no farther afield. The paths her husband was accustomed to travel on the way to his gardens, these and the gardens themselves are taboo to her. Before she takes her place in the normal working life of the village again other feasts must be made, one to lift the taboo from each set of gardens that the dead man possessed. On these occasions her sons lead her along the roads her husband walked and show her his garcens again. (i)

THE SPIRITS AND THEIR POWERS:

Throughout these ceremonies one major theme is noticeable, the belief that the spirit of the dead man is present all the time and that by their grief and solicitude the living may claim its benevolence. At each feast the food displayed at the widow's house is believed to gratify the spirit. In the widest sense, it is an offering made expressly for this purpose. On these occasions the spirit is present. It partakes of the essence of the food; It is pleased at honour done to it; its 'belly is good' towards its descendants. On the other hand, failure to carry out these ceremonies may antagonise it and place the living beyond the reach of its aid.

Each dead person is associated with two of these spirits, mamafi and urumung respectively. Normally both of them are invisible though occasionally they may manifest themselves in a variety of forms. The mamafi is of little importance in every day affairs. Men walking along the paths at night carry their spears in a horizontal position swinging them backwards and forwards to

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(i) In the above description I have recounted the present day customs. In former times the body was not interred but exposed on a tree platform near the village. When the flesh had decayed the thigh bones and skull were collected and carried to the widow who wore them round her neck. At a later date these relics were placed in a part of the bush with the skulls and bones of those who had died before.

prevent any mamafi who may be near from approaching them. Informants assured me that the form the mamafi usually assumes is that of a dwarf with a large head and pointed ears. For the most part it is content to frighten the unsuspecting, leaping out at them from the bushes bordering the paths or creeping into the village at night and pouncing on some woman sitting alone outside her house. Though the victim may receive a bad fright, such visitations have no inimical purpose. Hearing a woman call out at night the rest of the village merely laughs and chides her, discounting her fears. On some occasions, however, the mamafi may prove a more sinister visitor. Alone in the gardens, a woman may be approached by a man whom she takes to be her husband. At his request she lies with him. Intercourse takes place and afterwards he rises from her. Looking down at her he speaks: 'You think I am your husband? Look at me, see what I am! ' Then for the first time the woman notices his ears are pointed and not like the ears of other men. The apparition spits at her and vanishes and later, it is said, she will sicken and die. But these inimical qualities are not displayed by all the mamafi. It is recognised that some of them are bad, but for the most part there is no reason to be afraid at their appearance.

Mamafi may be likened to ghosts in our own society, but the urumung possesses no counterpart. At times this second class of spirits may manifest themselves in the forms of rats, snakes and two varieties of birds, but for the most part they are invisible to the living, existing like wind, always present but never seen. Nor do they have a fixed abode. Cemeteries and parts of the bush where in former times the bones of the dead were exposed, are presumed to harbour them, but they are not confined to these areas. At all times they are free to go where they please and their favourite resting place is in the dwellings of their relatives. No sharply defined beliefs regarding their mode of life and their existence in the spirit world are held. At times it is suggested that they live beneath the ground; on other occasions such remarks will be discounted. But all attempts to describe their manner of life agree in one respect, that wherever they dwell when they are not in the

houses of their descendants their life is a somewhat less substantial replica of that which they followed when alive.

Unlike the mamafi, these spirits are believed to possess supernatural powers which they use to benefit their descendants. They are vitally interested in the affairs of the living and they may proffer their assistance directly by appearing in dreams. Wild pigs are the domestic pigs of the urumung. If a man dreams at night that he has set out and been successful in the hunt, he knows his urumung have appeared to him, he believes that they have told him to go forth and kill a pig, that they will guide it to his spear. Village pigs are named by their owners as we ourselves name dogs or cats. Similarly, the wild pigs of the urumung are named by them and often the advice to go out and hunt includes a promise to place some particular animal in the path of the hunting party.

In former times similar advice was offered to the raiding party, the dream manifestation of the urumung telling the living to go forth and kill. Occasionally, the spirits appeared in the form of a bird named ragarian. If a man went to wash at one of the streams near the village and saw this bird hopping from leg to leg on the stones at the water's edge, he knew his urumung were urging him to kill. He returned to the village and gathered a raiding party, fortified with the knowledge that supernatural aid had been granted him, that while he fought his spirits would 'hold' his enemies.

<u>THE URUMUNG AND GARDEN CROPS</u>:

But the assistance the urumung give their descendants is not confined to hunting and raiding. More importantly, from the point of view of every day affairs, they display the qualities of guardians of all the food supplies. Granted an empirical scientific knowledge which is possessed by all there is still a zone of possible contingencies beyond the reach of human intelligence.

Men know that work is necessary, that food will not grow without the application of labour. They are well aware that certain crops like certain types of soil. Application of the elementary principles of scientific horticulture is displayed at every stage of garden work, and yet in the normal course of events, though every care is taken, they see crops fail; rain does not come when it is needed; insect pest destroy the produce before it is ready for harvest. Even if spared disasters such as these, they are faced with the fact that though external conditions are the same for all men one man's crops may be better than those of his neighbour; one year there may be plenty, the next a poor return.

Malinowski has pointed out that in these circumstances, where knowledge is insufficient to account for such obvious discrepancies, recourse is had to magic. In other words, magic, in its pragmatic function, assures man that supernatural forces are working on his side, that provided he carries out his part of the contract, powers whose knowledge is greater than his will guide his efforts through the zone of the unknown.

Broadly speaking, Ngarawapum magic conforms to this general principle. Men know that crops will grow without recourse to supernatural aids; not all garden plots are treated magically. On the other hand, the application of magic bridges the gap between success and a possible failure. Naturally enough the desire is not merely to have food in sufficient quantities to sustain life at a marginal level. It is the abiding wish of everyone that food supplies surpass these minimum requirements to such an extent that a great proportion must be left to rot in the gardens. Nor is quantity alone desirable, size is equally important. The sight of large yams whose 'swelling cracks the ground' is one of the Ngarawapum's chief delights, the smell of decaying bananas one of his deepest satisfactions. But nature alone is not sufficient to produce these two conditions. If a crop is prolific and sizeable enough to warrant admiration, magic gets the credit. In other words, magic reinforces nature. It is true that it guards and

controls those zones which are closed to human knowledge, but at the same time it works for man. It exerts a supernatural influence which over and above the natural processes themselves is responsible for the desired size and growth.

Magic itself is associated with the powers of the urumung. When the magician recites his spells he calls the names of his ancestors and bids them come to the garden to watch over it. Certain taboos are then operative, and should someone be so ill-advised as to break them the urumung visit the magician at night, fighting him and throwing him to the ground, demanding to know why they were charged to look after the garden. Magic performed on banana crops includes the erection of material symbols of these supernatural guardians. Following on the recitation of the spell and the planting of bespelled substances, two three feet sections of banana palm are planted in the garden. Pieces of red cloth, representing the warrior's hair, are bound round the top of each section and decorated with feathers. It is said that these are the urumung, set up in the garden to watch the crops.

The cultivation of all garden crops may receive the benefit of this supernatural aid, but above all others yams are the special province of the urumung.

Once again, the application of empirical knowledge is essential in yam cultivation. For this reason hill land is chosen for the garden sites, the seed yams are planted when the new shoot has reached a certain stage of growth, specific rules are observed in training the vine and tending the soil. It is known that moisture is necessary for growth, that underneath the soil the new yam springs from the old and pushes down and swells. But though this knowledge is possessed by all magic is believed to make all the difference between success and failure. If the yams are large and worthy of admiration it is not because all the external conditions were favourable. The size and success of the crops is due to the power and influence of the spirits.

When men said to me, 'The yam is the same as my ancestors', I concluded that some kind of personification was meant. But with later experience and knowledge, I learned that while the yam itself is not regarded as the material manifestation of the urumung, its close association with the spirits places it within the sphere of the sacred. This association arises in the first place from the magic performed at planting. In the ritual performed at this time, the magician invokes his urumung. He places them in the garden and bids them go down in the ground and pull the yams, make them swell. Throughout the harvest ceremonies, already described, the yams themselves are treated as representations of the urumung, invocations and libations being spoken and offered with the remarks: 'Wash and be warm after your cold sleep in the gardens. Come into the house and eat of the good food placed for you.' However, one of my magician friends explained to me that the yams themselves were not the urumung, but that the spirits 'were with them.'

THE NATURE OF SUPERNATURAL POWER:

No name is given to the powers possessed by the urumung. They are in no way comparable to the supernatural force called mana in other parts of Melanesia. When a man dies he becomes a member of the spirit world and as a spirit he is endowed with the ability to influence the affairs of those he has left behind. There is nothing involved or mystical in this. In our own society ghosts are said to possess the power of penetrating brick walls; in Ngarawapum the spirits of the dead are able to assist the growth of crops; they are able to help their descendants in hunting and warfare, in all the events of daily life where human knowledge is insufficient to render the outcome certain beforehand. This power does not exist outside of them. Its benefits can be obtained only by their direct intervention. In the widest sense it is better not to speak of powers where the urumung are concerned. At the beginning of this section I described them as supernatural guardians, a phrase which sums their nature adequately. Reference to the supernatural indicates abilities beyond the

scope of ordinary mortal beings; guardianship implies that these abilities are exercised in particular spheres, in this case the lives of the spirits' descendants.

SACRIFICE:

But since these supernatural qualities are personal attributes of the urumung, the living are faced with the desire to enlist their aid. In mortal life kinsman is expected to succor kinsman; similarly, the urumung, spirits of departed relatives, are believed to watch over the interests of their descendants. Such solicitude manifests itself in the advice which they offer in dreams. But over and above specific visitations they are believed to exercise a general surveillance wherever their living relatives are involved. At the same time, and in the same way as the assistance of human contemporaries demands a return in kind, supernatural help involves reciprocal obligations.

To enlist the aid of his urumung the Ngarawapum must demonstrate his concern for their welfare. He does this through the medium of sacrifice. For the most part, such sacrificial offerings take place in the privacy of his own house, for religion is wholly a personal affair. The man who has a request to make places an offering of food on the upper platform of his house. He believes that at night his urumung will come and partake of it; they will be pleased that he has remembered them and in return they will grant him their aid in his undertakings. Should he desire to be successful in the hunt he places a half shell of coconut fluid and flesh on the platform, naming the wild pig he wishes to kill. By this means he hopes to induce the spirits to part with one of their animals. Such simple offerings, made on innumerable occasions, involve no ceremonial. The food is simply placed in the house with a spoken request; at times a man may detail his small son to place it there. He does not believe that the urumung consume the material substance of the food. When they visit the house they take away the essence of the offering, but at the same time 'their bellies are good towards us; they know we have not

forgotten them; they are constrained to help us now.'

In one sense, even the ordinary, everyday family meal has its religious aspect. It is not suggested that the urumung are present on all these occasions, but it is said they may well be there, sitting down with their descendants and sharing the food. On specific occasions they are recognised to be present. When a pig has been killed in the hunt it is carried back to the village and a feast is made at the house of the man who supplies the bulk of the subsidiary food; bananas, green, taro and yams. While his fellow villagers are obviously in his debt to this extent, at the same time he is considered to be honouring his urumung. They are present at his hearth, partaking of the meal. They are pleased that he has assembled the people at his house and because of this they look on him with favour; they will be ready to succor him and to further his desires.

Whatever the external reason for Ngarawapum feasts, they all display this central religious theme. This does not detract from the importance of the feast as a means of establishing prestige. But it must be remembered that while the principals are well aware that their generosity raises them up in the eyes of their fellow villagers, they are equally concerned with honouring their urumung.

While the sight of the food displayed on the roof and walls of their houses is a source of satisfaction to their fellows, in the widest sense it is also an offering to the spirits. The urumung are presumed to be present throughout the celebrations. The food is displayed in their honour; offerings are placed on the upper platform of the house. They are pleased that their descendants have remembered them.

The harvest festivals already described are almost entirely religious in nature. On these occasions the urumung are actually brought to the village with the yams and mugus. When laden harvest party steps over the pig as they return to the village, this is an offering to the spirits who accompany them,

the urumung taking the essence of the sacrifice as they pass it on the road. Libations of blood and water are poured over the yams as they rest beside the house; gifts of food are placed for the spirits with the request to 'come in and eat of the good food placed for you.' Throughout the week of preparations the spirits are present at the daily events. At night they sing with the people, and on the final day, when all the yams have been placed on the mugus, it is they who are honoured as the people lift their arms towards them shouting their pleasure at the sight of their food.

CONCLUSION:

Being personal in nature, Ngurawapym religious rites are for the most part unobtrusive, a fact which I believe has not been without its effect where the activities of European missionaries are concerned. Even in the harvest festivals the religious side of the ceremonies is overlaid by extraneous matters to such an extent that without the benefit of prior knowledge and questioning it is extremely difficult to follow. But this does not detract from the importance of the beliefs. In the first place, the belief in supernatural beings endowed with the power of influencing the affairs of the living reinforces the natural optimism of the people. They know that provided they carry out their part of the bargain aid will be granted them, enabling them to overcome the difficulties and dangers which stand in their path.

Secondly, these spirits stand in a definite relationship with the living; they are kinsmen who have died. For this reason, provided certain standards of conduct are maintained, the element of fear is almost entirely absent in their dealings with their descendants. As kinsmen they are not unknown quantities to be placated on all occasions lest they visit disaster on the living. In life kinship creates a mutual inter-dependence, and in death this same quality persists.

Finally, in recognising the survival of the spirit death itself is no longer a source of terror. Part of the sadness of dying is bound up with the thought that one will not sit down with and talk to one's relatives again; one will not be able to see them or work in the gardens with them. But such sorrow at departure is minimised by the knowledge that though not present in the flesh, interest and even participation in everyday affairs continues. In the village there will be a house to go to and food to eat; people will not have forgotten.

PART TWO

CRISIS AND RECONSTRUCTION

INTRODUCTION

Facing The Crisis

In the early part of 1942 Lae fell to the Japanese forces. Prior to this date the Lutheran missionaries at Kaiapit had been removed from the area, but now all European administrative controls ceased to function; the enforcement of law and order as understood by the Australian administration ceased to apply to the people of Ngarawapum. Apart from the transitory appearance of two parties of refugees it was not until mid September 1943 that contact with their former rulers was resumed on a permanent basis.

With these initial facts in mind one question arises immediately: What effect did this period have on the life and thought of the Ngarawapum? As Australians it might gratify our self-esteem to be able to reply that all aspects of our rule were regretted and that our return was welcomed whole heartedly by the people. Being Australian we might be pre-disposed to such a conclusion, for while we ourselves were unable to abide the thought of Japanese domination, it was easy, and even politic, to attribute the same aversion to others. But if we agree that the eventual success of our arms must have been regarded as a liberation, if we are content to let the matter rest without an impartial examination of the facts, we may lose the opportunity of preventing a worse situation in the future. Should such an examination reveal us in a role that offers us little satisfaction, we should not allow the possibility to prevent us from making it. To be effective, remedies must be based on a full understanding of the causes of disease.

For the purposes of such an examination the period between the fall of Lae and the recapture of Kaiapit divides into two

main stages, the inter-regnum, lasting from the withdrawal of European administration until the arrival of the Japanese at the latter centre, and following on this, the period of Japanese control and domination. A third stage opens with the recapture of Kaiapit, the presence of large Australian forces in the area and the re-establishment of European control.

Of the three, the inter-regnum period proves the most difficult to assess. In the absence of official records I am unable to state its duration with any certainty; nor could the Ngarawapum give me any assistance in this respect, for apart from the immediate past and the immediate future they possess no methods for reckoning events. But if European control ceased immediately after or just prior to the fall of Lae, and if before the Japanese were established in force at Kaiapit and Gagerak there had been intermittent penetration by their patrols, then six or seven months might have elapsed.

But there is not only the difficulty of fixing temporal limits to the period. More than this, there is little concrete evidence from which to reconstruct the life of the people. With some justification it could be maintained that the only results of these months were negative. Certainly the Ngarawapum were not asked to suffer as other people suffered. Their villages did not become a kind of no-man's-land between opposing forces; there were no ground or aerial bombardments to destroy their crops and houses. Later on their ignorance of civilised weapons suffered enlightenment, but during these first months at least life appears to have gone on much the same as before. On the other hand, to state that no violent physical or material changes were apparent, and to deduce from this only negative results, is to overlook the positive fact that during this period the Ngarawapum were not subjected to any form of alien control, European or Asiatic.

In itself this might have meant considerable mental re-orientation. The rulers whom they had been accustomed to regard as invincible had been forced to evacuate the valley; the weary, struggling parties of refugees who passed through

the villages were not the demi-gods whom the younger men at least had been accustomed to see on the plantations or gold fields; they were different to the govenrment representatives who visited them with the external symbols of authority, uniformed native police, carriers and weapons. Prestige which is built on ideas of racial superiority cannot survive defeat and if it turned out that there was no major recasting of opinion it is certainly not to the credit of the more voluble sections of the European population who considered it presumptuous if the native failed to step aside when they met along the road.

But whatever they thought of their rulers these new circumstances must have revealed them in a different light, for whether they were appreciated or resented, their authority had been based on the power and superiority of material resources. By virtue of these coercive forces they had been able to impose an alien form of government on the people, and now that they had proved insufficient to support them against an outside threat their form of control went with them.

This positive aspect of the inter-regnum might have had far reaching effects. Granted a maximum humanitarianism in those who govern it is still conceivable that old ways appear better than new ways to the governed, that self-determination seems preferable to outside interference. It is possible therefore that the Ngarawapum experienced a feeling of release, that far from regretting the departure of their European masters they regarded it as a liberation. If such was the case a certain amount of opposition, overt or tacit, might have greeted the re-introduction of governmental influence at a later date.

But phrased as conjectures these statement tell us little. The question remains, and has yet to be answered: hat effect did this period have on the lives of the people?

One reply may be given at once. The period did not last long enough to produce immediate results of the kind that have been indicated. This does not mean, however, that any

of these possibilities failed to eventuate. To some extent at least, all of them can be discerned; but though their germ is in the temporal setting of the period under discussion, it was not until the following stages had been passed that they were realised in retrospect.

LIFE DURING THE INTER-REGNUM:

But if the final assessment of these months must be delayed until the Ngarawapum were able to compare them with subsequent events, nevertheless certain features permit an immediate examination. In the widest sense the period may be regarded as one in which the people faced up to the impending crisis. This does not mean that they were aware of its nature before it occurred, but to a certain extent they had been forewarned. The circumstances surrounding the departure of the government representatives from Kaiapit were sufficient evidence in themselves to permit the conclusion that extra-ordinary events lay ahead. Even without additional knowledge it is reasonable to assume a certain amount of uncertainty as they watched the Europeans leave. A previously inviolate order does not cease to function suddenlywithout some cause and it is imputing nothing but normal human curiosity to the Ngarawapum to state that they were concerned to understand the reasons for the change. But in addition, information of a more specific nature had been given them.

When it was no longer possible for the government representative to remain at Kaiapit, officials from every village were called together and addressed by him. It is conceivable that the true state of affairs was not revealed to them; it may not have been politic to acknowledge defeat. But at all events they were told that the Europeans were leaving to fight the Japanese. It was said that for an indefinite period there would be no one to look after them. The Japanese had proved to be too strong at first, but eventually the white men would be back; they would come with their aeroplanes and guns and turn their enemies out of Lae. In the meantime it

behoved the officials to look after the people. If trouble arose in the villages they must deal with it. They must remember the new law that had been brought to them and not return to the days when they fought among themselves. Later, the Japanese would arrive in their villages. No one would be angry with them if they did as the Japanese ordered them, for if they refused they would be killed. At the same time they must not offer their assistance. They must remember that though these people possessed the weapons of the white man they were not the same in other respects. When they arrived in the villages they killed the pigs and the people and ate them. Nothing but evil could be expected from them.

This warning was carried back by the officials and spread throughout the valley. At the same time it need not be thought that its content was accepted as gospel truth. The person who thinks that the word of the European is sufficient explanation overlooks the fact that the native believes him to be as ready as he himself to give false evidence, providing it serves his purposes to do so. Self-interest and the exigencies of the situation might be presumed to have coloured this address and resenting some aspects of the Europeans' administration, it is probable that the people were unwilling to accept their condemnation of others without question. In other words, there is no basis for presuming that this information was sufficient to throw the valley into a state of fear for the future. Looking ahead it might even be said that if events failed to give credance to its substance it would not have inhibited willing co-operation.

On the whole, life in Ngarawapum continued as usual. A percentage of the young men were away at work, but their numbers were not sufficient to cause the severe economic dislocation which the villages suffered at a later date. Eventually some of them returned and the tales they brought with them had an important bearing on the events of the ensuing months, but it was some time before this happened.

And while the absence of European administrative influences must have been apparent, it is worthwhile remembering that as far as this inland group of villages were concerned their withdrawal meant a less obvious change in the immediate conditions of life than in coastal areas situated near thriving centres of white population. To state that it meant the departure of one man only is obviously a superficial appreciation of the situation, for more than the man himself it meant the departure of the ideaology and the machinary of government behind him. But it emphasises the fact that the difference was one of degree rather than kind.

Though the old hostilities and suspicions which formerly split the valley exist in attenuated form to-day, the people did not return to warfare. At a later date one man said to me that if the Europeans had not come back he believed that fighting would have arisen again, but his opinion cannot be taken as evidence of any well-marked tenedency; at the most it means that such a possibility existed in the minds of some of the thinking population.

At all events, in the external conditions of village life the Ngarawapum did not revert to form. Under administrative and missionary influence their somewhat scattered hamlet organisation had been superseded by the village, and though even at the present time sections of the population show a preference for the former custom, they did not abandon the new mode of living as soon as the opportunity presented itself. In this respect they differed from the neighbouring Ibiaga natives. These people, possessing an entirely different language and culture, live in the jungles of the Finisterres a day's journey to the north of Yanuf. Brought under control at a much later date they were also compelled to abandon their scattered organisation and to concentrate in several centres. Whatever the advantages from an administrative point of view, they found so little favour in the sight of the people themselves that they were abandoned at once, as soon as retaliation seemed improbable. At the time of my departure the Ibiagas

had not been re-visited by any authorities. They continued to live in widely separated family groups. Government nominated officials had either died or had given up their position, destroying the symbols of their office. More than this, they displayed the deepest reluctance to any suggestion of returning to the white man's sphere of domination.

The Ngarawapum,however, continued in the ways to which they had become more or less accustomed. The daily round of native life was not disturbed. On the area of land called Uramint the clan yams gardens of Tofmora had been planted; Gutsuwap cut the bush and sowed near the headwaters of the stream Anan. They were not to know that as events turned out it would be almost two years before gardens of a comparable size were made again. Food was plentiful. On each side of the road between Tofmora and Yanuf banana plantations flourished. Afterwards, men recalled them in glowing terms. 'It was different then', they said. 'When you walked down the paths you could smell the bananas rotting. Times were different then. There was so much food we could not eat it; it decayed there in the gardens.'

As far as the war was concerned, their general attitued did not differ to that of the following years. Certainly it must have occasioned curiosity and speculation. Throughout my stay the people came to me constantly for information. They were concerned to learn from me why we were fighting the Japanese, and they were not averse to reproaching me with the contradiction that while Europeans forbade them to fight among themselves they were engaged in a war with another people. On such occasions I gave the explanation that the Japanese had wanted to possess all New Guinea for themselves. 'Then why not share it?' I would be asked. 'It is a big place. There is enough ground for all.' And if these statements were made at a time when their own lives had suffered the consequences of the struggle, it is reasonable to presume that at this much earlier date they felt themselves to be even less involved.

The physical effects of the war, its subsequent repercussions on normal life and village economics, engendered definite mental attitudes and preferences, but apart from this the broad sweep of events, the conflict of ideas and aspirations behind them, remainedbeyond their comprehension. Even up to the time of my departure the war was regarded as the white man's affair. In a vague way it was felt that is duration depended on the will of the King; when he said we had fought long enough, it would stop. It was not in the black man's province to understand the motives behind the European's actions.

In other words, even when they had had sufficient experience to form their own conclusions and desires regarding the outcome, they remained essentially passive, their position central to the two opposing forces. To a greater extent during the inter-regnum they must have felt dissociated from the actual events that had been its cause.

Towards the end of the period, however, circumstances arose which seemed to give credance to the warning they had received before. Some of the younger men who had been caught up in the fighting at Wau and Salamaua returned to the villages. With them they brought tales of the devastation that had been wrought in those areas. They brought descriptions of the terror caused by the European and Japanese weapons, the loss of life and the impossibility of prevailing against them. They were warned that if similar events took place in the valley all the villages would be destroyed and the people killed. Again, it was somewhere about this time that a European named Lum arrived at the village of Ofofragen, attempting to engage recruits as carriers for the Wau campaign. Word of his presence reached a Japanese patrol in the Yaros district and while he was shaving one morning they entered the village and shot him. Soon afterwards, a party of refugees coming down from the Wantoat passed through Ngarawapum. Later it was learned that they had been killed on the Ramu side of the valley.

These events were sufficient to arouse uncertainty though even now it would be an exaggeration to state that the people were in terror for their lives. On the other hand an element of fear existed. Not long after Japanese forces had arrived at Sangan, Gutsuwap and Tofmora harvested their gardens at Anan and Uramint, each village killing an immense number of pigsand holding a dance festival. Some two years later one of the reasons advanced for holding the festivals then was the desire to prevent the pigs from falling into the hands of the Japanese. It is hardly necessary to believe this was the only reason, but at the same time there is no occasion to doubt that it contains an element of truth. Until I left in May 1946 the two villages had been unable to institute a similar festival again.

(1) OCCUPATION AND LIBERATION

When the Japanese penetrated the valley and the interregnum ended, their main forces were concentrated at Kaiapit, approximately eight miles to the south-east of the Ngarawapum villages. From this centre their lines of communication radiated outwards to Gusap and Lae. Sagerak, at the lower crossing of the Umi river, became an important staging point on the northern route to the Ramu valley; Sangan village provided a similar point on the southern road to the Leron.

Japanese activity was confined mainly to this north-south road and at first the Ngarawapum villages escaped the concentrated contact with their forces which became the lot of some of their near neighbours. To some extent they were protected by their geographical situation, but at the same time contact was sufficient to enable the development of definite attitudes towards the conquerors. The road to Kaiapit across the Yafats and Waniang is open at all seasons of the year. The terrain and the short journey present no difficulties and it is inconceivable that an invading army faced with normal problems of supply would neglect the assistance of such a readily accessible population. Japanese parties constantly visited the villages. The younger men were impressed and compelled to carry along the road from Kaiapit to Sagerak and Gusap. In addition, and of more importance ultimately, foraging parties from the first two of these centres made continual demands on the villages' resources in pigs, bananas and root crops. Eventually, in the fighting which followed the recapture of Kaiapit, the gardens, land and dwellings of the Ngarawapum became a minor battlefield for the opposing forces. One body of the Japanese retreated through their villages to the far side of the Umi, and entering in their wake, the Australians pitched a camp on the heights behind Tofmora.

This information is necessarily limited, but granted it is incomplete the picture it does present raises a number of questions. From the point of view of immediate and possibly future political considerations, the Ngarawapum attitude to the Japanese has an obvious interest. Equally important is their reaction to the return of European administration in the presence of the liberating Australian forces. Other issues no less pressing than these arise from the situation presented in these pages, but while the war itself was in progress - and to a lesser extent even now when it has been so recently concluded - it is natural that the first question should have occupied the minds of the public as a whole to the virtual exclusion of the others. Differences in political aims and systems of administration aside, the loyalty of native populations in times of stress like those through which the European powers have passed in recent years remains the one elementary factor which they cannot afford to neglect. Couched in unequivocal terms it might even be said that this loyalty is the measure of their administrative success, and though such a statement is not entirely true it would be an act of deepest ignorance to dis-regard the lessons in the situation.

THE LOYALTY OF THE NGARAWAPUM:

But if we are to examine the loyalty of the Ngarawapum we must first of all discover what we understand by the word and what we mean when we apply it to a native people. By loyalty we mean the undeviating support given by persons to their fellows, an idea, an institution, a state or a country. Such support is given whenever the object or ideal is threatened by outside influences. It is not necessary that the thing supported should be blameless, but it is necessary that it should be identified with ourselves to such an extent that the threat to its existence constitutes a threat to our own emotional or physical lives. Strictly speaking, loyalty cannot be passive; thus, when we apply the term to a native

population in the war situation it is not sufficient if they remained completely neutral, giving assistance to neither one nor the other of the opposing forces. By loyalty we mean an overt support, given, in this case, to Europeans as the representatives of a European form of administration; and since by definition this positive assistance derives from the fact that we ourselves are threatened when the object or ideal is threatened, the native population to whom we apply the term must have felt their own way of life to be in jeopardy when our administration ceased to function. As a corollary they must have evidenced a corresponding satisfaction when our arms prevailed and our form of government returned.

With these points in mind we may turn to the situation that confronted the Ngaruwapum. Examination of this situation reveals the untenability of applying either the terms loyal or disloyal to their actions and consequently approving or condemning them.

In the first place, if we insist on employing these terms as a basis for moral judgments, we imply that the political aims, and consequently the political experience of the Ngaruwapum are the same as ours. There is no more illogical an assumption. To impute a corresponding political acuity in a people who we ourselves are pleased to term backward reveals not only a contradiction in terms but a grave emotional bias which holds out little prospect for good in the period of reconstruction. Yet there are sections of the population and the press who habitually apply such value judgments to situations not only in New Guinea but in other parts of the colonial world. Where our own colonial peoples are concerned their reasoning follows these lines: 'The British people are humanitarian; they have the welfare of the natives at heart. They have set up an administration which protects the native and gives him all the benefits of British law. British law and British rule are undoubtedly the best; it would be impossible for us to live under any other system.

We have given these natives the benefits of this system and therefore they should be grateful and willing to support it in favour of any other.' If it was not so common there would be no need for elaboration. In effect, such statements imply that we are loyal to our form of government because we consider it the best and ipso facto native peoples, on whom we have forced it, should be loyal to it also. But we cannot have it both ways: the reasoning is untenable.

Even granted the humanitarianism we profess it does not follow that this aspect our administration is appreciated to a similar degree by the people we govern; it is likely that coercive and repressive elements are more apparent. Similarly, it is an error to take for granted that our aims and our transplanted institutions are understood. We do not expect a Frenchman to be cogniscent with the complexities of English law and legal procedure, yet all too frequently such knowledge is expected from the native.

This does not question the validity of introducing English forms to native life or the undoubted benefits of some of these introductions; it is merely a statement of empirical fact, that our ways and our aims are not the aims of these native peoples and consequently they may not only be misunderstood by them, but they may appear to be contrary to their own best interests. Whatever the society, systems of law and leadership, aims and methods of regulating the behaviour of its members must have existed before it felt the impact of European civilisation. Furthermore, in the light of its own historical and environmental problems its indigenous institutions must have possessed a rational foundation, they must have been adequate for the society to survive. Where these institutions exist as living realities it is at least open to question whether they are not more suitable to the problems of the people than the alien forms which have been introduced; where they have been destroyed or disrupted it is doubtful whether the new forms have been able to take their place or answer the needs of the people to the same extent.

uch doubts can be resolved by scientific investigation of the facts; they are not resolved by the facile conclusion that the forms that are best for one people are therefore best for all.

But to return to a point made earlier in the argument. Those who maintain that the conduct of native peoples in the war situation allows the formation of moral judgments based on comparison with our own behaviour are not only granting them a degree of political development which they fail to recognise in other cultural aspects, but at the same time they are overlooking the fact that the system to which they expect the people to be loyal was not of their choosing or making. In other words they are expecting them to support a form of control which was forced on them in the first place and which has been maintained by force in the succeeding years. Here again, even if we grant the broad humanitarian principles laid down by our administrators, it remains a fact that the people we govern are subject to us; they are not free agents to the extent that the average Australian is free. An obvious retort is that the average Australian is not free to do as he likes the whole of the time, but it is equally true that those who control his behaviour are his own kind and colour, that the prohibitions and restrictions hedging him in are part of his own culture, formulated and subscribed to by the majority of his fellows if not by him. But where a native population is concerned the circumstances are entirely different.

Coercive forces are more apparent to subject peoples than abstract principles. Such force derives from a preponderance of material resources and possessions, and it is the unequal distributionof these, their concentration in the hands of the controlling power, which illustrates the essential difference between the governors, and the governed. To the extent that there is equality of opportunity in obtaining and utilising these possessions the degree of subjectivity diminishes, but where there is no equality there can be no freedom of choice as we understand it; those without possessions remain the

subjects of those who have them, and any but the most illogical of us must grant that they are likely to regard themselves as such.

At this stage I do not intend to examine those aspects of Australian administration which either irritated or were resented by the Ngarawapum, I am merely concerned with pointing out that in their own eyes they were subject to that administration, that it was something imposed on them, backed up with force and which they had to accept or suffer the consequences. 'You have guns,' men said to me. 'We have nothing. We do as the white man says. What else could we do?' Nor is this an isolated instance, but rather a specific statement of a general attitude. Wherever the mechanism of administration is concerned it is not the principles behind it that secure respect and acquiescence, but the force and power of those who represent it. The propensities to punish are more apparent than benignity or interest. Furthermore, such propensities are presumed to be present in every white man because he is white and to speak of freedom of choice is patently absurd.

Morally, therefore, we cannot apply the terms loyal or disloyal to the Ngarawapum, these terms implying a set of basic assumptions which do not fit their situation. Politically, however, it may be expedient to judge them in these categories and the manner in which they did react remains to be seen.

THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF THE JAPANESE FORCES:

To state that the Ngarawapum remained completely passive throughout the period of occupation is not entirely true. Later events engendered an active mental attitude at least, but remembering the superior coercive forces of the Japanese it is hardly reasonable to expect a corresponding physical reaction. For the same reason there is no denying the fact that when it was demanded of them help was given. The same transportation problems that faced our own forces

faced the Japanese. They needed carriers to take their supplies along their lines of communication and native populations were a readily accessible source of labour. But if the Ngarawapum are to be censured for giving this assistance we are overlooking the fact that the physical aspects of the situation were exactly similar to those in which our own demands were made. In both of them we can postulate that comfort, not to say survival has a more immediate application than future contingencies and the possible outcome of a struggle whose causes and ultimate results are not understood. Moreover, the Ngarawapum are able to speak for themselves. 'You have guns, you have aeroplanes and bombs,' they say. ' The Japanese have all these things as well. It is only we who have nothing. Is it for us to fight guns with spears? If we are told to work, we work. What else is there for us to do? We are not many, nor are we strong as you are.'

Passive reaction, therefore, does not exclude assistance of this nature rendered under duress, nor is there any attempt to prejudge the people because this help was given. At the same time, if this was all that could be said there would be no grounds for reaching a definite conclusion either one way or the other. But further evidence is available in the fact that no help was granted voluntarily to the Japanese.

In this respect, the people differed to sections of the population in other Markham villages. At Tagerak, Ofofragen and Marawassa there were men who co-operated willingly with the invaders, some of them representing the Japanese in village affairs, others accepting enrollment in their native police. The verbal evidence of the Ngarawapum reveals that from time to time they were visited by the latter and efforts were made to persuade some of the younger men to accept a similar position. These efforts failed, but their failure must be accepted as a statement of fact and nothing else, least of all as a general condemnation of those who gave this type of support. Morally, we ourselves cannot condemn them

though politically it may be expedient to note them.

The Ngarawapum, however, were not concerned to do either. To them it was a matter of personal preference only, nothing else was involved. In general, whatever happens in villages outside one's own district boundaries is of no concern. It may evoke comment and it may be discussed, particularly if it evidences a general application, but there is no occasion to take sides about it or espouse it as a cause. European administration has been responsible for an extension of solidarity throughout the valley, but at present it is a surface solidarity only, founded on a common submission to a common form of control. As the representatives of this administration display propensities which might be expected to have general repercussions, so the events which call forth this particular behaviour in other villages are matters of general interest and sympathy may even be expressed for the transgressors. But for the most part, provided the lessons are learned and a similar situation does not arise within their own boundaries, there is more likely to be a certain amount of laughter and even triumph at the discomforture of others, their own security evidencing their superiority over these outsiders. The heritage of the past when warfare divided the valley from end to end, survives in these minor rivalries, jealousies and suspicions. If they are not enemies in the old sense of the term, the Sagerak to the Ngarawapum remain another people and if it is possible it is justifiable to score a point or two at their expense.

Consequently, if some of the people of Sagerak supported the Japanese it was not incumbent on the Ngarawapum to do other than acknowledge the fact. The morality of their action was not the question. At a later date, on separate occasions, two men said to me that they had refused to assist the Japanese because it was not their food that had made them strong. 'When we were small,' they said, 'we went to work for the English. It was they who fed us meat; we grew up on their food.' But while their statements are of interest in light of the belief that the child supports its parents because of the

food and care they gave it, they cannot be taken as evidence of any general attitude, nor were they followed by condemnation of those who obviously had not thought the same.

It is possible, however, to place another interpretation on the Ngarawapum attitude to Japanese supporters. Recognising the elements of hostility which exist, it might be said that if they were certain in their own minds that the departure of the Europeans was a temporary situation, they would be sure to do nothing which would incur the anger of their former masters when they returned, and conversely they would do little to dissuade the people of other places who gave their support and opened the way to retribution. But such an interpretation is possible only if the punishment they received was recognised as just. This was not the case. When Sagerak was recaptured one of the Japanese supporters suffered severe and sadistic indignities at the hands of an Australian officer, but far from expressing triumph or recognising the treatment as justifiable, the Ngarawapum were shocked and considered it reprehensible in those who perpetrated it. To them, there was no occasion to condemn or condone the man's activity in the first place. There was therefore no cause to be other than grieved and even afraid at its consequences.

The element of fear instilled in their minds some months before may have conditioned their original attitude to a large extent. Obviously, the Japanese were unknown quantities, and it is doubtful if even their supporters offered their help at first acquaintance. But fear may be dispelled as easily as aroused, and though its persistence may be sufficient to maintain a people in their passive attitude, unless it is backed up by evidence of a more concrete kind it will not generate aversion and even hate.

But the Ngarawapum displayed this identical change of mind. Physically, they remained passive throughout the period, but mentally - as far as their own affairs were concerned - their outlook altered to active dislike. And again the reason is not to be found in any inherent loyalty for the Europeans but in the

actions and behaviour of the Japanese.

Naturally enough the invaders were judged as their occupation affected the ordinary life of the village. In this respect their demands for labour were not sufficient to bring a conclusion one way or the other. Men were not taken away for long periods at a time. The labour they requested was entirely casual, up and down the central route along the valley, and economic life cannot be said to have suffered from this cause as it did in the following years. To the best of my knowledge they introduced no new administrative machinery. Unless they had a request to make, the villages were left alone. They displayed no efforts to supervise or control. But their general attitude and above all their treatment of native food supplies outweighed this apparent indifference.

Throughout the period, constant demands were made for food of all kinds. At first, foraging parties would arrive in the villages and ask for pigs. Payment was offered in invasion currency and it was explained that stores would be erected at Lae where they could buy the goods they had been accustomed to obtaining from the Europeans. The stores failed to materialise, and after a time even this token payment ceased. Permission was not requested where garden produce was concerned. Bananas were simply hacked from the palms in the plantations bordering the roads; coconuts were shot to the ground. But by far the greatest demand was for pigs. Sometimes the armed native police presented the request, sometimes the Japanese themselves. Any show of reluctance to part with an animal was met by threats. On some occasions when sufficient warning had been received, the pigs were hurriedly chased from the village before the party approached. There was even open defiance, some men maintaining they had nothing to give and telling the police to look for themselves. But in the majority of cases these simple ruses failed. If assistance was refused, the foraging party went out and shot what they could find.

This does not mean that native gardens and food supplies were systematically denuded and destroyed. Of all the Japanese requests only the commandeering of pigs can be said to have created certain hardship. Pigs entail considerable care and attention.

Their value as the principal source of meat is highly significant. They cannot be eaten on all occasions and some of the major ceremonial events cannot be performed without them. With this in mind it is not surprising that of all their actions these constants demands created the most resentment. When men look back at these events it is always this aspect of Japanese behaviour they recall. 'If the Australians had not come, where would our pigs be now?' they say. 'They would have eaten them all. There would have been nothing left to us.' One young man justified his somewhat sadistic treatment of a Japanese prisoner in similar terms. 'I thought of my pigs that they killed,' he said. 'Could I be sorry for him? No, my belly was hot within me. There was nothing left.' On another occasion their conduct was contrasted with the European custom. 'The English would ask us if we had a pig. If we gave them one they paid us for it; if we said we had nothing to give they went away. They knew that a pig was not of small account. But the Japanese are another kind; they kill without asking.'

Even so, it is not suggested that the Kgarawapum suffered to the same extent as other people. Reports indicate that in areas occupied for a greater length of time the total stock of village pigs may have been killed and eaten. At all events the replenishing of native meat supplies remains one of the major problems of rehabilitation. Allowing a normal tendency to regard the past in a brighter light, it is an observable fact that throughout my stay the shortage of pigs meant a restricted social life. Ceremonies were sometimes cancelled or cut short because there was no meat to go with them; two of the five villages had not initiated a dance festival since the Japanese arrived in the area, and whenever men were gathered together their conversation turned inevitably to this aspect of their lives. Apologies and excuses were made for the meagre scale of their festivities; numerical comparisons were offered with similar events of former times and obvious impatience was expressed for the day when the natural increase of their herds would allow the resumption of social gatherings on a comparable scale.

But if the direct effect of the Japanese occupation on native food supplies is sufficient to account for their hostility,

the aversion they felt for them as human beings is attributable to slightly different though allied causes. To understand the nature of this dislike, it is necessary to examine the psychology and sociology of food.

As the months went by I became increasingly impressed by the fact that apart from normal pride in their own community, a pride based on prowess in battle and reflecting their enmity for other areas, the Ngarawapum feel they are superior to others by reason of their food resources. While surrounding villages subsist mainly on bananas and sweet potatoes, they cultivate yams and taro in addition. This, they assert, reveals their greater industry and wealth. Other places do not possess a comparable knowledge, and consequently it is permissible to speak of them with scorn. During a harvest ceremony at Tofmora, one man explained this to me in the following terms - 'These other places are not like ours,' he said as we sat in the garden looking over the valley. 'All the good food resides here. Ngarawapum is great in their sight; we are the first among the kunai people. Before, our fathers told us this. With their stone axes they cut the bush and cleared the hillsides. They planted the good food as far as the eye can see. They were great in industry, their knowledge immense. Other places were only children who knew but little; when they came to us they looked in silence. This we learned, and as it was then so it is now. There is no one to touch us where food is concerned.'

Similarly, within the villages the deepest scorn and social disapproval is reserved for the lazy and the indigent. This does not necessitate an acceptance of the materialistic view of society. Economic life is influenced by other cultural elements just as much as they are influenced by the economic system. It is impossible to point to one and say in effect that this is the root from which all others sprang, and if this seems to be implied it is due to the fact that where interaction is extensive it is impossible to signalise one aspect without neglecting others; it is not due to a fictitious and one sided development. At the same time to disregard the material side of Ngarawapum life would be neglecting a major cultural feature. Food and the activities

associated with food are a philosophy in themselves. Knowledge is measured by garden prowess; superiority by the possession of abundant food resources. In the normal course of events the economic obligations of kin are more apparent than others. Mention has been made already of the belief that lies behind a child's affection; the ceremonies at death emphasise the role of the male as provider. In the eyes of his fellows the highest prestige is reserved for the man who cultivates extensive gardens; of all qualities, generosity is that most socially desirable. Conversely, to be without food is to invite the scorn of others. In a fellow villager it is evidence of a lazy and anti-social attitude; in an outside community it shows an inferiority which deserves contempt.

Consequently, when the Japanese were compelled to depend on native food it showed them to be impecunious. Inevitably, their resources were contrasted with those of the Europeans and the comparison could only be unfavourable. At a later date this difference became even more apparent and retrospective assessments of the opposing forces take note of their comparative strength in material possessions. But even at the stage when this was impossible, Japanese conduct prevented respect. Armed superiority belonged to them. It sufficed to control the people and keep them attentive to their needs. But watching them and assessing them among themselves, the Ngarawapum concluded they were not only indigent but liars into the bargain. 'In their own place,' men told me, 'they said they had plenty of everything. If they had all this their relatives would have sent it to them. But nothing came.'

Again, the Japanese ate foods which were beneath the notice of the Ngarawapum. Leaves, grasses and even the bark of certain trees went into their cooking pots and those who watched them arrived at the opinion that 'they were not like men.' Even apart from the substance of their diet, their manner of eating it produced the same conclusion. Green vegetables which are eaten only when cooked were pulled from their bushes and taken raw. Pigs were killed and cut immediately, the pieces of flesh thrown on open fires, turned once or twice and consumed. 'A large pig,

enough for many men, was eaten by five of them,' men told me. 'What kind of men are these? we asked ourselves. They are dogs in the way they eat and the things they eat. They are not men like you and I. They are dogs who own nothing.' Similar conclusions arose from observation of their personal habits. Though they display the normal native frankness where the bodily functions are concerned, the Ngarawapum insist that some actions should be performed in private. The Japanese, however were not concerned to leave the village to urinate or defecate. Even allowing a slight exaggeration, the distaste with which they recall these habits indicates the impression they made on the people. 'If they wanted to defecate they moved a short way from their food, nothing else. They sat down even as you and I sit down, no further away. When they finished they ate again. Theirs was the manner of dogs, not men.'

Consequently, when the liberating forces arrived at Kaiapit a combination of different factors made their advent welcome. From an original tolerance, the Ngarawapum attitude had changed to one of aversion and resentment, but once again it is worth repeating that this was due to personal experience and not to any sense of loyalty for the Europeans or their system. Had the Japanese set out to win the natives as a matter of policy there is no evidence to suggest that their efforts would been unsuccessful. In point of fact, one characteristic noted in their favour was the equality of treatment given their supporters. The Ngarawapum had ample opportunity to observe them in the company of these people and even now they recall how they sat and ate together. Men remember that 'they sat down and ate the same rice. They shared with them and talked to them. They were not like the English who sent us away.' But their personal habits and their demands for food outweighed this apparently favourable aspect. Of the two, the latter exerted the major influence in arousing resentment. The return of the Europeans was welcomed because it was felt that now their supply of pigs would be secured to them, but a wider view must recognise the fact that self-interest apart they were not sorry to see the last of them.

THE POLITICAL EFFECTS OF LIBERATION:

But whatever it may seem to indicate superficially, the advent of the Australian forces did not mean a simple return to the status quo. If the economic aspects alone are taken into consideration such a view will be found to be untenable, for while the seeds of economic disruption were sown in the occupation period the extensive and prolonged demands for labour in the months that followed increased and aggravated these difficulties. This side of life under the re-constituted European authority needs a chapter to itself, but placing it aside for the time being, political effects of a comparable importance can be seen to have arisen with it. Once again, these effects derive from the personal experience of the Ngarawapum. It was this type of experience which developed their aversion and resentment for the Japanese and similar contact with the activities and representatives of the liberating forces produced results which were equally positive though different in nature. Thus, before the period can be examined critically it is necessary to outline its active phases as they affected village life.

In the latter months of occupation the people began to leave the villages, separate family groups erecting dwellings in the hills. Japanese aggressiveness seems to have increased in this period, due, no doubt, to their knowledge of impending events. For that matter it is not improbable that the natives had some idea that a change was about to take place, and remembering the tales of destruction that had been brought from Wau they were afraid that if they remained where they were they would be destroyed. Sufficient evidence remains in the form of shelters to reveal that they were not unaware of the power of bombs and the necessary precautions against them. In addition there seems to have been a growing fear of the Japanese themselves.

But it was not a feneral exodus at first, nor did it extend over a long period. According to my informants, women and children went to the bush before the men. Later, their husbands went with them, though in Yanuf at least there were some who refused to go and remained in the village all the time. Those who

fled made periodic excursions to their gardens, cutting what food they could find and taking it back to the hills. The expectation of military activity had compelled the Japanese to establish themselves in Tofmora and Gainaron. Supplies were short and even seed yams were eaten in the emergency.

But when the expected battles developed, they were not of long duration and no loss of life was suffered by the natives. Throughout the fighting they remained in the bush, subjected to fear but hardly hardship. European control was re-established in a matter of days, and once again the village officials were called to Kaiapit. On this occasion they were told that the Australians had beaten the Japanese who were strong no longer. They were ordered to collect their people from the hills and return to their villages on the plain. From now on there would be Europeans to look after them again. They would require their assistance and it must be given, but there was no need to be afraid or to hide any more.

The people returned willingly enough, but to a different situation than their lives before the war. In the first place it was not long before the young men were conscripted and taken away to work. In itself this was no new departure; the people were used to demands for their labour, and in the widest sense there was no observable difference in the resurrected forms of administration. But behind Tofmora an Australian camp had sprung up. There was a busy centre in Kaiapit village and parties of soldiers moved continually along the roads. For the first time in the lives of many of the Ngarawapum they were living in close proximity to large numbers of Europeans. All the activity concerned with supplying an army went on under their eyes. Vehicles and 'planes arrived with food and stores in an apparently inexhaustable quantity and those who received it were prodigal in disposing of it. Previously, the Ngarawapum had not conceived that a people could own such abundant possessions; moreover, the men in green clothes to whom they belonged appeared to be an entirely different kind to the Europeans they had known before the war.

ENGLISH AND AUSTRALIAN:

The Ngarawapum's insistence on this distinction, and the manner in which the difference is revealed to them, is one of the notable results of the whole war period. At the same time it need not be thought that other peoples have arrived at similar conclusions. It must be borne in mind that in this instance we are dealing with an inland group of villages whose contact with Europeans has been less intense than that of coastal areas. When the term sophisticated is applied to native peoples it may be taken as a form of abuse or disapproval; but disregarding such attempts to force a judgement and implying nothing more than relative knowledge of the white man and his habits, it can be said that the Ngarawapum are less sophisticated than the coastal natives. Therefore, even if external circumstances are similar, the reactions of the two may be entirely different. Theoretically it may be possible to speak of the natives of New Guinea as a general concept, but in practice these generalisations will not be found to apply. Certainly the background to the information in this section is found to be similar over wide areas, but I have yet to hear of a place where the reaction has been the same.

In the light of their experience during the liberation period, the Ngarawapum concluded that there were two distinct kinds of Europeans, English and Australian. Because of the theoretical considerations involved I hesitate to use the word race in this context. But in our own everyday manner of speaking we recognise broad temperamental and cultural differences between the various national groups of the 'British race'. With a similar heritage and historical background it is still permissible to speak of a New Zealander as distinct from an Australian and the differences implied are similar to those which the Ngarawapum recognise when they contrast the pre-war Europeans with the members of the armed forces, terming the first group English and the second Australian.

Analysis of the two categories reveals there is nothing illogical in the application of the two terms. Even before the war the word 'Inggilis', meaning English or British, had come to be recognised as part of the New Guinea lingua franca. For

ordinary purposes the European was 'masta' to his native employees. Descriptively and collectively he was classified as a 'wetman'. But within these categories there were recognised differences; some of the 'wetman' were known to be 'Sierman', or Germen, others, the vast majority of them, English. Consequently the appearance of a new type of European did not necessitate a mental readjustment. These men who arrived on the scene in the wake of the Japanese called themselves Australians; obviously they were a different kind of European to the English. The circumstances surrounding their arrival and even their outward appearance substantiated the difference. All the English had left some months before they arrived and in numerical strength alone they outnumbered the pre-war rulers. In addition, they all were the same type of clothing.

On several occasions I have been told that even if such a logical basis is granted, the Ngarawapum must have been aware that the men they termed Australian were identical with the English. It is suggested that in the normal course of events they must have learned the two people inhabited the same country. Knowing that from time to time in the pre-war years their employers visited Sydney and Australia, and hearing that these men also derived from there, it must have been obvious that in reality they were one and the same people. But while this argument attributes a geographical knowledge to the natives which they do not possess, at the same time it overlooks an elementary fact of even more importance. In their own valley, only one day's walk from them, there are people who have an entirely different language and culture. These people are the same in colour and physical appearance, but no one would quarrel with the Ngarawapum for regarding them as different. Similarly, neighbours who reside a few miles outside their own district boundaries, who speak the same language and follow the same customs, remain another people for all that. In the light of their own experience there is nothing illogical in reaching the conclusion that the Europeans differed.

In later months these categories were even extended to include two further groups with whom they came in contact. While there were no American forces stationed near the villages, at the same time the people knew of their existence and those who had work-

worked with the army and returned brought back additional information. From these sources they were able to designate a third group of Europeans known as 'Amrika'. Negro members of the American army were known as 'Afrika' and in this latter instance the term applied suggests an obvious derivation. Enquiring who these people were and where they came from it is probable they were told their original home had been in Africa though nowthey lived with the Americans. A similar logical reason lies behind the less frequent use of the term 'bilak Amrika'.

But while this extension illustrates the logical processes behind their formation, it is only the first two categories with which we need concern ourselves. If the Ngarawapum did nothing more than make a simple classification on this basis there would be no need to examine the matter further. But it has been stated that behind the use of the terms English and Australian there lies a recognition of difference. In other words the two groups of Europeans are classified for a purpose. When one term is used or applied it denotes certain characteristics and behaviour attitudes which are presumed to belong to the designated group and which afford a simple contrast with the other. Broadly speaking, this essential difference lies in their respective treatment and attitude towards the natives.

From other parts of Melanesia investigators have reported a total lack of any sense of colour discrimination among the natives. We are told that one may even call the other a 'black bastard' without realising the derogatory implications in the phrase.[I.] But whatever the conditions in these areas, the same cannot be said for the Ngarawapum. At the beginning of this section I stated that the results of the liberation period derived from the personal experience of the natives, and rightly or wrongly - the point does not concern us at present - this experience has given rise to the belief that the Australians

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I. H.I. Hogbin in 'Experiments in Civilisation' records an instance of this in Malaita, British Solomon Islands.

are better disposed towards them than the English, that the new arrivals are more concerned for their welfare and their progress than their pre-war masters.

Taking the widest view of the whole question there is a reasonable basis for this assumption. The ordinary Australian soldier fighting his way through New Guinea was little concerned with the fictitious problems of white prestige which troubled so many of the civil population. The natives may have been curiosities, but at the same time they were human curiosities and the soldiers' normal informality gave rise to contacts and even friendships which would not have been countenanced or considered by the European with a pre-war background. The nature of military duties alone was sufficient to produce this inter-mixing. Thus one young man of my acquaintance recounted his experiences during the fighting at Wau. He described how during an air raid he ran to a slit trench for shelter only to find it occupied by Australian soldiers. 'But they did not turn me out,' he said. 'If it had been the English they would not have let me stay with them. But the Australians are different.' On another occasion I was told that at night while the native carriers slept the Australians posted sentries to watch over them and guard them. 'They English would not have cared,' it was aid, 'but the Australians were sorry for us. They told us to sleep while they looked after us.' A similar contrast was seen in the sharing of food and gifts of cigarettes. To be asked to sit down with a white man and eat with him - even if the meal was only a tin of bully beef beside the road - denoted a recognition of equality entirely foreign to their pre-war experience.

From these and similar instances, the Ngarawapum concluded that the pre-war Europeans, the English, had been concerned to supress them and build up barriers between them. The contrast in conduct was obvious. Sitting in his garden one day, one of my friends explained it to me. We had been discussing other topics and therefore I was somewhat surprised when he turned to this subject. With later experience, however,

I learned that the matter was one of continual comment and discussion. 'The English,' he said, 'would not let us go near them. They said we were dogs, not men. They said our skins smelled. If we chewed betel when we spoke to them they were angry with us. 'Throw it away!' they said. 'Do you think you can come near master eating that? Get out of our way, you smell! ' It is true that our skins are black and yours are white. But underneath we are the same. We are not dogs; we are men the same as the English. The Australians know we are men. They do not send us away. They will sit down with us and talk to us. The English were angry all the time. If we were homesick and ran away from work they brought us back and put us in prison. Some of them beat us and fought us. But now we see the way the Australians treat us, and now we say that true men have come among us. We know that the English only wanted us to work for them. They did not want to teach us. If they had wanted to, we could have learned. But that was not their way. All they wanted from us was work. Now we don't want them back. We want the Australians to stay and teach us'.

With this knowledge in my possession I was interested to see the manner in which the classification worked in practice. Three opportunities were given me when different patrol officers visited the villages.

On any occasion of this nature it is not an exaggeration to say that the village is in a state of suspense as it awaits the arrival of the government representative. Days before he arrives it is known he is in the area, and as new carries quickly many of his activities have been debated and discussed already. On the basis of reported happenings in other villages, the people are able to prepare themselves to some extent. Broadly speaking, they know what type of treatment to expect.

During my stay the main subject for speculation was whether the expected visitor was English or Australian. On the basis of these classifications they could expect a far more

sympathetic treatment from the latter. Reported incidents in neighbouring villages were taken into consideration and assisted the formation of tentative conclusions. On each occasion I was asked whether I knew the men and whether they were English or Australian. Fortunately I was able to say that I did not know them, and could not tell to which type they belonged. But even without my assistance their conduct was sufficient. On two of the occasions when the officers had left the Ngaruwapum informed me they were English; the third visitor was classified Australian.

Though it would be useless to deny that physical violence sometimes occurs on these occasions, this was not the case in the instances reported here. An overbearing and unsympathetic attitude is sufficient to point the difference and permit a classification, and during the visit of the second officer I was surprised to find that an apparently trifling aspect of his behaviour had been responsible for placing him in the first category.

When the census is being taken the patrol officer sits at a table in a central position surrounded by his native police and the village officials. The people line up at one side and as their names are called they step out in family groups to have them checked against the book. In this instance the patrol officer caused a long sapling to be placed on the ground some twelve feet in front of where he sat. As he called the name of its most senior representative each family stepped out and lined behind the sapling. The procedure did not seem irregular to me, but when the day's activities had concluded and I heard the gossip in the village I learned it had created a profound impression. 'It is the way of the English of other times,' people were saying. 'They said we could not come near them; they said we smelled. This is their manner.'

Obviously, a distinction of this nature is more likely to be felt in situations where powers of control of correction are exercised. After all it is human nature to resent

authority, particularly when that authority is alien. Therefore it is not suggested that the fault is always on the side of the administrative official. His job is not an enviable one and his own government does little to alleviate the conditions under which he lives. The work of many of these men deserve the highest admiration, but at the same time I would be laying myself open to the charge of prejudice if I failed to note that a comparable number are not so blameless. Their position is one of power, with opportunities for doing good or evil.

Personality and training are highly important, for when the nearest supervising authority is sometimes a hundred miles away the wrong type of person may abuse his office with unfortunate results to the relationship of the two cultures. Patience and tact are needed as much as anything else. My own experience convinces me that the misunderstandings are often the fault of both sides. Nervous and uncertain of themselves when the patrol officer visits them, the people make mistakes or are slow to do as they are told. He becomes impatient with them, thinking their hesitation is a sign of recalcitrance. His anger increases their fears and as the situation deteriorates voices are raised and blows are struck. Both parties end up with a false impression, the natives feeling the white man is naturally antagonistic, the patrol officer thinking the natives are wooden-headed and unmanable.

Because administrative official display these correct- powers to a greater extent than any one else, the majority of the members of Angau (Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit) were classified as English. A great many of these people had been either planters or New Guinea officials before the war and in the normal course of events it was likely that some native in the labour line would either know them or have information of them. Taken in conjunction with the duties of the unit, this information supported the native contention. 'Angau are English,' it was said to me. 'It is they who beat us when we carry for the soldiers. The soldiers see them and laugh

at them. They know the ways of the English and are sorry for us.'[I.] In this respect, the confiscation of European clothing before a labourer returned to his village was regarded as another instance of racial discrimination on the part of the authorities. In one way and another the native collected a fair amount of discarded European clothing and materials during his term with the army, but before he was allowed to return to his village his possessions were searched and items like trousers and shirts were taken away and burned. The explicit reason behind this action was to prevent the spread of disease and to protect the native's health, but in the absence of any explanation to this effect the native himself imputed an entirely different motive to it. 'The English say we are not like them and therefore cannot wear their clothes. 'You're not the same as master', they say. 'Do you think that trousers and shirts are for you? Take them away and burn them'. You see,' the explanations continued, 'the English don't want us to be like them. We are not the same, they say. We cannot have what they have.'

More than anything else, the material possessions of the white man illustrate the inferiority of the native. These form the insurmountable obstacle between the two races. With a certain amount of logic on his side the native feels that if he possessed these things he would be the same as the European. Their authority over him is based on these possessions. They are the external symbols of his power and knowledge and brought face to face with them the native is aware of his weakness. Essentially this is the basis of his comparison. 'We have not got these things,' old men would say to me sadly. 'We have nothing. Day after day we work in the gardens. It is the same until we die. Our fathers did not make the things you have so how could they teach us? No, my friend, without these things there is nothing we can do. Such is the knowledge of the white man and what are we before it?'

I. The term Angau is used by the natives though they have not got any idea of the function of the unit as a whole. When it is used the Native Labour section alone is meant and not the District Services or other administrative sections.

Younger men are not prepared to accept the situation in this philosophical way. They are anxious to learn and to possess these things for themselves, and this is one of the reasons why they prefer the Australians to the English.. While the material possessions of the latter group seemed to be immense the vast accumulation of goods which arrived with the former surpassed them by far. Comparisons are said to be invidious and in this case they proved to be as far as the pre-war Europeans were concerned. Men who visited Law brought back tales and descriptions of the military base which put to shame the achievements of the civilian township. With their own eyes the villagers had seen the stores which accompanied the army; they had witnessed the might of aeroplanes and guns. Adding them up it is not surprising that the prestige of the English fell; superiority of that nature must suffer when another comparison is offered. Consequently, the Ngaraanapum began to look towards their own new order.

If/political results of the whole war period are collated and summed it will be seen that they have been of far reaching importance. In the first place the natives saw their European rulers disposed by another race. Personal experience of these conquerors made them desire and welcome the return of their former masters. But liberation brought its own results, for the Europeans who came amongst them now were felt to be different to those they had known before, and once again their own experience caused them to prefer the new arrivals. They know the war must end some day in the future and while I was present among them a chief course of speculation and enquiry was who would govern them then, Australian of English. There was not the slightest doubt what they desired themselves. Rightly or wrongly they felt that under the guidance and control of the former they would be allowed to develop to a position of equality,that under the latter they would be repressed and spurned.

(2) ASPECTS OF ADMINISTRATION

If their experience during the war years has led the Ngarawapum to conclude that a future controlled by a new group of Europeans would be preferable to their past, there is reason to suspect they were dissatisfied with some aspects of the former administration. At this stage it is not necessary to discover whether such dissatisfaction is justifiable from the European point of view. We may admit that the administration was actuated by the purest of humanitarian motives, but, at the same time, we must recognise the fact that they might have been misunderstood by the people. Similarly, it is not suggested that the natives themselves are free of blame. It must be remembered that whatever form administration takes it is alien to the culture on which it is imposed; the fact that it is backed and maintained by force measures the extent of its imposition. If this is so, then it is only human nature to feel disgruntled in situations where control is exercised, and if an opportunity appears which seems to offer a freer and less restricted mode of life, self-interest will direct the people's hopes towards it. This self-interest may run counter to the real welfare of the people, but considering the situation as a whole, the direction in which their welfare lies may not be apparent to them. Governments themselves cannot afford to be blind to this fact. Administrative policies may be decided upon in the atmosphere of the conference room, but eventually they must be applied to human material. To a large

extent their success or failure will depend on the reaction to them in the field, and consequently it behoves the administrator to study the manner in which they are received.

In the present section I propose to examine three major aspects of administration as I was able to observe them in Ngarawapum. At the same time I do not suggest that when I have concluded I will have said all that can be said. In the first place, policy is not based on one point of view only. Where I am able to criticise or condemn someone else may be able to offer praise or justification. But these divergent opinions do not invalidate the aim or ultimate use of the enquiry. In the long run, it is these dissimilar points of view which the administrator needs to have before him. It is he who must decide on policy and his decision must be taken with a full awareness of all the facts. It is hardly conceivable that he will be able to please everyone equally, but his aim is not to please but to govern, and for this reason he must be cognisscent of the situation with which he has to deal.

But before beginning the enquiry it is necessary to look at the situation itself and to examine the methodology used. Where the problem concerns the inter-action of a primitive culture and a complex European culture three points of view are possible, each of them capable of leading to conclusions. In the first place we may decide to approach it from the standpoint of the native culture. If we take this point of view the contact situation may well reveal itself as one where a comparatively stationary and primitive culture is being disrupted by the forceful aims of a progressive and highly complex culture. But a slightly different picture will be given if we take the second standpoint. Looking at the problem with the European's eyes it may seem that the backward

native culture is resisting the progressive intentions of the higher and more complex. Being one-sided, both these points of departure will lead to different conclusions. If we take the first we may well decide that there can be no solution as long as the Europeans insist on imposing their administration on the natives. Taking the second, we may conclude that no progress will be possible until we have destroyed the native culture and broken its power to resist.

Both these conclusions offer little help either one way or the other, but the problem is not as hopeless as it seems. There is a third method of approach which disregards the excesses of the other points of view and yet is cognisent of both.

If we approach from this angle the situation appears as one in which the two cultures are interacting, where the resultant phenomena belong neither to the one nor the other, but being compounded of each are different to either. This point of view denies specifically that the contact situation can be studied as ' an integrated whole.' Methods of study which take this assertion as a starting point may not be guilty of the one-sided excesses already mentioned, but they lay themselves open to the charge of over-simplification. The real situation is far from being an integrated whole to be studied by such a facile application of functional methods. The essential feature is the inter-action of one culture with another. Consequently, the aims and nature of the contact agents must be studied as well as the nature of native institutions. The resultant derived from the inter-action of these is different to either as the whole is greater than the part. This result is open to empirical observation and through the medium of such observation assessments can be made.

This approach is in essential harmony with Malinowski's view that culture contact must be considered as a dynamic process, but at the same time I am not prepared to accept his rejection of the value of the role of historical analysis. While I do not suggest that the reconstruction of a 'zero point of culture change' is essential to every approach to the problem, I do maintain that an historical reconstruction of the past of native institutions may assist in assessing and understanding the present situation. But where the Ngarawapum are concerned this type of reconstruction is unnecessary. It is true that certain aspects of their culture have decayed or disappeared entirely and, though the functionalists assert that all cultural features are equally important - that you cannot change one without affecting others - I incline to the view that some may disappear without throwing society out of equilibrium. This belief does not involve a rejection of the functionalist approach, nor does it invalidate the theory. It may well be that these cultural features are able to disappear without apparent ill effects because they are not founded on the basic needs of the human organism.

I do not consider that Ngarawapum society is any the less a whole or any the less coherent because initiation ceremonies no longer take place. The cessation of warfare has meant a slight alteration in emphasis where the qualities of leadership are concerned, but the institution itself remains and fulfills its essential function.

This latter statement points to the reason why historical analysis is not necessary in this case. Contact has not been sufficiently long or concentrated to produce any violent disruption or change. The past can be observed

directly in the present and consequently the situation is one of pure inter-action, the agents of change performing their role in a cohesive cultural matrix.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND LEADERSHIP

Throughout the Mandated Territory of New Guinea the government appoints three types of native officials to deal with village affairs, the luluai, the tul-tul and medical tul-tul. Each of these officials is given a symbol of his office which he wears on occasions when the government's European representative is present. The luluai's uniform consists of a dark blue cap with a single wide red band above the peak. Both the tul-tul and medical tul-tul wear similar caps, that of the former having two narrow red bands while the latter's has a single band of white with a red St. Andrew's cross at the front.

Different functions are prescribed for each of these officials. In a wide sense the luluai may be likened to a village headman. It is his province to see that the commands of the European officer are carried out. He is responsible for his village. If labour is desired for the government station or if the roads have to be cleared, the luluai sees it is provided and done. When the officer visits the village he sees that all the people are present; the village book, containing the census information, is in his keeping. Should some of his people wish to approach the officer on a judicial matter he takes them before him. He explains the circumstances and remains at hand in case he needs his assistance on a point of customary procedure. In other words, the luluai's function is broadly executive. He has no legislative or judicial powers in his own person.

He stands between the European official and his own people, representing each to the other.

The chief function of the tul-tul is to act as interpreter. It often happens that the lulual is an old man with no knowledge of pidjin English, and in such cases, the tul-tul acts as intermediary between him and the European official. For this reason a young man is generally chosen for the position, one who has had an extensive acquaintence with the white man and his ways; sometimes he is a former member of the native police. He is present on all official occasions and at other times acts as a messenger, journeying to the government station when he is called, hearing what the patrol officer has to say, and carrying his demands to the village. In judicial cases he interprets for those litigants who are unable to state their case for themselves. He may be termed the lulual's assistant, and, like him, he has no legislative or judicial powers.

As the name implies, the medical tul-tul is the village doctor. Generally he has received only a rudimentary training in elementary hygiene and first aid. He is given a small stock of medicines and bandages which he keeps in the village. Theoretically he is able to replenish his supply by going to the government station and asking for more. In cases of serious illness or injury, it is incumbent on him to take the patient to the nearest hospital, normally the government station, where qualified native medical orderlies are in attendance. He is presumed to supervise the general hygiene of the village, paying particular attention to latrines and scrap pits and reporting any outbreak of epidemic disease such as dysentry. Failure to report the latter is considered a serious offence.

These three paragraphs summarise the chief functions of government appointed officials. It is clear that

they do not represent an application of the principles of indirect rule to native administration. In their own persons they possess none of the powers given to native authorities in other parts of the world. Theoretically they may be regarded as intermediaries, representing their people to the European official on the one hand and seeing that his demands are executed on the other. But in practise their position is often entirely different.

THE LULUAI IN NGARAWAPUM:

During my stay two new officials were appointed in the Ngarawapum villages, one in Gutsuwap and one in Yamuf. Both the men were personal friends of mine and I was present on each occasion when a feast was held to mark their elevation to office. The two celebrations followed exactly similar lines and as they are of major importance in revealing the attitude of the people to the offices concerned, I shall confine myself to describing the events which took place on the day that Buba of Gutsuwap received his luluai's cap.

For some time before this Buba's nomination for the position had been placed with a visiting patrol officer. Previously, Gutsuwap had had only a tul-tul, Buba's elder brother Wansa, and before the new appointment could be made, the permission of the District Officer at Lae had to be obtained. Eventually this was granted and Buba was ordered to fetch his cap from the station at Kainpit. Two days later he announced his intention of holding a feast. This was customary, he told me, whenever a new official was appointed.

Until the afternoon the feast was similar to those described in earlier sections. Buba provided a pig and a considerable quantity of food from his own gardens, but, in

addition, each family group contributed bananas, taro, greens and a small quantity of yams. The bulk of the food was consumed in the morning, men and women sitting in separate groups though all the dishes were prepared on the one fire. By mid-day the people were resting and gossiping in the shade of the trees.

In the early afternoon officials and old men - the garam tzira - from the other villages arrived. Younger members of their households accompanied them, carrying a gift of food for Buba. The visitors sat down with the men and steaming dishes of food were placed before them. When they had eaten and rested, the main part of the ceremony began.

Buba's cap of office was placed on the ground in a central position between the groups of men and women. The luluai himself withdrew from the rest and sat alone, head lowered, his eyes on the ground in an attitude of shame. Then one by one the other officials and the garam tzira rose to their feet. They advanced to the central place between the groups and took up the luluai's cap. Holding it out before them, they addressed the company. At times they shouted in apparent anger. They gesticulated and threw the cap on the ground, pointing at it to emphasise their words. When one had finished another rose and took his place.

Towards the end of the day the subjects argued and discussed included many topics not germane to the occasion itself, but for the greater part of the time their remarks were directed at Buba and centred round his assumption of office. Summarised, they may be reported in the following terms. ' You have received the government's cap,' he was told. ' The government has made you a leader among

us. That is all right. We have nothing to say to that; that is the work of the government. But remember this. The garam tzira are with us yet; it is they who know what should be done and what should not be done; it is they who know the ways of our fathers and their fathers before them. True, you go and hear what the government has to say; you tell us what has to be done and we must hear you. If we don't then trouble is with us. That is your work. But make sure you never forget us. Make sure that the thought of the government does not enter your head and drive out our own way of thinking. This way of thinking, we teach you now, we, the garam tzira of your villages. Keep it with you for all time; do not forget it. If you think as the government thinks, no one will heed you or help you. If you are hard in the way you treat us, no one will weep or be sorry when you die. If you continually take us to court no one will sit or eat with you. If trouble arises, we can settle it. When the white man comes it is not your part to bring it before him. In that way we lose the men from our villages; because of that bad times come amongst us. Remember to keep the white man's anger away from us. You see what happens in other places. Be sure that because of you it does not happen here. This is your cap, given to you by the government. It shows that the government's thoughts are with you. When you speak we will hear what the government has to say, but remember our own ways, the ways we teach you now.'

Examined closely, this summary reveals itself as a complete denial of power to the luluai. He is told he is the representative of the government and nothing else. Through him the people hear what the white man has to say. He stands at their head when the white man visits them, but his authority goes no farther.

In itself this may not seem to occasion comment. Theoretically, the luluai possesses no powers in addition to these. But such a vehement denial suggests that in practice there is often something to deny. Statements of this nature are not made for the fun of standing up and abusing someone whom etiquette forbids to reply. Whenever the Ngarawapum indulge in these harangues the occasion and the subjects are of major importance in themselves. This being the case, it is necessary to discover to what extent the fears and admonishments expressed are founded on fact.

The truth of the matter is that though the luluai is not supposed to possess powers other than those which have been detailed, in point of fact he often assumes and exercises them. To some extent this is even fostered by administrative officers. The work of a patrol officer is easier if each village possesses a responsible official to whom he can delegate some degree of authority. Through this official he can save himself the irritating and laborious task of enquiring into and settling innumerable domestic squabbles. If he lets it be known that he does not want to hear these trifles, people will not appeal to him on all occasions. In effect, he tells them that they are quite capable of deciding these matters for themselves. They have lulualis and tul-tuls appointed for that purpose. The people themselves express this point of view. 'If a man kills another man's pig the white man does not want to hear about it,' they say. ' That is not a big trouble. If we take these matters to court all the time the head of the white man pains and he is cross with us. ' You have a luluai and tul-tul,' he says. 'Why do you bother me with trifles? Hear what your luluai has to say. The government has put him among you.'

This may seem to imply a lack of interest on the

part of European officials. Possibly there are some who adopt this attitude to save themselves the bother of hearing a case when it is brought before them. But,from my own experience, I know that it is often the result of a praiseworthy attempt to foster native responsibility in their own affairs. In this they have the full approval of the people. Not without justification the Ngarawapum maintain they are capable of deciding most matters for themselves, and they resent some officials who insist on looking for troubles when they visit the villages, raking up cases which have been decided already and trying them again, in accordance with European customs. At the same time, fostering native responsibility is not the same as giving governmental recognition and backing to a single individual. But this is what their attitude leads to in the long run.

In the first place, the luluai may be said to 'have the government's ear.' He is a government appointee and as such he receives a degree of preferential treatment. This need not be more than a show of respect or the giving of small gifts. These are sufficient to reveal to others that the white man has placed his confidence in him; he may be regarded as the white man's employee. Even without additional emphasis it is felt that his word carries weight with the government, that it is best to stand well in his eyes and not to antagonise him in any way. But when this initial attitude is backed up in the manner detailed above,his power exceeds enormously his original function. On his visits the patrol officer asks the luluai if there are any matters to bring before him. He may lie deliberately and deny that there is any trouble in the village. This may even bring him the gratitude of his people, but it also emphasises his influence. He is a man whose protection can be sought and whose displeasure is to be feared. When minor matters are dismissed with the explicit instructions to obey his ruling,

government backing is given his decisions. He becomes a government official in every sense of the term, and, if he abuses his position, people may be afraid or may think it useless to complain.

None of the Ngarawapum luluais were guilty of abusing their power to this extent, but all the conditions and opportunities for such abuse existed,and with other men occupying their positions, there is nothing to show that it would not have occurred. Influence with European officials identical with that described was granted to all of them. One of my friends at Gutsuwap had been carrying on an adulterous love affair with another man's wife, and when I expressed the hope that he would not be caught, he informed me that nothing could happen to him if he was. ' I have told Buba all about it,' he said. ' If somebody finds me and brings the matter to court Buba will say he has heard it already. There will be no trouble. The kiap will take his word.' On another occasion the Paramount Luluai of Orori accepted the sum of thirty shillings to speak in similar terms if a case which concerned a man of Tofmora came before the court. When Wansa, the brother of Buba, was tried for adultery, strenuous efforts were made by the same official to present a closed case at Kaiapit, in spite of the fact that everyone knew the matter had not been dealt with. At first his efforts succeeded and Wansa was discharged, but in the long run his fellow villagers laid additional evidence before the authorities at Lae. A second trial was ordered and this time he was found guilty and convicted.

If people believe that the luluai's influence can be secured for their own benefit, they must also believe that he can use it to harm them. Similarly, the luluai himself must be aware of his potential power. I had ample oppor-

tunity for verifying the latter statement. Officials themselves would say to me: ' The government has placed us as leaders here. When we talk to the government it must hear us. Our word is not to be turned aside. We have the thoughts of the government with us. When we talk the kiap hears us; what we have done he accepts. You have seen when we go to Kaiapit with you. The kiap gives us rice and meat and tobacco. Other men get nothing. It is given to us because the government knows us.'

But since I have stated that none of these men abused their position I may be accused of having discovered a mare's nest. I do not deny that the people as a whole are often grateful for their luluai's influence. If he is able to save them from an uncomfortable situation when a European officer visits them, he earns their gratitude. The Ngarawapum, in fact, compare their own officials with those of other places. Pointing to the number of convictions and the long line of transgressors from neighbouring areas they remark: ' You see, that is not our way. With us the kiap comes and goes quickly. Our luluai helps us. He says there is no trouble here. Because of that our village remains as it always is; our men are not taken to Lae. Other places are different. Their luluai's go to court all the time. Even small matters, it is all the same; they all come up. They have not learned to hide them and keep them there in the village.' But though this general approval is given, the opportunity for abuse remains; the illustrations chosen reveal what does occur and point to what might happen with other men in power. Criticism, however, does not rest on the possibility of abuse alone. Apart from this probable contingency the authority which the luluai possesses is foreign to native life and institutions.

In a previous section I stated that the leaders in

society are the elan elders, the garam tzira, men who by reason of warrior prowess and other desirable qualities are looked up to and respected by their descendants. Furthermore, there is no one man with authoritative powers over the village as a whole. In matters affecting different elans the decision rests with a council of garam tzira from each. The luluai, however, is granted authority over the whole populace and for this reason he is placed in a position of possible conflict with the living system of leadership. If he is also a garam tzira, the danger is minimised to some extent, but not all of the officials belong to this position, and in either case the essentially alien element remains. The way in which the garam tzira regard him is demonstrated in the summarised speeches on the day of Buba's feast. In their minds, and the minds of their fellow villagers, there is no doubt who are the real leaders. This could be said to be an effective check on the luluai. If he is not recognised, then his word will not be obeyed and he will be unable to abuse his office. But it works both ways. If his commands are unheeded he may be forced to remind people of his influence with the white man. He is the government's representative and as such he possesses potential power over and above the other village leaders.

Thus there are two ways in which the situation may be reconciled. In the first, the luluai bows to the vitality of the indigenous system. He appears in his official capacity when Europeans are present and when they have gone he retires from the scene, subject with his fellows to the authority of the elders. On the other hand, he may decide to use the power which accrues to his position. By asserting his authority, by emphasising the fact that it derives from the government, and by prosecuting his opportunities for obtaining the

government's ear, he may be able to over-ride the garam tzira and set himself up as the nominal village ruler. In either case there is worry enough ahead of him.

The Ngaraawapum luluai is not a person to be envied. From the beginning his position conflicts with the garam tzira. Patrol officers expect him to show some semblance of order and control in village matters. Leaving aside the question of giving him wider powers they expect at least that their orders will be promptly attended to and executed. But if the luluai follows the first course it is difficult for him to get any one to heed him. People will not bother to do as he asks, and if he shows anger he may be taken to task for it by the garam tzira on a later occasion. What is demanded is done eventually, for the people realise it has emanated from the white man, and if it is not completed they will have to suffer. But before they get round to doing it they may procrastinate for days, and it frequently happens that most of the work requested is done by the luluai's own relatives.

If the official decides to play his role for all it is worth, relying on the backing of the white man to secure the respect he needs, he does not get rid of tacit opposition. It is to be presumed that the people are capable of carrying out their threats if he ignores their warnings; they may not sit down with him and eat with him, and when he dies it is unlikely that anyone else apart from his own relatives will mourn for him. Even if overt disapproval is not apparent, he would have to suffer the opposition of the garam tzira in other ways. He may feel that they have little chance of unseating him, but,at the same time, the disapproval of one's fellows has a power of its own in small communities.

In effect, this brings us back to the point from which

we started. For a variety of reasons the position of the luluai differs in practice to in theory. It is pre-eminently an alien institution and as such, it conflicts with the indigenous system of leadership. Furthermore, because the appointment is artificial and dependant on the backing of the European administration, the serious abuse of power by one man is possible. This does not mean that the government connives at such abuse. The luluai is appointed by the white man. Consequently he is presumed to have his support, and if he exceeds his authority, his fellow villagers may be afraid to complain. The worst type of abuse may take place without the knowledge of the government.

THE TUL-TUL AND DOCTOR BOY:

With the tul-tul the position is the same. Being essentially an assistant, he may have fewer opportunities for abusing the power entrusted to him, but, at the same time, it is not beyond the realms of possibility. In our own society it is not unknown for two or more men with authority to connive with each other in abusing the power given to them. Similarly, an unscrupulous luluai and tul-tul are capable of pulling together. If abuse is intended this co-operation is almost a pre-requisite. On the other hand, if the two officials are antagonistic social disruption of a comparable type may result. If each is working against the other the village may be divided into two opposing factions, one group supporting the tul-tul, the other aiding the luluai. Both situations are known to occur.

Because his position demands a knowledge of pidjin English, the tul-tul is normally a younger man than the luluai. But being younger he has less authority in village affairs. Theoretically this may not seem to matter. It has been said that he is not expected to exert authority, that his position

is essentially that of interpreter and messenger. But the fact remains that you cannot deny authority on the one hand and expect to see it exercised on the other. When he gives orders the European official expects them to be obeyed. When he visits the villages he looks for breaches of regulations. If he finds them his wrath falls on the village officials; he accuses them of not performing their duty and seeing his demands are executed. If he denies control he does expect to find results, and one cannot be had without the other. Consequently, the tul-tul is confronted with the same alternatives as the lulual.

The case of Simu, the tul-tul of Maianzarian, illustrates some of the difficulties he has to face.

Simu, a young man of about twenty-eight, had been chosen for the position some years previously by a visiting patrol officer. On his own admission it had taken considerable persuasion before he had been willing to accept the office. He had suggested other men who were older. He had said that while he was young he wanted to go to work and earn some money; he did not have sufficient authority in village matters. When he came to the last point he was told that if people refused to hear him he had only to go to Kalapit to obtain assistance.

In the end Simu accepted, but he was never happy in his office. Of the alternatives open to him he took the one of least resistence. On official occasions he wore his cap and stood with the lulual in front of the villagers. When the patrol officer left he put away his emblem of office; no one heeded him or respected him. During my stay a considerable amount of co-operative labour was demanded from the five villages and I could not help noticing that Maianzarian did little towards contributing their share. This caused con-

tinual grumbling in Gutsumap. ' It is always we who carry and cut the timber, ' men complained. ' Do the Maianzarian hear their tul-tul? The kiap says there is work at Kaiapit. Simu tells them, but do they listen? No, they work in their gardens. Why should they listen to Simu? they say.'

Simu himself was well aware of this. ' I did not want the esp,' he said to me. ' I am a young man; I am nothing yet. Am I enough to stand up and order the garam tzira? To tell them to do these things would shame me. How can I set myself above them? It is true I can tell the kiap that no one listens. If I do he will be cross and punish them. Then they are angry with me. Who are you to complain to the white man about us? they will say. Is this your manner, to punish the garam tzira? '

Simu's case brings out a further point. In theory all these officials are supposed to be elected by the people themselves. In practice, however, the tul-tul is frequently chosen by the government representative. Where this is the case, dangers are likely to be more apparent, even though the choice is made with the best intentions. Because the position demands these qualities, a young and vigorous man with a forceful personality may be given the office without consulting the wishes of his fellows. Generally speaking the people acknowledge that this type of person is best qualified to hold it. Nothing is more irritating and unsettling than to watch a census taking where the tul-tul is a timid and negative individual. The nervousness of the people is accentuated by the mistakes he makes. The white official loses his patience and his temper and begins to shout. Time is lost and blows may be struck. The people are thrown into confusion and their last state is infinitely worse than their

first. When it is all over they complain bitterly, reprimanding their tul-tul and putting the blame on him. ' Why don't you stand up and speak clearly to the kiap?' they reproach him. ' It is not for you to tremble and shake before him. Your words run about and he is angry. Then there is trouble for all of us.'

The doctor boy (medical tul-tul) is in a somewhat different category. Because his office is concerned with health and hygiene he need not be expected to share his companions' interest in administrative matters. But if he is to do his job he must have some authority to back him. Part of his duty consists in supervising the cleanliness of the village, seeing that latrines are satisfactory, that the ground surrounding the houses is free of rubbish and scraps of food. All this work entails co-operation. It cannot be done unless his orders are obeyed.

The health of the natives is recognised to be of paramount importance. Controversy may rage around other aspects of administration but all protagonists are agreed that in this field we are able to bring a measure of benefit to the people. The extent to which we are successful will depend on the methods we employ. If there are inherent defects in these we cannot expect a maximum result.

With this in mind, there is profit in examining one of the methods used in New Guinea. Criticism will be found to apply to both sides.

In the first place, the training received by the village doctor, as distinct from the Native Medical Orderly, is totally inadequate. At the most, all it can hope to do is provide him with a small stock of household specifics and inculcate a few hygienic rules. It does not succeed in imparting any real knowledge of the causes of disease and methods

of prevention. More than this, it does not instill any lasting sense of responsibility. When the doctor boy returns to his village he is conscientious for a time. He has been to 'school' and has come back with some of the white man's knowledge; he wears his cap and his emblem of office and is filled with his new importance. From his stock of medicines he dispenses antiseptics and ointments for cuts and abrasions. He doles out aspirin tablets and visits the sick. But his supply is not inexhaustible. The younger men come to him for bandages to use as decorations when they go to a dance. He gives them to them, finding a certain satisfaction and prestige in possessing articles which are desired but not owned by others. Soon his stocks are finished. By going to the government station he can procure a new supply, but often this entails a journey of several days. He delays and keeps on putting it off. He has work to do in his gardens and he does not like to leave them.

Experience has led me to believe that this is the general pattern rather than the exception. After the novelty has worn off the doctor boy displays no sense of responsibility and shows no interest in his work. When a patrol officer visits the village he may bestir himself and order the people to repair the latrines; sometimes he fails to do even this. If it is possible to blame him and punish him for neglecting this part of his duty, it must be remembered that there is also fault in the system. When there is little or no real understanding of the causes of disease the necessity to keep latrines in repair has little relevance. Often it is regarded as simply another European fad which one has to follow or be prepared for unpleasant consequences.

Due recognition must also be given to the difficulties which even a conscientious doctor boy encounters from the people. Large numbers of the Ngarawapum are reluctant to go to hospital for treatment; many of the older people resist being taken there. When they are ill they would rather remain in the village; they are afraid of dying away from home. This may be understandable in the very aged but when it extends to the younger generation, other reasons must be found. Long after my arrival, when all the villagers were accustomed to my presence, I found that whenever I visited Maianzarian the father of one small boy aged five would hastily send him inside his house as I approached. I was curious but said nothing about it. Later, a youth who worked for me told me the reason. The child, he said, had yaws. The father was afraid that if I saw them I would take his son away from him, insisting that he went to the hospital at Kaiapit. Often the doctor boy is forced to accompany a patient to the station by the threats of younger men who have had more experience of the white man's ways.

But this natural reluctance and distrust does not explain each instance. When their wives are ill, young married men in particular show the deepest concern if it is suggested they should go to Kaiapit. One of my own friends came to me in a very excited state one night, saying the doctor boy had told him he must take his wife to hospital. 'If she goes I must go with her, ' he said. ' If the kiap won't let me stay with her how can I work or eat? No food will enter my belly for thinking of her. I must go there and go there every day.' Knowing that this couple were always quarrelling and that the man had other attractions, I was surprised at this show of feeling and tried to reason with him. ' No, you don't understand,' he said. ' When a woman goes to

the hospital, she is alone. There are other doctors there; they are not our people. She is afraid. They threaten her. They tell her they will make trouble for her with the kiap. What can she do? She lets them copulate with her. That is their way if her husband is not with her.'

If such statements are true, and there is a strong possibility that this kind of thing does occur, then adequate supervision should be sufficient to eradicate them. The more deep seated reluctance can only be overcome by educating the people as a whole. Until everyone has been taught the causes of disease and realises the necessity for treating them and preventing their spread there is little hope of seeing a general improvement in health. One man cannot perform miracles, and often he doesn't even try.

For an example we may take the case of Simup, the medical tul-tul of Tofmora.

Simup's nomination for the position was placed before the patrol officer soon after my arrival. As Tofmora was without a doctor boy he was accepted at once, and a few days later he went to Kaiapit for his period of training. This consisted of three weeks attendance at the station hospital. Two fully qualified Native Medical Orderlies were in charge of it at that time and his instruction was left in their hands.

At the end of this period Simup returned with his doctor's cap and a stock of bandages and medicine. For a while the village hummed with his activities. He decided to build a hospital of his own. A house which had been used for this purpose before, and which was still in a good state of repair, stood at the Maiangarian end of the village. Gia, the luluai, said that this would do, but Simup said it was not what he wanted. The ideal place, he considered, was

the hamlet of Isiagudsun, some four hundred yards from the main village. If he built his hospital there it would be near the stream Burubward and when they were hot, the sick could go down and bathe. With the assistance of his relatives and in face of the opposition of his fellow officials, he built his hospital there. But it was never used.

Full of his new self-importance, Simup began to wear the white lap-lap of the fully qualified Native Medical Orderly. He paraded the village and stood up on public occasions voicing his own opinion against that of the garam tzira. Most of the younger men were wearing his bandages. Before he had risen to office he had resided at Yamuf but now he announced his intention of coming back to Tofmora to be near his work.

Even at this stage Simup had given offence to Gia and to Maiamuta, the tul-tul. He had refused to listen to their advice and now he began to criticise them. He said that the luluai was too old for his office, that the tul-tul did nothing but tremble when the kiap came. Both of them neglected their work. They were above him now, but wait just a little longer and then see who was on top.

Soon the whole village was heartily sick of Simup and his airs. Young and old laughed at him, but, at the same time, they resented his attitude. In private, Maiamuta inclined to the view that if he was left alone he would eventually bring his own retribution. ' He will do something and then we will see,' he said. ' I know their ways when they are new. '

Eventually, retribution did arrive. Of all Simup's pretensions none was more resented by the younger section of the village than his wearing of the N.M.O's white lap-lap. When the next patrol officer came round on his visit this was

reported to him . He was told of Simup's pride and transgressions and ordering him to fetch the lap-lap, he had it burned before the village. The people were in complete agreement. Simup had brought his shame on himself they said; no one else was to blame.

As a result of this, Simup went back to Yanuf. His new hospital was left unattended and unused. People came to me for medicine and ointments and for all the difference the appointment had made, Tofmora was still without a doctor boy.

Apart from its general implications the case illustrates what might happen if the three officials are antagonistic. In these circumstances a struggle for power might easily develop, each trying to upset the authority of the other. There is no doubt in my mind that Simup desired this, even if it was not his express intention. In his case he did not succeed in securing a following, but a more astute person may have triumphed where he failed.

Some time later a man of Gutsuwap pronounced the last word on Simup. ' You have seen how it was with him,' he said. ' So it is with others. For a while when their hats are new they look to their work. But they soon forget. They are not real doctors; they know but little. When a man has been put in charge by the government other people have to hear him. That is all they want. That is what it means to them. It is our way. It is always and always the same.'

PATROL OFFICERS AND NATIVE POLICE:

The village officials may be regarded as agents in the contact situation and the same term, to a more intensive degree, may be applied to the patrol officer. He is not the sole white agent. The planter, the missionary, the recruiter

and the ordinary European civilian also belong to this category. But he is the government representative whose influence is strongest where the bulk of the population are concerned. Generally he visits the villages only twice during the year, but, at the same time, he is permanently in the area. Kaiapit is only eight miles from Ngarawapum. Whatever happens at the station is known in the villages soon after it occurs. The officer's movements up and down the valley are followed with accuracy. Often they give rise to a fair amount of nervous speculation. His motives for visiting a certain place, his behaviour when he reaches it and the arrival of other officials from Lae are queried and discussed, the people wondering to what extent the events reveal a general application. The idea, and to a lesser degree the fact of continual surveillance exist.

I have made some criticism of patrol officers already and I do not intend to add to it by other than a few remarks. The position is obviously one of importance, but I feel that some of the men who occupy it lose sight of the fact that they embody the European administration in their own persons. If the patrol officer is guilty of aberrant behavious the people are willing to recognise that his attitude is not necessarily that of the government itself; they agree that as there are anti-social individuals among themselves so there may be men with evil dispositions in the administration. This fact is often used to minimise the damage such men may cause. At the same time it is impossible to accept it as an excuse for such behaviour, and though the whole administration may not be said to suffer directly, experience leads the people to believe that similar propensities exist in every European. Consequently, this belief colours all their dealings with them.

The personality of the man is important because of the power he holds. Opportunities for grave abuse exist, and such abuse has been known to occur. But granting there are no abnormal tendencies, training may do a lot towards creating a sympathetic outlook and a deeper understanding of the job. Armed only with ignorance the natives appear to be merely a relatively homogeneous group of backward curiosities who have to be driven into accepting a higher way of life. The dynamic aspect of the situation is completely overlooked.

NATIVE POLICE:

As direct representatives of the authoritative powers of government, the native police are important agents. They belong to a different category to the village officials. Their influence in the affairs of daily life is necessarily limited, but, on the other hand, they are associated with the corrective powers of the white man to greater extent than anyone else. They are the active carriers of his authority and the symbols of the force which supports it. Trained along military lines, given a distinctive uniform and armed with European weapons they accompany the patrol officer on all occasions. Executing his orders in the village and standing behind him as he takes the census, they are an ever-present reminder of his power to punish. Housed at the government station, they are always in his presence. They are his support and it is natural to believe that he is theirs.

Order based on force is foreign to our own way of life. This does not mean that we should therefore refuse to use it in a different situation. Undoubtedly the patrol officer needs the protection of arms and assistance in some of his work. But it is well to remember that force itself does not bring a lasting understanding.

It may bring obedience, but its continual use or the possibility of its use will not eradicate the feeling that the group who employ it are alien and antagonistic. European administration is an imposition and the representatives of the force which imposes it must be regarded as likely subjects for resentment.

In the first place, members of the native police normally belong to other areas than those where they are stationed. In itself this places them apart from the people with whom they have to deal. If the Ngarawapum regarded the Waritsian, who live ten miles away, as enemies in former times, there is a likelihood that similar suspicion attaches to Sepiks or Island natives to-day. These latter peoples are obviously strangers, belonging to distant places, possessing different customs. There is little sympathy for them and none is expected from them. The Markham, whose chief item of diet is bananas, refers to the Sepik as a ' sago eater', implying the same degree of contempt as in our own use of the phrase ' frog eaters ' for Frenchmen or 'wops' for Italians. If it is possible to score a point at the expense of these outsiders it is quite legitimate to do so. Similarly, it is expected they will do the same if they have the chance. Consequently, there is little common ground where the police and the people are concerned and the initial antagonism is aggravated by the fact that the first named have the power.

It is not suggested that all the native police take advantage of the situation. But the people believe that all of them are prepared to, and experience shows that many of them do. With an inexperienced patrol officer the police may lead him into condoning and performing actions which he would otherwise have not permitted.

By their own lack of sympathy and readiness to exert force in any situation he comes to regard it as the normal procedure; after all, their experience in these matters is greater than his. Similarly, they are astute enough to gauge the temper of their patrol officer and to align their conduct accordingly. While I was at Ngarawapum a Sepik member of the police at Kaiapit attempted continually to stir up trouble in the nearby villages. His attempts were frustrated by the patrol officer's refusal to heed him. He was roundly chastised and put in his place. A few weeks later, however, this officer was recalled. Before his successor arrived reports began to filter through which intimated he was a totally different type to the man who recently left. During this period I had occasion to go to Kaiapit, and while I was there an argument developed between the Sepik and two of the men who accompanied me. ' All right, you wait and see', the Sepik said when I interfered. ' This last kiap was sorry for you. He was a good kiap you said. He was angry with me. But now you hear that a hard kiap is coming. You will see what will happen. He will hear me.'

The natives are well able to voice these remarks for themselves. Often it is not the patrol officer who is to blame. The influence of the native police is recognised. ' A new kiap catches the ways of his police boys,' is a remark heard so frequently that it has the authority of a proverb. ' It is the police boys who do it, ' Maiamuta, himself a former member of the force, said to me. ' The kiap is not like that himself. But he is new. He does not know. The police boys teach him their ways. What he does he gets from them.' The same idea, and the same fear was expressed whenever the possibility of the Australians remaining in con-

trol arose. 'But the police boys will teach them the ways of the English,' it was said. 'The Australian kiaps will be new. The police boys will teach them other ways.'

Similar recognition is given to the influence of the officer himself. 'If the kiap is hard the police boys will follow his ways,' Maiamuta said. 'They know he will not be cross with them then. If he is sorry for us, they are quiet. It is always the same. One follows the other.'

These aspects of police control are accepted philosophically. Observing the police and listening to what the people said about them, I could not help inquiring why they did not do something about it. Surely, I said, if abuses took place they could report them to the patrol officer. The police were there to assist in maintaining law and order, they were not there to take matters into their own hands. But their position is much the same as that of the government appointed village officials. If these men are obeyed because the government is presumed to stand behind them, the police are the direct representatives of the power itself. If unpleasant consequences may result from refusing to heed the village officials it is clearly futile to complain against those who actually wield the white man's power.

There is also an indirect way of getting revenge. ' You see, I was told,,' the police boys belong to other places. They can be hard when they are amongst us. But men from here are also police boys. Will they think of the Sepiks when they go there? They will do the same. The way of one is returned by the other.'

THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE:

Convinced that British justice and British law are superior to any other system, there are many who believe we are performing a service to the backward peoples whom we force to accept them as their own. Moreover, they feel that these people should display a suitable gratitude. To criticise this point of view is not to invalidate the ultimate aim or truth of the statement; criticism is directed mainly at its corollary. Here, as in other aspects of administration, it is not so much a question of ultimate good as of present reaction and misunderstanding; the long range point of view dear to those who do the planning is necessarily obscure to those whose experience is not the same. Obviously all administrative policies must be formulated with some ultimate end in view, but this should not prevent us from undertaking an impartial examination of the situation as it is at present. The results of that examination may not question the ultimate validity of the aim in question; unrest and dissatisfaction are always present at stages of transition. But, on the other hand, these same results may well reveal where mutual readjustments could be made.

One of the most far-reaching and least contested results of anthropological research in the present century has been the discovery that native peoples possess well defined legal systems and rules of judicial procedure although they have no written records as we understand them. The old view of a chaotic state of blood revenge has been buried for over a decade. Primitive man may still have to be his own policeman to a large degree, but, at the same time, legal proceedings do not rest on individual whims but on socially accepted sanctions.

In this, as in other aspects of native life, it is therefore not a simple matter of replacing a vacuum with something tangible and concrete. The new ideas and new judicial forms are imposed on a pre-existing structure. That they may well conflict with this structure is a possibility which is often forgotten.

Trial itself, as we understand it, is an alien institution to the Ngarawapum. Furthermore, it is a European institution. Punishment proceeds from the white man who presides; it is the direct manifestation of his corrective powers. This does not mean to imply that the fairness of his decisions is in question. Transgressors are punished under native customary law and cases are brought to the patrol officer for decision. It is not the principle but the modality of the institution which produces misunderstanding and dissatisfaction. Justice is taken out of the hands of the people themselves and becomes another prerogative of the white man. It is intimately associated with his power. Because of this it loses much of its inherent application. It comes not from within but from without, and the way is open for abuse on both sides.

When the native goes to court he is in an acute state of nervousness. This may seem to be natural if he has a guilty conscience. But fear of punishment does not explain it altogether; fear arises from the situation itself. He is brought before the white man for his misdemenour. He is face to face with the white man's corrective propensities and, rightly or wrongly, he believes he is more ready to find fault than favour. In native customary procedure he knows it is only his fellow villagers whom he has offended; with justice in the hands of Europeans he feels that over and above his fellows he has also offended the white man. Punishment,

he feels, derives rather from the second than the first of these causes.

Some judicial officers do little to eradicate this false impression. An overbearing attitude merely serves to convince the accused that the court is naturally antagonistic. Taking native testimony and hearing native witnesses is often a very trying business, but the ultimate result is not assisted by losing patience and temper with them. Ordering the police to cuff or strike the defendant savours more of coercion than a just assessment of evidence. It may lead to a confession of guilt merely because the native feels that such is desired from him. If it does not lead to this it implies that the offence is punishable because it has offended the white man himself and not because it is a breach of native customary law.

Often the proceedings themselves become a test of strength between the plaintiff and defendant, each feeling that he has to secure the support of the presiding European. False testimony is not unknown, and though it makes it harder for the judicial officer to reach a just decision, it is not due so much to the native's inability to tell the truth but rather to the character of justice itself, the fact that it derives from above. A case which concerned a young man named Wapum and a girl called Namraen illustrates these points.

Namraen belonged to the Yaros village of Marifau. She and a younger brother were the only children of their widowed mother. When she reached the age of about fourteen she was betrothed to a man of Mitsing, and in accordance with the normal practice of brother and sister exchange, her brother was betrothed to this man's younger sister. Namraen's mother gave this girl a new grass petticoat and placed a string of beads round her neck to mark the betrothal.

Namraen went to live at Mitsing with her parent-in-law. Some time later her own mother married again and went to her husband's village, Maianzarian, taking her son with her. In the meantime, Namraen's betrothed died before they had consummated the marriage. Her parents-in-law immediately 'marked' her for a classificatory brother of the dead man. But once again the prospective husband died before the couple had set up house together. She was given to a third man of Mitsing who left shortly afterwards to work with the Australian army. Up to the time of his departure he and his wife were still at the avoidance stage of their relationship.

Namraen's brother and his betrothed had now reached a marriageable age. The girl's parents, however, did not like the thought of her going to live at Maianzarian, and, in spite of the contract that existed they married her to a man of Mitsing. When Namraen saw this she immediately ran away to her mother. No attempt was made to bring her back at that stage.

While Namraen was at Maianzarian she was attracted to a youth of Tofmora named Wapum. Eventually it was decided that she should marry Wapum, a condition being that his younger sister married her brother who had been left without a wife by the high handed action of the Mitsing. Namraen's relatives at Marifau were consulted and their approval granted. In addition the Tofmora and Maianzarian parties approached the patrol officer at Kaiapit. They explained the case and asked that when he visited Mitsing next Namraen's name should be erased from the village book. He was agreeable, and the marriage took place. Wapum and Namraen set up house together.

About a week after this I had occasion to go to

Kaiapit for stores. Wapum and Namraen were in the party which accompanied me. On our return journey as we were crossing the Yafats River Namraen's relatives from Marifau suddenly appeared and abducted her, carrying her off to Mitsing. When we reached Tofmora, we learned that the Marifau had arrived earlier in the morning looking for Namraen. The Mitsing, they had said, had threatened to take the whole matter to court again. When they learned Namraen had gone to Kaiapit they had decided to wait for her at the Yafats crossing.

That night the people concerned in Tofmora and Maianzarian held a consultation. It was decided that word should be sent to Marifau and Mitsing requesting their presence at the village of Sumera where the whole matter could be thrashed out and a final decision made.

Two days later we went to Sumera. After an afternoon of consultation, it was decided that the new marriage would stand. Namraen accompanied us back to Tofmora.

Not long after this a new patrol officer arrived at Kaiapit; and, though a decision had been reached at Sumera, it was learned that the Mitsing intended to bring the matter before him. The Tofmora party went immediately to Kaiapit where the Paramount luluais of Yaros and Orori were in attendance. The patrol officer heard the case informally and gave a judgment for Wapum, accepting the view of these two officials that the original marriage contract had been broken by the Mitsing when the girl betrothed to Namraen's brother had been given to another man. When the case was over, however, the luluai of Mitsing was heard to remark: ' You will see. You are strong now, but wait until another kiap visits our village. When he is with us we can talk to him.'

Several weeks elapsed and a new patrol officer arrived at Kaiapit. On his way through Mitsing to the Wantoat, the luluai approached him and he sent for Wapum. In the hearing, the luluai of Mitsing stressed the fact that Namraen's former husband was an indentured labourer and that the government had said that the village officials were to see that no harm came to the wives of those men who were assisting the army. This time the decision went against Namraen and Wapum. She was ordered back to Mitsing.

Namraen stayed several days in the village then ran away to Maianzarian again. Though she was sent back several times through fear of the patrol officer's displeasure, she returned each time. She threatened suicide if they insisted that she stayed at Mitsing and, in the end she was allowed to remain at Maianzarian. When a new patrol officer arrived the matter would once more be taken to court, Tofmora said.

Since everyone agreed that right was on the side of Namraen I expected to hear criticism of the patrol officer who had given the final decision. But no resentment was expressed for him. The luluai of Mitsing was said to be to blame for misrepresenting the facts to him. ' You see,' one of my friends who was not concerned in the case said to me, ' this is what happens. The white man cannot know. He must listen to what is said before him. Some men will talk loudly and will prevail. Others are not so strong. He who stands up and has the ear of the kiap, he will win. '

Fines which are ordered by the court are misunderstood for reasons similar to those advanced above. Compensation to an injured party is not unknown in Ngarawapum cus-

to-ary law, but when fines are paid to a white official it is regarded as a payment to him for his personal displeasure rather then a penalty for a breach of law and order. In numerous cases he is approached beforehand and offered money. It is not meant as a bribe in the proper sense of the term. It is not suggested that he should use his influence in favour of the person offering it. It is meant purely as a settlement of the whole case, payment made to him because his personal displeasure has been incurred.

The Ngarawapu-'s insistence that, as far as possible, all troubles should be settled in the village derives from the same cause. The white man's justice is alien and associated with his powers of control. Penalties, it is felt, result from his displeasure. Therefore it is better for all if he is not approached. 'It is best if we settle these things ourselves,' it is said. 'Then the white man is not angry with us. Our village stays as it is. Trouble does not come among us.' They are well aware that in most cases they are able to settle things for themselves, and looking back to the inter-regnum there is a tendency to say: 'No white men were here to control us then. We stayed as we were. We do not need them to tell us what must be done.'

CHRISTIANITY AND MISSIONS:

'Missions spoil the native completely. The Christianised native is lazy, insubordinate and a liar. It is impossible to do anything with him.....'

Statements similar to these are heard too frequently to need elaboration. At the same time they tell us little of value. It is an undeniable fact that as far as the ordinary, everyday life of the people is concerned the missions play a more intensive role than the government. Therefore they must be regarded as one of the major agents in the contact situation. Their part in the dynamic process of change must be assessed, but this is an entirely different matter to the re-iteration of condemnation based on one or two particular cases.

Once again it is only through an exa-ination of the actual situation that conclusions of any considerable worth will be reached. This does not -ean, however, that these conclusion, whether favourable or unfavourable, will settle the controversy. Even if exa-ination led us to believe that -ission influence was entirely har-ful it is highly i-probable that this would affect the position to the extent of their withdrawal. But it is not this type of result which is envisaged when undertaking the exa-ination.

For obvious reasons it is possible to begin with the assu-ption that -ission activities constitute a per-anent influence. It is not necessary, therefore, to question the ulti-ate validity of their ai-s. Taking these ai-s for granted the proble- resolves itself into an exa-ination of the native reaction to the-, and while the results -ay not affect the ai- itself they -ay -ean a deeper understanding of the proble- and consequent adjust-ents in the -ethods e-ployed by the agents of change.

THE "ISSIONS IN NGARAWAPU":

During the first weeks of -y stay in Ngarawapu- I -ade an entry in -y note books to the effect that -agical practices and ceremonies seemed to be co-pletely dead, owing, no doubt, to the influence of the Lutheran -issionaries at Kaiapit. I know now that this conclusion wa not only pre-ature but also false and yet it was not without a basis of reasonable probability.

Kaiapit, it -ust be re-e-bered, is only eight -iles fro- the villages. Consequently it was reasonable to presu-e that their contact with the -issionaries stationed there had been not not only continuous but also intense. In addition a nativ- built shed at Tofwora was pointed out to -e as the for-er church and school house. Before the war a native teacher had been stationed there and each day the younger children had received so-e for- of ru-i-entary education fro- hi-. Older children also attended the school at Kaiapit and a few had been to the -ore advanced centres at Finschafen. A survey fro- house to house elicited the infor-ation that over sixty per cent of the population had been baptised.

"oreover, men fro- all five villages had been used by the -ission to extend its influence into the partly uncontrolled Ibiaga areas.

In the-selves these facts are reasonable grounds for assur-ing a no-inal acceptance of Christianity, and this assur-ption appeared to be substantiated by the results of further enquiries.

As I walked about the gardens I began to ask what it was that -ade the plants and food grow. Did they co-e up of their own ac ord or were they influenced by other -eans? -y infor-ants' replies were simple and direct. 'God -akes the- grow,' they said 'God lives up here,' they pointed at the sky, 'and it is He who -akes the food co-e up.' On another occasion when I was trying to discover -yths of origin I was entertained by a recitation of the story of Ada- and Eve, -y co-panion telling -e that these two people were the original progenitors of all the Ngarawapur-.

But in spite of these explanations I could see no sign that Christian beliefs were observed in practice. The church in Tofiora was in an extre-e state of disrepair. For the -ost part it was used as a play house by the children. In wet weather fa-ili- fro- neighbouring dwellings sat there to talk and to eat their evening -eal. Occasionally the gara- tzira used it as a -eeting place when so-e -atter of village i-portance had reached the stage of preli--inary discussions. No religious services were held there and as week succeeded week I did not discover any sign of Christian activities.

The evidence was contradictory. On the one hand I was confronted with detailed Christian explanations for natural pheno-ena and with Biblical stories for native beliefs. On the othe: there was a co-plete lack of Christian practice. Had I left the villages at that stage of -y enquiries there would have been so-e justification in concluding that the Ngarawapur- subscribed to no religion, either native or introduced. Fortunately I had another seven -onths in which to discover the real position.

The first -agical perfor-ance of any kind which I witnessed took place at Waianzarian. Hearing the dru-s beating nd the sound of singing at the unusual hour of eleven o'clock in

the -orning, I sur-ised th t so-ething of the kind w s taking place. Accordingly, I hurried there fro- Tof-ora and was in ti-e to see the latter half of a cere-ony designed to rid the banana pl ntations of ini-ical spirits belongong to othe areas. After the perfor-ance I sat dow wit the old -en and found th t one or two of the- were prepared to discuss it with -e. At that stage I -ade no attempt to obtain a full explanation. I w s content that I had wi nessed so-eth ing which belied -y previous infor-ation nd I prepared to recast -y conclusions.

<u>Christianity and Native Beliefs:</u>

Even up to the ti-e of -y departure there were so-e -en who vehemently denied that -agic of any kind was practised in Ngarevapur-. They were prepared to ad-it th t in former ti-es it had been the norwal custo- but now, they s id, 'we have heard the words of the -ission. All these things have been lost.' As a st te-ent of fact this attitude can be ignored completely. Their words did not contain a ger- of truth, and out of the tot l popul- tion, baptised and unbaptised alike, the e was not one thorough- going or practicing Christian.

The truth of this state-ent becae so obvious during -y stay that the per sistence with which these few denied the evidence of -y own eyes served -erely to e phasise the true state of affairs. They were not to know that I nu-bered -agicians a-ong -y friends or that I received full explanations of the ceremonies I witnessed. ut at the sa-e ti-e these ceremonies were perfor-ed in public. They were present at the- and took part in the-. As a spectator I was present -yself.

Confronted with this contradiction I enquired the reasons for th eir attitude fro- -y friends. 'You se ,' they told -e, 'when you ca-e the garar- tzi a said you were not to be told these things. It was better that we hid the- fro- you, they said. If you knew the- you -ight be angry with us.' "oreove , I le rned th t this calcul ted deception was identical to the attitude adopted towards t e -ission.

'When the missionary came to our gardens,' I was told, 'he saw the food growing and asked what it was that made it come up. 'It is God who makes it grow,' we said to him. But we knew it was not God. Food does not grow large of its own accord. It is our magic which makes it plentiful. If we did not do this our gardens would not be as they are. The yams would be small. There would not be enough. But the missionaries said we must not do these things and so we hid them from them.'

Knowing that a native mission teacher had been stationed at Tofrora it seemed improbable that all these matters could have been concealed. My scepticism, however, drew the reply that they were not performed as they were now now. Some ceremonies took place at night in the privacy of the magician's house. When magic was performed on the gardens the people set out as usual as though they were going to their own plots. Later, they assembled for the rite. Children were instructed not to mention these matters to the missionaries. If they did then the white man would be angry with them and trouble would come to their village. It was admitted that these ruses were not always successful. Sometimes the native teacher heard of them and then the missionaries themselves came to the village and expressed their displeasure. But on the whole I see no reason to doubt that concealment was fairly complete.

<u>The Attitude To the Missions:</u>

This information gives rise to an obvious question: why, it might be asked, was it felt to be necessary to conceal these matters? Christianity, after all, is not forced on the people by the government. The missions have no legal basis for their proselytising activities which enables them to punish those who do not wish to be converted. The choice is surely in the hands of the people themselves. If they do not want to accept Christianity then there is nothing to prevent them maintaining their own pagan ways.

On the surface these statements are quite true, but they overlook one all-important aspect, namely that the missionaries are

associated wit t e same cor ective propensities which all all Europeans are presumed to possess. Experience has led the Ngarawapum to believe that all whites are prone to find fault with their way of life. Their customs are something which they have to defend against the prying and displeased eyes of the Europeans. The white man, in fact, is naturally antagonistic to their ways. Consequently, these same qualities are presumed to exist in the missionaries, and if they have not the power to punish they at least have the ability to make things unpleasant if they are not obeyed.

The mugus ceremony was forbidden by the mission and in its place a controlled form of the dance was introduced. This took place only during the daylight hours, I was informed. On one occasion, however, the people of Tofmora decided to hold the traditional ceremony. Word reached the missionaries at Kaiapit that this was taking place and one of them rode immediately to the village. He arrived while the people were assembled near the yam structure and cantering up to them he dispersed them with his riding whip, loudly berating them for their lapse from godly ways. According to those who were present the assembly fled into the surrounding gardens. When they returned later they found that all their yams had been scattered over the ground and their mugus destroyed.

While this action may have been ill advised it is not unusual. Many missionaries feel that an essential step towards conversion is to turn the old gods from the temples. This seems reasonable enough, but at the same time it is this type of action which associates them with the corrective powers of other Europeans.

Granted that native religious beliefs and practices are of vital importance to them and this fact in itself is sufficient reason for adopting methods to conceal them, the fact remains that the overt displeasure of the missionaries is a contributing factor. On numerous occasions men drew my attention to Guruf, a village situated on the opposite side of the valley south of Sangan. At Guruf, I was told, the people openly defied the mission. 'If we listen to you,' they were reported as saying, 'what will happen

punish than assist. In place of their own intimate and even friendly relationship with the Ururung, the Ngarawapur were shown a God whose anger was something to fear, whose watchful eye noted their slightest indiscretion and who abhorred those practices which they felt to be vital to their welfare. The Christian God could give them nothing which they did not possess already.

(3) ECONOMIC REPERCUSSIONS

While it is not suggested that Ngarawapum attitudes to Europeans and European government are universally applicable to native communities throughout New Guinea, there is no denying that the difference is one of degree rather than kind. These attitudes derive from the personal experience of the people, and as this differs from place to place so the results may be divergent. Contact may be more or less intense according to the geographical situation of the people. One would not expect the Tolai of Rabaul to manifest reactions exactly similar to the Ngarawapum. But making allowances for wide differences in experience, the principal features of the contact situation are basic throughout, and because of this we are able to postulate a germ of universal application.

If this is true of purely administrative matters it also applies to the effects of the war on native economic life. Here, the difference in experience is obvious, for while some villages were totally destroyed, others suffered neither damage nor prolonged occupation. All of them, however, saw the majority of their young and able-bodied men compelled to leave their homes and work for the armed forces.

It may be said that there was nothing new in this, that before the war they had been accustomed to work for the Europeans. This is true to some extent. The difference does not lie in the act of working for the white man nor in leaving their homes for long periods. Compulsion, and above all the abnormal numbers taken away are the new elements.

This does not question the validity of impressing the young men. Extraordinary situations necessarily demand extraordinary measures, and where our own security is concerned it is reasonable enough to grasp whatever assistance is nearest to hand. But the dangers of our own position should not blind

us to the fact that the measures we are compelled to adopt may result in widespread disorder and disruption to the lives of those who are little concerned with the struggle itself or its ultimate outcome.

On the other hand, there is a body of opinion which recognised that our measures may have caused considerable disorganisation but maintains there is no necessity to do other than note the fact. Those who hold this view share the bias of those who believe that since British rule is best for one people, it is best for all and all who come under it should be grateful. This group would say that while they helped us the people also helped themselves. In a common struggle sacrifices were made on both sides. Sacrifice is not denied, our own responsibility is. But in previous sections I have shown there are no grounds for assuming this identity of interest. Thus, without a prior examination there is nothing to show that the people regard their hardships as sacrifices made to assist a common cause. So far is this from the truth that we may be held entirely to blame, and if we are, it is surely in our own interest to take what steps we can to eradicate this impression and to assist the natives' rehabilitation.

As I have pointed out elsewhere, the material damage suffered by the Ngarawapum villages is not comparable to that inflicted on other places. There was no destruction of houses or garden lands by aerial bombardments. Except for a short period towards the end of the Japanese occupation, the people were not compelled to flee or to suffer the privations of a hand to mouth existence in the bush. But these simple facts do not mean that material life was not affected at all. Serious economic repercussions were felt and in the light of the argument I have presented there is an immediate interest in ascertaining their extent.

The germ of economic disruption can be seen in the period of Japanese occupation, but at the same time, it must not be overestimated. Of all aspects of economic endeavour that which suffered most at this time was the supply of pigs. This alone

was sufficient to create ill-feeling for the Japanese, but it is significant to note that it is the only shortage for which they can be held directly responsible. Demands were made for bananas and root crops, and towards the end of their occupation these demands became increasingly heavy, but they were not sufficient to induce a famine. When they look back on this period it is only the commandeering of their pigs which the people stress continually. They are prepared to surmise that had the Australians not arrived until some months later they may have been faced with severe shortages of other foods. This is a reasonable possibility. Supplies received an additional check when they were compelled to leave the villages. In many cases seed yams were eaten then, with obvious consequences to future crops. But the situation was never comparable to other famines experienced in living memory. If the recapture of Kaiapit had meant an immediate return to pre-war conditions, there is no reason for supposing that economic life would not have returned to normal within the space of a few months. However, it did not return to normal, but deteriorated, and this reveals that the causes must be looked for in the period which followed.

In primitive communities, production depends on labour to the same extent as in our own society. The idyllic picture of brown skinned natives passing their days in complete idleness while food falls into their hands from the trees, is probably taken seriously only by Hollywood. It is certainly not the view which is given by those who have been in a position to observe for themselves. The natural fertility of tropical soils and climates may assist the production of food, but at the same time the techniques available, and in use, place a limitation on the amount which can be produced. Bananas and yams do not grow of their own accord. They have to be planted and tended and all this entails the expenditure of considerable physical energy. The imponderable factors of rain or drought aside, the over-all results depend on the amount of labour available. If for one reason or another this is less than the normal requirements then a normal result cannot be expected. Labour is limited in

primitive communities as in our own, and if this is depleted there will be a corresponding effect on supply.

It may be said that if the labour supply is depleted the demand will also diminish by the same number and consequently the position will remain in equilibrium. But this overlooks the fact that in primitive communities production depends on both males and females. Each sex has a sphere of its own, and the work of each is complementary. Thus, if the supply of male labour diminishes suddenly, total production will suffer to the extent that there are no longer sufficient men to perform their share of the common task.

This is what happened in Ngarawapum. Following immediately on the recapture of Kaiapit, constant demands were made for the assistance of the men. The Japanese had also requested this type of help, but in their case the demands were not heavy and did not involve their continued absence for long periods. Now, however, it was not only that the majority of the younger men were compelled to help, but they were also absent from their villages for periods of more than two years. Consequently their families and relatives were compelled to do without them.

If we look at the population statistics of Gutsuwap and Tofmora, a factual picture is obtained of the extent to which the absence of such a large number meant not only hardship but also reorganisation in economic affairs.

FIGURES FOR TOFMORA AND YANUF AS AT 16-2-45

Children under 16 years		Adults excluding Indentured Labourers.		Indentured Labourers		Total including Indentured Labourers.
Male	Female	Male	Female			
38	80	41	58	21		198

FIGURES FOR GUTSUWAP AS AT 16-2-45

Children under 16 years		Adults excluding Indentured Labourers.		Indentured Labourers	Total including Indentured Labourers.
Male	Female	Male	Female		
31	31	31	41	10	144

Looking at these figures, it will be seen that in February 1945, approximately thirty-four per cent of Tofmora's total adult males were absent from the village, while Gutsuwap was without the assistance of twenty-four per cent. If we include seven indentured labourers who were returned to Tofmora in December 1944, and four who came back to Gutsuwnp in the same month, the percentage of adult males absent from the village for the greater part of the time rises to forty-five per cent in the first case, and thirty-four in the second.+

But of Tofmora's adult males, eight are not full time effectives, either through age or physical incapabilities. Thus, if we base the percentages on full time effective strength it will be seen that prior to December 1944, twenty-six full time effective males were in the village, while twenty-eight were absent; in other words eighty-eight per cent of the normal full time effective strength was away.

Examination of the figures for utsuwap shows similar results. Of a normal full time effective strength of thirty-two, fourteen were absent prior to December 1944, that is, approximately, forty-three per cent.≠

With these figures before us certain conclusions may be drawn at once. In the first place, with such a large percentage

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+. During the first few months of the liberation period the number of males absent was great r than this, but since I have no means of checking the duration of their absence, I have not included them.

≠ . Nine adult males of Gutsuwap are not full time effectives.

of effective males absent it seems most probable that work would not only be harder for those who remained, but they would also be unable to maintain the normal level of production. In itself, this need not mean starvation. It must be remembered that normal production is also over-production; the Ngarawapum do not exist at a mere subsistence level, but produce more than is necessary for their immediate needs. On the other hand, because this surplus over and above their physical requirements is linked with other material and emotional aspects of their culture, its absence may entail an actual hardship. Moreover, even if production is sufficient for sustaining life, the strictest economy may have to be practised to keep it at that level.

DAILY LIFE AND THE ABSENCE OF THE MEN.

For the first few weeks of my stay at Ngarawapum it was difficult to ascertain the extent to which the absence of so many young men placed an additional strain on those who remained behind. Daily life seemed to follow a normal trend, though even then I was impressed by two features, the absence of social gatherings and the preoccupation of the people with garden work. As the means of sustaining life comes from the soil the latter may not seem unusual, but it appeared to me that work possessed a more than normal urgency. Drought conditions prevailed at the time, and the state of the gardens occasioned much anxiety. Day after day the village was deserted from early morning to sunset. If men were prevented from working for even a day they were loud in their complaints, and their expressions of impatience. When they were asked to cut timber and carry it to Kaiapit they demanded resentfully: 'Is our food the same as before? What of our gardens? Must we leave them and search for wild taro like pigs?' Sitting round their hearths in the evenings they discussed the state of the crops. To my enquiries they replied that 'it had been different in other years. Food wasplentiful then. Now there is not enough.'

Those who came to talk to me at night asked me about the young men who were away, and when the government would let them return. Invariably they wanted to know when the war would finish and if 'good times' would come back again when it did. Old men and women expressed a longing to see their sons again. 'You wait and wait, and their faces are not before you,' one of them said to me. 'If we die there is no one to remember.' The death of two of Tofmora's garam tzira drew similar remarks from others. 'They are bad times,' Sampui said.' Now our big men die and the young men are away. What will happen when they come back and there is no one to teach them, or tell them what they must do? Their ways will be other than ours. Will they be able to lead us as before?' In their songs they told how all their brothers had been taken away by the soldiers. 'When shall we see our brothers again? When shall our brothers come back to help us?' they asked.

Such sentiments are natural enough, and in themselves they do little more than express the fact that the absence of the young men was regarded as a loss by thos who were left behind. But as I walked about through the gardens, and joined in the work I found that sentiment had a factual basis. On each side of the paths between the villages there were neglected and overgrown banana plantations. In the hills, yellow leaved crotons marked the boundaries of former yam plots. The majority of the gardens under cultivation were new. They were not at the height of their productivity yet. I made surveys of the fruit available for consumption, and when I expressed surprise Maiamuta said to me: 'You walk into the gardens and now you see there is little. Other white men keep the the roads. They see the bananas standing up and think there is plenty as there was before. But it is leaves alone they see. Bananas must grow first, then they carry fruit.'

Though Maianzarian and Gainaron were able to institute harvest festivals, Tofmora and Gutsuwap could not do likewise. Because of this they felt their position keenly. A quarrel with the two former villages aggravated their condition. Men of Tofmora had been guilty of making disparaging remarks about the festivals. To prove themselves and to satisfy the Maianzarian it behoved them to make a feast. This they were unable to do and consequently, they had to suffer the insults and the boasting of the others. The remarks of one young man have been reported elsewhere[I.] but his outburst is only a specific utterance of a general restraint.

All the feast and communal meals I attended were compared unfavourable with others of the past. Food was not sufficient now, I was told. In former times when all the men were there, there would have been enough to eat all day. Now there was sufficient for one or two dishes only, and nothing was left.

Such unfavourable comparisons with the past may be natural enough. But even allowing for a measure of exaggeration there

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I. SEE PAGE III.

was sufficient evidence to show that social life had suffered to a considerable extent. Soon after I arrived at Tofmora one of the Garam tzira died. His funeral involved four days of ceremonies and the expenditure of large quantities of food. Even then they were shortened by the agreement of the other garam tzira, who maintained that in these times, when food was short, they must also think of their gardens and go back to work. When a second man of equal importance died soon afterwards, his brother Gia, the lulumi, decided that for similar reasons he should be buried at once. Public opinion was against this lack of respect, and a compromise was reached. The ceremonies were cut to one day only and conduded with a small feast which was not attended by the other villages. In the speeches at the feast, Gia said to the people: ' We cannot weep long for Mumi. Already our food has gone when we cried for Tschampir. We must go back to our gardens quickly now. Men and women, all of us must work. Later, when we have food we will cry again.'

THE STATE OF THE GARDENS.

But it is not proposed to let the matter rest on evidence of this nature alone. If it is maintained that the absence of the young men meant economic hardship for those who remained, the results should be observable in the gardens themselves. For this reason I shall examine two main food producing activities, the cultivation of bananas and yams, beginning in each case with a description of the type of work involved.

Banana Plantations.

Ngorewapum banana plantations are situated on the level ground surrounding the villages. This land is divided into numerous named areas of varying extent which are cultivated on a clan basis, all the members of each patrilineal clan having equal rights on one or more of them. In the majority of cases streams form natural boundaries between the areas though occasionally a ridge or clump of trees serves the same purpose.

Banana plantations are made by individual families. One man and his biological descendants cultivate a strip on the land

of their clan. They may have the assistance of other members of the clan group at varying stages of the work, but the whole garden and its produce belongs to their household alone.

The man who desires to construct a new banana garden chooses a section of the land on which his clan has cultivation rights. The first stage of the work is the clearing of the kunai from the chosen site. For this both men and women combine their efforts. The trade store knife is held in the right hand while clumps of the long grass are grasped with the left. The point of the knife is then inserted round the roots and the grass pulled free from the soil. The work involves continual stooping and is very arduous yet the natives work at a surprising speed, and depending on the number present, a morning's toil may find a patch of one hundred square yards cleared of grass.

When this area has been increased to two hundred square yards, planting begins. Small banana suckers about three feet in height are selected from another garden and transported to the new site by the women. As they are selected they are dug up six inches below ground level, and their leaves are trimmed to small feather-like tips. Men and women do the planting in the new garden, spacing the suckers approximately six to eight feet apart. A small hole is dug with the knife, and the soil is pushed firmly round the base of the young plant. At intervals from this time onwards the same process is repeated until the plot is six hundred square yards in area.

The banana does not begin to bear until ten months after planting, but from then on it bears regularly over a number of years and the plantations are not abandoned after the one crop, but remain in almost continual cultivation.

The established banana plantation is an attractive sight. All people like to ornament them with various brightly coloured shrubs. No magical significance is attached to these, though the bright leaves and flowers have some utility, being used as decorations for the hair at festivals. In addition to the ornamental shrubs, the gardens invariably contain subsidiary foodstuffs, native greens, an occasional pineapple and bushes of cherry

tomatoes, betel peppers and gourds.

Work on the established plantation continues throughout the year. Weeds grow quickly in the tropical climate, but this growth alone is not sufficient to explain the constant clearing. The gardeners like the ground to be free of all weeds, clean and firm, and neatness is the hallmark of the good worker. As the fruit appears on the trees the whole bunch is encased in a wrapping of dead leaves. This is a technical process which is left to the men. A ladder is used, the implement consisting of an upright sapling with small horizontal pieces of wood bound to it at twelve inch intervals. Resting this against the trunk of the banana tree the man winds the leaves round the fruit. In addition, trees have to be staked to prevent the weight of the fruit from breaking them. Dead leaves are stripped away, gathered from the ground and burned. New sections and extensions are constantly added and cleared. Old trees past bearing are removed and replaced.

The average person possesses three of these plantations and the amount of work required to maintain them is very considerable. Work in their banana plantations occupies most of the people's time throughout the year. After other activities they always return to their banana gardens. 'Now we can go back to our bananas,' I have heard men remark on finishing a fencing operation. On another occasion Maimuta explained to me:' It is like this. We work at cutting a new yam garden. We hurry and work hard. Then we go back to the bananas.' If other matters delay them, they express concern. 'Our banana gardens wilk go back to bush, ' they say. 'We can do no work in them now. Where will our food come from?'

This concern is not surprising when it is remembered that the banana is the staple item of the diet. More than a dozen named varieties are grown. At all feasts and festivals they form the bulk of the food consumed and distributed. They provide the daily meal on an average of three days out of seven.

But through the work of cultivation continues without interruption through the year, the period during and after the monsoonal rains brings a slight increase in activity. At this time the weeds are more prolific and the trees themselves bear

heavily. A rudimentary knowledge of irrigation is also displayed. When the small streams are swollen and break their banks, the gardener works simple dams with saplings and old banana trees felled for this purpose, placing them across the rivulets and turning the water through the plantations. In this connection I was surprised to find that time and time again men made their gardens on the banks of the streams even though they were frequently destroyed by flood. But my enquiries elicited the purely practical explanation that such sites were desirable because of the water, and when the stream was in flood, it deposited a layer of sand and gravel over the site which not only 'kept the ground cold' but also prevented the growth of weeds.

Garden Statistics:

With this knowledge of the work involved we may turn to the garden lands of Tofmora village. Seven principal areas are devoted to banana cultivation, but for the purposed of this examination I will confine myself to two of them.

TABLE A: Gardens on the area PITSUAN, December 1944.

Owner	Area in use (sq.yards.)	Area previously used (sq. yards.)	Bunches of fruit on Trees.
I.	400	600.	4.
2.	600	600.	2.
3.	600.	900	6.
4.	900	1800	15.
5.	600	1400	4.
6.	800	800	Used as coconut grove
7.	Nil	600	Nil
8	900	900	15.
9	600	800	10.
10.	Nil	600	Nil
11.	400	600	4.
12.	400	600	Nil
13.	400	700	16
14.	400	700	7

Owner	Area in use (sq.yards.)	Area previously used (sq. yards.)	Bunches of fruit on Trees.
15.	400	700	7
16.	600	1200	7
17.	400	600	4.
18	200	400	2.
19	300	600	Nil.
20	Nil	600	Nil.
Total	8600	15,700	102

In this table the column 'Area in use' represents the size of the plot under actual cultivation when the survey was made. The third column 'Area previously in use', represents the pre-war size of these same garden plots, the stumps of old banana trees, clumps of pit-pit and coloured crotons bearing witness to the former extent. The difference between these two columns is therefore an approximate estimation of retrenchment due to abnormal conditions. Taking this to the nearest thousand square yards it will be seen that, whereas in pre-war times 16,000 square yards of Pitsuan were under cultivation, only 7,000 square yards were producing in December 1944.

One other possible explanation occurred to me when I was making this and other similar surveys: the difference of 7,000 square yards between pre-war and present cultivation may have been due to the abandonment of old and worked out sites; what was lost on one area may have been gained on another. But subsequent surveys revealed that ground had been lost on every area without exception. Furthermore, banana plantations are not abandoned after a few seasons but remain in almost continual cultivation.

The people offered the only reasonable explanation. 'We are not many now,' they said. 'Our strong men are away. The work is too much for those who are left. One man has his own gardens and those of his brother to tend. A woman alone is weak. She needs the help of her husband. She cannot work as hard as two.' When one of these young men, Tsangisi, returned in December he expressed the same sentiments with some asperity. 'When I went away' he said

'my gardens were among the largest in Gutsuwap. Now I come back and what do I find? The kunai has come up between the trees. Where I had two, now I have one. My wife has let them go.' Again, on my walks along the road my companions would point to the evidence on either side. 'You see,' they said to me,' here were gardens before. There was so much food that it rotted here. When you walked this path it wasall you could smell. Now they have gone back to the kunai. The men are away and the women and old men are not enough to keep them in repair.'

Verbal confirmation of this type has undoubted value, particularly when it is not solicited, but is offered in the course of general conversation. Furthermore, it is corroborated by a more detailed examination of the figures.

TABLE AI: Areas Abandoned On PITSUAN.

OWNER	NAME	Area of Garden abandoned (sq. yards.)	REMARKS
1.	ITSIA	200	Indentured Labourer. Relatives supporting wife and five children.
3.	BWANSUM	300	Recently returned from indenture. One brother still away.
4.	GAIAB	900	Bwansum's brother. Indentured but returned before Bwansum. Supporting father, Bwansum and another brother's family.
5.	SAGUM	800	Aged. Childless. Three classificatory sons who would assist him absent.
6.	MAMANT	600	Aged. Three normal helpers away.
9.	MAIAMUTA	200	Assisting families of one brother and one cross-cousin who are absent.
10.	TIRI	600	Returned August 1944. Brother of Bwansum and Gaiab.
11.	TIRI	200	As for 10.
14.	WATSIANG	300	Indentured Labourer.
19.	MARKIM	300	Indentured Labourer. Brother of Watsiang.
20.	YAFURWUN	600	Indentured Labourer. Brother of Bwansum, Gaiab and Tiri
15.	MARABWARI	300	Aged widows. Normally assisted by Bwansum, Gaiab, Tiri and Yafurwun. Maiamuta also assisting.
16	GWUNIANG	600	
17	FAKU	200	

Where the owner of a plot is an indentured labourer some effect on the food producing capacity of his household is to be expected. While women's work is essential to production, it is the men, according to the Ngarawapum, who are the repositories of garden lore and knowledge. Even if we are inclined to view this as an understandable exaggeration and asset that the simple techniques which are used must be known to both sexes, the fact remains that the men do the hardest and heaviest work, and there is no denying that some of the labour is extremely arduous. Furthermore, women have domestic duties to attend to in addition to their share of the garden work; food has to be dug, transported back to the village, cooked, and the children fed.

But the figures in Table AI point to another fact which is frequently overlooked. When a man is absent his household cannot be left to starve or to fend for themselves as best they can. Help is needed and this assistance is given by their relatives. It is not offered grudgingly, but is considered to be one of the duties of kinship. At the same time, however, it places an additional strain on those who have to render it. The food resources of their own households may be expected to suffer in accordance with the amount of outside aid they are compelled to give. Similarly, those who are partly dependent on the assistance of relatives will be compelled to retrench when their support is no longer available.

In the normal course of events, with only a few men absent there may be no appreciable difference in total production. But when the number of those who are away is abnormal the effect is felt by all. Not only does the food producing capacity of the group as a whole suffer, but additional strain is placed on all of its members in their efforts to maintain it at a reasonable level. Definite re-organisation is necessary to balance the effects of the depleted manpower. But even this re-organisation is insufficient to maintain the position in equilibrium, for those who are compelled to assist the households which have lost their male support are also compelled to spend less time at their own affairs.

Examination of a further area will corroborate these statements.

TABLE B: Gardens on the area DUMUNG, December 1944.

Owner	Area in use (sq. yards.)	Area previously used (sq. yards.)	Bunches of fruit on Trees
I.	600	600	22
2.	NIL	600	NIL
3.	NIL	600	NIL
4.	NIL	600	NIL
5.	600	600	3
6.	600	600	2
7.	800	800	18
8.	NIL	600	NIL
9.	400	600	3
10.	600	600	8
11.	NIL	1200	NIL
12.	NIL	1200	NIL
13.	NIL	1600	"
14.	NIL	1200	"
15.	NIL	800	"
16.	NIL	600	"
17.	NIL	600	"
18.	NIL	600	"
Total	3,600	14,000	56

In this case it will be seen that there is a difference of approximately 10,000 square yards between the area in use before the war and that producing in December 1944. The explanation will be found in the following table. I.

TABLE BI : Areas Abandoned On DUMUNG.

OWNER	NAME	Area of Garden abandoned (sq. yards.)	REMARKS
2.	MUMI	600	Aged. Died December. Son indentured.
3.	TIRI	600	Indentured. See Table AI
4.	IMPEGAI	600	Father of Bwansum, Geiab, Yafurwum and Tiri (see Table AI). Deprived of assistance of all these for some time.

TABLE III : Areas Abandoned On FUNUNG.

C[illegible]R	NAME	Area of arden Abandoned (sq. yards)	REMARKS.
8.	MORA	600	Indentured labourer.
9.	WAPUM	200	Returned from indenture. Two brothers away.
11.	ITSARA	1200	Aged. Father of Wapum. Two sons and daughter's husband absent.
12.	TSCHAMPIR	1200	Aged. Died December 1944. Brother of Itsara. Latter's two sons normal assistants. One son of own absent.
13.	OUIS.	1600	Dead. Son of eight years only descendant.
14.	MIRING	1200	Also assisting family of Itsia (Table AI) and cross-cousin Mifurnurang.
15.	DAIA	800	Aged.
16.	TSOM	600	Indentured. Son of Tschampir above
17.	TSAWSUM	600	Indentured. Son of Mumi above.
18.	MAII	600	No children. Brother of maimuta and Itsia (Table AI). Assists Itsara above.

Yam and Taro Gardens.

Although the construction of yam and taro gardens has been touched on in a previous connection[I.] it is necessary to re-iterate part of what I have said already, this time placing the emphasis on technical processes and the amount of work involved. Until these are clearly understood we shall not be able to arrive at an estimate of the extent to which the labour shortage has affected this side of food production.

As I have pointed out, the yam, as an everyday item of diet is not to be compared with the banana. It is present on the menu on an average of only one day out of seven. But this low position on the dietary scale does not detract from its importance as a food. Because it is a luxury item it is all the more appreciated when it is available. It is necessary at all feasts and the largest social gatherings take place when the yam gardens are ready for harvest; the mugus ceremonies, so intimately bound up with

I. See page 97 et seq.,

individual and village prestige, occur at this time only.[2] Yams are essential in the gifts which pass between the parents of betrothed couples. Furthermore, through the intervention of magic they are associated with religion and the spirits of the dead.[3]

Yam gardens are situated in the hills behind the villages, the steep rise of the ground necessitating working on slopes which are seldom less than sixty degrees from the horizontal. As with the plain below these hills are divided into named areas, each clan having rights on one or more of the sections. Certain areas of untouched jungle belong to the village as a whole.

Though one man may cultivate a yam garden on his own if he so desires, this is exceptional. The practice most commonly found is that where groups of men from the same clan, together with other relatives, combine in constructing the garden. Normal requirements are met by this type, but in addition there are two other variations of equal importance. In the first, the total members of one clan group combine. The second is an extension of this type, two clans or groups from several clans joining together with perhaps a further extension to include the whole village.

Preference for the latter varieties is due to the natureof the work involved. These large gardens are constructed on heavily timbered land where the soil is rich and unworked. Their yield surpasses that of the gardens situated on the open, kunai hillsides, but because the task of clearing the land is formidable they cannot be undertaken except by large groups. Even the smaller gardens demand co-operation. Furthermore, the greater part of the work falls to the men.

When the site chosen is a timbered area the undergrowth and trees have to be cleared and felled. This work is done entirely by the men. The most efficient implement used is the small European

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2. See page 109 to 126.

3. See page 140.

tomahawk. Consequently, it is no small task to clear an acre or more densely over-grown land for planting. Forest size timber is left standing, but all saplings and trees up to two feet in diameter are felled. Vines are cut and uprooted. At a later stage this rubbish is burned.

This heavy preliminary work is not necessary for the smaller gardens on the kunai hillsides. But at the same time processes equally arduous, but not as lengthy, have to be undertaken. Irst of all the kunai is burned from the chosen site, then the whole area is cultivated. For this the men choose saplings about six feet long, and working from the top of the slope downwards, these are trust into the soil in the manner of a crow bar. The sods are levered out and broken until the whole area has been turned. I was told that this process is not necessary with timbered land because the 'ground is good there. It is cold and the yams swell quickly'.

After the preliminary clearing or cultivation both types of garden are subdivided into individual plots by the men. Sticks and small saplings are placed vertically and horizontally down the slope of the hill until sufficient strips have been designated to allow one for each worker. Widows and certain male relatives may also be given plots. At planting, the sticks are removed and crotons and other coloured shrubs are grown on the boundary lines.

Planting is done by both sexes though the men prefer to attend to the yams themselves, leaving the women the subsidiary crops, sugar cane, corn, greens and taro. The seed yams with their new shoots are taken from the houses to the gardens by the women. There they are placed in neat heaps in each strips. After a magical ceremony has been performed, each man exchanges some of his yams with his relatives and planting begins.

Small mounds of earth are raised at six foot intervals down the slope. The yams are placed on top of these and covered with soil to a depth of three inches, the new shoots pointing down the hill. Small retaining walls of sticks are raised in front of the mounds where the yams rest. Depending on the size of the plots this process may be repeated the following day. In any

case several days may elapse before all the subsidiary crops are planted.

Gardens on the kunai hillsides are not fenced, but this is necessary for the larger types constructed in the jungle. Once there, fencing is done by the men. A double line of vertical saplings at six feet intervals, and three to four inches apart are erected round the area. The space between the uprights is then filled into a height of four feet by placing saplings horizontally one on top of the other. The whole structure is bound together with strips of vine and rattan cane. No stile is constructed. The worker desiring to enter the garden merely climb the fence, using two of the projecting uprights as a leverage. Some idea of the task involved is revealed in the fact that an average of twelve workers took seven days to fence a garden of two acres.

All this work entails long trips each day. If a timbered area is being worked the garden may be up to three miles from the village and in this case these men sleep near the site until the job is finished.

When fencing is completed there is a break until the yams' new shoots have put out leaves. Then the vines have to be trained. Small forked sticks are placed in the ground and the shoots are turned back up the hillside to rest on these. Contrary to first impressions, the vine does not spread down the slope, but up the hill.

This process completes the technical operations, but from now on the gardens have to be tended and weeded until the crop is ready for harvest. In the case of yams this is when the leaves have begun to yellow and die, approximately nine months after planting. Taro are ready for eating after six months. The total produce of the garden is not harvested at once. Neither yams nor taro spoil by being left in the ground and though considerable quantities may be dug for festivals some remain to be gathered as required. The whole garden, however, is abandoned after the first crop.

Taro is invariably planted in conjunction with the yams though each man also possesses one or two small plots with taro alone. Only one variety is cultivated to any extent. A giant

taro is planted in banana gardens as a curiosity and 'chinese taro' is cultivated in small quantities. The normal variety, however, is one with an edible tuber of approximately six ounces in weight.

When it is necessary to plant a new taro patch suckers are dug from the old garden and transplanted to the new site. I am convinced that more taro is grown than is ever used. As a food it is not regarded in the same light as yams or bananas and it is significant that while these foods always feature in displays and distributions, taro is seldom seen. When it is made into a pudding young men often refuse to eat it believing that it impairs virility and acts as a sexual sedative. For the same reason wives frequently offer it to their husbands, the idea being that they will then be disinclined to look elsewhere for their pleasures.

Garden statistics.

Statistics comparable to those given for banana plantations are not available for yam and taro gardens. In the first case it was possible to make a direct comparison with pre-war production. The extent of the retrenchment due to the shortage of labour was there to be observed. Yam and taro gardens, however, are always abandoned after the first crop and consequently there is no evidence of this nature. Gardens may be surveyed and the results will indicate the present state of the food supply, but they do not offer a direct comparison with pre-war production. Whenever I went to the yam gardens I was told that their former extent was far greater than the area at present under cultivation. ' It was different then' men said to me. ' Then the gardens covered the hillside from here to here. Now we make small ones. Later, when the young men return, they will be big again.'

But even without this verbal comparison one outstanding difference between present and former practice was noticeable: all the gardens were situated on the bare kunai hillsides; the largest types which are made in the bush, had been abondoned.

In itself this indicates abnormal circumstances. Though section of the open slopes are always under cultivation, it is usually the smaller type of garden which is made there. This

land has probably been worked over many times in the course of generations. Its fertility is said to be inferior to bush land. The crops it grows are never as good as those from the latter type, I was told, and consequently gardens in the timbered areas are preferred. But the maximum number of male workers are essential if this land is to be placed under cultivation. If there is insufficient man power, clearing cannot be undertaken.

Whenever the crops were discussed, this fact was pointed out to me. After one harvest Sampui of Gutsuwap remarked to me: 'You see, the yams are not plentiful now. Each man has one or two, that's all. We make our gardens in the kunai and they do not grow well. It is different when there are enough to cut the bush. Then the yams are plentiful. But now, with all the strong men away, we say we will make small gardens in the kunai. Later, when they come back, we will go to the bush. Later, our yams will be plentiful again.' Similar sentiments were expressed at a harvest at Tofmora. 'It is not the same when we make small gardens here,' men said as they discussed the crops. 'It is different when the gardens are made in the bush.'

In March 1945, after the return of seven indentured labourers to Tofmora and four to Gutsuwap, the people turned to the bush again. For the first time in over eighteen months the clans combined in the construction of the largest type of garden. 'Our food has been scarce while we have made our gardens in the kunai,' the garam tzira said when the undertaking was discussed. 'Now some of our young men have returned. Let us go back to the bush again. Now that we are enough let us clear the timber, and plant in the good soil. Then our food will be plentiful again.'

These new gardens had been completed before I left and there is profit in comparing them with the practice up to then. While the average size of the gardens on the open hillsides was not more than eight hundred square yards, one of the new gardens in the bush covered approximately two acres. It must also be remembered that this large type is constructed in addition to the smaller plots.

This suggests that the labour shortage had detrimental

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These new gardens had been completed before I left and there is profit in comparing them with the practice up to then. While the average size of the gardens on the open hillsides was not more than eight hundred square yards, one of the new gardens in the bush covered approximately two acres. It must also be remembered that this large type is constructed in addition to the smaller plots.

This suggests that the labour shortage had detrimental

effects on yam and taro cultivation as well as on banana production.

The following table confirms this impression.

TABLE 6: The Yam Garden of Itsara of Tofmora.

Itsara is one of the gamam tziva of Tofmora. He is a member of the clan descended from Utumaran. In normal times the following people combine under his leadership:

[redacted]:

Riki, wife of Itsara.

Finif, small daughter of Itsara.

Midzun, Itsara's son's wife.

Isambangin, Itsara's father's brother's son's daughter.

Isnrang, Itsara's father's brother's son's son's wife.

Antung, Itsara's father's brother's son's daughter (widow).

Kuan, Itsara's sister (aged)

Watut, Itsara's brother's son's wife.

Naipiga, Itsara's brother's son's wife.

Mangats, Itsara's father's brother's son's son's wife.

Meran, Brother's wife (aged. Husband died December 1944)

Ingin, Itsara's father's brother's son's son's wife.

Apinapui, Itsara's brother's son's son's wife.

Parup, Itsara's sister's son's wife.

Maniang, Itsara's brother's son's son's wife.

[redacted]:

Kapum, Itsara's son.

Murang, Itsara's son.

Mariang, Itsara's father's brother's son's daughter's husband.

Kagum, Itsara's brother's son.

Garasingan, Itsara's father's brother's son's son.

Lafan, Itsara's father's brother's son's son.

Manias, Itsara's brother's son.

Marusap, Itsara's brother's son's son.

Tsugun, Itsara's brother's son.

Guliang, Itsara's Father's brother's son's son.

Tschampir, Itsara's father's brother's son (aged. Died December 1944)

Table C. (continued)

[illegible]

Ramap, Itsara's father's brother's daughter's son's son.

Uri, Itsara's father's brother's daughter's son's son.

Sagum, Itsara's brother (aged.)

Sarap, Itsara's father's brother's son's son.

Lotan, Itsara's father's brother's son's son.

Rubin, Itsara's sister's son.

It will be seen that these household have a normal complement of eighteen males counting Itsara himself. If we exclude his brothers Sagum and Tschampir who are not full time effectives, this is reduced by two to sixteen. Prior to December 1944, however, the following men were absent from the village:

Murang

Mariang. (Returned January 1945)

Lafan.

Warusap. (Returned December 1944)

Wapun.

Kuliang.

Sarap.

Lotan.

Murap. (Returned approximately July 1944)

For the major part of the time between September 1943 and December 1945 this normal complement was therefore depleted by nine, giving a total of seven effective male workers. Furthermore, of those who remained to support their households only three - Sagum, Uri and Wapum - were under thirty-five of age. In other words, the normal complement of workers not only fell from sixteen to seven during this period, but over half of those who remained were unaccustomed to doing the heaviest types of work.

With this preliminary explanation we may turn to the largest yam and taro garden constructed by this group prior to December 1944. This garden, approximately half an acre in extent, was harvested on March 23rd 1945. The following people had strips in it:

Itsara.

Murang.

Sagum tzira.

[illegible] isi.

[illegible].

[illegible]nsingnn.

Anonins.

Narusap.

Purap.

Ianturng. (widow)

Tsambangin.

Nuan. (aged widow)

Isarang.

Apinpui.

Sise.

The last six of these people are women. With the exception of Ianturng and Nuan, who are widows, their husbands were indentured labourers at the time. Consequently the strips were placed in the women's names. Sisa is a daughter of Itsara, married to Yafu of Kainzarian but following a common practice she was given a plot in her father's garden. Had Yafu been present he would have assisted in/he work of construction.

Of the men Narusap and Murang were absent when the garden was made. Sagum tzira, an old man, did not assist. Therefore the whole section of the gardening team consisted of six effective workers. Against this, the same fifteen households in normal times would have mustered twelve fully effective male supporters.

CONCLUSION:

These figures point to two major conclusions. In the first place, the absence of so many of the younger men placed an additional strain on those who remained behind. Ngarawapum economy is principally a household economy and though the normal number of households remained the majority of their male supporters were absent. Consequently the task of providing for them fell to those who were left in the village.

Secondly, the numbers absent and the increaseing amount of work which devolved on those who remained meant a shrinkage of the areas under cultivation and a corresponding decrease in production.

Less production itself meant not only less food for everyday occasions, but also a more restricted social life.

It is not suggested that the Ngarasapum were near to starvation, though for a time, until the rains came in December, the position began to look desperate. On the whole, however, there was sufficient food. In this respect the people were far better off than some of the villages nearer Maiapit, and they were quite prepared to admit the fact. Two of these villages were being fed by the government, but the fact that they were receiving assistance caused no resentment in Ngarawapum. 'They have no food at all' men said to me 'We have a little though it is not the same as before.'

Sufficient food, however, is far different to plenty, a fact discernible in the restricted social life, the urgency of work and the verbal comments of the people.

Fortunately, before I left I was able to observe the beginnings of rehabilitation. When the contingent of indentured labourers returned in December 1944 new blood seemed to be infused in the villages. The bush was cut and the larges type of yam gardens were made again. Plans for the gardens to follow these were discussed and looking forward nine months to when they would be ready for harvest, people said: 'Then we shall dance. There will be food enough then.'

Even so, the numbers returned at that date were insufficient to permit a full recovery. 'It will not be the same until they are all back,' Maiamuta said. 'Then things will be as they were before.'

CONCLUSION

THE WAY TO THE FUTURE

To the more voluble sections of the European population, engrossed with their own troubles and fearful of the future, it may come as a shock to find that the natives themselves are looking to the post-war period to provide a solution for their many grievances and to open the way to a better understanding with their rulers. Commercial enterprises with their emphasis on balance sheets and profits may feel that the problem of rehabilitation is simply a matter of discovering the best means of securing a permanent labour supply. This view, however, overlooks the fact that the dynamic process of culture change cannot reach its fullest development so long as one section of the population have only the prospect of an alien system of wage labour before them. No one would deny the truth of the assertion that the New Guinea natives want to work for their European rulers; the money they earn on the plantations and gold fields is the only means they have for obtaining those goods of European introduction which they have come to regard as essential. But to argue from this that all that is necessary in the way of development is to provide additional safeguards and overhaul the contract system is to neglect the greater part of native life itself. Those who are concerned with the native only as a member of the labour line may feel that what happens in the village is of little importance. So long as their own little part is properly served and so long as a normal regard for the physical and moral welfare of their employees is preserved, they may feel that this is all that matters. Development, however, means progress in all aspects of native life and not in one direction only.

The principle of trusteeship subscribed to by the Australian government provides for this many-sided development

ulti-ately, it implies a future time when the dependent peoples will govern their own affairs. Consequently no administration can afford to close its eyes to the problem of the impact of its rule on native life and institutions. To justify itself before the bar of world opinion it must seek to discover and apply the means of reconciliation and of fostering responsibility. For this reason it needs a full examination and understanding of the present situation. At the same time it need not be thought that this examination has only a theoretical application. If for no other reason than that the past few years have shown that our own security is bound up with that of our island territories, it must be obvious that our own interests will best be served by discovering where points of stress and grievances exist and by taking steps to overcome them.

But whatever methods are adopted they must be largely of our own devising. The wishes of the people themselves must not be overlooked, but at the same time it must be remembered that the direction in which their ultimate welfare lies may not be apparent to them. During my stay at Ngarawapur I made many attempts to find out what the people wanted, but though their grievances were many no one was able to offer me constructive criticism. To them the basic and all important difference between European and native lies in the material possessions of the former. With some justification they feel that if there was equality in these other spects of alien control would take on a new complexion. Whenever the future was discussed they asserted that what they wanted more than anything was the opportunity to learn to make these things and to possess them for themselves. To preserve his superiority, they said, the pre-war European had seen that his knowledge was not shared with them. From the new Europeans who came with the armed forces they expected something different. Unfortunately, their ishes are not likely to be realised in the lifetime of any of the people now living.

If this is so, then it is a legitimate question to enquire what can be done. From the material presented here one obvious

direction lies before us. At present the alien nature of administration is emphasised by the fact that it derives entirely from above. Native institutions are not recognised or used and consequently they must either persist in conflict with the forms which have been introduced or succumb to them and disappear entirely. Either contingency is fraught with discontent. If we are to show that our interests are not confined to economic considerations alone we must be prepared to delegate authority and to foster native responsibility. Sympathy alone is not sufficient. Concrete recognition must be given to the native way of life.

This implies the acceptance and implementation of the principle of Indirect Rule followed in the British African colonies. In the first instance this policy was applied to places which already possessed well defined and highly developed systems of leadership. Latterly, however, in Nigeria and the Solomon Islands it has been shown that it is applicable to societies where hereditary leadership does not exist.

As far as New Guinea is concerned the excuse is often made that the time is not yet ripe for such a policy. New Guinea is a 'recent' colony, it is said. In Africa the administrations have had many more years to develope. But while it is true that there are large areas of New Guinea at present uncontrolled or only partially controlled, this excuse loses its validity when it is repeatedly advanced as the reason for maintaing the present inadequate system. It is not suggested that a policy along the lines of that adopted in the Solomons should be applied to all areas at once. But if a start is to be made it must be made somewhere; responsibility is not fostered by indefinitely postponing the opportunity to exercise it.

Applied to Ngarawapum I suggest that the future could best be served by granting official recognition to the garam tsira and scrapping the institutions of luluais and tul-tuls. In their own right the garam tsira form a council and this council could be given government recognition and executive and some judicial powers.

Moreover

Moreover, where any wider schemes of developing education, medical services and agriculture on a co-operative, village basis are concerned this council would be of inestimable value. The garamuts are the leaders of society now and they can remain the leaders in the future.[1]

But whatever methods are adopted one thing is certain: they cannot be undertaken without financial assistance. In the past the Australian public has displayed little interest in New Guinea. To some extent the war years have been responsible for a reversal of this attitude and if the knowledge gained in adversity brings a deeper understanding of what the welfare of the native peoples of these territories means and what development involves, then some ultimate good may be salvaged from the waste.

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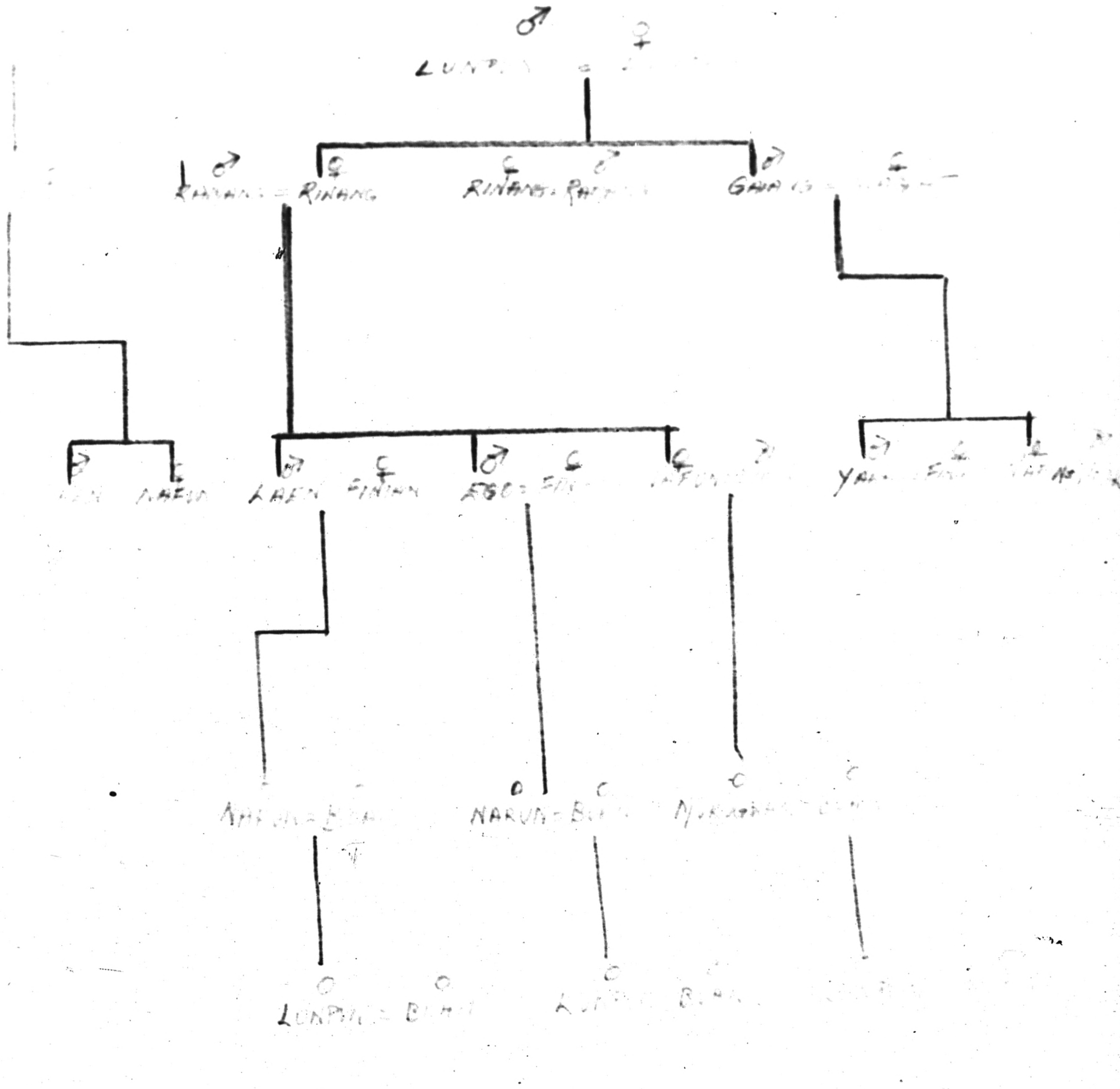
1. In a previous section I stated that the present garamuts are all former warriors. When speaking to the people they draw attention to this aspect of their authority, demanding: 'Did we not protect you for our enemies before?' In this respect it is interesting to note that the younger men, the future leaders, refer to their own exploits with the armed forces in similar terms. 'If we had not fought where would you be now?' they say. 'The Japanese would have killed you.' Authority, it seems, will have a similar basis in the future.

APPENDIX A: Kinship Terms

APP[illegible] : ..inship Terms.



APPENDIX B: Brother-Sister Exchange in Marriage.

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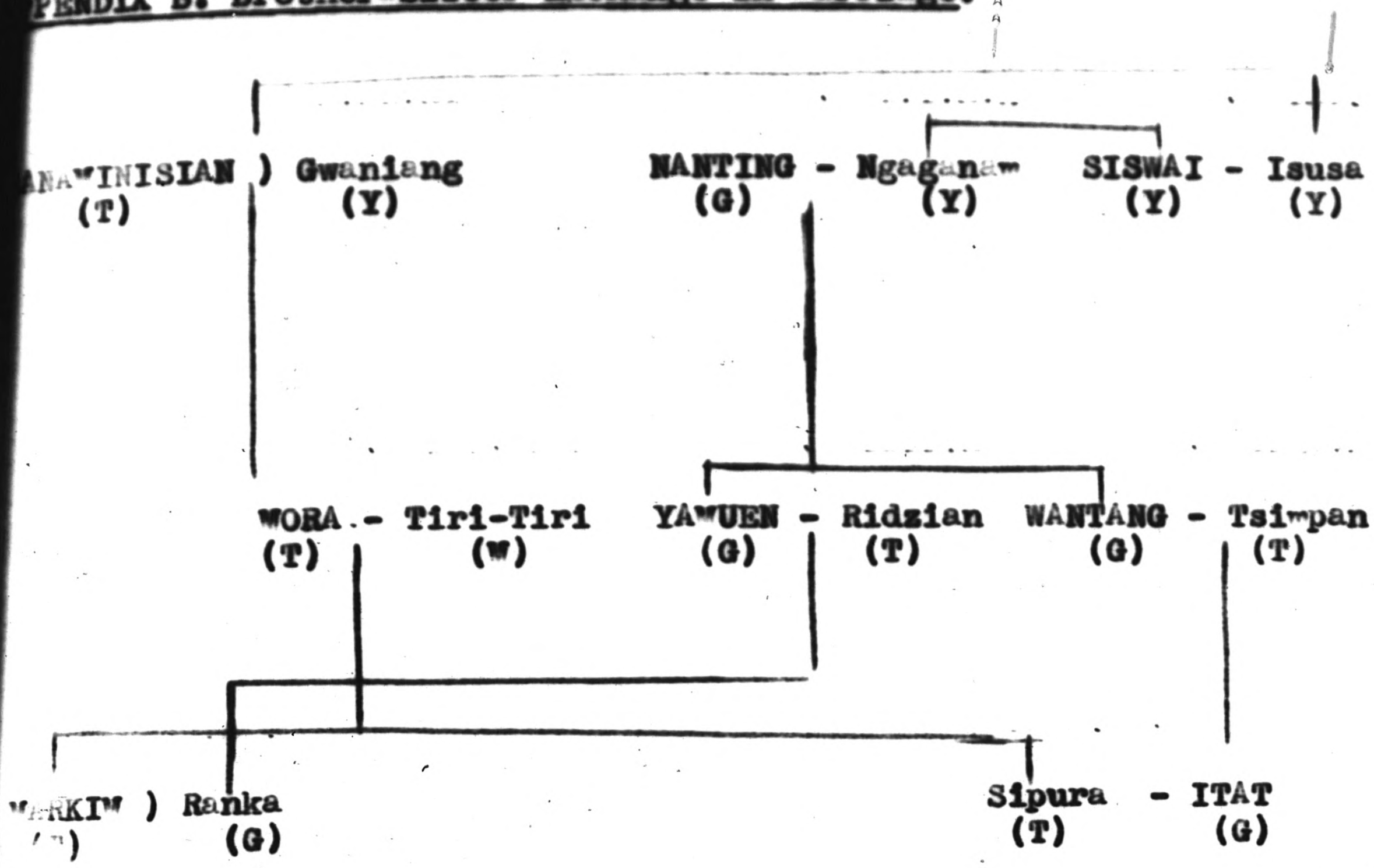

EXPLANATORY NOTE:

The names of males are in block letters.

T underneath name: of Tofwora village.

G underneath name: of Gutsuwap village.

Y underneath name: of Yaros district.

W underneath name: of Waianzarian village.

Gwaniang, mother of Wora, has a sister Isusa whom Wora terms mother (rinang). The husband of this sister, Siswai, is termed father, (rinang) by Wora. Wora calls Siswai's sister, Ngaganam, wagat, (father's sister) and her husband Nanting he calls gaiang. The two sons of Nanting, Yawuen and Wantang, he calls Yaran. He arranges a marriage between his son Warkiw and Ranka, daughter of Yawuen. At the same time Warkiw's sister Sipura is married to Ranka's clan brother Itat. Wora, Yawuen and Wantang now become true yarans.