The research for this thesis was carried out under the terms of a scholarship awarded by the Australian National University. Fieldwork was undertaken between July 1963 and April 1965. The object of research was to describe the resettlement of the mountain Kuni which began in 1961, and to analyse the process of change which resulted from this movement.

Chapter 1 describes the traditional way of life of the Kuni prior to resettlement and even before European contact about 1900. Attention is drawn to the interesting combination of so-called Melanesian and Papuan traits in Kuni culture, and to the light which this may throw on the question of population movements in New Guinea in the past.

Chapter 2 gives a detailed description of the process of evangelization in Kuni dating back to the first contact in 1896, between these people and the Roman Catholic Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. Special emphasis is laid on the nature of present day Kuni religious beliefs, and on the distinctive syncretic characteristics of Kuni Catholicism.

The discussion of the Mission's role in Kuni is continued in the next chapter which describes the reasons for resettlement, how it was implemented and outlines the main problems which confronted the settlers when they arrived at
Bakoiudu. These problems are discussed primarily in terms of changes in residential organization and corresponding changes in group solidarity.

Chapter 4 deals exclusively with problems of economic organization and economic change under resettlement conditions. Particular attention is drawn to the difficulties posed by the introduction of cash cropping, and to the various attempts made by the settlers to reconcile this activity with the traditional attitudes and work patterns associated with subsistence horticulture.

Problems of leadership and social control are discussed in Chapter 5. The approach has been to contrast the structure of leadership which existed before the arrival of the Europeans with that which prevailed after contact, and to compare both of these forms again, with that which has recently emerged at Bakoiudu. The same comparative historical approach has been applied to the analysis of methods of social control. In both cases it emerges clearly that the premises of traditional leadership and authority are no longer suitable or effective under resettlement conditions.

To some extent this is also true of kinship organization. Chapter 6 shows how rules regarding the payment of bride-price, post-marital residence and descent have changed from pre-contact times down to the present day. Conversion to Catholicism and changes in the social significance of spatial separation have also engendered many important changes in traditional kinship organization.

The concluding chapter reviews the data and arguments set out earlier. The final analysis attempts an explanation of
the changes which have taken place in Kuni in the light of a threefold distinction between precipitating, enabling and inhibiting conditions of change.

Four appendices are also included. The first discusses the position of persons who have refused to resettle and describes how resettlement has affected them; the second gives additional examples of changes in traditional Kuni customs and values which resulted from resettlement; the third gives an account of how the Kuni Club was established at Bakoiudu and how it has fared there; and the fourth discusses the attitudes of Port Moresby Kuni to resettlement.

Canberra,

April 1967.
BAKOIUDU

Resettlement and Social Change
among the Kuni
of Papua

Olga van Rijswijck

Thesis presented to the Australian National University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Canberra, April 1967
Except where otherwise acknowledged in the text, this thesis represents my original research.

Olga van Rijswijck
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ERRATA

p.119 - line 25: Lucifer's henchmen, not Lucifers'.

p.214 - (omitted). This is a mistake in pagination only. The text follows consecutively from p.213 to p.215.

p.319 - line 9: this person, not this persons.

All bibliographical references to Hogbin and Wedgwood (1952) should read Hogbin and Wedgwood (1953).
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This study was carried out between 1963-7 under the auspices of the Australian National University. I am pleased to acknowledge my indebtedness to this University whose generous grant and many facilities not only enabled the research to be done, but made it a veritable pleasure.

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towards the Mission, its staff, or its work. To Fathers Boell and Louis Vangeke go my very special and warm thanks, not only for their immeasurable assistance during my stay at Bakoiudu, but for their regular correspondence since I left, which has kept me abreast of latest developments in Kuni. I am particularly indebted to Father Louis for his help in compiling sketch maps 1 and 3, and for the numerous tapes which he has recorded for me. Thanks are also due to Mr Chris Abel for his readiness and patience in spelling out the finer points of rubber growing to an anthropologist, and for other help rendered.

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INTRODUCTION

The Problem

For those interested in the process and dynamics of social change, the study of resettlement provides almost the ideal field situation. Whether spontaneous or directed by an outside agent, resettlement involves at least the physical displacement of a community (or part thereof) to a new locality more or less removed from the original habitat. More often, however, it entails substantial changes in social and ecological environments as well, thereby affecting former economic patterns, social relationships, and sometimes even the very basis of traditional social organization. In fact, the resettlement situation can be looked upon as an extensive social drama involving all the participants in the move, and sometimes, as in the present instance, those who have not participated as well. It provides a compact case study in social change whose boundaries in time and space may be relatively easily established for the sake of analysis.

In recent years there has been an upsurge of interest in the study of resettlement, particularly in the Pacific where demographic factors, strategic (military) interests, government policy, natural disasters, and/or economic expediency have led to major population displacement and the widespread relocation of peoples throughout the islands. Organized research into Pacific resettlement is currently being undertaken.
under the directorship of Dr H.G. Barnett of the University of Oregon who has launched the Project for the Comparative Study of Cultural Change and Stability in the Pacific. Most of the studies undertaken under this scheme deal primarily with situations of organized and directed resettlement resulting from one or more of the conditions mentioned above: overpopulation, drought etc. (cf. Larson 1966; Lundsgaarde 1966; Knudson 1964; see also Malhotra 1960; Sinha 1965; Wagner 1960; van Rijswijck 1966). I have referred to these studies at relevant places in my own work.

In contrast to this type of resettlement, however, there are other instances of resettlement which has taken place in much more spontaneous and unsupervised fashion (cf. White 1965; Dakeyne 1966). These involve the relocation of peoples under their own initiative or with only minimal outside intervention. Few of these have been studied or are on record, precisely because of their unobtrusive and non-spectacular character. From the point of view of detailed analysis of social change, however, these spontaneous movements are perhaps more interesting than directed ones in that the whole process and incentive for change is worked out by the people concerned in terms of their own values and aspirations. Generally speaking, one would expect changes occurring under these conditions to reflect more accurately the changing values and attitudes of the people involved, as well as the relative importance attached to different institutions, beliefs, and practices (cf. White 1965: 54). In situations of
forced or directed resettlement, by contrast, the people concerned often have no option but to acquiesce to the changes imposed upon them, so that it is more difficult to sort out their scale of values and preferences in the course of adaption and change. In particular, the process of social change tends to be complicated and obstructed by the intervention of outside factors and policies.

The kind of resettlement experienced in 1961 by the Kuni tribe of Papua falls in between the two types of resettlement described above. On one hand, the idea of resettlement stemmed from an extraneous source, namely, a local Roman Catholic priest who gave the initiative by moving the headquarters of the Mission in Kuni from one locality to another. By 1964, the new Mission centre at Bakoiudu had become the focus of a major resettlement of over 800 persons or roughly one third of the total Kuni population. On the other hand, however, there was no set plan for resettlement, no external coercive sanctions for compelling anyone to resettle, and no intervention or support for the scheme, either by the Administration or by Mission authorities outside Kuni. In this latter sense, therefore, the resettlement of the Kuni was spontaneous even though the people did not initiate the idea themselves.

Of course, it may be argued that the shift in residence by the Mission in fact contained an element of compulsion. This query raises the important and often eschewed analytical problem of whether the religion of a recently converted people (the
evangelization of the Kuni was completed in 1935), should be regarded as an integral part of the local culture, or whether it should still be looked at as an incompletely assimilated foreign element. Most anthropologists would hold the former point of view, though often their analysis has been carried out as though Christianity were still extraneous to the local scene, a deus ex machina as it were. In Kuni, where Catholic values and arguments have emerged as one of the primary activators of social change, it is particularly important to resolve this question and to define the place of Catholicism within the context of the whole culture.

This has been attempted in several ways: first, by giving a historical account of the process, methods and results of evangelization; second, by describing the operation of Catholic values in different contexts, both religious and secular; and finally, by analysing the role of Catholicism as a means of implementing social change both before resettlement and thereafter. Against this background, the question of whether the resettlement of the Kuni was spontaneous or not becomes almost academic. The significant factor is rather the extent to which Catholicism has been wielded as a catalyst of change under the stress and unprecedented conditions of resettlement. This is perhaps the most interesting feature which has emerged from the Kuni experiment.

However, this particular resettlement was distinctive in other ways as well. From a
methodological point of view, for example, the analysis of social change was very much facilitated by the fact that resettlement occurred within Kuni territory and did not entail, as in many other resettlements, major dislocation across tribal, linguistic and sometimes even, national boundaries. The environment at Bakoiudu was essentially the same as that of the areas which the settlers had abandoned. There was no need for them to change their traditional subsistence economy, to learn a new language, or to adjust to the customs of a foreign people. In a sense, this continuity between the traditional way of life and that at the new locality has made the nuances in the change between the old ways and the new particularly subtle; much more so than in the case of a people resettled in a totally new environment, as for example the Gilbertese in the Solomon Islands (cf. Knudson 1964), the Ellice Islanders in Fiji (cf. White 1965) or the Tikopians in the Russell Islands (cf. Larson 1966). The detection and discussion of these changes was facilitated by the fact that the Kuni resettlement presented a unique opportunity for controlled comparison. Since the traditional homelands were so close, and since over 1000 Kuni still resided there at the time of research, it was possible to compare and contrast the way of life at Bakoiudu with that which prevailed in the homelands and which the settlers had abandoned only a few years earlier.

Though the resettlement of the Kuni is noteworthy for its having taken place on tribal land immediately
adjoining their traditional homes, it does not follow that changes were therefore negligible. On the contrary, resettlement _per se_ brought about major organizational changes in the life of the settlers who previously had lived in widely dispersed autonomous hamlets numbering about 50 persons each. The relocation of over 800 persons at a single settlement engendered numerous problems of adjustment, particularly in the sphere of leadership and social control. This was accentuated by certain characteristics of traditional social organization where residential association and descent had been competing criteria of group membership. Residential concentration at Bakoiudu brought these conflicting principles into headlong collision with interesting side-effects on kinship organization and related customs such as the payment of bride-price. These changes resulting from resettlement _per se_ were further enhanced by the introduction of cash cropping at Bakoiudu which in turn necessitated particular adjustments in traditional economic organization, in leadership, in the definition of group membership and in local custom.

The purpose of this thesis has been to describe these changes, to discuss their interrelation, and to analyse the processes whereby they were brought about. In doing so it was convenient to adopt Lawrence's (1964) notion of precipitating and enabling conditions of change to which was added the category of conditions inhibiting the rate and direction of change. The
analysis does not pretend to be exhaustive or to present the only possible interpretation of the changes that have recently taken place in Kuni. Changes have been so rapid and complex that any analysis at this stage can only be tentative, the more so that the Kuni are still in the process of adjusting and adapting to resettlement. In fact, this thesis describes the salient features of only the first round of social change in Kuni.

Field Method

In all, I spent about 18 months in Kuni: from August till December 1963, and then from March 1964 till April 1965. During October-November 1964 I spent six weeks in Central Nakanai in West New Britain where I observed two other resettlements for comparison with Bakoiudu (cf. van Rijswijck 1966). The rest of the fieldwork period was devoted to the study of the Kuni. Although my fieldwork was at Bakoiudu and most of the research was carried out there, I availed myself of every convenient opportunity to visit the homelands i.e. the areas which the resettled Kuni had abandoned, but which were still inhabited. The reason for this was twofold: it enabled me to observe the traditional 'pre-resettlement' way of life as it were, and it also gave me an insight into resettlement as seen by non-settlers. It was also indispensable to visit the homelands since Bakoiudu settlers retained close links with relatives and friends there. Indeed, much of the ceremonial life e.g. big mortuary feasts, which could
not be conducted at Bakoiudu because of scarcity of pigs or for other reasons, was carried out in the homelands. This meant that groups of Bakoiudu settlers were constantly visiting their former homes. Sometimes I accompanied them arriving as a guest at the feast; sometimes I forestalled them and for all intents and purposes, was a 'host' to them with the homelanders. Not counting trips of less than three days' duration, I made seven major visits to the homelands averaging 13 days each. During these trips I visited every parish and major hamlet except three hamlets in Kauaka parish (cf. Map 2) whose residents were away at a feast in Goilala at the time that I could have visited them most conveniently. The general observations of these visits are recorded in Appendix 1. In addition, I spent one month working among the Kuni living in Port Moresby in order to acquaint myself with their reaction and attitudes to the resettlement which had taken place in the tribal area. Appendix 4 gives a brief outline of my findings.

The news of my impending arrival in Kuni preceded me, leading to widespread speculation on what an anthropologist was, and what I could possibly wish to do at Bakoiudu. The rumour was widely circulated that I was coming to record all the sexual customs of the Kuni, and the settlers awaited me with grim expectation and a firm resolution to betray none of their customs to a 'rubbish woman'. Although I was unaware of this undercurrent when I arrived at Bakoiudu, there was a marked unwillingness on the part of men to have anything
to do with me, the more so that my innocent punch line, conveyed through the intermediary of an interpreter, was that I wished to acquaint myself with all Kuni customs so that many peoples far and wide might hear of them.

If the first few months in Kuni were frustrating for this reason, they were also very beneficial. Falling back mainly on the company of women and children, and aided by Father Boell with whom relations were very cordial from the outset, I learnt the Kuni language. My thanks are also due for this to Louis Kove, the Kuni school teacher, who helped me much and to my 'father', Kalau Daniel, who taught me to speak Kuni 'as our forefathers did, not like these modern mixed-up youngsters'. After three months I was able to fend for myself. As fluency increased, my relations with all the settlers improved considerably.

All my research was carried out in the vernacular and any quotations by informants in the text are direct translations from the Kuni. I have avoided using any specialized orthography in the spelling of Kuni terms for the language has many variations of pronunciation and no greater accuracy is therefore gained by the use of one phonetic system rather than another. Generally speaking, I have followed the spelling conventions of the early French missionaries who compiled an excellent Kuni grammar and several dictionaries, in addition to translating many sacred texts, hymns and stories into the vernacular. Where necessary, I have simplified spelling to accord with English usage. Thus the French spelling of Boubouni
has been replaced by Bubuni; and in all cases the letter j in the French rendering has been replaced by y in mine e.g. Joumou = Yumu.

Attention may also be drawn to the fact that all quotations from French writings, and all verbatim transcriptions of the words of French missionaries e.g. Bishop Klein and Father Boell, have been translated into English by me. As a matter of fact, our common mother-tongue did much to establish good relations between the missionaries and myself. It was even an asset for understanding the Kuni lingua franca for the pioneering French fathers have left their mark on the vernacular. It was at first disconcerting to hear a Kuni wife tell her husband that it was time to prepare food because 'il est midi' (it is noon). Nor does one speak of an aeroplane so much as of an 'avion'; of a hammer as of a 'marteau'; of a candle as of a 'bougie', and so on. In cases of stress it is admissible to burst out into vexed 'sapristi'; and bothersome children are told roundly to 'fiche moi la paix'.

The situation was so complex at Bakoiudu and there was always so much going on, that I did not follow any set programme of fieldwork. Except in Port Moresby, I avoided formal interviews altogether. Since the settlers were still very busy establishing themselves at Bakoiudu, most of my research was carried out in the gardens, in the rubber plantation or during other activities in which I participated as much as possible. If the Kuni were at first disconcerted by this unprecedented approach, their innate common sense
soon took over. Children were delegated by their parents to inform me that rice was being husked here, a pig fence being mended there or preparations for a wedding under way somewhere else. It would only be honest to admit that my liberal supplies of trade tobacco were perhaps the main reason for these invitations to work, and, since the Kuni never do strenuous work while they smoke, none of us were deluded. Instead, we would talk a little, work a little, smoke and discuss. This thesis is mainly the product of those discussions.
Map compiled from several patrol report sketch maps and maps drawn by missionaries. Revised and corrected by Father Louis Vangeke at Bakoitdu, July 1963.
CHAPTER 1

THE TRADITIONAL SETTING

About 80 miles north-west of Port Moresby, or 25 miles north of Yule Island, the coastal plain of Papua rises steeply to the foothills of the Owen Stanley Ranges which form the backbone of Papua-New Guinea. Here, dispersed over some 400 sq. miles, lives the Kuni mountain tribe numbering some 2,500 people.¹ To the south-west of the Kuni live the coastal Roro numbering approximately 3,500; and to the west, the Mekeo with a population of some 6,500. The Nara (Pokao) and Kabadi peoples numbering 650 and 1,800 respectively inhabit the foothills to the south-south-east, while the mountain-dwelling Goilala and Fuyughe (Mafulu) peoples with a combined population of upwards of 28,000, are the neighbours of the Kuni to the north and north-east respectively (see Map 1).

¹ Of these, about 480 Kuni live outside tribal territory, mostly in Port Moresby. In August 1964 the Administration census enumerated a total of 2,100 Kuni. Roman Catholic Mission statistics for the corresponding year recorded 2,460, and my own rough estimate during the same year accounted for nearly 2,400 Kuni. Unless otherwise stated, Mission statistics form the basis of discussion in this work as they have been found to be the more reliable (cf. Oram 1966a: 23).
Although it is difficult to reconstruct the history of the Kuni before contact, there are still a few living informants who recollect the arrival of the first Europeans in Kuni about the turn of the century, and many more have vivid memories of the first decades of western contact. It is thus possible to reconstruct post-contact Kuni history with some accuracy and considerable detail. Despite the changes brought about by pacification and evangelization, the pre-contact way of life of the Kuni and the basis of traditional social organization remained relatively unaltered for fifty years. This was largely due to the physical isolation of the Kuni from towns and rural centres for socio-economic development. In 1961, however, following resettlement, the Kuni entered a phase of rapid socio-economic change.

In order to understand these changes, it is necessary to outline the background against which resettlement occurred. Granted Malinowski's warnings about historical reconstruction (1938: xxv-xxxii; 1945: 1-40), a description of pre-resettlement social organization is called for in this instance, not only to provide a basis for determining and analysing the changes which have resulted from resettlement, but also because the analysis of traditional Kuni social organization throws light on the processes of social change observable in Kuni today. The reconstruction of pre-resettlement conditions is facilitated by the fact that there are still approximately 1,000 Kuni who have not resettled and live more or less unaffected by the
resettlement of about 840 of their fellow tribesmen at Bakoiudu (see Table 1). However this does complicate discussion of the contemporary situation in Kuni since two 'ethnographic presents' are involved: that which applies to the resettled Kuni at Bakoiudu (the settlers), and that which applies to those who have not resettled (the homelanders). Throughout this thesis 'traditional' refers broadly to the way of life (or aspects of it) that existed in Kuni before resettlement, and that are basically similar to those which prevailed before European contact. According to this definition, homelanders still exhibit a predominantly traditional way of life though it is changing under the indirect influence of resettlement (cf. Appendix 1), while Bakoiudu settlers are increasingly departing from traditional beliefs, practices and institutions.

The aim of this chapter can then be described as twofold: first, to present a general outline of the traditional way of life of the Kuni so that changes at Bakoiudu described in subsequent chapters can be viewed in broader perspective and, second, to draw attention to some features of the traditional system which seem to be relevant to the understanding of the processes of adaptation and social change which have taken place since resettlement. The emphasis is on general description, and detailed discussion of specific topics is taken up again later in the chapters on economics, kinship etc.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Population: August 1964</th>
<th>Number of homeland hamlets per parish</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In the homelands</td>
<td>Resettled at Bakoiudu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Yaifa (including IDU*)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Maimai no.1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>69</td>
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<tr>
<td>Maimai no.2 (Ilailava)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Kauaka</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Keakamana</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Devadeva no.1</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Devadeva no.2 (Yola)</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Dilava</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Yoyaka</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Inaumaka</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Madiu (including Polipoidu*)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Vale Matsuafa (no.4)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 Yumu (Dalava-Bubuni*)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 Vale Bekena (nos.1-3)</td>
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<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 Idoido</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 Lapeka</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Mixed Hamlets:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Epa (part Nara - part Kuni)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adio (Lapeka, Idoido, Inaumaka)</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inika (Idoido, Yumu, Vale)</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>763</td>
<td>(1061)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. View in conjunction with Maps 1 and 2.
2. Population figures based on the Administration census of August 1964. Although these figures are inexact, they are the most detailed available on a parish basis for the whole of Kuni. My own total population estimates are given in brackets beneath the totals. Mission statistics record a total of 2460 for the same period.
3. The apparent discrepancy between the number of homeland dwellers and the number of post-resettlement hamlets (cf. nos. 4 and 8) is partly explained by errors in the Administration census and partly by changed patterns of residence in the homelands since resettlement (cf. Appendix 1).
4. Subdivision of large parishes on a numerical basis was introduced by administrative officials and has remained in vogue among the Kuni to this day.

* Idu, Polipoidu and Dalava-Bubuni were once independent parishes which subsequently became insignificant through population depletion. At Bakoiudu they have lost their separate identity and have become incorporated into Yaifa, Madiu and Yumu parishes respectively.
The Problem of the Origin of the Kuni

In the beginning, so Kuni myths (tsitsifa) relate, there was a hole in the ground, way up in Fuyughe country. All Papuan tribes emerged from this hole one by one, first the Roro, then the Mekeo, the Nara, Kabadi, Goilala and the Kuni. (As a concession to history, some myths mention that there were two adjoining holes, one for Papuans, and the other from which Europeans originated). Emerging from their hole, the Kuni (then known as the people of Dilava),¹ began to migrate southward in two main groups known as Dilava Meaba and Dilava Doidoi, and settled at the present sites of Devadeva and Obaoba respectively. These were the forbears of the present-day Kuni. Subsequently, internal quarrels led to the breaking up of Dilava Doidoi, each seceding group settling in a new area and establishing an independent parish. By a process of fission spread over generations, members of Dilava Doidoi finally settled throughout all that is now recognized as Kuni territory and laid the foundation of

¹ The name Kuni derives from the word kuni meaning bush or mountain people, used by the coastal tribes in this area to refer collectively to their northern neighbours, the Kuni, Goilala, Fuyughe and Kunimaipa (cf. Egidi 1907a: 107-8). Roman Catholic missionaries moving from the coast to the mountains for the first time at the turn of the century adopted the coastal practice of calling mountain dwellers kuni, and this generic term became the distinctive name of the first tribe contacted by them in the mountains - the Kuni people under discussion.
the parish organization which underlies present-day Kuni social structure (cf. Groves 1963: 16; Hogbin and Wedgwood 1952: 243; see Map 2).

 According to their myths of origin then, the Kuni are a mountain people who migrated southward from their original habitat somewhere inside the Owen Stanley Ranges into allegedly uninhabited country, stopping their migration at the foothills of the mountains on the ecological frontier between the mountainous hinterland to the north and the plains environment ahead of them. This hypothesis is not implausible especially as early historians have postulated similar migratory trends of mountain peoples towards the coast throughout this area (cf. Haddon 1900; Seligmann 1910). In addition, Kuni myths are also reinforced by several factors, the most important of which is the manifest cultural affinity between the Kuni and their northern neighbours, particularly the Goilala and Fuyughe with whom they share many features in common including hereditary chieftainship, though some polemic surrounds this question (cf. Fastré 1937: 9-13; Sahlins 1963: 294 fn. 17; Seligmann and Strong 1906: 235; Seligmann 1910: 31ff; Williamson 1912: 292-3). Striking similarities in the details of mortuary beliefs and ritual can also be traced as far north as the Kunimaipa (cf. McArthur 1961; n.d.), and it is tempting to accept Seligmann's classification of the Kuni with the neighbouring mountain tribes as forming part of a single culture complex (1910: 31).
However, an important differentiating factor between the Kuni and the surrounding mountain tribes is that the Kuni alone speak an Austronesian language whereas the others are non-Austronesian speakers (cf. Capell 1943: 19, 168, 266-76 and 1966: 19, 21). These languages are mutually unintelligible\(^1\) and belong to two distinct language groups whose distribution throughout Papua-New Guinea has prompted historians to postulate various theories of migration and population displacement in the past (cf. Capell 1943, 1966; Giles 1966). The most recent of these, based on the combined evidence of linguistic, archaeological and other data, is that invading Austronesian speaking tribes settled along the littoral of the country, forcing the indigenous non-Austronesian speakers to retreat into the hinterland. According to this theory, the Kuni would be descendants of immigrant Austronesians who settled on the coast of Papua, and who, for some unexplained reason, were one of two groups only (the other being some tribes living in the hinterland of Madang), of Austronesian speakers who penetrated inland (cf. Capell 1966: 19; Detzner 1935: 146; Inselmann 1948: 11).

This interpretation contradicts Kuni beliefs about their own origin which postulate a diametrically

\(^1\) Steinkraus and Pence 1964: 4 give the cognatic relationship between the Kuni and Fuyughe languages as 24 per cent, and between Kuni and Motu (Austronesian) as 40 per cent.
opposed migration from the mountainous interior towards the southern coastal plains; and the contradiction invites further analysis into the relationship between the Kuni, Nara, Kabadi, Roro and Mekeo languages, all of which have been classified as part of the Western Mainland Group of Melanesian (Austronesian) languages (cf. Capell 1943). In particular, there is a close affinity between the Kuni and Nara languages, and informants say that they have no difficulty in understanding the latter, though Mekeo and Roro are considered more difficult because of certain nasal and glottal phonemes (cf. Seligmann 1909: 321).

The Kuni also have other culture traits in common with the coastal Austronesian speaking tribes, especially with respect to the organization of local descent groups (cf. Groves 1963). In mythology too, there is a marked similarity between Kuni myths and those of the Mekeo and Nara, the most striking of which is that the Nara share the Kuni myth of origin and believe that they too, are an inland people who have been forced to migrate towards the coast (Seligmann 1909: 322, 1910: 26-7; Egidi 1913a and b, 1914, 1924, 1926; Guis 1936: 189ff; Dupeyrat 1935: 301). ¹ This

¹ The only evidence to support this claim is a statement by Murray in 1912 to the effect that 'there is a story that, somewhere among the Fuyughe speaking people, there is a tribe that speaks the language of Kuni... which is Melanesian [Austronesian]' (PAR 1912-3: 9). However, this may have been a literal reference to the Kuni myth of origin.
apparent falsification of origin is not easily explained, particularly as, on the basis of linguistic and physical criteria, the Nara have been described as the closest living representatives of the original Austronesian immigrants into Papua-New Guinea (cf. Capell 1943: 19; Seligmann 1910: 26). Since the Kuni have so many features in common with the Nara, it is likely that these people shared a common migratory past.

Yet, on the basis of cultural criteria and notwithstanding their Austronesian language, Seligmann identifies the Kuni unambiguously as an indigenous non-Austronesian tribe which migrated southward from the mountains, and goes so far as to explain similarities between Kuni and Mekeo culture as an indication that, 'part at least of the Mekeo social system is derived from the mountains', rather than vice versa (1910: 32; cf. Groves 1963: 30; Haddon 1900: 291, 415).¹

¹ It is interesting to note that Capell (1943: 19) describes the Mekeo language as having the least Austronesian words, whereas Nara is singled out as the most representative Austronesian language in Papua-New Guinea. Considering the affinity between the Kuni and Nara languages, and the importance of linguistic criteria in postulating the origin and migration of peoples, it would be interesting to make a thorough comparison of these two languages. Such a study might throw a new perspective on the question of Kuni origins, the more so that Capell's 1943 Kuni word-list is incomplete and contains several inaccuracies.
In a situation already complicated by conflicting interpretations, the analysis of Kuni physical characteristics only serves to enhance the problem. From the times of earliest exploration, the Kuni have invited comment because of their atypical physical features and cephalic measurements corresponding neither to the general characteristics of the so-called autochthonous (Papuan) tribes, nor to the prototype of Austronesian immigrants (cf. Egidi 1910; Haddon 1900: 291, 439 and 1906; Seligmann 1909, 1910: 31; Williamson 1912: 290-306). Together with the cultural and linguistic peculiarities already described, these physical characteristics have confused the attempts of early ethnographers and historians to establish the origins of the Kuni.¹

The picture which emerges is thus fairly complex. Situated on the geographic boundary between Austronesian peoples to the south, and non-Austronesian

¹ Different criteria for classification have done much to perpetuate confusion about the origin of so-called Papuo-Melanesians, peoples of mixed Austronesian and non-Austronesian descent in Papua-New Guinea (cf. Egidi 1910; Fastré 1937: 9-15, 320ff; Giles 1966; Seligmann 1909: 246ff, 1910: 22-7; Watson 1964; Williamson 1912: 26, 290ff; Lawrence and Meggitt 1965: 1-25). Nowadays, however, given the clarification of the issues involved, and the development of more sophisticated methods of research, it may be possible to resolve this question. In Kuni, for example, it would be interesting to apply blood group tests in the light of Giles' recent observation that the Gm factor is absent among Austronesians (1966: 23-5).
tribes to the north, the Kuni straddle two culture complexes. Linguistically, they are linked to their southern neighbours; culturally, to the tribes in the north and physically, they have attributes of both but also exhibit features which are typical of neither. It is difficult to reconstruct the historical background of contact and likely migration against which the Kuni emerged with this distinctive combination of traits, though the problem being set in clearer perspective, it should not be too difficult to resolve it in the future. In the meantime several alternative interpretations of the origin of the Kuni suggest themselves:

(a) that the Kuni were closely linked to the Nara (if indeed, they were not the same people) at the time of the Austronesian immigration into Papua, and that they spearheaded the migration of Austronesian speakers into the hinterland, adopting the alien culture of mountain dwellers over the years;

(b) that they are a mountain people who migrated southward and adopted the Austronesian language of their new southern neighbours;

(c) that they have been settled in Kuni since very early times and have experienced two foreign migratory incursions, one from the north and one from the south; or
(d) that, in the course of their southerly migration, they met Austronesian tribesmen moving in the opposite direction and that the two groups acculturated to the point that it is very difficult nowadays to unravel the different cultural traditions.

The point about this discussion of Kuni origins is that whichever way the question is resolved by future research, each alternative listed above (and there may be more) attests to a considerable adaptability on the part of the Kuni in the past, and demonstrates their singular capacity for incorporating new elements into the traditional matrix(es), to the point even of obliterating the original culturo-linguistic framework(s). This characteristic dynamism of the Kuni which has thwarted attempts to trace their origin remains a typical feature of this tribe to this day. It also underlies the adaptive processes now taking place among the resettled Kuni under the conditions of accelerated contact and change at Bakoiudu.

Inter-tribal Relations

Whatever their historical association with the neighbouring tribes in the past, and despite marked cultural affinities with some of them to this day, the Kuni are fond of asserting their separate identity, expressed in the phrase imai vabekau doka; we, the true people. Since western contact, however, this phrase
has acquired a wider connotation, and embraces all indigenous peoples in contradistinction to Europeans. However this does not mean that the Kuni have lost their sense of separate identity; instead, they refer to themselves as *imai maya kaona kaumai*, we, people of one language (as compared to other-language speakers). This is despite the fact that there are dialectical differences within the Kuni area itself. In the southwest for example, the members of Lapeka parish speak a distinctive blend of Kuni and Mekeo languages. This, together with other cultural peculiarities has prompted several writers to describe the Lapeka as a sub-tribe of Kuni (cf. Seligmann and Strong 1906: 233; Seligmann 1910: 314). Again, in the extreme north of Kuni, Kauaka parish men speak a mixture of Kuni and Goilala.¹

The various influences manifest in present-day Kuni culture may partly be attributed to the intercalary position of this tribe between the distinct

¹In addition to these major linguistic variations, there are minor ones as well. These are localized in three distinct areas:

(1) the divide between the Arabure and Dilava rivers, and the area south of the Dilava where Kuni *doka*, standard Kuni (otherwise known as *daba yoko*) is spoken;

(2) the area north of the Arabure where members of Maimai and Yaifa parishes speak with regular consonant mutations and certain idiomatic peculiarities (*gaba loko*) and;

(3) the northernmost part of Kuni where Devadeva parish men speak with a consistent consonant elision (*daba yo'o*).
culture areas to the north and south respectively, and more especially, to the bartering relationships in which the Kuni were engaged in pre-contact times. Salt and shell ornaments were bartered by the coastal tribes in a northerly direction through Kuni to the mountain tribes beyond, and the latter in turn exchanged plumes, dogs' teeth, stone axes and flints in a southerly direction, again through the intermediary of the Kuni (see Figure 1). This system allegedly evolved because raids and warfare were common in pre-contact days, and trading expeditions were unsafe. Instead, goods were bartered along customary trade routes by passing them from one adjoining partner to the next until they came to rest. Return goods would travel the same way, thereby minimizing the movements of traders and the dangers of ambush.

Despite their impersonal character, many associations developed from these bartering relationships, especially after contact when pacification removed the threat of warfare and individuals more frequently undertook trading journeys themselves. Thus the Kuni established ties of reciprocity with neighbouring tribes, attended their feasts (especially those of Nara and Goilala tribesmen whom they invited in return), and cemented these bonds through the exchange of women in marriage. This was especially common between peripheral Kuni groups (Devadeva, Lapeka and Epa) and the neighbouring tribal groups. On the other hand, bartering relationships could also deteriorate and be a cause of dissension.
Figure 1: Pre-Contact Kuni Barter Relationships

FUYUGHE
- stone axes & flints
- dog's teeth (Yobu)
- paradise birds

GOILALA
- stone axes & flints
- dog's teeth, Yobu

MEKEO
- axes, flints, Yobu

KABADI
- salt & fish
- axes & flints

NARA
- axes & flints
- salt
leading to hostile raids and even warfare. This was especially common with the Mekeo and Goilala.¹

Nowadays, western goods have to a large extent displaced traditional items of trade and trading expeditions have become rare; but there is still some spasmodic trading in bird of paradise plumes from the mountains for shell ornaments (or cash) from coastal tribes. Since resettlement in 1961, however, most of the traditional associations of the Kuni with adjoining tribal groups have lapsed. Only on the very fringe of Kuni territory are there still pockets of Kuni who have retained close socio-cultural links with their neighbours. These groups are perhaps better identified as only 'part-Kuni' because their ties are increasingly with their non-Kuni neighbours. They include Kuni centred round Lapeka (part-Mekeo), Epa (part-Nara), Kauaka (part-Goilala), Ilailava (part-Goilala) and Inauaia (part-Fuyughe).

Despite these associations with their neighbours extending even to recent times, the Kuni proudly differentiate themselves from them. Numerous references to the Goilala and Fuyughe express disgust at certain mourning practices involving the use of putrifying body

¹Cf. KPR No. 1 of 1950/1; No. 4 of 1959/60; No. 7 of 1962/3. PAR 1930-1: 10 gives an account of the last tribal murder during a Kuni bartering expedition in the Mekeo plain in 1930.
parts, cannibalistic practices of old,¹ and the scantiness of dress of contemporary Goilala women: 'they have no shame those backward mountain folk'. The aggressiveness of the Goilala, their raiding prowess, their supposed indifference to Mission teachings, and more recently, their reputation for rowdiness in urban centres like Port Moresby, are frequent topics of criticism and discussion among the Kuni. It is difficult to establish to what extent such generalizations are expressions of long-standing Kuni sentiments or merely reflections of current European value judgments on the people concerned. Nevertheless the Kuni rather identify themselves with the mountain Goilala and Fuyughe than with the coastal tribes:

We mountain people (kuni) are liberal at feasts and generous gift givers, whereas the coastal peoples, especially the Mekeo, are close-fisted at feasts, and haughty besides.

In fact, Kuni relations with the neighbouring tribes appear to have changed over the years depending on circumstances and expediency. In the distant past when they were supposedly migrating into new areas or were invaded by foreign tribal groups, the Kuni assimilated the new cultures to the point that it is

¹ Though by their own admission the Kuni were also cannibals before contact (cf. Williamson 1912: 179, 294; Chabot 1930: 238; Dupeyrat 1951: 47). Fastré 1937: 379, 392 and Egidi 1910 suggest that cannibalism diffused from the north into Kuni where it was increasing at the time of contact.
now practically impossible to unravel the different cultural influences; subsequently, when conciliation was a matter of survival, the Kuni successfully carried off their strategic role as middle-men between the numerically stronger tribes to the north and south without being overrun by either; and finally, nowadays (particularly since resettlement), the Kuni have come to compare themselves with their neighbours according to the extent to which they have westernized and attempted to evolve socio-economically. Here again, though the success of resettlement is by no means a foregone conclusion, the Kuni have shown considerable initiative and adaptability. Contrasting themselves to the Mekeo who for a long time resisted any organized programme for socio-economic development, Kuni informants exclaim:

> How can you expect them to make business when they stick to their old customs? We are not as strict as they: we leave things if they don't suit us or if we grow tired of them: we don't hold to our old ways just because our forefathers did. But the Mekeo and Goilala do, and that's the main difference between us.

Similar assertions recur spontaneously in so many different contexts that they cannot be discounted simply as apologies or empty rationalizations. Whether or not this cavalier approach of the Kuni to custom is the result of their unsettled past when adaptability was a condition of survival, it is certain that flexibility and a sense of pragmatism are characteristic traits of the Kuni today. This may well
account for their adaptability to the wide-ranging changes which have befallen them recently.¹

**Environment and Economy**

The Kuni inhabit the middle reaches of the valley of the St Joseph or Angabunga River, which they call the Arabure, the lower part of the Dilava River, and the divide between these two rivers which cut across the country diagonally from south-west to north-east. Though the population is scattered throughout the territory (density: 5 persons per square mile), the inhabitants on the northern bank of the Arabure are relatively isolated from the core of the Kuni who inhabit the divide between the two rivers. The river valleys are not of the broad, open type, but are steep with lateral ridges divided by fast-flowing tributaries. The settlements are generally sited on top of these ridges. Before resettlement, hamlets were small and scattered averaging five to six huts each, though informants say that in pre-contact days the settlements were considerably larger to afford protection against raids.

While the courses of the two major rivers divide Kuni into three sections diagonally from north-east to south-west, there is a further threefold topographical division of the country from north to south: from the mountain ranges of up to 5,000 ft on the frontier of Kuni and Goilala in the north, to the undulating plains of the Kuni-Mekeo boundary at an altitude of 600 ft in the south. Between these two extremes (which are further characterised by climatic differences: invigorating climate in the north, oppressive humid heat in the south), lies a region of undulating foothills of which Bakoiudu (alt. 1,300') is the centre. These foothills separate the malarial regions of southern Kuni from the malaria-free regions of the north.

The northernmost region consists of rugged forest-clad mountains and steep gorges through which flow numerous streams. These swell into roaring and treacherous rivers after the early afternoon tropical downpours particularly marked during the wettest season (November to March). The heavy annual rainfall averaging 175 inches promotes the growth of luxurious tropical vegetation: ferns, orchids, lianas, creepers, thick matted undergrowth and mile upon mile of tropical rain forest. These rugged mountains are the haunts of wild pigs, cassowary and several species of small wallaby, tselua.

From the mountains to the foothills, and from these again to the southern plains, the vegetation
retains its luxurious profusion despite the relative levelling of the terrain. The rivers enter their steady middle courses and meander toward the sea. Game is abundant here, particularly the larger species of bush wallaby (*tsimana*).¹ The mountain bird of paradise is joined in the plains by the Goura pidgeon, parakeets and numerous other bird species; while the rain forest, very humid in these parts, abounds in insects, leeches and snakes.

In this environment the Kuni have developed a way of life based on swidden horticulture and pig husbandry. Hunting and fishing are also practised (particularly in *tsimana* areas), but do not form a vital part of the subsistence economy.

The Kuni economic cycle normally begins with the onset of one of several seasons named after and identified by, the growth of certain flora. Though the people distinguish between four main seasons, and gardens can be started at virtually any time of the year, two seasonal peaks in horticultural activity can be discerned (see Figure 2). These are the Auli-Moleala and Jaibo 'dry' season cycle which begins about June, and the Ofio-Okamo and Ilama wet season cycle beginning in mid-October. Within these broad

¹ The Kuni distinguish between mountain and plains Kuni by referring to them as *tsalua* and *tsimana* respectively. There is no totemic connotation to the use of these terms.
FIGURE 2: KUNI MIXED HORTICULTURAL CYCLE

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<th>OU-OU</th>
<th>AULI-MOLEALA and JAIBO</th>
<th>OFIO-OKAMO</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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1. AULI-MOLEALA and JAIBO sweet potato cycle
2. OFIO-OKAMO and ILAMA sweet potato cycle
3. OU-OU sweet potato cycle
4. AULI-MOLEALA yam cycle
5. OFIO-OKAMO rice cycle (at Bakoiudu)
6. Hunting and fishing (in the homelands)

Legend:
- Beginning of gardening cycle
- End of gardening cycle
- Immature crops (uma)
- Peak in food production (diaba)
- Preparatory gardening activity (abulu)
- Wane in food production (gudumau)
- Fallow (tsitsiva)

Note: Rainfall data based on average rainfall at Kubuna 1958-63.
categories the people recognize other variations depending on when exactly gardening activity is started, planting takes place and so on. It is possible for example, to distinguish between Okamo and Ilama gardens within the wet season cycle. A third gardening cycle may be started towards the end of April at the end of the Ou-ou season, but this is not standard procedure if adequate gardens have been planted in the earlier seasons. Ou-ou crops are said to take longer to mature and to produce less food.

Of the two main gardening cycles, Auli-Moleala is the more important. It is then that the staple crop of sweet potatoes (gubea) is planted, and together with it, subsidiary crops of local and western origin, including cucumbers, pumpkins, beans, eating and cooking bananas and so on. Auli-Moleala is also the season for yam and taro cultivation as these tubers must be planted before the onset of the rainy season. Since yam gardens are never associated with sweet potato cultivation in Kuni (though they may be shared with taro, bean and pumpkin crops), an additional garden must be cut during Auli-Moleala to ensure the cultivation of both foodcrops. (At Bakoiodu, rice gardens are started at the onset of the Ofio-Okamo gardening cycle in October. After harvesting in April-May, sweet potatoes are planted in the same garden which then enters the Auli-Moleala sweet potato cycle - cf. Figure 2).

Even with the rotation of Auli-Moleala and Ofio-Okamo sweet potato gardens, however, there is a period of staple food shortage between October and December,
though this may be avoided if Ou-ou gardens have been planted. This is the time when the last reserves of yams harvested in June-July are eaten, yams being the only stored vegetable crop in Kuni before the recent introduction of rice on a large scale at Bakoiudu. The people commonly refer to this period as *e moidi enona*, days of hunger (cf. Belshaw 1954: 98-9). In very bad years they live entirely off the edible bulbous roots and leaves of forest plants, drawing on their detailed knowledge of plant and animal life. Conversely, there is a peak in food production from March to June when most of the crops are in full production. This was the time when most ritual and ceremonial activity traditionally took place.

Whatever the season, gardening activity follows a set pattern in Kuni. As soon as the site for a new garden (*abulu*) has been selected, the first task is for the women to cut and clear the undergrowth at the proposed new garden site. The men follow systematically behind them, felling the trees at their base. Traditionally, stone axes were used for this purpose and elderly informants recall the hardship of gardening in pre-contact days (cf. Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 180; Belshaw 1954: 60). Despite the introduction of steel axes and bush knives by Europeans about 1900, however, preparing a new garden remains the most arduous activity in the whole gardening cycle, and labour is usually on an extended kin basis or by organizing work parties. There is no formal acknowledgment for labour rendered, though workers are liberally supplied with
food and depart with the assurance of reciprocal help in the future. As soon as the trees are felled, the main branches are lopped off, stacked into heaps by the men and left to dry for one or two months depending on the weather. The abulu is then set alight leaving charred stumps, black logs and a layer of ash. At this stage, if the abulu has been established as a joint effort (usually by the members of a single patrilineage), it is ready for subdivision. This is done by lining up tree trunks to form rough boundaries (koa and kava) for each separate plot. From then on these are worked exclusively by the nuclear or extended families to which they have been allotted by general assent.

Gardening activity then enters the planting stage, a task undertaken by both men and women. As soon as a garden is planted, it is no longer called an abulu but is known as an uma until it begins to bear. During this period it requires constant weeding and attention, a predominantly female task. When harvesting starts, the garden becomes known as a diaba, and this stage continues until the peak of production is passed. The garden then enters the gudumau stage and pigs are allowed to break down the fences and forage in the fast-diminishing food supplies. About this time though preferably earlier, a new garden site is selected and the abulu cycle begins once more. The gudumau passes into the tsitsiva stage when the garden is abandoned altogether and reverts to forest. A fallow period of some six to ten years is usually allowed before a former garden site is once more used as abulu.
Particularly rich sites can be used two years in succession, in which case a garden in the gudumau stage is planted afresh and passes straight into the uma phase. Weeding then becomes an increasingly difficult task as regeneration of second growth timber begins in earnest.

The main features of traditional gardening outlined above also apply to subsistence economic activity at Bakoiudu. However, as discussed in Chapter 4, resettlement has modified several aspects of traditional economy, particularly with respect to work organization and patterns of distribution and consumption.

Social Structure and Social Organization

Attempts at reconstructing traditional Kuni social structure suggest that, at the time of contact, the Kuni were involved in a widespread process of socio-cultural change or adaptation possibly related to migration (cf. Seligmann 1910: 25-6). To what extent the arrival of Europeans arrested, accelerated or altered the course of these pre-existing trends is not known. However, detailed analysis of structural forms, especially kinship, corroborates the view that Kuni social structure was in a state of flux when the Europeans first contacted the area.

This observation is not particular to Kuni, and has been noted in several Highland societies where ethnographers have noted the undefined and seemingly
transitional character of the societies and structural forms observed there (cf. Watson et al 1964; Brown 1966: 149). These conditions must be viewed against the background of probable migrations, demographic changes, different environments and changing socio-economic systems, all of which presumably exerted pressure against existing structural forms long before European contact. This means that in order to understand the modifications and particular direction of change resulting from contact, it is necessary to view the contact situation against the shifting background of pre-contact social structure. In practice, however, and except for tribes studied immediately after contact, it is very difficult to describe these processes of pre-contact change in pre-literate societies with much accuracy or detail. For this reason anthropologists have usually taken the structural form prevailing at the time of contact as the 'zero-point' of social and structural change against which to analyse and compare subsequent changes. This is also the method applied to the Kuni, bearing in mind that the structural forms described below appear themselves to have been in a process of evolution at the time of contact.

Two systems of relationship form the basis of Kuni social structure: first, territorial organization based on residential groupings; and second (to some extent overlapping with the first), kinship and descent organization based on bonds of real or putative filiation. Since resettlement, a third system of
relationships has emerged in the structuring of Kuni social life. This is based on voluntary associations in which individuals increasingly discount the territorial and kinship ties which had formerly dictated their way of life. Instead, the resettled Kuni now increasingly seek to establish bonds and relationships on the basis of common interest, mutual liking or for idiosyncratic reasons. The two former aspects only will be treated here, as the emergence of the third in a sense underlies the discussion of social change as a whole.

1. **Territorial Organization**

In Kuni, the largest local group between whose members there exists a measure of socio-economic co-operation and political identity is the parish (cf. Groves 1963: 16; Hogbin and Wedgwood 1952: 243). There is no generic term in the vernacular for this unit of organization, though every parish has its own distinctive proper name. A parish is primarily a territorial unit, its name in fact being that of the land which comprises the parish territory. Residents within the defined boundaries of a parish refer to themselves collectively by the name of that parish, and distinguish themselves from adjoining parishes and parish members.

There are 14 parishes in Kuni, most of which are linked to two or three others. That is to say, the members of two or more discrete parishes may have
closer socio-economic ties with one another, a higher incidence of inter-marriage, and in general, tend to associate together more frequently than with the members of other parishes. These parishes are linked initially through historical association and territorial contiguity though subsequently the kinship ties resulting from such linkage may become the basis for perpetuating the relationship. Thus at Bakoiudu for example, resettlement at one locality has rendered distance negligible in determining the range of social relations of any settler. Other factors such as kinship ties, friendship and common interests are becoming the relevant criteria for association.

Before resettlement however, there was an obvious correlation between geographic proximity and the prevalence of linked parishes in the traditional Kuni homelands. Referring to Map 2, it is not surprising to find that Yaifa (including Idu) and Maimai parishes were linked, separated as they were by the Arabure river from the rest of Kuni. Before resettlement Maimai parish members (especially residents at Ilailava) had close ties with their northern Goilala (Niavi and Apoa) neighbours whose language they also spoke.

Across the Arabure river, Kauaka was linked with adjoining Keakamana parish, besides which it was also closely associated with neighbouring Goilala groups. At the time of resettlement indeed, several Kauaka parish men opted to join the Goilala census-subdivision
rather than to go down to Bakoiudu. In addition to its links with Kauaka, Keakamana parish was also linked with neighbouring Devadeva parish (especially Devadeva 1), and Yoyaka parish to the south. Devadeva 2 (Yola) parish members were the northernmost inhabitants of Kuni. Despite extensive kinship ties with members of Devadeva 1 parish, they consistently refused to join the latter in resettling, and today they form the core of anti-Bakoiudu homeland Kuni. In recent years they have considerably increased their relations with adjoining Goilala peoples.

The parishes to the south of Devadeva - Yoyaka, Dilava, Polipoidu, Inaumaka, Madiu, and Vale Matsiafa (Vale 4) - were all linked through their common Dilava ancestry. Although each parish was discrete and had known territorial boundaries, its members freely acknowledged their origins from Dilava from which they had hived off following disputes during their alleged migration southward into Kuni. These parishes were linked not only by historical ties, geographical proximity and bonds of kinship, but also by their close association with the Roman Catholic Mission which established its central station at Obaoba in Dilava territory in 1900. This gave rise to their collective designation as Obaoba kautsi, people of Obaoba, by other Kuni. This frame of reference still applies at Bakoiudu where Dilava leaders have attempted to revive the solidarity of Obaoba homeland parishes under resettlement conditions.
Across the Dilava river, Yumu and Dalava-Bubuni parishes were so closely tied to each other that they were rarely distinguished, least of all after resettlement. In addition, Yumu was linked to Vale Bekena even though the two parishes were separated by the Dilava river. Interestingly, the Yumu-Vale association has persisted at Bakoiudu and even increased through closer residential contact, whereas most other parishes have not succeeded in or attempted to perpetuate the homeland-type social organization after resettlement.

In the southern plains (tsimana) region of Kuni, Idoido and Lapeka remained discrete parishes and had little to do with one another or with the northern (tsalua) parishes, although Idoido had some ties with the Obaoba group of parishes. Despite the fact that resettlement took place on Idoido land, the bulk of Idoido parish men did not resettle and remained in their plains habitat south of Bakoiudu where they have some contact with the neighbouring Nara and Kabadi tribes. Lapeka parish men are much more dissociated from other Kuni parishes still. Living on the westernmost frontier of Kuni, they speak a mixed Kuni-Mekeo dialect and follow several Mekeo practices e.g. Lapeka women wear the characteristic Mekeo grasskirt, whereas the traditional dress of the Kuni was a bark loin-cloth. Despite cultural and socio-economic links with the Mekeo, however, Lapeka parish men count themselves as Kuni notwithstanding that their contacts with the neighbouring parishes of Idoido and Yaifa are
minimal. Not surprisingly, members of Lapeka parish have not joined the resettlement and remain a fringe group in the Kuni homelands.

The political organization of these parishes can now be described. According to informants, membership of a parish is held primarily by reason of long continued residence on parish land. In the past, different parishes arose during the presumed southward migration of the Kuni. The composition of the original parishes thus established by migrations was subsequently disturbed by quarrels arising within them (Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953: 70). Unclaimed land was presumably abundant in Kuni at this time and splitting groups settled in new localities, setting up independent parishes. Since fission tended to occur along lineage lines, the members of the seceding group for some time at least recognized a common ancestry with their group of origin. Mention has already been made of this awareness in relation to Dilava parish offshoots. Nowadays, however, when all land in Kuni has been claimed, established parishes are not readily broken up into new ones. This process has been replaced by changing residence and shifting parish loyalties.

Parish membership is thus associated with a common migratory tradition or a common background of fission involving persons who, originally at least, could trace a common kinship bond. However, since continued residence in a given parish is the criterion of
Persisting parish membership, kinship and a common migratory background are by no means the sole determinants of parish membership. A man who, through marriage or for other reasons, chooses to settle permanently in a parish other than his natal one (which, by the extension of the same argument, could be either his father's or his mother's), will with time be considered a member of that parish, and pass its membership on to his children. In its simplest expression, parish denotation identifies one as a resident member of a known territorial unit (cf. Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953: 65).

The members of a parish reside in one of several hamlets located on parish land. In pre-contact times, as old men recall, these hamlets were prominently situated on mountain spurs and ridges whose precipitous approaches afforded some protection against enemy raids. The Kuni contrast these old time hamlets with contemporary ones which are said to be much smaller and more scattered since the abolition of warfare has removed the necessity for compact defensible communities.

Despite these differences, the structure of a typical homeland Kuni hamlet (banua) has remained relatively unaltered (cf. Egidi 1909: 387-404). At a distance, a hamlet is detected first of all by the prominent moka-moka tree (sp. ficus) which dominates most hamlets. In bygone days, the moka-moka tree was planted for use in open-air burial, corpses being left
to decompose on platforms erected in its branches. Clambering up to the hamlet, one is first confronted by a palisade fence some 4'-5' high, which, depending on the situation of the hamlet, may either encircle it or simply cut across the narrow ridge whose precipitous sides form natural barriers. The modern function of this palisade is not defence but to keep pigs out of the central yard. In pre-contact times one or two additional tall outer palisade fences would reinforce this one, acting as obstacles against enemy raids. Inside the palisade some five to ten dwellings are arranged in two rows facing each other, with the narrow central yard between them. In most cases the backs of the huts built on piles protrude over the sides of the ridge while the fronts rest on the crest itself. These are the family huts (luma). In pre-contact times when polygyny was practised, all the members of a compound household resided in one such hut. Nowadays under Mission influence each nuclear family strives for its own hut but composite households are still widely prevalent.

At the farthest end of the yard, in a prominent, usually elevated position, is the men's house (kufu),

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1 Egidi mentions as many as 25 huts in one hamlet (cf. BNG 1899/1900: 72-5). The most I came across was 14, and the average was 5 (cf. KPR No. 16 of 1960/1; Eschlimann 1966: 11). Dupeyrat 1951: 48, 64 and Haddon 1900: 422 illustrate and describe the earliest seen Kuni huts as being built flush to the ground; nowadays all huts except those built for pigs, stand on piles.
which is built differently from family houses and which in pre-contact days, was characterized by an elaborately carved central fore-post, the kafakafa (cf. Egidi 1909: 387-95; Seligmann 1906: 232-3). Strictly taboo to women, the men's house dominates the hamlet and is the focal point of hamlet activity. It is here that the men of the hamlet gather to talk and to discuss all matters of import, that visitors are received, that preparations for feasts are laid and that the strategy of raids used to be planned before pacification. In those days too, when abstinence and strict eating taboos were held to be necessary conditions for success in warfare, the men's house was also the sleeping place of would-be warriors i.e. all able-bodied men. Family huts were then more properly called women's huts, and housed the women and children. Under Mission influence, the men's house lost its 'male dormitory' characteristic, but remained the smallest and most fundamental unit of political organization in Kuni. Its membership comprises all adult (i.e. married and widowed) males of the hamlet, whose viewpoints are sounded by chiefs and leaders as an index of general opinion. It is essentially the nucleus of hamlet life for no matter of importance escapes discussion and consideration in the kufu.

While the description of hamlet and men's house organization outlined above still applies to the majority of homeland Kuni, it must be stressed that, for those who have resettled at Bakoiudu since 1961, a new way of life has evolved where there are no more
men's houses as pivotal points of social activity, and where hamlet organization itself has broken down as well. In order to understand these changes discussed in later chapters, it is necessary to analyse further the structure and organization of traditional hamlets.

Traditionally, the hamlet was the smallest residential grouping and the centre of socio-economic activity in Kuni. Members of any one hamlet were usually also involved in some relationship with residents of neighbouring hamlets of the same parish, and to a lesser extent with persons from linked or foreign parishes. In most cases, descent and kinship ties (reckoned cognatically or affinally) were the basis for association and co-operation. Since the hamlet was also a kinship unit (as will be shown presently), such bonds tended to be concentrated within it and became progressively less as physical distance removed kinsmen from the range of everyday activity.

According to the reminiscences of old men about life in pre-contact days, raiding and warfare occurred mainly at inter-tribal and inter-parish levels although skirmishes within parishes also took place. The location and organization of settlements were influenced by considerations of safety against attacks, whether from Kuni or non-Kuni aggressors. The causes of warfare and raiding were numerous, tending to be centred on disputes over women, pigs, chieftainship and land. Nevertheless it is difficult to gauge the true extent and effects of warfare in pre-contact Kuni as
war narratives are invariably interspersed with confidential asides on the nature of western warfare:

When we fight, we fight to kill, not like the whites who spare women and children, and who fight by the clock, where meal times are prescribed, where rain stops hostilities and where all retire for the night.

Preoccupation with cross-cultural comparison (inspired by widely circulated tales of the New Guinea engagements of Japanese and Allied forces during World War II), may well distort descriptions of the nature of Kuni warfare (cf. Reay 1964: 243). Informants say that where armed aggression took place, the aim was complete devastation and destruction of the enemy hamlet, including its inhabitants. Traditional riches of plumes and shell ornaments were looted and pigs stolen; but with few exceptions, no men, women or children were spared or taken as captives. The rationale behind this was that survivors would invariably turn against their captors sooner or later.

In practice, however, the escalation and devastation of any given raid was inversely proportionate to the intensity of social relationships existing between the groups involved. In cases of conflict within a parish or between linked parishes, bonds of association and ties of kinship acted as effective curbs on the extent and intent of aggression (cf. Langness 1964: 176; Berndt 1964: 193-203). In such instances, the aim of raids was punitive and restorative rather than purely retaliatory or
destructive, as was the case in clashes between dissociated parishes, or in warfare with different tribal groups, particularly the Goilala. In the latter event wider loyalties and solidarities were evoked, uniting whole parishes or groups of them in armed opposition. Even here, however, there was no automatic or necessary participation on the basis of either territorial association or kinship ties. It was more a case of individual war leaders soliciting support by manipulating social obligations.

Disputes arising within or between hamlets rarely involved whole parishes or escalated to an inter-parish level. Cross-cutting ties of kinship and association between the conflicting parties and would-be participators in a fray acted as deterrents. Rare instances of direct aggression tended to be relegated to fighting in which the immediate parties only participated. More often, the persistence of tense situations would result in the fission of the original group along lineage lines. Such fission and physical separation was a matter of serious consideration in pre-contact times when every residential unit was liable to be attacked and safety lay in numbers. Paradoxically then, the threat of warfare from external sources indirectly served to preserve intra-hamlet and intra-parish solidarity even though frictions and tensions were most liable to occur at these levels of social organization owing to the intensity of interrelationship and competitive interests. Hamlet solidarity was thus fictitious up to a point and likely
to collapse once the source of unity (the threat of warfare) was removed (cf. Williamson 1912: 292-3).

This is in fact what happened when administrative control was extended over Kuni and warfare abolished at the turn of the century. The termination of institutionalized warfare removed one of the major factors perpetuating the hamlet type of residential organization. No longer inhibited by threats of aggression, latent hostilities were increasingly externalized, some developing to the point of hamlet segmentation. Over the years, both Mission and administrative sources reported the increasing fragmentation of Kuni hamlets and the so-called breakdown in social cohesion. In 1960 for example, a patrol officer noted that 'true villages do not exist any more in Kuni [and] social life is practically non-existent due to the isolation of the people' (KPR No. 13 of 1959/60; cf. KPR No. 11 of 1946/7; No. 16 of 1947/8; No. 5 of 1948/9; No. 9 of 1958/9; No. 16 of 1960/1; also Egidi 1909: 400-2 and Groves 1963: 15-21).

Government reports thus confirm Kuni statements about the increased fragmentation of post-contact Kuni social organization, especially after 1940. These assertions must, however, be reconsidered in the light of a hamlet census made in 1906 by the missionary Father Egidi, who reported no less than 81 hamlets for 12 contacted Kuni parishes having a total population of 1807, i.e. an average of 22 persons per hamlet (cf. Egidi 1909: 402). The number and scatter of hamlets
thus recorded scarcely five years after contact can hardly be interpreted as a post-contact phenomenon. Instead it suggests that dispersal of hamlets was a feature of Kuni social organization already before contact, despite the assertions of informants and official reports to the contrary.

This contradiction is resolved by postulating that the change over the years has been not in hamlet composition so much as in the process underlying the establishment of new hamlets. Reconstructions of hamlet histories consistently show a marked increase in the rate of establishment of hamlets in post-contact times, most of them offshoots from parent-hamlets. If this increase is not statistically demonstrable, it is because the actual incidence and frequency of fission has been masked by a counterbalancing process of fusion. That is, after some time several small hamlets once more united into larger local groups either along former lines of cleavage or by establishing new ties (cf. Williamson 1912: 292-3). Fusion could have been the result of economic necessity, ineffective leadership or other such reasons. Figure 3 traces the hamlet composition of Maimai parish and outlines the main trends in fission and fusion of hamlets or parts thereof since contact (cf. Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953: 68-72).

The description of pre-contact and post-contact hamlet organization can then be rephrased as follows: Kuni hamlets were never very large, though in pre-contact times they tended to be relatively stable and
permanent units grouped fairly close together for protective reasons (cf. Eschlimann 1966: 10). In post-contact times following the Pax Australiana, there was a great increase in the number of hamlets as a result of fission, and a corresponding reduction in their size. For several reasons, however, (economic necessity, socio-political interests, conviviality, etc) such hamlets did not remain permanently isolated but tended to fuse into new units with different or former hamlet sections. As a result, the number of hamlets has remained fairly constant over the years though their rate of establishment has greatly increased. It is in this sense presumably, that the Kuni speak of a break-down in social organization and social cohesion in post-contact times. Fission and fusion have both increased, while stability and social cohesion have decreased proportionately.

It is against this background of residential instability and a high degree of structural fragmentation that resettlement took place in 1961, bringing with it a reversal of the very trends which had characterized the homeland way of life after contact.

2. Descent and Kinship

Generalizing broadly, the basic and only named descent group in Kuni is the lineage or inau, whose members trace their descent patrilineally from a common ancestor whose name they also assume e.g. Amaka Peter
of Inau Feua, Amaka Peter of Inau Olaba. Nevertheless, there are instances, especially in polygynous ancestries, where inau names refer to the maternal heads of the separate lines of descendants from a single male lineage head. Marriage within the inau is not favoured, and is strictly prohibited where a common ancestry (through any line) can be traced up to and including three ascending generations. On the whole the Kuni have considerable genealogical knowledge and elderly informants in particular have little difficulty in tracing detailed genealogies some seven to ten generations back.¹

Despite this the genealogical depth of most existing named inau rarely exceeds four to five generations, and inau names tend to change over the years, being replaced by those of more recent lineage heads. The reconstruction of inau histories suggests that change of inau names often resulted from fission which tended to occur along genealogical lines (cf. Berndt 1962: 27). The splitting offshoot might adopt a new inau name, as that of the originator of the split, or simply become differentiated from its counterpart by additional reference to its new locality, e.g. Inau Feua, Keakamana and Inau Feua, Vale Bekena. Despite this differentiation, ties of common

¹ Middle-aged and younger informants know markedly less about their genealogical background, and invariably refer to older men or to the Mission's detailed genealogical records (dating back to the 1850's) for detailed information.
descent remain the basis for reciprocal obligations and co-operation between such inau. Although relations between them may be attenuated and possibly latent as a result of physical separation and relative genealogical distance, individuals can and do invoke their common ancestry in times of stress and necessity in order to solicit help from members of a split offshoot. Only in the course of time, when the original link has become vague or forgotten, do kinship ties and obligations become dissolved altogether, and the separate inau become independent entities in every respect.

However, not all changes of inau names are traceable to historical fission. Inau membership may expand to the extent that without attendant physical separation, the descendants of a common ancestor assume the distinct names of more recent lineage heads. Such distinction which is practical in the beginning, in the sense that it facilitates prestations and food distributions, nevertheless formalizes the lines along which actual fission could occur at a later stage (cf. Groves' notion of genealogical 'fault lines' 1963: 21). This does in fact often happen. Telescoping also occurs in Kuni. In this instance, the inau retains the name of its founding ancestor while intervening so-called insignificant generations are progressively forgotten (cf. Reay 1959: 34).

Kuni inau are thus characterized by their great diversity in extension, genealogical depth and membership. The range and sphere of application of
inau solidarity varies accordingly, though there is a tendency towards the maximal definition of inau membership in times of crisis or major socio-economic co-operation, e.g. warfare in pre-contact days, and the organization of mortuary feasts. In such instances separate inau may join forces on the basis of a common ancestry, but the unit thus formed dissolves as soon as its end has been achieved. There is no organization of inau on the basis of clan solidarity, and individual inau may and do dissociate themselves from pressures by other inau to unite into greater corporations for particular reasons. The system appears eminently flexible and adaptable to changing conditions, and invites comparison with the Motu iduhu which strongly resembles the Kuni inau:

The ideal composition of the iduhu [inau] ranges in respect to particular interests and activities, from an agnatic lineage to a so-called nonunilinear descent group.... The ideology is permissive, allowing some deviations from the ideals (Groves 1963: 27).

So far, the inau has been discussed in the light of its most manifest attribute: that of lineality and descent. To the extent that membership of an inau is secured in the first place by birthright into one's father's descent group, the inau is undoubtedly a patrifocal lineage group. Its exact configuration it has been shown, depends on the historical evolution of each particular inau, pending processes of expansion, telescoping and fission. But the inau has a second level of definition in Kuni social structure. This
relates to the determination of inau membership not merely in terms of descent, but of residence and affiliation (as opposed to filiation) as well. In this respect the spheres of application of inau membership overlap with aspects of territorial organization, and in some ways confuse the more typically kinship-based features of inau organization (cf. Brown 1962; Langness 1964; Pouwer 1964).

The hamlet which has been described as the basic local residential unit, is also coterminous with a descent group. Indeed, while each hamlet is named after the tract of parish land on which it is located, the name thus obtained is often replaced in common usage by the name of the inau to which the majority of the hamlet dwellers belong, or by the name of some influential person living in the hamlet. Thus instead of referring to Nobea, one of the hamlets in Keakamana parish, we can equally well call it Inau Manau, after the founding ancestor of the lineage whose descendants currently reside at Nobea, or Fakua na banua: the village [whose chief is] Fakua. These terms are interchangeable and have no particular ritual

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1 The most evident example of this usage is Inaumaka parish, where the name alludes directly to the founders of the parish: Maka and his descendants (cf. Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 25). I am using the spelling currently used in patrol and Mission reports, though the true orthography of the parish name is clearly Inau Maka. The same applies to the Vale Bekena hamlet called Inauaia (Inau Aia).
significance. By implication, therefore, residents of a hamlet, whether they belong to the dominant inau or not, are *prima facie* at least, identified with a given descent group, just as parish membership is determined primarily in terms of actual residence and not in terms of one's natal parish.

We can readily see that the juxtaposition of descent and territorial criteria of group membership can lead to confusion in analysis. While birthright automatically confers membership of the paternal inau and parish, current affiliations and patterns of residence simultaneously associate each individual with a given parish and kin group, whether or not these are where he belongs agnatically. In other words, we can distinguish between the paternal lineage and parish from which a man (or woman) can never completely dissociate himself, and the local lineage and parish with which he now resides and may have actual or fictitious kinship links. The complexity of the situation is increased by Kuni patterns of residence, the propensity for fission, and the general flexibility of these people in defining groups, whether from a descent or territorial angle (cf. Groves 20-9).  

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1 At Bakoiudu, for example, several adult informants claimed to be unable to identify themselves as members of any one parish or inau, and blamed confused patterns of residence and association since resettlement for this. When pressed for an answer, most referred specifically to the group into which they had been registered by patrol officers.
Residence and association are so important in Kuni, that a child born and reared in a parish other than his father's, will be referred to indifferently as a member of his father's inau or the inau of rearing. The consensus of opinion is that prolonged residence in any parish, or extensive association with any inau entitles one to full membership of that parish or inau though the priority of rights of agnatic members is rarely challenged. Such membership does not come automatically by birthright because birth defines one's relation to one group only: the parish and inau of one's father. This patrilineal right may or may not be validated by residence within the parish and participation in inau activity; but entitlement can never be denied (cf. Groves 1963: 22; Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953: 58-64).

Affiliation with a foreign parish and inau, however, can be acquired only by residing in the new parish, and participating in all the socio-economic activities of a given inau. Acceptance into the new parish does not necessarily follow, nor does one thereby forfeit all one's patrilineal ties with the natal inau. The system is flexible. A person residing in a foreign parish and associating with a particular inau is said to be free to choose what filiation he likes though admittedly, pressures are exercised to make him align himself with one group rather than another.

Several writers have drawn attention to the relationship between residential associations and kinship bonds, both real and fictitious, in other New Guinean societies. The most explicit statement in this
respect is that made by Langness (1964: 172, 179) that kinship can be 'achieved' among the Bena-bena:

The sheer fact of residence...can and does determine kinship. People do not necessarily reside where they do because they are kinsmen, rather they become kinsmen because they reside there.

In the same way, the Kuni system with its particular interaction of residential and kinship factors may perhaps more accurately be described as optionally patrilineal since the validation of kinship ties depends on residence (cf. Barnes 1960, 1962; Brown 1962; Pouwer 1964: 138-40).

The recruitment of non-natal members to the inau is a constant pre-occupation in Kuni, as much under contemporary conditions as in the traditional setting. Whereas economic advancement and motives of prestige are the main reasons for recruitment nowadays, traditionally this practice was also a matter of strategic importance to ensure maximal protection against enemy raids by the accretion of members to the local group (cf. Langness 1964: 173ff). Recruitment was facilitated in the homelands because there was relatively little pressure on land and increase in group membership was unlikely to affect local members adversely (cf. A. Epstein 1966: 13; Rowley 1965: 97-8; Langness 1964: 170; Reay 1959: 9 and Barnes 1962). At Bakoiudu the resettled Kuni have continued to solicit new members to the local group but it is almost certain that this practice will abate as the settlers become aware of the unprecedented
pressures on garden and cash-cropping land under resettlement conditions.

There are several means of recruiting in Kuni, the most widespread and institutionalized of which is the custom of ba-ani (lit. to cause to eat, i.e. to feed). The practice of ba-ani is popular and ranges from informal food gifts given at more or less regular intervals to persons of one's choice (usually distant affines or cognates), to more regular and systematic fostering (usually of children) which virtually results in adoption. It is in this latter sense that ba-ani is important as a means of recruiting members to the inau (cf. Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953: 63).

There are different means of initiating a ba-ani relationship. Thus a person may request a pregnant female relative that the unborn child be named after him or her. (Most Kuni names are applied indifferently to girls and boys). In this case, the adult who has named the child will send food, spoils from the hunt, and later, clothes and money to his/her namesake. Depending on residential association this relationship may develop into foster-parenthood and even complete adoption.

The majority of fostering relationships, however, tend to arise from practical considerations. A household without offspring or children of a particular sex may ba-ani a classificatory daughter or younger sister to help in feminine chores. In addition, the foster-parents will have primary claims to the bride-
price of such a female foster-child. A man without male heirs may ba-ani a boy to take up his succession; a seriously depleted inau may seek to replenish its numbers by ba-ani practices; a family may ba-ani a girl with the intention of marrying her to one of the household sons; a family with many children may welcome the economic relief of fostering out some of its children.

In all these cases, residence of the fostered child depends on the reasons for initiating the relationship in the first place. Sometimes removal of the child to the hamlet and inau of the foster-parents is a condition of the ba-ani relationship, sometimes not. Whenever a child takes up residence with its foster-parents, it acquires a privileged position in that household. The foster-parents are particularly careful not to vex it or give cause for spontaneous return to its natal inau. Children have been known to leave their foster-parents on the grounds of cruel, indifferent or impartial treatment, thereby defeating the ends of ba-ani and bringing shame on the foster-parents.

Fostering is never disinterested.¹ Initiators of ba-ani relationships do so with concrete ends in view,

¹ Spontaneous friendships and voluntary associations in Kuni are expressed by the phrases au melo, au kadia - my buddy, my pal. In this type of relationship, reciprocity and mutual obligation are taken for granted without any inference of compulsion.
all of which relate to the rights over the child acquired through fostering. To the Kuni, ba-ani is looked upon as something of a transaction in which energy and effort dispensed on food, clothes and shelter for the child, are offset by access to its labour (if a boy) and a share of its eventual bride-price (if a girl). The notion of a compensatory return for ba-ani is also deeply entrenched. This is one of the few relationships in which compensation (in goods or other equivalents) is sought and obtained when the relationship breaks down. This rule does not apply to bride-price payments when a marriage fails.

The status of the child in relation to its foster-parents' inau and parish depends largely on the intensity and extent of relations established and maintained with that group. The most important single determining factor is residential association. A child who has grown up with its foster-parents will assume membership of their inau under the same conditions and reservations discussed for the accretion of non-agnatic members to the inau. The main difference is that the fostered child is more truly incorporated into the inau as a kin group, and its status more closely corresponds to that of a natal inau member. There have been instances for example, in which fostered and direct descendants of a man have laid joint claims to his land, goods and property and where the rights of the ba-ani claimant have been recognized on grounds of merit in preference to the lineal heir.
Against this background, it is not surprising that fostering relationships have become sources of tension at Bakoiudu where foster and true parents live in close proximity. This is particularly true as regards the rubber plantation where fostering and adoptive ties dating back to pre-settlement days are a source of embarrassment and conflict under changed conditions, especially where they clash with descent rights.

Given the importance which recruitment of new members to the local group seems to have had in traditional Kuni society, it is surprising that marriage rules are not more rigidly defined. Indeed, the inau is not even strictly exogamous. Marriage proscriptions are restricted to the prohibition to marry any person with whom one can trace common ancestry within three ascending generations through either the maternal or the paternal line. Kuni kinship terminology is of the Hawaiian type, and there is a dislike of marriage with more distant kin known by terms which apply to proscribed marriage partners. However, where a man persistently desires to marry one of these prohibited partners, the ultimate criterion is whether or not the couple can trace a common ancestor in a direct line within three ascending generations. Cross-generation marriages are distinctly not favoured and in pre-contact times were strictly forbidden. Except for these provisions, there are no formal proscriptive or prescribed rules of marriage though practical considerations do help determine marriage alliances (cf. Fastré 1937: 390).
On one hand, the desire for bride payments favours the extension of marriage bonds. Intra-inau marriages are considered wasteful because the bride-price transaction takes place within the same group or is omitted altogether. The preference then is for extending marital links by encouraging the exogamous marriage of women. On the other hand, the Kuni put a great stress on the continuity of inau solidarity, and, where a lineage is thought in danger of numerical extinction, efforts are made to unite members of related inau who are known to have common ancestors beyond the third generation, rather than risk them marrying into foreign inau. This is expressed idiomatically in the saying: 'this marriage will give new birth to the old roots' (cf. Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953: 65-6; Barnes 1962; Hogbin 1951: 96).

Contrasting pre-contact and post-contact marriage alliances, informants say that before contact the threat of warfare was a deterrent against spreading kinship ties too far afield, though they also point out the attenuating effect of affinal connections on potential enemy groups. Generally speaking, however, pacification is said to have brought about the general dispersal of women throughout Kuni and presumably by extension, out of Kuni as well (cf. Langness 1964: 177-9).

This assertion is not borne out by comparing statistics on earliest known and latest marriage records. Table 2, based on Mission records, compares the type of marriage alliances formed in Kuni over
three periods, the parish membership of the contracting partners being taken as the index of marriage dispersal. Thus intra-parish marriages are taken to be the least dispersed, while inter-linked parish, extra-parish, and 'foreign' (i.e. with a non-Kuni partner) marriages, are taken to represent increasing degrees of dispersal. In all, 570 marriages are compared over the three periods. The 1903-27 census covers all marriages solemnized by the Mission from the time of contact to the time when nearly all of Kuni was declared Catholic. Most of the marriages recorded in this period are ratifications of pre-existing customary unions, thus pointing to the type of marriage patterns which existed before contact. (In polygynous unions the first wife was considered the legal spouse by the Mission). The 1940-3 sample covers a brief period during World War II, thus bridging the period of earlier relative seclusion and that of post-war increased contact with the outer world. The 1955-64 census covers all marriages up to and including resettlement. The data embraces all marriages involving at least one Kuni spouse, including those solemnized outside the tribal area.

Table 2 does not demonstrate any significant difference in marriage allegiances during the three periods except perhaps, in the slight increase in 'foreign' marriages over the years. Of the total 31 foreign marriages recorded for the three periods, only 10 were with non-Kuni men, the remainder being with non-Kuni women. In nearly all cases post-marital residence was within Kuni, suggesting yet another means
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE ENTERED INTO</th>
<th>INTRA-PARISH</th>
<th>INTER-LINKED PARISH</th>
<th>FOREIGN</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1903-1927</td>
<td>41.9</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-1943</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955-1964</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of recruiting members to the inau. Most foreign marriages occurred in the peripheral areas of Kuni discussed earlier: Lapeka (with Mekeo tribesmen); Devadeva (with Goilala) and Vale (with Fuyuguhe).

Extra-parish and intra-parish marriages have remained surprisingly constant over the years, with the exception of the rise in intra-parish and drop in extra-parish marriages during the 1940-3 period. It is difficult to explain this except as a correlative of war conditions with a temporary emphasis on group solidarity in the face of anxiety, and competition for males many of whom left the homelands during the war years.

In general, however, statistical evidence does not bear out the assertions of the people to the effect that contact brought about an unprecedented dispersal of women. The contradiction involved here is of the same order as that discussed earlier concerning statements about pre-contact and post-contact hamlet organization, and the same explanation, outlined below, may indeed be forwarded in both cases.

The contrast between pre-contact and post-contact social organization is not that of pre-contact hamlet non-segmentation and endogamy versus post-contact hamlet fragmentation and dispersal of women (as the people suggest and statistical evidence contradicts), but rather between two periods when hamlet fission and dispersal of women were common, though occurring within different structural frameworks. In pre-contact times
fissive tendencies and potential dispersal of women were inhibited by real threats of warfare or aggression, both from within and out of Kuni. Since hamlets tended to be concentrated and formed relatively stable units, women tended to marry within the relatively limited confines of the largest territorial unit - the parish (cf. Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953: 65-6).

After contact, hamlet fission increased considerably, resulting in the physical dispersal of numerically small residential units. It then became necessary for women to marry out of hamlets to find non-prohibited marriage partners. This gave rise to the situation which the people have described in relation to the spread of women. However, the very conditions which had prompted the dispersal of women (dearth of men in hamlets) instigated a contrary trend in which efforts were directed to recruiting additional members to the local group by preventing the women from moving out of the hamlet, or at least, from leaving the parish after marriage. This trend was particularly marked during and after World War II when increasing numbers of men left Kuni to seek employment out of the area. For this reason, though statistical evidence suggests that there has been little overt change in Kuni marriage alliances over the years, deep-seated structural changes have nevertheless occurred. As outlined below and discussed in greater detail in later chapters, these changes related primarily to the traditional practice of paying bride-price (olakava) and to post-marital residence patterns.
To the Kuni, marriage is essentially an exchange relationship centred on the giving and receiving of women. In a society where recruitment of additional members to the local group is so important, it is not surprising that, despite the absence of rigid proscriptive or prescriptive rules for choosing marriage partners, there are clear-cut notions about the rights of groups who have given away women in marriage, and the obligations of those who have received them. Since residence is one of the major determinants of group membership, (long-term) post-marital residence is a matter of importance to the contracting parties in any marriage. And post-marital residence in turn depends on whether bride-price has been paid or not. In short, bride-price paid by the groom's relatives to those of the bride, entitles the former to lay claim to the bride and all children subsequently born of the marriage as members of their group. As the Kuni put it, 'bride-price pays for the bones of the woman'. Ideally then, marriage was by bride-price, and post-marital residence was preferentially virilocal.

To what extent this system prevailed before contact, when hamlets tended to be concentrated and spouses were often from the same locality, is not certain. After contact, however, when hamlet dispersal became so marked that marriage usually necessitated the residential displacement of one of the partners over a considerable distance, informants say that the payment of bride-price became far more common. Bride-price
paid by the groom's kinsmen to the bride's people was seen as a compensatory payment for depriving the bride's inau of her labour and child-bearing capacities. Although the amount of bride-price was not negotiated beforehand by the contracting parties, it was a matter of pride for the groom's relatives to offer a substantial payment, since the amount offered was held to be a reflection of the esteem in which the bride was held. An average bride-price would include, one (preferably two) pigs and a number of valuables ranging from a score to a hundred or more, depending on the number of contributors drawn amongst the groom's cognatic kin. Valuables comprised shell ornaments, plumes, dog's teeth, nose piercers, and nowadays, money as well. This represented considerable wealth for the bride's relatives who shared it out amongst themselves.

However, there were variants to the prototype marriage transaction outlined above. It was possible for example, for the parents of the bride to refuse the proffered bride-price and to request their son-in-law to reside with them instead. The additional manpower thus obtained was not insignificant when one considers the dispersal of hamlets and the burdens of economic activity in the homelands, especially after World War II.

The status of uxorilocaly resident men is hardly different from that of the local residents of a hamlet. They participate in all activities revolving round the men's house though they may retain links with their own kinsmen, and indeed, co-opt their wife's kinsmen to
help them dispense some of their socio-economic obligations in their own groups of origin. In the ideal scale of values, however, virilocality is undoubtedly preferred to uxorilocality in Kuni, despite the flexibility of the system. A man who persistently refuses to return to his own hamlet when urged to do so by his own relatives, is scorned as a weakling and called a woman.

The situation becomes more complicated when children are born. The Kuni set a high value on children, and a man residing in his wife's hamlet will be urged by his relatives to return to his natal hamlet. Full payment of the bride-price is likely to be offered by them on his behalf as well. But, while the man's kin may exert pressures and threaten, the decision is ultimately his own. If the husband is neither willing to return to his natal hamlet, nor prepared to relinquish his children, his wife's kinsmen will, upon further pressure exerted by his relatives, pay them compensation: olakava or kava. Bride-price here becomes both husband and child-price, or, as the Kuni put it, vabine mukau i kavai: the women has bought the man. After the payment of male olakava, the children become full members of their mother's inau, though it is always stated that they are not thereby considered non-members of their father's. If the payment originally made on their behalf is returned and accepted, they may resume normal membership of their father's group. The eligibility of children to join either the paternal or maternal group suggests that
there is a distinction here between latent rights to *inau* membership which are acquired through patrilineal filiation and are indissoluble, and effective group membership which is optional and determined by concrete actions: bride payment, residential patterns, marriage ties and so on.

Thus, while the principle of agnatic descent is deeply entrenched in Kuni, here, as in many other New Guinean societies there is room for a considerable degree of optation making it possible for an individual to be an actual or potential member of several local groups at the same time.

Other connexions can be invoked, and this appeal to other cognatic, and sometimes affinal, ties does not have to be justified by some elaboration of, or dispensation from, an agnatic dogma (Barnes 1962: 6).

If a lineal principle must be defined in the Kuni kinship system, it can best be described as that of cumulative patrifiliation rather than prescribed, necessary or formal agnatic descent (cf. Barnes 1962: 6-7; Brown 1962: 57; Groves 1963: 22ff).

We can readily imagine how this system of informal group membership and multiple affiliation has posed problems of organization at Bakoiudu, how it has given rise to rivalries and conflicting claims of group membership at the settlement, and above all, how it is incompatible with notions of inheritance and succession associated with the development of a cash economy which the settlers are trying to establish there.
However, there is one sphere of Kuni relations where the agnostic principle operates as dogma and where affiliations by adoption or residential association are waived. This is with respect to chieftainship and succession to that office. Unlike many New Guinean societies where leadership revolves on the personal power of self-made 'big-men' (cf. Sahlins 1963; Barnes 1962; A. Epstein 1966), the Kuni have a system of hereditary chieftainship where chiefs are true office holders: status is ascribed, not achieved. Compared to the structure of 'big-man' leadership which has been described mistakenly perhaps or with overemphasis, as the characteristic feature of Melanesian political systems, hereditary chieftainship in Kuni appears somewhat anomalous, though it has also been noted in Fuyughe (Mafulu), Nara and Mekeo (cf. Fastré 1912: 8-15, 310-2; PAR 1937/8: 34; Seligmann 1906: 233, 1910: 373-5 and Williamson 1912: 292-3). Kuni chieftainship, however, does not form the basis for a pyramidal or tribe-wide structure of authority and leadership as described for some Polynesian political systems. Hereditary chieftainship in Kuni may rather be described as the basis for proto-chiefdoms involving the ascribed division of politically unintegrated kinship groups (or segments thereof) into chiefly (yobia kautsi) and non-chiefly or commoner (lakuatsi) ranks (cf. Sahlins 1963: 294).

Each inau has a hereditary chief who is a direct descendant of the founder of the lineage. Succession is preferentially patrilineal by male primogeniture.
However, in cases where the heir is unwilling to assume responsibility or reveals himself incapable, a younger brother will take his place, or failing this, a sister's child. Where there are no offspring, succession passes to a younger brother or sister of the chief, and their male descendants. Where there are only female offspring, a younger brother of the chief will act as regent until the eldest girl bears a son. There have been cases where the only daughter of a chief has been so powerful a character that she simply assumed the role of her deceased father, though her husband performed the functions from which she was ritually debarred as a woman (cf. Seligmann 1910: 315; KPR No. 15 of 1947/8). Whenever succession wavers from strict patrilineality and primogeniture, the substitute heir acquires full inau membership of the kinship group whose leadership he assumes. Nevertheless, it is always understood that as soon as a suitable heir is found, chieftainship will revert to the direct line of succession.

Although every inau has its chief, and inau viability is seen as closely dependent on the continuity of chieftainship, there is no unifying principle welding discrete units into a wider kinship structure; nor is there any hierarchy of inau or chiefs. Each inau is an independent unit. Though traditionally several inau might have united for offensive and defensive purposes, or joined in ceremonial and economic activity, no permanent wider political or economic entities emerged from such associations.
Similarly, though some chiefs are recognized as great speakers, intrepid in warfare, liberal feast givers and wise judges, this does not give them more than added prestige and informal authority based on general recognition of and respect for, their capabilities. The status thus obtained outside their own inau is not permanent or institutionalized, and is a function of individual prowess.

The principal chief is known as the abu yobiana (lit. chief of the limegourd - an emblem of peace) or yobia faka (great chief). The abu is also referred to as the chief of peace (maino yobiana), a direct reference to his main role as maintainer of social order, arbitrator in quarrels, settler of disputes and general preserver of the well-being of his kinsmen and other persons residing in his hamlet. Although land ownership is communal in Kuni, and each parish has its own known land boundaries, within the parish itself, different inau tend to be associated with a particular area, and the titular 'owner' of this land on behalf of his fellow kinsmen is the peace-chief. In the past, peace-chiefs have been known to give away land as payment (usually for homicide), gift or compensation, and their authority in this respect does not appear to have been challenged.

In fact, the peace-chief is the very fulcrum of socio-economic and political activity in his inau. His rights and obligations though circumscribed by the limits of the immediate local group, are not unlike
those which have been described for Polynesian chiefs (cf. Sahlins 1963: 295ff). From the time of his ceremonial induction into office, which usually takes place at a feast announcing the retirement of his predecessor,¹ the peace-chief assumes a vital role in the organization of local affairs. In addition to his everyday task of maintaining order in the hamlet, the peace-chief plays an important role as the organizer of big ceremonies (particularly mortuary feasts) which are the most important occasion of inter-parish and inter-tribal contact as guests are invited from far afield to come as spectators or dancers to these feasts. It may take several years of concentrated activity to complete the arrangements for a big mortuary feast (nadu) and the peace-chief is the main co-ordinator of preparations. As nominal 'owner' of group resources he has the right to place a taboo on the killing of pigs during the preparatory period and later, he can mobilize members of the hamlet to plant special gardens for the feast and build the dance village. Throughout, the peace-chief remains the main organizer of activity.

¹ This feast is the culminating point in a series of ceremonies and rituals which begin at the birth of the first-born son (or designated heir) of a reigning peace-chief. Apart from special dances carried out by women to celebrate the birth of 'a new chief' the infant is carried ceremoniously into the men's house where gifts and traditional valuables are given to him at the same time that his status as yobia (chief) is publicly announced. Thereafter the child's life is punctuated by ceremonies which emphasize his future role as chief.
although he is often seconded by a full or classificatory brother called obolo or yobia abonai (side chief). This man acts as master of ceremonies to the peace-chief, and relieves him of practical preoccupations when the feast is actually under way. This leaves the peace-chief free to entertain his guests, anticipate their needs, forestall quarrels and above all, to display the qualities of hospitality and largesse which are the characteristic features of a big peace-chief.

In pre-contact days particularly, the office and power of the peace-chief was counterbalanced and complimented by that of the hereditary warrior-chief, the tsivia yobiana or chief of the spear. As the name implies, the warrior-chief's task was to wage war and lead raids, if and when the peace-chief considered these to be necessary. There was thus a balance of power and a specialization of function between the office of peace- and warrior-chief. Large inau usually had one peace- and one warrior-chief each, in which case the warrior-chief was usually the direct descendant (also by agnatic primogeniture) of the younger sibling of the inau's founding ancestor (the original peace-chief). Before pacification rendered the office of warrior-chief redundant, many traditional Kuni hamlets were divided into two, the peace-chief and his immediate kinsmen living at one end of the central yard, and the warrior-chief with his immediate kinsmen living at the other, each with his own men's house.
Often, this division was accentuated by different inau names traced to the apical ancestors of the respective chiefly lineages.

This dichotomy highlighted lines of potential hamlet fission and, when conditions of stress within the hamlet or between peace- and warrior-chiefs came to a head, hamlet fission tended to occur along the abu-tsivia divide; in which case it was usually the warrior-chief and his followers who left the parent hamlet. In this event, the break-away group remained insignificant and was rarely recognized by other established groups since, deprived of a peace-chief, it was held to be 'of no importance, incapable of organizing feasts and unable to speak with authority'. Nevertheless, if it was able to enlist the compassion of an established peace-chief, it was possible for such a split offshoot to attain recognition as an independent group by acquiring the chiefly emblems (consisting, amongst other things, of a ceremonial head-dress known as the elele cf. Plate 5) from this peace-chief. In this case, the ex-warrior-chief or one of his chiefly descendants would be ceremoniously installed as peace-chief and a full sibling appointed by him to the position of warrior-chief.

After contact and pacification, the role of warrior-chief became obsolete, and the office lapsed too, although the direct descendants of warrior-chiefs are still called yobia, chiefs. To this day, however, no inau is considered permanently viable without a
peace-chief. This means that the structure of leadership and authority in Kuni has remained essentially segmented and localized. The obstacles which such a system may pose to the implementation of large-scale developmental programmes under resettlement conditions are self-evident.

In conclusion, the complexity of the traditional social system of the Kuni can be related to the interaction of historical, environmental and cultural factors. Before the arrival of the first Europeans at the turn of the century, the Kuni had already experienced a period of intense acculturation from which they had emerged with their distinctive blend of coastal Melanesian and mountain 'Papuan' culture traits. It is possible that certain conflicting principles in contemporary Kuni social structure may be traced to this pre-contact past of the Kuni, and it is very likely that, had European contact not arrested the natural working out of these various cultural influences, the Kuni may have evolved a different social structure to that which prevails at present. For example, it is immediately apparent that filiation, residence and association compete in Kuni as principles for recruiting members to the local group. This is not a unique feature and has been recorded in many Highland societies, especially those which, like Kuni, appear to have had a superabundance of land. What is striking in Kuni, however, is the playing down of kinship and
descent in one sphere of social activity (recruiting) and its emphasis in another, viz. hereditary chieftainship - an institution which itself is something of an anomaly in this part of Melanesia.

Whatever the origin of these different cultural influences, the interesting feature is that the Kuni adopted and moulded them into a working system so integrated in fact, that it is difficult to unravel its component parts in retrospect. This tradition of culture contact and change must be borne in mind when studying the contemporary situation in Kuni. However, in order to understand the changes which have been taking place recently at Bakoiudu, it is necessary to delay a little longer, and to analyse the far-reaching changes which were introduced by the first agents of western contact in Kuni - the Roman Catholic missionaries who penetrated into the area about the end of the nineteenth century.
CHAPTER 2

THE MISSION IN KUNI

The changes in Kuni that culminated in resettlement at Bakoiudu in 1961 stemmed directly from the impact of foreign influence in the area, especially that of the Roman Catholic Mission. Not only was the Mission the primary instigator of the move, but its position as virtually the sole representative of western civilization in Kuni gave it special ascendancy over the people.

In this chapter, Mission-Kuni interrelations are discussed in order to establish the background against which resettlement took place. Beginning with an outline of what may for convenience be called traditional Kuni religious beliefs and practices, the first section describes the first contacts between the missionaries and the Kuni, and recounts their mutual reactions and impressions. Methods of evangelization and their impact on traditional Kuni society, beliefs and values are discussed in the second section; while the last describes characteristics of Kuni Catholicism, in particular its syncretic aspects.

In the text, Mission written with a capital refers exclusively to the French Roman Catholic Mission with its headquarters at Yule Island, Papua.
First Contacts

At the time of contact the traditional cosmology and religious beliefs and practices of the Kuni were not very elaborate or systematized.¹ There was no notion of creation or a specific creative deity: the earth, the sky and people had always existed, 'as our ancestors told us'. However, two mythological figures were attributed with quasi-creative activities: an old woman called Ovelua who was reputed to have led several groups of Kuni out of their ancestral holes deep in the ground; and a young man named Akaia who was believed to have distributed all material goods, as well as death, to mankind (cf. Goyau 1938: 10-11). Of the two, Akaia was the more popular figure and numerous stereotype tales are told about him, stressing his particular attributes as a tireless lover and inveterate trickster. Neither Akaia nor Ovelua, however, were believed to directly influence, or be involved in, the current course of human events.

In this respect the Kuni had a widespread and deep-rooted fear of all sorts of spirits and malevolent beings collectively known as faifai, who were believed to roam about interfering in human affairs and thought to be particularly potent in certain localities.

¹ Although the outline which follows is given in the past tense to refer specifically to pre-contact conditions, much of it still applies nowadays, or only in slightly modified form. What differences there are, will be discussed later in the chapter or will emerge self-evidently throughout the thesis.
Although some spirits were regarded as benevolent and might be propitiated or invoked to help in situations of crisis, for the most part the Kuni attempted to dissociate themselves from them through precautionary magical measures involving the use of spells (mea) (cf. Egidì 1913a and Chabot 1930, who give a detailed account of traditional Kuni religion). Despite the pervasiveness of belief in spirits and their reputed influence over human affairs, there was no specific cult or formalized ritual associated with them in Kuni. Activity relating to spirits was essentially magical and individualistic, each person seeking his own protection through the use of spells which were usually inherited (either patrilineally or matrilineally), sometimes purchased, and even borrowed for a specific occasion or trip.

What little formalized collective ritual did exist in Kuni related to beliefs and practices concerning the dead. Since no death, except among the very aged was believed to occur naturally, irrespective of the external circumstances attending it, the Kuni were intensely pre-occupied with its nature, its causes and the preservation of proper relationships between the living and the dead. The non-corporeal 'soul' substance (idume) of the latter were believed to remain in the vicinity of their erstwhile hamlets, hovering around to ensure that appropriate mortuary ceremonies were performed, to punish negligent relatives and to communicate with the living through dreams and uncanny whistlings. The recent dead were thus believed to
continue their interest in the affairs of the living and were at only one remove, so to speak, from active participation in everyday goings on. For this reason the attitude of the living towards the dead was primarily one of fear and intent concern with placating them. Several taboos were observed and small services were rendered, e.g. lighting fires in the hamlet yard at night to keep the recent dead warm, and leaving choice morsels of food for them in the bush (cf. Hogbin 1951: 210). Though individuals could and did invoke departed relatives to assist them in times of stress or in particular undertakings, this was directed only towards the recent dead and did not form part of an extensive continuous cult (cf. Lawrence and Meggitt 1965: 11, 14ff). Indeed, since the dead were on the whole considered to be unpredictable and capricious, surviving relatives were primarily interested in breaking their ties with them once and for all.

This was achieved by prolonged and elaborate mortuary rites which culminated in a ceremonial slaying of pigs, whereupon the souls of the recent dead were believed to retire at peace to the traditional mountain abodes of their ancestors. They were then believed not to concern themselves with the living any longer and the latter did not bother with them any more. The mortuary feasts (nadu), which thus formed the definite break between the living and the dead, were the highlight of ceremonial activity in traditional Kuni society. They were the main occasion for extensive social intercourse since many guests were invited to
come either as dancers or spectators, the hosts themselves being 'too heavy [with sorrow] in their hearts' to dance for their own dead. An essential feature of these feasts was the slaying of pigs contributed by kinsmen of the deceased and members of the host hamlet. The carcasses of the beasts were cut up and distributed among dancers and guests in acknowledgment for services rendered or as voluntary prestations (yaikena) which would eventually have to be returned (uku). On these occasions numerous other ceremonial exchanges also took place and all mortuary taboos were lifted.

These, briefly, were the main features of so-called religious beliefs and practices in Kuni at the time of contact. The first European whom the people recall as penetrating in the area was the Roman Catholic priest, Father Jullien, who accompanied Nara tribesmen to a feast held in Kuni in 1896. Father Jullien belonged to the order of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, founded in France in 1854. In 1885, this Mission had established its Papuan headquarters at Yule Island, 80 miles west of Port Moresby, and between 1885 and 1896, concentrated its activity on the coastal tribes which were more readily accessible, notably the Mekeo and Roro (cf. Map 2,
Penetration into the mountainous interior about 30 miles to the north was deferred because of the ruggedness of the terrain, 'invented by the devil', as one missionary put it, 'to prevent the missionaries from entering it'. However, increasing tension between rival missionary groups in the area during this period culminated in a Government declaration in 1897 forbidding the acquisition of land by more than one mission in any one village (Government Gazette, 3 April 1897; Dupeyrat 1935: 254-90; Cadoux 1931: 119ff).

Finding expansion along the coast restricted by this decree, the Catholic Mission turned its attention to the mountains, the nearest of which were the Kuni homelands, which Father Jullien had visited only the preceding year.

During that pioneering trip, Father Jullien spent three weeks reconnoitring the divide between the Arabure and Dilava Rivers, including the area on the left bank of the Dilava. In his account of his first tussle with the Papuan mountains and his impressions of Kuni, Father Jullien morosely reflects that:

> To climb and descend, is all there is to existence here....Great God would that we had a dirigible....How else will a missionary ever be able to enfold the totality of this extraordinary tribe.

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Later he remarks:

Our visit to Bubuni has revealed to us the existence of numerous villages lost in the numberless ramifications of the Owen Stanley Range. Unfortunately, the isolated and inaccessible position of these tiny villages, raising a dozen or so pointed huts on top of needle-like outcrops of rock has inspired us with...discouragement. How can we exercise a continuous and efficient influence on a population so dispersed... unless by migrating to the plains in the distance.... (Dupeyrat 1935: 308; my emphasis).

Though amalgamation of dispersed villages was part of Mission policy from the outset in Papua (cf. Dupeyrat 1935: 112), it is nevertheless remarkable that this early observation by Father Jullien actually took shape in the resettlement of the mountain Kuni at Bakoiudu in 1961.

Referring to the Kuni people, the missionary speaks eloquently of their 'biblical hospitality', sensitivity and open disposition, asserting that 'it is easy to detect in them a superior race to the coastal people'. But Father Jullien also reports that some persons from Vale Bekena parish had allegedly plotted to murder him in order to obtain his 'riches' - matches, tobacco, beads and mirrors; and that they were only restrained by the 'brusque intervention' of local leaders (Dupeyrat 1935: 308; cf. BNG 1899/1900: 74).

Although Mission records make no further allusion to this incident, and Kuni informants do not remember anything about it, it does demonstrate that the initial reaction of the Kuni to missionary contact was at least
partly conditioned by their interest in the goods which the white man brought with him.

This is corroborated by the oral tradition of the Kuni which has preserved standardized stories describing the arrival of the first missionaries amongst them. All these tales refer to the material wealth of the missionaries and also infer that the newcomers were initially mistaken for spirits or the reincarnation of legendary heroes (cf. Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 57, 171-4). In short the attitude of the Kuni towards the missionaries was ambivalent, prompted by mixed feelings of acquisitiveness, awe, resentment, fear and inquisitiveness.

When the missionaries first came to Kuni our forefathers thought: ilé! Akaia has come from the regions of the setting sun. Look, he has a horn [pipe], glass eyes [spectacles], a strange skin [clothes], and he takes off his feet [shoes]. So they took the betelnut, split it and gave it to the missionaries as a gage of peace. They said 'because you are Akaia, we make peace, we shall not slay you'.

The stories go on to tell how the missionaries denied having any association with Akaia and spoke instead about God and the Catholic Church, telling the people about heaven and the resurrection of the dead.

We did not understand these things then: we were pagans. But the missionaries gave us all sorts of wonderful new things: salt, matches, tobacco, rice, knives and

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1 Very common ejaculation denoting amazement, grief, elation, etc.
axes. So we accepted them and when people asked where they came from, we said that it was from the sky.

Despite their attraction for western goods, however, the Kuni appear to have felt some trepidation about the intentions of the missionaries in penetrating their country. Suspicion was particularly marked during a second expedition in August 1897, when Father Jullien accompanied by two colleagues traversed Kuni from south to north, reaching the frontier of Fuyughe. On this occasion the expedition found the natives 'much less well-disposed' towards them, and 'not so desirous of the arrival of Europeans'. In fact the missionaries were purposely deluded into believing that they had reached the frontier of Kuni when they were at Keakamana, and turned back.

It is difficult in retrospect to discover the reason for this deception: whether it was in fact contrived by the northern Kuni who did not want to receive the missionaries; or whether it was possibly fostered by the southern groups who desired to retain the missionaries as sources of valued goods among themselves. Whatever the reason, finding out their error two days later, the missionaries double-tracked and crossed the Kebea mountain to arrive at Devadeva.

There are numerous highly relished formalized anecdotes about the misuse of these artefacts in the beginning. Thus, e.g. matches were planted to make them grow, and rice was mistaken for ants' eggs (cf. Hannemann n.d.: 42).
Mission chroniclers report that relations on both sides were strained and that the missionaries left the area soon after with marked antipathy towards the northernmost Kuni (Dupeyrat 1935: 311; cf. BNG 1899/1900: 61). The feeling appears to have been reciprocated and has persisted to this day as demonstrated by the recent refusal of Devadeva 2 homelanders to follow the Mission and resettle at Bakoiudu.

During the third expedition to Kuni in 1898, the missionaries selected the crest of Obaoba as the site of the future central mission Station of Kuni. Obaoba was admirably situated in the heart of the Kuni mountains overlooking the valley of the Arabure and the peaks and mountains of Fuyughe and Goilala in the distance. The site was purchased from the local Dilava parish land-owners by the payment of goods: axes, mirrors, beads and blankets. The transaction appears to have taken place without incidents or objections. What opposition was subsequently expressed, came from other parishes which envied Dilava their proximity to the missionaries and their access to missionary goods.

The third expedition thus secured a foothold for the Mission in Kuni. More important, it led indirectly to the acceleration of administrative control over these parts. Having completed the purchase of Obaoba, the expedition moved northward into Fuyughe where it met with a hostile reception from Mafulu tribesmen and had to beat a hasty retreat (Dupeyrat 1935: 314-19). A
few months later a group of gold-diggers were similarly attacked, and in 1899 a punitive Administration patrol traversed Kuni to exact reprisals from the Mafulu. The Kuni thus experienced their second major contact with Europeans. Many of them were hired as porters or guides to the patrol and vivid eye-witness accounts and recollections have been preserved. The Kuni were particularly impressed with the extraordinary power of guns and the fact that the punitive expedition apparently arrested the wrong persons, which led to bloodshed (cf. Dupeyrat 1964: 42; BNG 1899/1900: 60-9, 72-8).

Apart from this memorable first contact with administrative authority which may have determined their subsequent characteristically docile attitude to it, the Kuni continued to remain outside its direct influence. Their isolation, numerical insignificance and alleged passivity resulted in their relative neglect while Administration effort centred on the neighbouring Goilala and Mekeo tribes. Official references to the Kuni are few during the first decades of contact. In 1904 they were officially reported as being brought under administrative control with the injunction that 'decided measures will have to be taken to stamp out the practice of infanticide so common
among the women of this tribe. The initiative, however, must have been taken by the Mission, for the Kuni do not figure prominently in Administration reports for many years after this observation. This disinterest in Kuni persisted right into modern times though patrols increased in regularity over the years. Even then, however, less accessible parishes like Vale and Yumu were bypassed by official patrols for periods of up to five consecutive years (KPR 16 of 1947/8 and 3 of 1952/3). In short, the Mission was virtually the sole representative of western civilization in Kuni, and the main agent of pacification (cf. Dupeyrat 1964) and change in the area from the time that the first resident missionary was appointed at Obaoba in January 1900.

To recapitulate, the combined evidence of Mission records and the recollections of informants permits the characterization of the initial reaction of the Kuni to the arrival of the missionaries in two ways. Firstly, the missionaries were mistaken for reincarnated ancestral or legendary spirits, and endowed with supernatural attributes (cf. Hannemann n.d.: 2, 38, 45; Worsley 1957); and secondly, the Kuni were particularly

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1 BNG 1904/5: 11, cf. Eschlimann 1911: 260; Egidi 1907b: 680; Dupeyrat 1951: 47ff. There is an apparent contradiction here, between the practice of infanticide and Kuni pre-occupation with the recruitment of members to the local group, as described in Chapter 1. Further investigation into the reasons for and extent of, pre-contact infanticide might elucidate this question.
attracted by the material wealth of the newcomers which they associated with their presumed supernatural origins (Inselmann 1948: 10-15, 22ff; Rowley 1965: 128ff; Brown 1966: 153). Similar reactions to European contact have been observed in many parts of New Guinea, Africa and other contact areas involving the meeting of cultures with markedly different levels of material advancement. As Belshaw points out 'the first effective contact between two peoples is [often] on the level of material advantage' (1954: 48ff).

Evangelization and Conversion

By virtue of its singular position of practically unchallenged authority in the area, the Roman Catholic Mission gradually assumed a pervasive influence throughout Kuni. This was facilitated by the fact that no rival missionary bodies ever penetrated the region. To a large extent also, the character of Mission influence in Kuni was determined by the approach of individual missionaries stationed there. For, though the directives in Mission policy and approaches to evangelization are originally laid down by Mission headquarters at Yule Island (which also appoints Mission personnel to each district), in actual fact there is considerable divergence in the execution of such recommendations. This is partly the result of

1 Instructions to missionaries are contained in booklets, memoranda, and pastoral and circular letters. Bishop de Boismenu (1870-1953) made the greatest use of these in formulating policy during the crucial formative years of the Mission in Papua; cf. Dupeyrat and de la Noë 1958, Navarre 1907 and Dupeyrat 1935: 361-81.
adaptation to different local circumstances and partly a result of the character traits and attitudes of particular missionaries. Thus while Mission policy clearly pronounces against such practices as warfare, infanticide, polygyny, magic and sorcery, its formulation in other respects, e.g. the desirability of perpetuating traditional dances, is more flexible and varies from district to district and from time to time. In these cases it is important to analyse the role of individual missionaries as the intermediary interpreters or what Foster calls 'screeners' of Mission policy in the culture contact situation (1960; cf. Luzbetak 1963: 245). The manner of presenting the Christian doctrine to would-be converts is equally important to the understanding of the effects of evangelization.

In Kuni, the size of the Mission staff fluctuated considerably from 1900 to 1961, varying according to local circumstances and the resources and needs of the Mission in other districts. The Mission had limited personnel and operated on a strained budget throughout these years so that each district was allocated a minimal number of missionaries and a merely nominal fund for local development. Nevertheless, at the peak

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1 Cf. Memorandum on Native Dances in the Goilala Sub-District, submitted to the local Sub-District Office, and a similar memorandum on Kuni dances, dated 1959 (Mission Files, Bakoiudu); Circulars No. 4 and 5 of 1961, and No. 11 of 1966 from the Vicariate Apostolic of Yule Island.
of evangelical activity in Kuni about the mid-thirties, there were as many as three resident priests assisted by several teaching nuns and about 30 locally trained Kuni catechists. Subsequently there was a substantial decrease in Mission staff in Kuni for several reasons, most important of which was the continuous expansion of the Mission to new areas and the need for personnel in these localities, obtained by transferring staff from older districts to new ones. In fact the decrease in Mission personnel in Kuni was one of the reasons for resettling in 1961. By this time there were only two priests, no nuns, and a dwindling number of inadequately trained catechists left stationed at Obaoba - too small a contingent to cope with the maintenance of religious instruction in the vast Kuni area.

Despite fluctuations in the number of Mission staff stationed in Kuni before 1961, different lengths of time spent there by various persons, and likely differences in missionary approach over the years, it is possible to single out two missionaries who exerted a particular influence on the Kuni and gave Mission activity amongst them a distinctive character. The first of these was Father Joseph Chabot (1873-1940) who was largely responsible for the initial evangelization of the Kuni; and the second is Father Albert Boell (1911- ), still stationed in Kuni, whose mass resettlement of the Kuni in 1961 revolutionized their traditional way of live. In this section attention focusses on the former only, as the work of the latter underlies the rest of the thesis. Besides, it is only
against the background of initial Mission-Kuni interrelations that the changes currently taking place at Bakoiudu can be fully understood.

To a large extent the characteristics of present-day Kuni Catholicism are the result of the distinctive and forceful missionary activity of Father Chabot, assisted by two colleagues: an ethnologist, Father Egidi, and a linguist, Father Henri Eschlimann (1881-1966). Eccentric, wholly dedicated to his missionary ideal and stubbornly persistent in the face of difficulties and danger, Father Chabot dominated the first decades of Kuni evangelization, earning himself the nickname of *foloma atsi*, wild boar, among the Kuni (cf. Dupeyrat 1951). His interest and involvement in Kuni continued for no less than 38 years after his coming to Obaoba in 1902. During this time he exerted a great influence not only as the main agent of change and representative of western civilization, but as the exponent of a faith whose religious teachings he infused with a particular intensity and forcefulness which has remained characteristic of Kuni Catholicism ever since.

Kuni evangelization began early; earlier than was the established Mission practice because, in Father

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1 An autobiographical account of Father Eschlimann's work among the Kuni is given in *Missi Glaneur*, Vol. 41, 1966.
Chabot's words, 'our mountain folk showed much zeal for prayer' (Dupeyrat 1951: 47ff). Mission sources agree that the Kuni were amongst the most well-disposed people to religious instruction that the missionaries had encountered up to that time (cf. Eschlimann 1966: 10). Evangelization here (as elsewhere in the Mission) entailed not only the inculcation of the Christian faith, but included bringing about radical changes in traditional custom as well, especially those practices which were considered by the missionaries to be incompatible with Catholicism. Thus the missionary Luzbetak describes missionaries as ones who by their very vocation are uncompromising agents of change (1963: 6); and Bishop Navarre assures his missionaries in Papua that

> It will be easy for us to destroy a horde of customs which hamper religious [Catholic] observations. We must not say: 'These are their customs, we cannot help them', because we have come precisely to destroy their customs if they are bad. (1907: 73)."^\footnote{Subsequently, under the influence of Bishop de Boismenu and especially under the present authority of Bishop Klein, the Mission has adopted a more understanding and tolerant approach to the place of native custom in evangelization.}

Father Chabot's approach to evangelization was particularly forceful. The accent of his teachings, like those of his contemporaries and immediate successors was on sin, death, judgment and hell. He had a predilection for ending his instructions with the
admonition: 'if you do not listen to what I say, you will go to hell' (Dupeyrat 1951: 64). A similar attitude is reflected by another local missionary in an entry in the *Journal de Kuni*, dated 1930:

From the first contact the whole of the Kuni population knew beyond any measure of a doubt why the missionaries had come amongst them. We acquired their confidence rapidly. The fear of the chastisements of hell was a mortal blow quickly brought down upon barbarous customs: wars, murders, infanticide etc. (Mission files, Bakoiudu).

It is difficult in retrospect to evaluate the impact of this stress on punishment and damnation on the minds of the Kuni; to determine how far it influenced their conversion; to gauge to what extent it dictated the expression and practice of their new faith; and to establish how far subsequent adherence to, or rejection of, traditional beliefs and practices was influenced by these considerations. It is certain, however, that threats of damnation and the inculcation of the fear of hell were important features of evangelization during the early years, not only in Kuni but throughout the Mission as well (cf. Cadoux 1931: 149). In Kuni, the accent on these teachings seems to have been especially marked under the influence of Father Chabot, and Mission narratives have several references to conversions from fear of hellfire (cf. Eschlimann 1966: 13ff; Dupeyrat 1951: 80, 154).

Despite these forceful approaches to evangelization, Mission sources record that it did not proceed unhindered. In the early stages there was
considerable opposition to the Mission on the part of adults and chiefs: would-be converts were jeered at, scorned and even threatened. By contrast, present-day Kuni informants have little to say about friction with the Mission in the beginning. Occasionally they refer to the hardships of carrying Mission cargo in the past, and mention inter-parish jealousies which sprang up from competition for Mission favours. For the rest, early contact days are presented as the times of the strong missionaries who got us out of our pagan ways and taught us about redemption and the realities of hell.

In retrospect at least, informants believe that the teachings of the missionaries were welcomed because they denounced the dreaded power of the numerous spirits which had plagued their everyday life, spoke about God and heaven, and revealed the doctrine of immortality. These views which are today expressed with manifest sincerity draw attention to the characteristic tendency of the Kuni to rationalize events in retrospect and to adapt themselves to changed circumstances.

In particular, informants recall (as eye witnesses or by hearsay) the impressions made on them by the solemnity of the ritual of the Mass, and by the devotion of the officiating priest at the time of Consecration. They were also deeply struck by the rite of Communion and, by all accounts, presented themselves for instruction mainly with the aim of eventually partaking in the sacraments. Inquisitiveness was no
doubt heightened by the fact that no Kuni were allowed to attend Mass during the first year of contact because the missionaries lacked the means of communicating with them to explain the service. Informants tell how detailed rumours about the strange ritual were circulated by persons (mainly children) who espied some of it, thus enhancing the mysterious aura surrounding the missionaries. In fact, according to Mission sources, exclusion from Mass confirmed the idea among the Kuni that the missionaries were powerful spirits (faifai) (cf. Dupeyrat 1951: 42). This is vividly conveyed in an account of the first baptism of Kuni adults in August 1903, at which all the assembly except the newly baptized fled from the ceremony when a ray of sunshine illumined the officiating Bishop's mitre, giving him the appearance of 'a fearsome spirit' (Dupeyrat 1951: 70).

Whatever the reason, Kuni hostility to the missionaries appears to have been only short-lived, especially among those persons living closest to Obaoba. More Kuni came forward to receive religious instruction which Father Chabot had elaborated into a detailed and thorough programme applicable to all the levels of the community. This provided for daily catechism lessons for children living within walking distance of the Mission, monthly and annual retreats for adults (and later, catechists), special devotions, and periods of intense religious instruction. These tasks were undertaken by the missionaries resident at Obaoba and were aimed at establishing the Catholic faith firmly
among the people, notwithstanding the influence of traditional beliefs and practices. In particular Father Chabot emphasized the importance of sacramental religion and, like his successors, urged the Kuni to go to Confession regularly and to receive Communion as frequently as possible (cf. Dupeyrat 1951: 82ff).

The response of the Kuni to these teachings exceeded the expectations of the early missionaries. In particular they developed a special devotion to the Mass which has persisted to this day. As discussed later in this section, it is possible to interpret this initial devotion as an attempt by the Kuni to gain access to what they could have believed was the key to the white man's source of power and material wealth. At the time, however, Father Chabot was well pleased with the progress of evangelization amongst persons visiting the Mission regularly, though he was concerned about the negligible effect of religious instruction on persons living farther afield.

From the earliest contact, Father Chabot had noted the clash in attitudes between the old and the young, and had observed the 'paralysing' effect of pagan influences on Catholic teachings (cf. Inselmann 1948: 10ff). It was in an attempt to 'withdraw the children from the pagan and corrupting environment in which they live', that Father Chabot opened St Anne's boarding school at Obaoba in 1902 (Dupeyrat 1951: 55-6). Apart from bringing boarders under the 'constant and decisive
influence' of Mission teaching, the school also aimed to inculcate notions of discipline and work, both of which were considered to be lacking or at least ill-directed in the traditional setting. By this means the missionary hoped to establish a solid core of Catholic youth which would later help the Mission considerably by disseminating the faith in their own hamlets (cf. Navarre 1907: 49, 74-5; Dupeyrat and de la Noë 1958: 158-65; Dupeyrat 1934: 248-68).

Father Chabot also instituted what he called ménages chrétiens, Christian households, in order to consolidate the faith within hamlets. Briefly, this involved the encouragement of marriages between converts and their starting married life in special Mission houses built close to the central station at Obaoba. During their period of residence there, which might last several years, the couples were under close Mission supervision and were expected to avail themselves of the opportunities for religious and secular education offered by the Mission. By this means Father Chabot hoped to consolidate Christian teachings and to inculcate the spirit of Christian family life. Later, these households would return to their hamlets and it was expected, serve as models of Christian living. Ideally, the children of such unions would form a generation steeped in Christianity and liberated from pagan influences (cf. Inselmann 1948: 14).

Another aspect of these Christian households (of which eight to ten were constantly residing at Obaoba
in rotation), was their negation of several features of the traditional way of life such as the former residential segregation between men and women, and the attendant traditional taboos on members of different sexes eating before each other. Father Chabot went out of his way to implement these new practices. For instance, when he noticed the reluctance of married couples to eat together at home, he invited them together to his table. (This practice has not been maintained by subsequent missionaries and it is a sore point of comparison among the Kuni nowadays). The Mission also emphasized the complimentary role of the sexes and sought to break down traditional rules of division of labour. Thus Dupeyrat describes how men were urged to take a greater part in menial tasks such as weeding which had formerly been almost exclusively the work of women (1951: 74-6).

It is difficult in retrospect to gauge the influence of these Christian households on their hamlets of origin when they returned there. It is almost certain that external traditional forms were restored, though possibly without the sense of obligation which had formerly characterized these practices. Mission spokesmen had no illusions on the success of their policy:

It was a revolution in the customs of the ancestors. That is why, in the early stages of evangelization, it was so difficult to implant the principles of Christian family life. (Dupeyrat 1951: 75).
Even at Bakoiudu in 1965, where resettlement resulted in crowded living conditions, elderly people expressed regret at the so-called 'promiscuity' of departing from traditional sleeping and eating taboos in the new setting:

In the olden days we were strong and knew how to contain ourselves; now we have grown westernized and soft. Like pigs we eat anything before anybody.

In the light of present attitudes, therefore, it is unlikely that the Christian households at the turn of the century retained their distinctive residential and eating habits once they returned to their homeland hamlets; though they did probably contribute to the spreading of new ideas and attitudes.

Yet another feature of evangelization at the hamlet level (in addition to Father Chabot's own extensive ministry), was the appointment of local prayer-leaders who might continue religious instruction during his absence (Dupeyrat 1951: 61). These men formed the vanguard of Mission-trained catechists who played a vital role in the evangelization of those Kuni living in outlying parishes which were only seldom visited by the missionaries themselves. Chosen by the missionaries from the ranks of prominent Catholics, former Mission scholars and Christian household members, these catechists appear to have been esteemed in their respective hamlets, and some in fact, acquired renown throughout Kuni as 'big Catholics', 'big men of God'. However, because the role of catechist was on the whole regarded by the Kuni to be incompatible with
that of traditional hereditary chieftainship, and since catechists were expected to be literate, most of them were in fact young men who had been in close association with the Mission and who often had no claim to authority by traditional standards. Nevertheless some did acquire widespread recognition over the years, particularly those who operated in several parishes, not merely their local hamlet of residence.

Informants readily reminisce about the influence of 'big catechists' like Loa Alano (1884-1940) and Kalau Daniel (1895- , see Plate 7), in bringing Catholicism to the 'outback' of Kuni (cf. Dupeyrat 1951: 80, 150-8, 202). The latter indeed, is still greatly respected in Kuni and remains an influential person, particularly in matters relating to religion. Most reminiscences of the past tend to be wistful and evoke nostalgic recollections of a golden age of nascent Catholicism when the people were allegedly fired with enthusiasm and lived their faith. By contrast the Kuni consider present-day Catholicism weak and desultory. In addition, though informants never allude to this spontaneously, it is manifest that at Bakoiudu, for example, catechists have negligible influence and are even sometimes rebuked.

In the early days, however, the Mission attached great importance to catechists in its evangelization effort, and later they also played a vital role in its
education programme. Catechists were regarded as complementary to the missionaries not only because they sustained and inculcated the teachings of the Church in more remote hamlets, but also because the Mission saw in them an indispensable link between itself and the people.

Whatever he may do, the European missionary will always remain a stranger in relation to the natives, and the doctrine which he preaches risks being taken for a 'white matter' which is superficially added to the 'true native ways'. So much so, that whatever his talent, the missionary will never be able to use the subtleties, the turns and the nuances of the vernacular because he will never be able to apprehend, let us say, the mentality of the Papuan. He must therefore have someone of their own kind, behind whom he can so to speak, shield his white face: a mind and a voice from the country which can adequately and correctly speak eternal truths....In short, he needs catechists. (Dupeyrat 1951: 151).

The recruitment and training of catechists in Kuni met with a favourable response at the outset, though subsequently there was a decline in their numbers. This was principally because the Mission later required

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higher education standards of its catechists, and Kuni was too far removed from the special catechist training centres set up by the Mission for that purpose.¹ During the most important years of evangelization, however, there were enough Kuni catechists to meet the Mission's local needs.

By 1909, the Mission had established itself securely at Obaoba, tribal warfare had come to an end and all Kuni hamlets had been contacted. The time was ripe for establishing permanent secondary Mission stations in outlying areas, and this could not have been achieved successfully without the help of locally resident catechists. Nine such secondary stations were established in Kuni, beginning with the inauguration of the first at Vale Bekena in 1909. This was followed by other foundations: Keakamana in 1910, and Devadeva 1 and Yola (Devadeva 2) in 1913, the last being dismantled in 1924 because of insufficient church attendance. Bubuni secondary station was opened in 1918, Kubuna in 1919 and Yumu in 1920. (Bubuni and Yumu secondary stations were merged into one under the name of Biona in November 1942). It was some years before the

¹ In 1918, Kuni catechists made up 40 per cent of all Mission catechists. In 1965, this figure had fallen to less than 6 per cent, a decline at least partly attributable to the expansion of the Mission to new areas and the overall rise in the number of catechists in the Mission: from 30 in 1918 to 334 in 1965.
secondary stations on the right bank of the Arabure were established: Yaifa in 1927 and Maimai in 1929 (see Maps 1 and 2). Each of these secondary stations was dedicated to a particular saint to whom local parish members subsequently developed a great devotion. These parish patron saints were in addition to St Michael, to whom the whole of the Kuni district had been dedicated in 1900. No secondary stations were established at Dilava, Inaumaka, Madiu, Polipoidu, Vale Matsiafa and Yoyaka as these parishes were all fairly closely clustered round the central station at Obaoba. Members of these parishes came to be known collectively as Obaoba kautsi (people of Obaoba) to more distant parishes. This distinction is still relevant today, even under resettlement conditions.

Of all these secondary stations only Kubuna has survived after resettlement, and it alone had a resident priest from the beginning. This was because the first Papuan religious order (Handmaids of Our Lord) was founded at Kubuna in 1919 and the first Carmelite convent in New Guinea established there in 1934.¹ In a sense Kubuna was the Mission centre in the tsimana area just as Obaoba was the centre of the Mission in the mountainous tsalua regions. This

dichotomy has persisted to this day and has no doubt accentuated the separation between plains and mountain Kuni.

In essence, secondary stations in Kuni consisted of a church, school and mission house erected centrally in all homeland parishes which were too far removed from the central station at Obaoba to permit regular attendance at religious services and secular instruction there. While Obaoba with its permanent schools, church, hospital and convent, remained the centre of the Mission in Kuni, secondary stations were intended to extend Mission influence by serving as subsidiary centres of religious and secular instruction (cf. Dupeyrat 1951: 130-31). This was assured by a system of rotational visits during which missionaries spent one to three weeks in each parish conducting ministerial duties, supervising schoolwork and dispensing medical services. The number of visits per secondary station varied according to the number of missionaries stationed at Obaoba, but would rarely have exceeded four a year. In the periods intervening between such visits, the continuation of religious and secular instruction at the local school was left entirely in the hands of catechists.

It is therefore hardly necessary to stress the importance of the role played by catechists in the evangelization of the Kuni. More important, given their position of unchallenged authority in religious matters during the absence of the missionaries, one
wonders how far some of the less orthodox aspects of Kuni Catholicism, to be discussed in the final section, might not have derived from possible misinterpretations or misrepresentations of Catholic teachings by catechists (cf. Larson 1966: 109). The Mission sought to forestall such eventualities by convening all catechists to annual retreats and refresher courses in catechism at Obaoba. Despite these precautions, however, it is highly unlikely that there would not have arisen any occasions for ex cathedra explanations and rationalizations, particularly as admission of ignorance on a point might have meant losing face and status as the 'man of God'.

Besides, although they were not backed by traditional sanctions, catechists acquired considerable authority, at least in religious matters, through their association with the missionaries and their liberally dispensed threats of hellfire and damnation if their words were not heeded (cf. Dupeyrat 1951: 80, 154). These factors gave catechists much latitude and authority as interpreters and propounders of the Catholic faith. Given their rudimentary training, this was not an insignificant responsibility and may well account for some of the syncretic peculiarities of Kuni Catholicism today.

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1 This statement is prompted by my own observations in Kuni during 1963/65 where the orthodoxy of catechist viewpoints in matters of religion proved highly variable, especially in relation to sexual mores and beliefs relating to the dead (cf. Hogbin 1951: 253-4; Larson 1966: 106).
Whatever the drawback, from a doctrinal standpoint, of evangelization through the intermediary of catechists, it is certain that the Mission could not have done without them in Kuni where the ruggedness of the terrain and the dispersal of hamlets rendered outlying areas relatively inaccessible to the missionaries stationed at Obaoba. Under this system, evangelization progressed at a steady pace, and by the mid-thirties the whole of Kuni was declared Catholic. The Mission hailed this achievement as a double success: not only did the evangelization of the Kuni pave the way for penetration and increased missionary effort north of Kuni, but the 'unusual receptivity' of the Kuni to Catholic teachings was highly gratifying to the Mission (cf. Oram 1966a: 26). Several Kuni joined native religious orders and throughout the Mission the Kuni acquired the reputation of the 'best Christian community' (cf. Dupeyrat 1935: 387, 420; 1951: 147).

The first period of Mission influence in Kuni dominated by Father Chabot's missionary efforts thus terminated with the complete evangelization of the Kuni people. It is possible at this stage to synthesize the various impressions made on the Kuni by the early missionaries, and to attempt an analysis of their reaction to evangelization. An important consideration in this respect was the strategic position of the local Mission. The isolation of Kuni and its removal from centres of secular and non-Catholic mission influences
made the monopoly of the Roman Catholic Mission over the area particularly marked. This was accentuated further by the fact that the Mission was the sole dispenser of whatever educational, health and economic services were offered locally. As the major representative of western culture and primary agent of social change, the Mission assumed quasi-theocratic authority in Kuni and was able to carry out its policy in what may be called a framework of benevolent despotism (cf. Belshaw 1954: 81; Rowley 1965: 145, 153). The extension of Mission control over Kuni was also facilitated by the fact that this was an acephalous society whose isolated, independent local groups could offer little concerted resistance to the hierarchically organized newcomers. These factors accounted for the ascendancy of the Mission in Kuni, and partly explain the relative lack of opposition of the local people to it.

Against this background it is apparent that the impact of Christianity cannot be understood if it is taken solely in its doctrinal and spiritual context, to the exclusion of situational and pragmatic considerations. The alacrity with which the Kuni sought religious instruction, and their conversion to Catholicism must also be viewed against their traditional background and the total contact situation. An important factor in this respect for example, was the captivation of the Kuni for western goods, and their fascination with the white man's way of life (cf. O'Brien and Ploeg 1964: 283, 289-92; Hannemann
n.d.: 45). It is not unlikely that in the beginning at least, the Kuni somehow associated the origin of the novel goods owned by the missionaries with the performance of particular rites, notably the Mass, which were shrouded in so much secrecy during the first year of contact. This inference is suggested by the emphasis on the Mass and on missionary goods in all Kuni recollections about early contact days; and by the traditional Kuni belief, (widespread in New Guinea and found amongst many pre-literate peoples), that acquisition of wealth and success in technology depend essentially on the proper combination of industry, magical practices and the invocation of supernatural powers (cf. Malinowski 1948: 1-70; Rowley 1965: 132; Lawrence 1964: 74).

In the light of these traditional beliefs about the origin of material wealth, it is possible that some Kuni at least, embraced Christianity as a means to obtain access to the beliefs and practices believed by them to account for the envied and manifestly richer culture of the missionaries (cf. Luzbetak 1963: 287; Jaspan 1953: 113). As Rowley points out in this respect, 'the phenomenon of conversion is basically similar to that of the later cargo cult' (1965: 141; cf. Lawrence 1956, 1963). Indeed, the nature of first contact with the Europeans may well have encouraged such erroneous assumptions, since it was express Mission policy, and current practice for Patrol Officers also, to make overtures to the people by offering them a variety of novel and highly appreciated goods: knives,
axes, beads, rice, blankets, tobacco and salt
(cf. Rowley 1965: 128ff; Navarre 1907: 8-9; Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 175ff). It would have been an easy matter for the Kuni to associate the source of the goods thus proffered with the doctrine promulgated by the missionaries.

The probability that material expectations were conscious or subconscious reasons for conversions in the beginning, does not, however, necessarily invalidate the sincerity of such conversions, or put to doubt the integrity of present-day Christian beliefs and practices in Kuni. If they did exist, cargo-like expectations must have been thwarted very soon after contact in Kuni where the Mission was relatively poor and where there was not the provocation of a constant supply of valued goods to which the people were denied access. Subsequently, other factors such as the theocratic authority of the Mission and the emphasis on damnation in Father Chabot's teachings probably overruled material considerations as reasons for conversion. Indeed, Kuni informants deny that materialistic considerations were ever relevant to their conversion. This is expressed in their standardized comparison of themselves to the Mekeo:

We are different to the Mekeo because the missionaries came to us before we knew about business, money and goods. So we accepted God's word because we believed it was true. But the Mekeo knew about these things before the missionaries came: they are coastal people and they travel. So they used the missionaries for their own ends. They were
after material benefits and later their faith waned. But we are true Catholics and think of God and heaven.

If they were not actual determinants of conversion, material interests were nevertheless motivating reasons for accepting the missionaries and initially seeking religious instruction:

When our forefathers were offered all sorts of new goods by the missionaries, they were surprised and said: these must be good people, they have plenty of good things, let us keep them. And so we became Catholic.

To the Kuni of the mid-thirties, indeed, Catholicism had come to stay. The impact of evangelization on them was threefold. In the first place, the arrival of the missionaries opened them to the influences of western civilization and the wider-ranging changes occurring in other parts of the country. Secondly, the nature of contact, with the Mission as virtually the sole agent of change, meant that whatever changes were brought about and innovations introduced they were all channelled through the Mission, and to that extent, conditioned. In fact evangelization resulted in a realignment of the traditional social order which henceforth included the Mission as an integral part of the Kuni way of life. Finally, conversion brought a new dimension to the Kuni worldview, not merely in terms of the new beliefs, attitudes and practices promulgated by the new doctrine, but more particularly by introducing the mutually exclusive
categories of pagan and Catholic. For the Kuni, Catholicism has become an ingrained feature of their way of life and the people identify themselves as Catholics as readily as they refer to themselves as Kuni speakers. To be Catholic is to adhere to the precepts of the Church as taught in the catechism and by the missionaries, to heed the missionary's words as the spokesman of God, and above all, to desist from those practices which are deemed 'pagan' and incompatible with Catholicism. The definition of what is pagan, however, appears to be elastic and variable in Kuni, thus investing Kuni Catholicism with distinctive characteristics which merit discussion in greater detail.

Kuni Catholicism and Syncretism

To the observer in Kuni, the pervasiveness of practices, beliefs and attitudes which derive from Catholicism, or at least are inspired by Catholic

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1 For the Kuni, to be Christian is synonymous to being Catholic. Although a favourite pastime is discussing the religious practices of 'other missions' (usually in derisive and exaggerated terms), non-Catholic denominations are generally referred to as pagans. This rigid dichotomy was somewhat broken down at Bakoiudu through contact with Mr Abel and myself. The settlers relinquished their Catholic exclusiveness enough to nickname a widower who neither chewed betelnut, played cards nor smoked as 'Seven Day', after the alleged restrictive practices of the Seventh Day Adventists. This was a considerable concession by the Kuni, to whom being called a pagan still remains a grave insult.
values, is at first overwhelming: the standard Kuni greeting amalia (a contraction of Ave Maria); making the sign of the cross before meals, when passing graves, or at some recollection; the wearing of crosses and medallions; the use of holy pictures to decorate hut walls; the frequent references to God, Christ, the Virgin Mary and the saints in everyday conversation; the appeal to Christian sentiments in court cases; the contrasting of so-called pagan and Christian attitudes in times of stress; regular participation in church ritual, communal prayer, private devotions and saying the rosary; membership of organized groups such as catechists and the Legion of Mary; and numerous other expressions and associations whereby the Kuni identify themselves as Katolika kaumai, we Catholic people.

The most characteristic feature of these different manifestations of Kuni Catholicism is their spontaneity and incorporation into the very matrix of Kuni everyday life. Paradoxically, however, the acceptance and embodiment of Catholic beliefs and practices for the Kuni does not necessarily involve the rejection of what, by formal Catholic standards, would be called pagan elements. Nor do the people look upon the persistence of such traits as conflicting with their Christian faith or necessarily contradicting it. On the contrary, not having any non-indigenous Catholic communities with which to contrast themselves, the Kuni look upon their own expression of Catholicism as the standard model of Catholic living (cf. Mead 1956: 341).
This is brought out in their frequent references to neighbouring Goilala and Mekeo tribesmen whom they describe as imperfect Catholics because they do not adhere to practices which the Kuni have accepted as the standard of Catholicism in their own society.

The co-existence and sometimes inextricable combination of traditional 'pagan' and Catholic elements in present-day Kuni religion gives it a syncretic character which further attests to the selective adaptability of these people. Syncretism as used in this context refers to 'the reconciliation of two or more cultural...elements, with the modification of both' (Burger 1966: 103). Applied to Kuni, religious syncretism refers to the interaction of elements of their traditional religion with Catholic doctrine as taught to them by the missionaries of the Sacred Heart during the first decades of this century.

The characteristic feature of Kuni religious syncretism is its lack of uniformity or internal consistency, and its dynamic character. Thus in some instances Catholic traits dominate over traditional religion, while in others they are absorbed into it and in still other cases, it is very difficult to establish the relative importance of Catholic and traditional traits in the syncretic form. Many anthropologists, indeed, might question the validity or usefulness of attempting a disjunction of component traits in the syncretic form (for more than analytical purposes) since the latter by definition represents a reality
sui generis. In Kuni, however, it is essential to analyse the different traits which have combined into a syncretic form because the latter is not necessarily permanent or fixed. It is possible for example, to find traditional traits emphasized in one context and Catholic ones being stressed in another, apparently without the people being aware of any contradiction in their approach. Pragmatic considerations are often the determinant of what aspect of the syncretic form is stressed in any given situation (cf. Knudson 1964: 36-8).

The characteristic dynamism of Kuni religious syncretism can be traced to the differences between traditional and new beliefs and practices. These differences existed since early contact days and were subsequently accentuated by an increasing cultural lag in adaptation, some traditional beliefs or forms being retained at the same time that new forms or beliefs were adopted, and vice versa. Against this background the Kuni evolved a modus vivendi based on syncretic forms encompassing aspects of the old religion and the new (cf. Burger 1966: 105; Forde 1954: viii; Siegel 1941; Schapera 1958; Sundkler 1948, 1960, 1961). This religious syncretism persisted relatively unchanged and unchallenged by local missionaries (who for the most part assumed that formal adherence to the precepts of Catholicism meant that traditional beliefs and practices had been eradicated), until resettlement at Bakoiudu in 1961. The accelerated rate of change at this time and the unique conditions at the settlement rendered many pre-resettlement beliefs and practices untenable in the
new setting. As discussed in later chapters, many syncretic features were exposed by the people themselves and in some instances their denunciation facilitated adaptation to the changed conditions of life at the new setting.

An example may illustrate this point. The early missionaries were struck by the preoccupation of the Kuni with death and by the elaborate mourning ritual culminating in pig feasts. Several missionaries, indeed, came to look upon these beliefs and associated practices as the main obstacle to missionary activity, and advocated the abolition of all pig ceremonials as a means to break them down (cf. Fastré 1937: 351; Morant 1966: 183-9). Nevertheless, although some missionaries in Kuni referred to a so-called 'cult of the dead' among the local people and denounced it verbally, they did nothing to interfere with mortuary practices directly (cf. Egidi 1913a; Chabot 1930: 214,

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1 Others were more reserved in their approach. Thus Bishop Klein of Yule Island speaking in June 1965: 'There are missionaries who claim that the pig is the subject of a veritable cult involving prayers, offerings, propitiation and sacrifice, all relating to a cult of the dead. This is a sweeping assertion, but if it is true, then it is our duty to abolish and condemn the practices associated with pig ritual. But how can we tell? How can we analyse the bearing and relevance of pig ritual on Papuan thought? We lack the training and often the opportunities, since our very position and role is prejudicial to finding out exact beliefs and attitudes. We remain on the periphery of fundamental beliefs and for this reason we must be all the more wary in instituting changes'.

238; and Morant 1966: 183-9). The only peripheral intervention was in relation to the traditional taboo preventing kinsmen of a deceased person from eating the flesh of a pig slain in the dead man's honour soon after his demise. Such meat (gimatsu) was traditionally considered 'sour' (mabaina) and was distributed exclusively among mourners and non-related persons. Weeks later another pig would be slain. Its flesh (badu-adu) was considered sweet (mediana) and consumed only by the kinsmen of the deceased. The early missionaries in Kuni denounced this distinction between gimatsu and badu-adu, and urged (ineffectively) that everybody should eat of the pork since this was one of the few occasions when protein was available to the people. The beliefs underlying this particular food taboo, however, were not challenged, if understood at all, and the traditional practice persisted unchanged until resettlement.

At Bakoiudu conditions differed markedly from those which had pertained in the homelands. Resettlement resulted in the unprecedented concentration of over 840 persons in one locality, which meant that deaths at the settlement were more frequent, that they were more publicized, and that more people came to mourn. In addition, pig husbandry was neglected for several years with the result that there were far fewer pigs available for ceremonial occasions. Within months after resettlement, the settlers began to invoke the long-ignored Mission recommendation that the distinction between sweet and sour pork was not valid,
and some traditional mortuary practices were denounced as 'pagan' and incompatible with Catholicism. Chief of these were the separate _gimatsu_ and _badu-adu_ mortuary feasts. Instead, a new type of ceremony was introduced merging the two traditional feasts into one large communal meal. On this occasion all those who participate in a burial (mourners, preparers of the corpse, makers of the coffin), including relatives of the deceased, partake of the flesh of a single pig slain especially for this purpose. To the observer, the reason for departing from traditional custom seems a matter of economic necessity in order to redress the disproportion between supply (of pork) and demand (by mourners) at Bakoiudu. Although some Kuni do express the reason for the change in custom in these terms, the majority rationalize the departure from traditional practice as a fitting Catholic rejection of pagan custom.\(^1\) That traditional rites remained unchanged for over 50 years of Catholicism does not perturb the Kuni or hold any contradiction for them.

This example which is only one amongst many, illustrates the characteristic flexibility of Kuni

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\(^1\) Another explanation given by informants is that since resettlement, there has arisen a feeling of solidarity among all the settlers, so that it would be an affront to categorize anybody as a stranger by offering him _gimatsu_. Similar considerations, however, do not apply in other contexts e.g. bride-price distribution where the distinction between close and distant relatives still forms the basis for sub-dividing the goods received from the groom's family (cf. Knudson 1964: 175-8).
Catholicism and reveals the adjustability of the traits comprising its syncretic form. In other instances, particularly those involving sexual mores, the Kuni tend to assert traditional values as against formal Catholic standards. The ambiguity involved in these different approaches at different times, and the contradiction contained within any one approach in terms of 'purist' traditional or Catholic standards, is not interpreted as such by the Kuni. To them as Catholics, there is no incongruity in perpetuating certain traditional beliefs and practices, provided such traditional traits are not considered by them to be 'pagan'. In a sense the Kuni have elaborated their own shifting scale of values, and according to circumstance and expediency have promoted or demoted aspects of traditional culture as being either compatible or incompatible with Catholicism (cf. Luzbetak's notion of the imperative of selection, 1963: 189-90; 273-5).

To a large extent, the teaching of missionaries and their intervention have helped to sort out the gamut of what constitutes pagan customs e.g. polygyny, infanticide and warfare. In other respects, however, where missionaries have not come to grips with the basis of traditional beliefs and practices, as in the example described above, the people have evaluated their traditional customs themselves as it were, and either discarded them or incorporated them into the Catholic matrix. This accounts for the syncretic aspects of Kuni Catholicism and also explains its
dynamic role at Bakoiudu in resolving many crises in custom following resettlement. By providing a common rallying point (Catholicism) and simultaneously providing a scapegoat (the so-called pagan trait formerly incorporated in the syncretic form), syncretic religious beliefs have enabled the Kuni to resolve many contentious issues at the settlement without invoking outside interference or allowing these issues to develop into open conflict (cf. Appendix 2).

In order to understand the nature of Kuni Catholicism and to appreciate its dynamic role at Bakoiudu it is necessary to view its evolution in historical perspective. As Luzbetak points out, the causes of religious hybridization and syncretism must be sought first of all historically, in the nature of the initial contact with the agents of change and the type of Christianity preached (1963: 244ff; 180-90). Some of these aspects have already been discussed in relation to the early phase of contact when the Kuni mistook the missionaries for spirits and were lured by the material wealth of the newcomers; and also with respect to Father Chabot's approach to evangelization. In this section therefore, in an attempt to discover the basis of the syncretism which is so characteristic of present-day Kuni Catholicism, discussion centres primarily on the reaction of the Kuni to some missionary teachings, especially soon after contact.
A major pre-occupation for the Kuni during early contact days was that of satisfactorily establishing the identity and origins of the missionaries. As described earlier, their initial reaction was to identify the newcomers as reincarnations of ancestral spirits, particularly their legendary hero Akaia. The missionaries, however, dissociated themselves from Akaia and introduced themselves as the spokesmen of God, thus presenting the Kuni for the first time with the notion of an omnipotent creative deity. The concept of God had no parallel in traditional Kuni religion although some polemic does surround this question. In 1925 for example, attention was drawn to the

rather curious fact that Father Rossier who has been eighteen years in the mountains is inclined to think that the Kuni tribe have an idea of a Supreme Being, apart altogether from what they have been taught by the mission. When he had been there ten years, he said, he would have ridiculed the idea that they had any such belief, but after eighteen years he has changed his mind and thinks that they have. It is a good instance of the extreme difficulty of finding out what natives really think about anything (PAR 1925/6: 13).

In retrospect one could interpret this volte-face in Father Rossier's approach not at all as a reflection of the difficulty of apprehending indigenous beliefs, but rather as an accurate observation of the changing world view of the Kuni. While there is no evidence of any cult or ritual associated with the worship of Akaia or any deity before contact, it does not appear
improbable that the Kuni invested some of their traditional heroes with god-like attributes under the influence of Mission teachings. Some Kuni interpretations of old-time myths for example, suggest a close correlation between the legendary hero Akaia and the Christian God. This is particularly marked in creation myths where some informants explicitly draw a parallel between Akaia and God, thus suggesting that attributes of a supreme deity were incorporated into traditional Kuni folklore after contact. In most myths, however, Akaia retains his characteristics of a legendary hero given to pranks and love-affairs. Many informants indeed reject associating Akaia with God in direct conversation: 'God is above all things and has made everything'; but the analogy emerges in myths nevertheless.

The acceptance by the Kuni of the notion of God can then be traced progressively from identification of the new notion with something familiar (here the legendary hero Akaia), to the entrenchment of the new concept in its own right, leading to the rejection (though not invariably so) of the original identification. Similar shifting interpretations and conceptual adjustments (including practical adaptive measures where convenient), are typical of the Kuni approach to changing circumstances and characterize the particular versality of these people.

This is most strikingly illustrated by the various interpretations of the origin of the white man which
currently prevail in Kuni. Although it is difficult to establish this conclusively, it is tempting to arrange these interpretations into a chronological sequence as arising consecutively under the impact of new ideas. Thus the initial reaction to the missionaries could not have been in anything but traditional terms since the Kuni had never been contacted before—hence the identification of the newcomers as reincarnate ancestors and legendary heroes. Subsequently, under the influence of Mission teachings, a Biblical explanation emerged. Thus some Kuni still account for their dark skin, their migratory past and their post-contact mobile way of life (ulukaikaiu) as the natural outcome of their being descendants of Cain, whereas white men are said to be sedentary and blessed with

\[1\] The Kuni are very conscious of this characteristic trait, and refer to themselves as ulukaikaiu kaumai, we people with the itchy feet. Other expressions underline this trait as well, e.g. yavine, which refers to temporary residence away from one's usual abode, and enokeke, describing shifting nightly residence. Early missionaries observed this trait among the Kuni whom they described as 'mountain nomads', but it apparently became much more marked after contact when patrols described the Kuni as being 'endemically migrant' (KPR No. 5 of 1948/9; cf. Williamson 1912: 15).
all good things because they are the descendants of Abel.¹

Later still, and possibly as an echo of the anti-European sentiments expressed in cargo cultist movements in other parts of the country, there arose myths of origin telling how Europeans and Papuans emerged from adjoining holes in Fuyughe country, and how subsequently the white men tricked the black ones and ran away with all the goods now owned by Europeans, leaving only barkcloth, pandanus and the betelnut as the Papuan heritage (cf. Williamson 1912: 265; Bodrogi 1951; Lawrence 1964). Finally, persisting more or less explicitly throughout these periods, there is the

¹ The application of Old and New Testament themes to contemporary situations is commonplace in Kuni (cf. Rowley 1965: 133; Lawrence 1964: 75; Hogbin 1951: 239-45). For example, the people refer to the story of the Tower of Babel to explain why the English, Mekeo and Goillala languages are unintelligible to them; and in Port Moresby, the urban Kuni living far away from home and dispersed throughout the town compare themselves to the Jews: 'Like them we have no set place to live, we keep moving on'. Similarly, the hardships and dissensions during the first year of resettlement in 1961/2 are likened to the days in the desert when the Jews were unwilling to follow Moses because they were thirsty, not realising that he could draw water from the rock. Some references to Biblical themes e.g. the analogy with the Tower of Babel, may almost certainly be attributed to the teachings of early missionaries. Others, like the parallel drawn between resettlement and the Jewish Exodus appear to be local extrapolations and suggest that to some Kuni at least, resettlement was seen as a quasi-Messianic move (cf. Chapter 3).
standard view which is usually given as the first immediate explanation of the origins of the white man, that God created all people equally. It is only indirectly, when the subject of origins is not discussed specifically, or with reference to mythology and historical reconstruction that these alternative explanations are given spontaneously. Whether the chronological sequence outlined above is historically correct or not, the range of interpretations does demonstrate the adaptability of the Kuni and their capacity to incorporate new notions, reject old ones, and indeed, hold a whole variety of them concurrently without working any out to their logical conclusion or apprehending their mutual exclusiveness and contradiction.

A striking example of such syncretism is shown in Plate 10 depicting the grave of an important chief at Bakoiudu. The cross of flowers arranged on the grave itself clearly symbolizes Christian beliefs about death and resurrection, while the burning lamp at the foot of the grave is said to keep the soul of the deceased warm and satisfied until the final mortuary rites will dispatch it forever to the traditional mountain abode. This juxtaposition of the new and the old is translated into the distinction, made by most informants, between the 'true' soul which goes to heaven or hell, and the shadow soul, the traditional shade of the dead, which hovers around the grave and
has to be ritually dispatched to its mountain abode.\(^1\)

Acculturation here, has not involved the displacement of traditional beliefs, but rather their retention and partial assimilation with aspects of the new culture (cf. Read 1952; Hogbin 1947; Lawrence 1956: 77ff). As one informant put it: 'We are Catholics now. We have left the old ways of leaving food and lighting fires for the dead - we only have a lamp nowadays!'

A similar flexibility in adopting new religious beliefs has been observed by Held in many parts of New Guinea, prompting him to describe this phenomenon as 'religious improvisation' (1951: 52, 152-3). Held goes further yet, and attributes the adaptability of indigenous New Guinea cultures to Christianity, and the syncretic forms which have emerged therefrom, as a logical derivative of traditional religion which he characterizes as devoid of a 'systematic theology' and lacking internal consistency between mythology, beliefs, rites and subsequent actions (1951: 223-4). Although one would dispute some of Held's assertions, it is possible that among the Kuni for example, their tradition of assimilating new ideas even before contact, and their hodge-podge of traditional beliefs which reveal distinct northern (Papuan) and southern

\(^1\) I have observed this practice only twice at Bakoiudu, and in both cases the deceased were polygynists i.e. by Catholic standards they had died in a state of mortal sin and almost certainly went to hell. It may be that these circumstances prompted a more overt expression of traditional beliefs and practices than would otherwise have been the case.
(Melanesian) influences, may have facilitated the adoption and incorporation of Catholic beliefs and practices.

Equally important in this respect, is the manner in which the missionaries broached certain subjects and the correspondence (or inapplicability) of some aspects of Catholic doctrine to certain pre-established traditional beliefs. This last factor is often underestimated in anthropological studies which emphasize indigenous beliefs and practices in the contact situation. However, many syncretic elements (at least in Kuni) can be traced more directly to the receptivity and flexibility of the donor culture or some aspects of it e.g. Catholicism, rather than to the random selection of adaptable foreign traits by the recipient culture (cf. Barnett 1953: 54-5).

A typical example of this concerns Mission policy towards Kuni traditional beliefs in spirits and associated practices. The first consideration in this respect is that beliefs in spirits are not invalidated by the Church. Thus in his circular letter of 1923 entitled Note on the Subject of changing Native Rites and Customs into Christian Customs, Bishop de Boismenu affirms that:

There is nothing superstitious in beliefs concerning the existence of malicious spirits, their evil effects on human beings and natural objects, and their activities in certain places rather than in others. [Christian] ritual supposes all that. There are prayers to chase the spirits of the water, the air and the earth. The Cross
planted in such places affirms the power of Our Lord over such spirits, and the Sign of the Cross, made with conviction when passing such places, is an act of faith and confidence in God, a prayer to Jesus Christ that He may protect us against evils of the devil. The fear of such spirits is neither chimerical nor superstitious. What would be superstitious would be to invoke the spirits themselves, either by paying homage to them, or by some other rite, in order to obtain their clemency; or by invoking some other spirits to protect us against the first (Mission Files, Bakoiudu; cf. Dupeyrat 1935: 201).

Consistently with this approach, missionaries denounced the use of spells (mea), and of objects known as aukubu (leaves, bones, stones etc) traditionally associated with the recitation of spells. Instead they introduced a new complex of ritual which, though it involved different ceremonial, contained all the elements of traditional 'superstitious' practices: the officiating agent (priest), spell (prayer) rite (blessing), and the use of substance (e.g. holy water).

It can readily be seen how the close parallel between traditional Kuni and Catholic belief in spirits, and the structural similarity of the ritual practices associated with these beliefs in the two cultures, must have formed a common basis of understanding between the Kuni and the missionaries during evangelization, and facilitated Kuni acceptance of Mission teachings. On the other hand, it is equally obvious that these similarities constituted only a part of two widely
divergent belief systems, and that misapprehension or ignorance about either could lead to erroneous assumptions about the extent to which these similarities pervaded their respective systems. This is in fact what happened. Whereas the Kuni underwent formal instruction in catechism, the missionaries on the whole remained ignorant about the basis of indigenous beliefs and their ramification into the value system of the local people. As a result, Catholic doctrine was often interpreted and adopted by the Kuni in terms of their own cultural quasi-equivalents without their realising that any inconsistency was involved. This 'processing' of foreign culture traits through the belief system and value configurations of the recipient culture accounts for many of the syncretic traits in present-day Kuni Catholicism (cf. Belshaw 1954: 69-77; Hogbin 1947, 1951: 267-71; van Kets 1962; Herskovits 1958; Butt 1960; Mead 1956: 317-42).

Some of these syncretic traits do not contradict formal Catholic teachings much, while others do. As an example of the former, the Kuni currently identify traditional malevolent spirits (faifai) with Catholic ones, all of whom are known collectively by the Catholic term diabolo (devils) or Lucifelo kantsi, Lucifers' henchmen (cf. Larson 1966: 105; White 1965: 75). As interpreted by the Kuni, however, this category includes a wide variety of animated matter e.g. rocks, goblins and ghosts which have no counterpart in Catholic teaching. The Kuni have gone further yet in their interpretation and argue that,
since spirits exist, it follows that traditionally protective spells must have been as potent as exorcism is to-day.¹ Some informants even state explicitly that the missionaries would not have opposed the use of spells so consistently over the years if they had really believed that native spells were impotent (cf. Wright 1966: 73-4; Lawrence 1964: 79 and Hogbin 1947: 30). These arguments suggest that for some Kuni at least, the difference between certain traditional beliefs and Catholicism is a matter of degree rather than kind. This introduces discussion of the second category of syncretic traits which have little to do with formal Catholic doctrine.

It is nearly a platitude to observe that belief and rites form an integral whole in the culture of many peoples; and the Kuni are no exception. The traditional beliefs of the Kuni in the power of malevolent spirits offered them an explanation for the causes of sickness, death and untoward events; and the performance of protective magic represented their attempts to control the forces believed to influence their lives. In this system, beliefs and rites were closely interwoven and helped to bolster each other up. The teachings of the missionaries did not substantially disturb the traditional world view of the Kuni. On the contrary, the similar emphasis of both Catholic and

¹ Every year on 29 September, the feast day of St Michael (the patron saint of the Kuni), the Kuni district is ritually exorcized by the resident priest in a solemn service.
traditional approaches on the importance of other-than-human factors in shaping the cause of everyday life made certain Catholic concepts relatively easy for the Kuni to accept. A consequence of this similarity, however, was that the new concepts were often only vaguely dissociated from traditional practices thus giving rise to different syncretic forms.

An example of this currently found in Kuni is the belief that misfortune, sickness and even death, can almost invariably be traced to sin, though sorcery is often given as an additional cause of death (cf. Hogbin 1947: 24; Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 207). While this belief may partly derive from Catholic teachings, its syncretism with traditional beliefs and attitudes is clearly evident: sin disturbs the harmony between the individual and the supernatural forces which are believed to govern human life, hence it naturally results in misfortune sooner or later. Adultery (though not fornication) and failure to attend Mass are the reasons most frequently given as the cause for misfortune. Conversely, Confession and partaking of the Mass, reciting the rosary, acts of devotion and respect for Catholic teachings is believed to ensure protection against adversity (cf. Valentine 1956: 42; Mead 1956: 328). When misfortunes have arisen or disease struck, resuming (or multiplying) these practices (Confession etc) is believed to be the first
step towards restoring (or increasing) euphoria with the supernatural.¹

In particular the Kuni emphasize the importance of ritual observances during times of crises. This is borne out for example, by the frequent request for Extreme Unction by sick persons who are in no real danger of death. Many Kuni, indeed, view this sacrament as a protective and healing rite, rather than the final blessing bestowed by the Church on one of its dying members. This is clearly expressed in references to certain persons as being alive because they received Extreme Unction, and others as having died because the priest refused to give it, believing that the patient

¹ An example of this approach at Bakoiudu, was the case of a woman who had suffered from some sort of paralysis for three to four years without responding to medical treatment or traditional medication, including the recitation of spells. Late in 1964, rumours began to circulate that her illness was probably caused by some misdemeanours on her part in the past. Subjected to questioning by many persons, she finally admitted that she had committed adultery about six years earlier. There was not the slightest hesitation among those concerned with her well-being that this was the root of her trouble, particularly as she had been a member of the Legion of Mary at the time. The woman's lover admitted his guilt and offered to pay the traditional compensation of a pig to the husband of the bedridden woman. The husband refused this and requested the man to pay his debt in cash, directly to the local priest who might then offer Masses for the woman's recovery. This decision was widely approved by the people and the matter was left at that. The condition of the ailing woman continued to deteriorate for several months after this incident but improved markedly towards August 1965. Since then she has recuperated enough to walk again and foster two children (cf. Hogbin 1951: 262; Mead 1956: 317-34).
was not ill enough to receive the Last Sacrament (cf. Hogbin 1951: 265). A similar example occurs at the time of childbirth, when difficult delivery or stillbirth is sometimes blamed on the mother's negligence in having failed to drink Lourdes water before going into labour.

These examples, and the causal relationship drawn between the occurrence of misfortunes and sinning, once more draw attention to the syncretic characteristics of Kuni Catholicism. Translated in terms of traditional religion, disease and misfortune are here represented as the result of having failed to observe the rules of proper conduct towards the supernatural. Although the Kuni do not necessarily attribute all misfortune to sin, and do not hold that all sins are invariably punished on earth, their approach does suggest that in some cases at least, Catholic rites and symbols have become invested with the properties and function of protective magic. It is possible to trace this syncretic tendency to misconceptions about certain missionary teachings dating back to the earliest days of evangelization.

A feature of Kuni adaptability noted earlier was the way in which the people adopted the Catholic concept of devils and identified their own traditional malevolent spirits with this category. This meant that traditional Kuni beliefs in spirits remained largely invulnerable to denunciation by the Mission and have remained virtually intact to this day. This also meant
that the Kuni retained their deep-rooted fear of spirits (accentuated by the dread of hell) and, by the same token, continued to feel a very real need to protect themselves against the power of spirits. Traditionally this protection had been afforded by protective magic but this practice was denounced by the early missionaries as being superstitious. The predicament of the Kuni can then be imagined. Faced with this apparent contradiction in Mission teaching whereby beliefs in spirits were validated but not so traditional practices associated with such beliefs, the Kuni adopted Catholic ritual investing it subconsciously perhaps, with the magical properties associated with traditional rites. In the words of a missionary assessing the impact of Catholicism throughout the Mission:

They take Catholicism as a more efficient form of superstition, better than their old hocus-pocus perhaps, because propounded by the white man. Their belief in the basis and foundation of Christianity is implicit and sincere enough, but it is interpreted within their own thought patterns and value configurations. (Personal communication).

With some reservations, this observation applies to the Kuni as well, particularly in those situations involving the use of traditional magic. For example, amulets for success in love and card playing are believed to become impotent if worn near the mission, when speaking to the priest and especially during Confession. In all these cases the power (aibala) of the priest is said to render such charms ineffectual.
Similarly the evil consequences of omens e.g. breaking a verbal taboo (kafu), seeing a falling star or having a glow worm fly over one, are neutralized by invoking God's name. The last case offers an interesting combination of Christian rationale and traditional belief. The glow worm, anana, is likened to a star (anana) in current Kuni usage. When it flies over someone, it is believed to be an omen of death unless its power is dissipated (cf. Egidi 1913a). Nowadays this is done by invoking the name of Christ, the reason given being that just as the star of Bethlehem heralded the birth of Christ, redeemer and vanquisher of death, so, by logical extension, the invocation of His name destroys the death-dealing power of the glow worm.¹

In the examples cited above, Christian traits have clearly become invested with magical properties, giving rise to what one might call magical or superstitious Christianity (cf. Kruyt 1924; Luzbetak 1963: 239-58; Rowley 1965: 143-4). However, the relative dominance of traditional and Catholic traits in the syncretic form is not always so clear-cut. For example many Kuni still refrain from coming to Mass (including obligatory services) when they are in mourning, or fasting before a dance. It is difficult to establish whether the persons refrain from going to Mass because they

¹ It must be added that though the original victim is thus spared, it is believed that somebody else will die sooner or later, usually a relative of the person over whom the glow worm flew first.
consider their traditional practices to be 'pagan' and therefore incompatible with Christian ritual, or whether they look upon going to Mass as an interruption and violation of tradition norms. Informants are reluctant to speak about this and the accent might well be on either interpretation. Indeed it might change according to circumstances, for versatility and dynamism remain the most characteristic features of Kuni Catholicism.

This may be illustrated with a final example observed on the occasion of a feast held in the Kuni homelands, where the proceedings were interrupted by persistent rainfall causing great discomfort to the hosts and guests assembled for the festivity. On the evening of the second rainy day, the hosts and guests assembled in the local deserted secondary Mission station and recited the rosary, appealing to the Virgin Mary to halt the rain. The next morning when the rain continued unabated, the hosts of the hamlet having debated what to do throughout the previous night, accused some uninvited visitors of having invoked the rain out of spite. These charges, declaimed from the men's house in traditional style, were vehemently denied by the persons concerned who demanded compensation for insult besides. In the afternoon all persons present, including those accused of having performed rain magic, joined forces in reciting the rosary once more. This time the petition was not that the rain might cease by direct intervention from the Virgin Mary (since this appeal had proved ineffective) but that the Virgin
might 'soften the heart' of whosoever had called down the rain. The implication of this petition was that the person concerned would then take the appropriate (magical) measures to halt the downpour. Still the rain fell. In a final resort to master the elements, the traditional conch-blower was requested to dissipate the rain - a ritual involving the recitation of spells and therefore prohibited by the Church. This interdiction was debated and the conch-blower was urged to avoid spells and to appeal to his patron saint before blowing into the shell. Whether he did or not, the rain abated within the hour and stopped (cf. Plate 9).

This example illustrates the characteristics of Kuni Catholicism noted earlier: its versatility and its underlying syncretism of traditional beliefs and practices. In one uninterrupted sequence the people are shown moving from a formal Catholic appeal by prayer for a desired result, to traditional accusations of rain-magic, and thence to a syncretic rite involving the invocation of saints and blowing on a conch-shell following traditional practice based on magical beliefs about rain causation (cf. Hogbin 1947: 33; Spiro 1966: 113; Goodenough 1963: 479). This attests not only to the flexibility of Kuni Catholicism but to the quasi-magical properties with which it has become invested under the influence of still-existing traditional beliefs and practices.
To recapitulate, the foundations of religious syncretism in Kuni were laid at the time of contact when the missionaries were identified as reincarnated ancestors by the Kuni. Subsequently the Kuni continued to display a similar capacity for embracing new notions, either by adopting the outward forms and categorizations of the new religion, though often without corresponding modification of traditional beliefs and values; or by incorporating the new notions into pre-existing traditional matrixes. The absence of a rigid formalism in traditional culture, and the receptivity of Catholicism to certain traditional beliefs were important contributory factors to this adaptive process which has given Kuni Catholicism its distinctive syncretic character. More important still, as an accommodating factor, was the underlying pragmatism of the Kuni which extended even into the realm of beliefs and practices. The capacity of these people to come to terms with changing circumstances not only channelled Catholicism into a syncretic mould, but pervaded that syncretism with a versatility which has particularly become evident since resettlement.

In conclusion it is necessary to introduce a note of warning. The discussion of Mission-Kuni interrelations in this chapter has to a large extent emphasized one aspect of religious acculturation viz. the reaction of the Kuni to Mission teachings, their progressive assimilation of Catholicism and the emergence of syncretic traits. Analysis in terms of syncretism, pragmatic adaptation, flexibility and
similar expressions may have conveyed the impression that the Kuni reacted to Catholicism merely in terms of calculated utilitarianism. This is assuredly not the case and points to an important dimension of Kuni Catholicism which has not been discussed in this chapter, or only superficially, viz. its meaning to the Kuni and the needs which it fulfills, as distinct from its operation in a social context which has been the main subject of discussion. The distinction, here, is that which Spiro draws between the practice of religion and its manipulation (1966: 105ff), or that which Geertz makes between religion pure and religion applied (1966: 37ff).

In this chapter analysis has mainly been at the latter level, describing the manipulation of religious concepts and their application to changing situations. Only cursory attention has been paid to the basis of these concepts, their relationship to the value-system of the Kuni and their relative importance to the world view of these people. Again in Spiro's terms, the analysis has focused primarily on the sociological, manifest and so-called 'real' functions of Kuni Catholicism, as distinct from psychological, latent and apparent functions (1966: 108-9). The separation of these two aspects in the present context was calculated, since the thesis is only incidentally concerned with the basis of religious belief. The separation, however, is heuristic. Underlying the so-called pragmatism of Kuni Catholicism and its adjustment to changing conditions, there is a hard core of religious
conviction, belief in the supernatural and an interwoven nexus of beliefs and practices which cannot be unravelled merely in social or economic terms. This forms the religious core of Kuni Catholicism which, paradoxically, has remained constant despite syncretic trends and which has validated the introduction of certain innovations (cf. Spiro 1966: 104-6). This explains why the combination of Catholic and traditional traits in Kuni Catholicism appears neither incongruous nor a source of ethical conflict to the people. Indeed, the adaptability of Kuni Catholicism to changing circumstances seems to be the very essence of its vitality and the measure of its success among the Kuni. In subsequent chapters it will be seen in operation in various contexts having little or nothing to do with religious matters, but where its characteristic traits adroitly manipulated in conjunction with religious sanctions, have brought about major changes in economic, political and kinship organization at Bakoiudu.
Plate 1. The Kuni homelands: looking to the north-west of Obaoba.

Plate 2. A typical homeland hamlet (Devadeva 1).
Plate 3. Family group at feast: from left to right; father, mother (centre foreground) and two daughters.

Plate 4. Unmarried girls in traditional dress.
Plate 5. Homelands: dancer with elele headdress before men's house at a mortuary feast.

Plate 6. Gift exchange of plumes and dogs' teeth at mortuary feast.
Plate 7. Kalau Daniel, one of the pioneer catechists in Kuni, wearing the catechist’s armband and holding a typical Kuni bamboo pipe.

Plate 8. Women returning from the gardens pray before a shrine to the Virgin Mary.
Plate 9. Syncretism: after invoking saints, the conch shell is blown to ensure good weather.

Plate 10. Syncretism: a grave at Bakoiudu strewn with flowers in the form of a Cross and guarded by a lamp to keep the soul of the deceased warm.
CHAPTER 3

RESETTLEMENT

In the preceding chapter, the outline of the history of the Mission in Kuni was interrupted in the mid-thirties, at the time that evangelization was completed. These pioneering decades dominated by the ministry of Father Chabot were all-important in establishing the position of the Mission in Kuni and laying the foundations of Kuni Catholicism. The years that followed were uneventful, although general Mission policy underwent a substantial change largely as a result of World War II. Whereas the war brought a temporary slump to the Mission, curtailing activity and limiting its resources, to the indigenes it was an awakening. Many were recruited as labourers and porters, others enrolled in the army; to all, the war offered a unique opportunity to move out of their tribal areas.

At the end of the war, conditions were no longer the same, neither for the people nor for established institutions like the Mission. The isolation of the past had been broken, and Mission authorities were not slow to sense the change in expectations among local inhabitants brought about by widened contact during the war. In particular the Mission became aware of new challenges to its former position of practically undisputed authority in rural areas. The post-war
period introduced marked socio-economic development throughout the country and, by opening secular avenues to self-advancement, helped to undermine the quasi-monopoly of influence held by missions before the war.

For these reasons post-war Mission policy laid far greater stress on social and economic development than had been its official programme in earlier years. The emphasis turned to community development as a whole, in which so-called spiritual and secular (socio-economic) considerations became integrated parts of Mission policy (cf. Bettison et al 1965: 5; Goodenough 1963: 218). In this new approach the missionary was looked upon as the catalyst of change, and the Mission itself, no longer as a consuming investment but rather as a productive one (cf. Considine 1963: 40, 43, 78; Luzbetak 1963: 6).

It was against this background of changed Mission policy that, in July 1959, Father Albert Boell was sent to Kuni to take charge of the area. In addition to his ministerial duties, he was instructed by the Bishop 'to seek to advance the Kuni district both socially and economically'. This chapter continues the discussion of Mission-Kuni interrelations, laying particular stress on the socio-economic conditions in Kuni which culminated in resettlement at Bakoiudu in July 1961.

The appointment of Father Boell to the charge of the Kuni district at a time when the area was at its lowest ebb of socio-economic development was not fortuitous. During his 28 years as Missionary of the Sacred Heart, most of which had been spent in Papua,
Alsatian-born Father Boell had acquired the nickname of 'the carpenter priest' in Mission circles on account of his characteristic concern with practical matters. To Father Boell indeed, socio-economic development was as much part of the missionary effort as evangelization, and a Christian community could not be expected to flourish in conditions of economic squalor and general stagnation. This conviction was expressed in the character of the man and translated into action. Good natured but impetuous, an indefatigable worker and exacting taskmaster, obstinate and wholly committed to the people and enterprise assigned to him, Father Boell had successfully handled difficult situations many times before.

'Socio-economic development' in the setting already described could be no easy task. Arriving at Obaoba, the newly appointed priest found himself confronted with the cumulative heritage of 60 years of neglect, reflected amongst other things, in deteriorating communications and Mission buildings badly in need of repair. His assessment of the situation and reaction to it were wholly unexpected. Less than two years after his arrival in the area, Father Boell set in motion a vast resettlement of the Kuni involving the abandonment of the traditional homelands. Understanding such a major upheaval in the lives of a people requires a closer look into the conditions and motivations which prompted its decision.
Administration Policy in Kuni

From the time of contact until recently, when resettlement brought the area to the attention of the Administration, the Kuni fell outside major official socio-economic development schemes. In part, this was because of the relative inaccessibility and geographic isolation of Kuni; in part, it was because government attention was concentrated on the administratively more troublesome areas to the north and south of Kuni. As one Patrol Officer put it to me:

No wonder! At the time when neighbouring tribes had to be brought under control by the fear of firearms, the Kuni were clamouring for guns to shoot game. They were just too passive for attention to focus on them.

Their so-called passiveness seems in fact to have been one of the major reasons for the neglect of Kuni by administrative authorities as regards regular patrolling and the promotion of planned socio-economic development. In 1960, the year before resettlement, conditions in Kuni were succinctly summarized as 'static, but law-abiding' (KAR 1960/1). Some eight years earlier, a report had described the Kuni in identical terms, and pointed out in addition that their law-abiding disposition was particularly noteworthy as the area had not been completely patrolled between 1949-52 (KPR 3 of 1952/3). A more trenchant description made essentially the same point in 1959:
The Kirni people as a whole were found to be primitive but possessed animal cunning underneath an apparently law-abiding and friendly attitude towards Europeans. (KPR 9 of 1958/9; cf. Rowley 1965: 150).

On the whole the Kuni were not pre-occupied with the Administration. With a few exceptions, the prevailing attitude towards administrative authority was one of nonchalance, and cynicism of administrative achievement in the area. As one prominent Kuni leader expressed it:

The Administration stopped warfare in Kuni: that was good because it was a pagan and sinful custom. For the rest it has not achieved much here except to introduce the shotgun.

In this respect A.D.O. W. Tomasetti who patrolled in Kuni in the fifties is fondly remembered by the Kuni as the one who introduced most shotguns to them, who shared their food, 'read their thoughts' and was not given to airs and graces. Most other administrative officials are depicted as possessing contrary attributes.

The cavalier attitude of the Kuni towards the Administration derived partly from an assessment of the latter's policy in Kuni, and partly as a reflection of Mission policy which, in the early days at least, expressly sought to keep relations between administrative authorities and the local people to a minimum (cf. Navarre 1907: 41-4; Dupeyrat 1964: 42; Rowley 1965: 152-4). To some extent this attitude still prevails as shown in recommendations by the Mission that disputes
should be settled locally and that the people should seek administrative intervention only in extreme cases.

After World War II, however, conditions in the Kuni homelands deteriorated so badly as a result of migration and depopulation, that more attention was paid to the area. Patrols expressed increased concern over the fragmented social organization of the Kuni and the obstacles which this posed to any Administration policy of advancement. A 1947 patrol pointed out that the rapid disintegration of settlement groups into isolated bush dwellings presented extreme obstacles to the task of educating and advancing the 'intelligent and very likeable Kuni' (KPR 16 of 1947/8); and in 1952, another patrol stressed the need to cultivate a 'new outlook' among the people to imbue them with the desire for advancement in their traditional setting (KPR 3 of 1952/3). Despite the fact that the Kuni were described as having 'no inclination to advance or be helped to advance', Administration policy towards them gradually took shape (KPR 9 of 1958/9). This was based on the assumption that centralization or at least the formation of large compact villages instead of dispersed hamlets, was a necessary pre-condition of any developmental programme. Although attempts by visiting patrols to group dispersed hamlets into larger units failed, the Administration did not change its policy towards Kuni development. It was clearly a case of unite or stagnate, but the means of uniting the Kuni escaped the authorities. It was at this juncture that Father Boell arrived in Kuni to take charge of the district.
Demographic Trends in Kuni

The pre-occupation of Administration and Mission officials with centralization as the pre-condition of socio-economic changes was not simply a matter of policy or expediency. Population figures for the district revealed a decline in the number of Kuni over the years. In some parts of Kuni decrease in population had reached the stage where a patrol officer stated in 1956 that such areas would 'not be worth patrolling' in the future (Village Book, Dilava parish; 12 December 1956). Another remarked on the overall natural decrease in Kuni population, describing it as the 'Kuni depopulation thesis' (KPR 5 of 1954/5). Mission sources corroborate the pessimistic view of administrative officials. Between 1948-64 for example, 152 more deaths than live births were recorded. The Kuni themselves consistently assert that there was a marked decline in their numbers after European contact.

The reasons for this decline are not immediately evident. Depopulation was not exclusive to Kuni but has also been recorded in other parts of Melanesia (Territory of Papua Annual Report 1922/3; Rivers 1922; Belshaw 1954: 90-5; Scragg 1954). The abolition of warfare and the combined efforts of the Administration and the Mission against such widespread practices in Kuni as infanticide and abortion, must have contributed to the stabilization of, if not a positive increase in population. These positive effects, however, were offset by the introduction by Europeans
of hitherto unknown diseases. Periodic epidemics took a heavy toll and the medical aid offered by the Mission was of little avail against the dispersal of the population. Indeed Administration and Mission opinions were agreed in relating the decline in population to the dispersed residential habits which arose in Kuni under the *Pax Australiana*. Hamlet fragmentation and population dispersal were further accentuated by the traditional practice of deserting places associated with the dead. Living in small isolated pockets far removed from Mission medical services, many of these dispersed hamlets were wiped out by the ravages of sickness, and whole lineages disappeared. Small hamlets struck with illness were particularly vulnerable since they had few members to spare from everyday economic chores. Disease therefore also threatened the economic viability of the hamlet. In addition, the number and dispersal of hamlets made them less accessible to Mission medical aid. As Administration and Mission authorities saw it, depopulation and the overall deterioration of conditions in Kuni could be halted only through the centralization of hitherto scattered groups. But there was doubt that this could be effected 'without some compulsion of some sort' (*KPR* 16 of 1947/8 and 5 of 1948/9).

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1 It could be argued that dispersal of hamlets was a safeguard against widespread contagion. This would have been true if hamlets had in fact been isolated. However, traditional Kuni communal mourning practices resulted in the spreading of diseases through the intermediary of mourners.
Another factor which undermined the demographic situation in Kuni was the emigration of youths and able-bodied men from the area, many of whom did not return. This trend increased steadily during and after World War II, and was an important contributory cause in accelerating the deterioration of conditions in Kuni. Administrative patrols had observed this trend as early as 1948, but had been unable to curb it.¹ Mission authorities also noted this exodus with alarm. Not only did they observe the economic repercussions of emigration in increased malnutrition and the deterioration of gardens, but they also witnessed the personal tragedies of 'grass widows' - women left behind in the homelands while their husbands were absent, often for months on end, sometimes for years (KPR 5 of 1950/1, Semestrial Report to Mission headquarters dated 18/6/57, Mission files, Bakoiodu). Though Administration officials did not regard the percentage of absenteeism as excessive, they did point out that the absence of males might have repercussions in the conduct of everyday village affairs, particularly in food production; and male absenteeism was explicitly related to the depopulation of Kuni (KPR 6 of 1955/6 and 4 of 1957/8). The introduction by the Administration of an annual head tax of $2 per adult

¹ In 1953, the rate of male absenteeism in the 16-45 year age group was recorded as 36 per cent of males, or 178 out of a total of 495 able-bodied men. Sixteen hamlets were noted to have fewer adult males than females, and the proportion of pregnant women to those of child-bearing age was recorded to be as low as 28:499 (KPR 3 of 1952/3).
male in 1958 only aggravated the situation as men were forced to leave the area to seek cash employment (cf. Mager 1937: 31ff).¹ By 1961, the situation had reached such a point that old Kuni men appealed explicitly to visiting patrols that young men should forcibly be brought back to the homelands (cf. Belshaw 1954: 110).

**Educational and Medical Problems**

The development of an effective education network in Kuni, and the extension of medical services throughout the area were both hindered by distance, topographical obstacles and the ever increasing dispersal of the population to remoter areas. After an initial period of expansion which culminated in the mid-1930s with catechists running secondary stations as regular schooling centres, the field of influence of the Mission gradually contracted. This was partly the result of the reduction of Mission staff in Kuni because of the expansion of the Mission in other areas, and partly the result of lack of interest among the people, allied no doubt to the mediocre skill of the teachers and catechists operating in most secondary stations. Thus a visiting patrol in 1949 observed that 'the amount of effectual gain in basic schooling must be meagre to say the least' (KPR 5 of 1948/9). The patrol attributed ineffective schooling as much to the

¹ Later when resettlement began, the Kuni head tax was temporarily suspended so that would-be settlers could concentrate their efforts on resettling.
lack of proper training of the teachers, as to the highly erratic attendance of school children and their regular absconding to gardening activity.

Within a few years, the central station at Obaoba was virtually the sole dispenser of any education and medical care because the Mission could no longer effectively supervise secondary stations. Even at Obaoba, St Anne's school had to be closed down temporarily in 1953 because of insufficient and irregular attendance of pupils. An offer by the Administration to maintain an aidpost near Obaoba fell through because local residents showed little interest in erecting it or carrying medical supplies in from the coast. A few months after the arrival of Father Boell at Obaoba, matters came to a head and Mission headquarters withdrew the teaching sisters stationed at Obaoba on the grounds that neither the number of children attending school there, nor the prospects for the area as a whole, warranted their being stationed in Kuni any longer.

In fact, Mission staff in Kuni had been reduced to a minimum. Throughout the period under discussion (and at the time of writing), Father Boell was assisted by one missionary only, the ageing Father Louis Vangeke, the first Papuan (Mekeo) priest. Kindly, soft-spoken and unassuming, Father Louis spent some twenty years amongst the Kuni whom he knew very well and was well
loved by them in return.\(^1\) Despite his prolonged stay in Kuni, however, his influence in the area was restricted, particularly as regards the shaping of Mission attitudes and policy. This was partly a matter of personal temperament and partly the result of circumstance as his colleagues and religious superiors in Kuni happened to be very forceful personalities who set the pace in the area. With all of these Father Louis was on excellent terms, a fact at least partly attributable to his self-effacing character and his acquiescence to the decision-making of others. The Kuni quickly apprehended the passive role of Father Louis in the running of Mission affairs, though they did find in him a sympathetic listener and convenient middle-man for conveying their ideas to other missionaries. In this respect Father Louis' position was not enviable as his fluency in the vernacular also made him the temporary mouthpiece of successive new missionaries in Kuni. This was particularly the case during the decisive years immediately after the arrival of Father Boell in Kuni.

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\(^1\) Interestingly, however, though the Kuni claim a particular solidarity and affinity with Father Louis because 'he is a Papuan like us and understands our ways', they also refer to him as *nao kaona* (the European), thereby revealing their ambivalent attitude towards indigenous clergy. The name suggests that missionaries are still looked upon as extraneous to the local scene, or at least as being members of a European dominated fraternity.
Attempts at Economic Development

Post-war Mission policy stressed the promotion of socio-economic development in tribal areas, and in Kuni, the Mission had introduced a good strain of Arabica coffee of which several groves were planted in the homelands. The primary aim was to interest the people in cash cropping, but for reasons which are not clear (probably marketing and transport difficulties), this was not achieved. The scheme stagnated until 1953 when a visiting patrol was approached by members of Vale Bekena parish seeking Administration assistance to promote the commercial cultivation of coffee. Whilst encouraging this spontaneous interest, the patrol nevertheless warned:

Of course, it is quite likely that the idea will come to nothing due to an evaporation of native interest...but it should be noted that the initiative and impetus for this matter came, and is coming from the natives. (KPR 5 of 1953/4).

During the years that followed, interest in coffee was maintained, particularly in Vale parish where plantings reached a sizeable number. By 1959, total plantings of coffee throughout the Kuni district were estimated at 5,000 trees, but marketing and transport difficulties proved real obstacles to the further expansion of the scheme. Indeed, from the point of view of cash income, the venture was a failure.

Another Mission-sponsored project which failed was the Kuni Catholic Club, founded at Obaoba in September 1955. From the Mission standpoint, the aim of the Club
was primarily to enlist general Kuni support and co-operation in Mission projects. To the people, however, the Club was generally seen as a means of organizing local co-operatives to improve their standard of life through communal effort. To this end a subscription membership to the Club was opened. By 1959, $600 had been collected and was held in trust by the Mission. This was a substantial sum considering the isolation of Kuni and the lack of opportunities for cash employment in the district; and the people were impatient to invest it. Under the incentive of a Vale 4 parish member, Olea Stephano of Inau Olaba, Kuni Club members decided to open a Club store at Obaoba. The idea was that the store should be run on a non-profit basis by Olea Stephano on behalf of the Club. From the outset then, the Club store became associated with Inau Olaba and Vale 4 parish more than with any other Kuni group or parish. In effect, despite all-Kuni membership of the Club, Inau Olaba assumed quasi-managerial and almost proprietary rights over the Club store. A year later, this became an important factor when the Mission sought support for its decision to abandon the Kuni homelands, the Club Store at Obaoba having already been forced to close down because of irregular supply of goods and other difficulties (cf. Appendix 3).

Communication Problems and Isolation

Nearly all the failures in the attempts at socio-economic development outlined above can be related to
the ruggedness of the Kuni homelands, their inaccessibility from the coast and the resulting problems of communication, transport and general contact. The first observation of Father Boell when he arrived in Kuni was that proper communications between the Kuni homelands and the coast would have to be restored as a precondition of any economic development.

Since portions of the old track from the plains to Obaoba were almost unusable, the missionary sought to trace an alternative route skirting the Diéne mountains on the north-west, that is, on the opposite flank to that taken by the old track (cf. Maps 1 and 3). One of the important side-effects of this task was the exploration of a terrain consisting of undulating country broken by a number of small ridges and creeks. Topographically this region was much more accessible and exploitable than its hinterland, and was sparsely populated. At that time there were only two hamlets in the area, Aiavei on the outer boundary of the locality described, and Bakoiudu at its very centre.

Meanwhile conditions in the homelands continued to deteriorate. In an attempt to reverse this trend, Father Boell had joined with the Administration in popularizing the idea of establishing a cash-crop plantation in the homelands as a source of local cash income. The site for the plantation was a matter of urgent decision as the Administration had offered to erect an Agricultural Extension Station in the district to supervise the scheme from the outset. The main Administration spokesman and intermediary on behalf of
Kuni in the events to be described was Mr Ken Brown A.D.O. who maintained close contact with developments in Kuni and supported Father Boell in most of his decisions.

The siting of the plantation was determined in a roundabout manner. When the Kuni Club store closed down at Obaoba, its operators expressed disillusion with the isolation and communication problems of the homelands, and were highly critical of prospects for advancement there. News of the failure of the Kuni Club spread, and Faika Peto, the local chief at Bakoiudu, invited the managers of the store to whom he was distantly related to start a new one at Bakoiudu where transport and communications were easier than in the homelands.

Faika Peto's offer did not pass unnoticed by Father Boell, who immediately began sounding the possibility of resettling all the mountain (tsalua) Kuni at Bakoiudu and of establishing the proposed cash-crop plantation there. From the outset there was no question of including the Kuni living to the south of Bakoiudu in such a proposed resettlement since they fell under the jurisdiction of the Mission at Kubuna. Furthermore, plains Kuni did not suffer the drawbacks experienced by the mountain dwellers to the north. The proposition caught Faika Peto unawares. An unassuming, ailing man, he was no match for the incisive persuasion of Father Boell. The latter elaborated on the socio-economic needs of the stranded homeland Kuni, appealed to the charity and compassion of Faika Peto, projecting
the image of benefactor and 'father' of the settlement which he would acquire did he agree to the move. As Faika Peto put it later: 'the man of God spoke, what could I say?'; and agreed to open Bakoiudu for resettlement.

Preparing for Resettlement

The project and implementation of resettlement was an informal local matter centred on Father Boell as its main instigator; Faika Peto as the titular landholder and Ken Brown A.D.O., who gave his personal backing to the scheme from the outset. Negotiations between these three key figures were carried out on an informal personal basis until Faika Peto gave his final assent to resettlement. Thereafter two formal negotiations took place. In April 1961 the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries (DASF) formally obtained a five-acre lease for the Agriculture Station at the Bakoiudu site of Moka Moka Abu Abu (Moka 'Agri'). On this occasion Faika Peto designated his adopted son Umulu Michaelo (cf. Genealogy 1) to accept the $10 for the site: 'It is you who will take my succession. It is for you therefore to accept the price of this land'. By this act Faika Peto publicly proclaimed Umulu as his successor, an event worth noting given the precarious leadership position at Bakoiudu discussed in later chapters.

Cash payment for the Agricultural Station lease gave rise to speculation that perhaps the whole of Bakoiudu might be purchased in similar fashion, and
Genealogy 1: Succession to Bakoiudu.

UMULU Δ — BOLIDA
Inau Obana
IDOIDO
(Parish)
Inau Kanufa
YUMU

KOIVA NEBA Δ — MEIFA
Inau Mabai
YUMU > IDIDO
AUANAVE

MINIA FATSIAKU Δ — OLE KIALE
Inau Anitsia
YAIFA

FAIKA PETO Δ — KAULE MAGALISA
Inau Tsitsi
LAPEKA
1. Obana
IDOIDO

GAIO ELIZA Δ — IVAVE
1. Obana
IDOIDO
Inau Edeva
DILAVA

UMULU MICHAEL O — AFAE MARIA
1. Edeva
IDOIDO
Inau Olaba
VALE 4

LINE OF SUCCESSION
> CHANGE OF PARISH MEMBERSHIP
rival proprietary claims were laid by several Kuni. Most important of these was Koba Fafaida from Kubuna whom the Kuni admitted to be the titular owner of the southern portion of Bakoiudu. Rival claims over Bakoiudu were accompanied by threats of eviction and sorcery against would-be settlers. On 11 February 1962 the surrender of Bakoiudu for the settlement of the Kuni people was ratified in a joint verbal declaration made by Faika Peto and Koba Fafaida before Patrol Officer, F. Seefeld. The statement was to the effect that

> no force, persuasion, sorcery or other means will be used to force the people to leave the land on which they are going to settle with our consent and permission. (File 12.3.2, D.D.A., Port Moresby).

This agreement ceded some 25,000 acres formerly held by Faika Peto, and 15,000 acres held by Koba Fafaida for the communal resettlement of the Kuni people. Though the declaration was made in good faith, and though Kuni settlers at Bakoiudu assume it to be binding and a gage of their security of tenure there, this is in fact not the case. At the time of writing, the transfer of Bakoiudu to the Kuni people had not yet been formally legalized although steps were being taken to ensure this (cf. Dakeyne 1966: 31; White 1965: 4, 82-6).

Apart from these two transactions (and particularly the latter), which formalized the transfer of Bakoiudu to would-be settlers, all other negotiations were carried out informally. In fact the whole of resettlement was characterized by the absence of any organized plan of action, clear directives or any
programme providing housing, feeding of settlers and so on. This is remarkable considering that, with the exception of Bakoiudu hamlet itself consisting of two huts set in a clearing, and the gardens of Faika Peto and his family, the whole of the proposed resettlement area was thickly covered with virgin forest. As the idea presented itself at first to Father Boell and Mr Brown, an Agricultural Station would be erected at Bakoiudu which would form the centre of a communal cash-cropping enterprise in Kuni. Father Boell vaguely envisaged that young people would come down from the mountains to work the plantation while the bulk of the population would remain in the homelands, at least until such time that the settlement was fully organized. Throughout the preliminary negotiations, the question of resettlement was not broached with the people most directly involved in the move: the Kuni homelanders to the north. During this period Father Boell was wholly engaged cutting the new track to Obaoba and erecting the DASF station at Bakoiudu. He only intermittently visited Obaoba where Father Louis Vangeke was in charge. Besides, the idea of mass resettlement had not crystallized itself yet and the emphasis was still on gradual migration. The impracticability of this plan only became evident in June 1961 when, after two months' work on the DASF station at Bakoiudu, Father Boell found that his recently completed track to Obaoba had become impassable due to lack of upkeep. This waste of many months of labour convinced him that no long-term progress could
take place in the area as long as it was based on a division of organization and interests. The break with the homelands had to be decisive, complete and final.

Early in July 1961, therefore, at a mass gathering of Kuni convened at Obaoba, Father Boell publicly announced his intention to quit the homelands and set up a new Mission centre at Bakoiudu. As reasons for his decision he emphasized the isolation of the Kuni homelands and the obstacles which this presented to any large-scale socio-economic development. On the other hand he stressed the expected advantages of resettlement: the likelihood of substantial cash cropping, improved schooling and medical facilities and an overall rise in standards of living.

The attainment of these expectations, however, was not presented to the homelanders as something easy to achieve. Father Boell elaborated at length on the hardships and physical discomforts which would-be settlers might expect at Bakoiudu, at least for the first couple of years after resettlement. Far from being depicted as an easy 'road belong cargo' (Lawrence: 1964), resettlement was put to the homelanders as a challenge whose success would depend on the spirit of sacrifice of would-be settlers. As Father Boell put it, recalling his speech at Obaoba,

The only thing I could guarantee the Kuni was hardship and painful labour during the first years. The rest was a matter of chance and good fortune.

Informants vividly depict the effect of Father Boell's announcement on them:
At the thought of all that work our bodies immediately began to perspire. Some of us would have preferred to repair the old Mission buildings in the homelands, rather than set up a new Mission station at Bakoiudu. We knew nothing about money then; we thought only of the work and wanted to remain where we were. But many of us thought we had to follow Father as we are Catholics and must have sacraments. Those that thought otherwise were pagans at heart, and cowards like women.

This statement typifies the initial reaction of many homelanders to Father Boell's announcement, and is characterized by two features: first, the pragmatic assessment of the issues involved in resettlement, and second, the emphasis on Catholicism as a determining factor in deciding whether to resettle or not. This latter characteristic can be related directly to Father Boell's presentation of the resettlement issue. Anticipating objections to the proposal, Father Boell warned the homelanders that if the move was not widely supported, he would seek a transfer from Kuni. In addition he also stressed the religious implications of wilfully defying the Mission by remaining in the homelands. He stated categorically that his duties at Bakoiudu would preclude his visiting the homelands, so that the people remaining there would have to see to the fulfilment of their religious obligations as their conscience and situation best prompted them. On the other hand the missionary stressed the spiritual blessings and rewards which would accrue to those who did resettle in the face of hardship. In effect the decision to resettle, ostensibly presented as a matter
of personal option, actually came in the form of an ultimatum, as a matter of religious obligation. This was not a negligible sanction for the Kuni, and caused much criticism and resentment among traditional leaders, particularly those of outlying parishes like Maimai, Devadeva and Yumu who had not been consulted about the matter beforehand, and to whom the plan to resettle was presented as a ready-made decision.

Backed by Faika Peto, who was present at the general meeting at Obaoba and who publicly invited the homelanders to settle at Bakoiudu with assurances of goodwill and hospitality, Father Boell's decision to resettle caught many homelanders unawares. Apart from Vale 4 parish members who had been directly involved in the Kuni Club and whom Faika Peto had already invited to settle at Bakoiudu, the proposition came to the homelanders as a bolt from the blue. Indeed Maimai parish men were at that very time busy clearing land to begin local cacao cash cropping. Together with the northernmost Devadeva homelanders who stood to be most isolated from their traditional homelands through resettlement, Maimai parish men were the most eloquent in their opposition to any form of migration or resettlement. Members of the so-called 'Obaoba parishes' who had been in closer association with the Mission, were less vocal in their objection to the idea. Nevertheless with the exception of a few Vale 4 and Inaumaka parish men who supported the proposition from the outset, the consensus of opinion was overwhelmingly against resettlement.
The homelanders had little opportunity to formulate or even express their objections to the proposal to Father Boell. On the morrow of the meeting at Obaoba announcing his decision, Father Boell left for Bakoiudu together with ten volunteer settlers mostly from Vale 4 and Inaumaka parishes. He was confident that increasing numbers of homelanders would descend to Bakoiudu provided he stood firm in his decision and set the example. This conviction accounted for his early departure from Obaoba without entering into any negotiations with homeland chiefs or specifying how the proposed mass resettlement to a virtually uninhabited area could best be organized. Father Louis was left temporarily in charge at Obaoba until the Mission could be transferred to Bakoiudu.

The departure of Father Boell from Obaoba left the homelanders perplexed. Objection to resettlement was not expressed simply in terms of the hardships anticipated at Bakoiudu; the homelanders were also deeply attached to their traditional land and ancestral groves. To most, the posited advantages of resettlement were negligible compared to the security and attraction which the homelands held for them. On the other hand, the homeland Kuni took their religious obligations seriously and to many, despite their love for their

1 Father Boell had discussed the proposed migration with Father Louis, and though the latter had some reservations about the scheme, he had supported the priest-in-charge and had been the main spokesman on his behalf at the Obaoba meetings announcing the decision to resettle.
land, the removal of the Mission from the homelands was irreconcilable with their remaining there. Many informants state that had it not been for the withdrawal of the Mission from the homelands, they would never have resettled at all.

But we are Catholics. How could we remain in the homelands alone, to die like pigs or dogs without receiving the Holy Oils [Extreme Unction]?

It was in an attempt to resolve this crisis in conscience that, about October 1961, homeland chiefs and catechists devised a compromise solution which they put to Father Louis at Obaoba. The suggestion was that those homelanders who did not wish to resettle at Bakoiudu for business reasons, should resettle at Obaoba which would become the nucleus of homeland life with regular schooling and religious instruction. The proposition in fact, was that the Kuni district should be divided into two major resettlements, one at Bakoiudu and the other at Obaoba, both under Mission supervision. Such a scheme, thought the homelanders, would effectively resolve the Mission's pre-occupation with economic advancement and religious education, without necessitating the permanent abandonment of the traditional homelands. This suggestion was the homelanders' last bid to remain in the homelands with Mission support.

The appeal was put to Father Louis partly as a matter of expediency since Father Boell was away at Bakoiudu, and partly because the homelanders felt that as a Papuan priest, Father Louis might better understand
their desire to remain in the homelands and consolidate their faith there. In addition, seen against the background of traditional Kuni political manoeuvring and the diplomatic dexterity with which settlers currently handle different spheres of Mission and Administration influence at Bakoiudu, it is most likely that the homelanders, whether consciously or not, were seeking a solution to their dilemma by forcing a split in Mission opinion. In enlisting the support of Father Louis, the Kuni were not so much challenging the decision of Father Boell to resettle at Bakoiudu, as they were asserting their belief that the Mission should not and would not let them down if they remained in the homelands. Throughout the indecisive period immediately following the departure of Father Boell from the homelands, the Kuni remained convinced that the Bishop at Yule Island would appoint a resident priest at Obaoba if they remained steadfast in their resolution to stay in the homelands. 'We then thought: we are Catholics, how could the Mission just drop us?'

This point of view still prevailed among a few homelanders in June 1964 after Obaoba had been completely abandoned, but its expression was only half-hearted, and tinged with bitterness and disappointment. Late in 1961, however, the homelanders still thought they might effectively reach a compromise solution.

They very nearly succeeded in this objective. Not only did Father Louis support the idea of an alternative resettlement of homelanders at Obaoba, but (though the Kuni were unaware of this at the time) Bishop Klein at
Yule Island had serious reservations on the advisability of granting Father Boell permission to resettle the Kuni on such a large scale. Despite this split in Mission attitudes to resettlement, Father Boell's plan prevailed. This was largely due to the structure of authority within the Mission which allows considerable autonomy to the priest-in-charge of a district, and to the forceful personality of Father Boell. He rejected the homelanders' idea of a compromise resettlement at Obaoba which Father Louis had referred to him, and convinced the latter that mass resettlement of the Kuni was necessary. In his subsequent dealings with the homelanders, therefore, Father Louis withdrew his former support for their alternative scheme.

The reversal of Father Louis' decision on resettlement established Father Boell as the incontestable strong man (aibala kaona) in Kuni. Informants, particularly those who remained in the homelands, depict him as 'the villain of the piece' in reminiscences about early resettlement days, and blame him for all the hardships which prevailed then as well as for any discomforts which they may now endure. Subsequently the attitude of the Kuni to Father Boell changed considerably, particularly among Bakoiudu settlers, who now hail him as the one who has uplifted the people, brought the white man's way to Kuni, and departed from the old missionary approach with its unilateral concern with religious and spiritual matters (cf. Rowley 1965: 155). This change in attitude
evolved progressively as conditions at Bakoiudu improved and the material advantages of resettlement became evident. At the time that resettlement was launched, however, few homelanders were concerned with material advancement. Their main pre-occupation was how to remain in the homelands without compromising their faith. The dilemma of the homelanders is best illustrated in a now standardized tale relating their final capitulation to resettlement.

When Father told us that he would go down to Bakoiudu and close Obaoba we were lost. What could we do for our souls? How could we get to the sacraments? We were quite confused in our minds. So some of us said: never mind our land and our gardens, we will go down with Father for the good of our souls and for our children. But some others said: never mind, let the others go down; we shall stay here and go down only for big feasts. We have [the statue of] St Michael to look after us, and we shall pray at his feet. And so it happened. Some came down to Bakoiudu and the others stayed back.

Now, when Father heard how some remained behind because of St Michael, he got cross and immediately sent two boys to Obaoba to bring St Michael down to Bakoiudu. The boys went up and put St. Michael in a hammock to carry him. But on the way he fell and broke his arm. This was a sign that St Michael did not want to come down either. It was a bad omen that things would not go well at Bakoiudu. Nevertheless, because we had nobody left in the homelands, most of us came down. Those remaining behind are real pagans and have no conscience.

Despite several inaccuracies in detail (e.g. St Michael's arm broke at Bakoiudu three weeks or so after arrival there), and misrepresentations of the reasons
why Father Boell had St Michael brought down from Obaoba (actually to please a missionary colleague), the tale highlights the attitude of the Kuni to resettlement. In fact, the distortions accentuate the dilemma in which the homelanders found themselves torn between love for their traditional land on one hand, and their conception of what proper adherence to the Catholic faith required of them on the other. This conflict in the homelanders is graphically represented in the personification of the statue of St Michael on to which they temporarily projected their religious loyalties; and in the portrayal of Father Boell as purposely thwarting the attempt to remain in the homelands.

The tale suggests that to many homelanders resettlement was envisaged only as a last resort when all other attempts to resolve the religious crisis in the homeland context had failed. Socio-economic and other non-religious considerations appear to have been only indifferently associated with resettlement. To the Kuni these were only secondary expressions of the role of the Mission amongst them. What the observer may distinguish as overlapping spheres of socio-economic, political and religious pressures, to the Kuni appear as different expressions of the divinely sanctioned authority of the Mission as the mouthpiece of the Catholic faith which they have adopted.

The importance attributed to religious sanctions by homelanders in deciding to resettle, is also evinced by the responses to a questionnaire enquiry on reasons
for resettlement conducted by myself among Bakoiudu settlers between October and December 1963.¹ The results of the enquiry are set out in Table 3. Though schooling of children was given as the most important single reason for resettling (accounting for nearly 14 per cent of all answers), it is interesting to note that Mission pressure appears in 49 per cent of the responses, either singly or in combination with other reasons, followed by schooling (40 per cent), sacraments and business (28 per cent each), Administration pressure (14 per cent) and following resettled relatives (five per cent). The emphasis in alleged motivation for descent was thus clearly on the Mission, either directly as the originator of the move (Mission pressure), or indirectly as the dispenser of schooling and religious (sacramental) benefits.

This point was reiterated by answers to the query whether settlers would care to return to the homelands if Obaoba were re-opened conjointly with Bakoiudu. As phrased originally the question was: 'Would you like to return to the homelands?' Most informants dismissed this as a pointless question since the Mission had already left the homelands. The question was accordingly rephrased to imply the running of two

¹ The survey-in-progress was interrupted by illness and my departure from Kuni in December 1963, and was not resumed in the same form when I returned to Kuni in March 1964. The number of interviewees is thus small, consisting of 43 adults (including 14 women) out of a total resettled population of about 600 at the time.
### TABLE 3

**REASON(S) FOR RESETTLING AT BAKOIUDU**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason(s) for resettling</th>
<th>Number of Informants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administration pressure</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission pressure</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission and Administration pressure</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission and Administration pressure; business</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission pressure; schooling</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission pressure; sacraments</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission pressure; schooling</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission pressure; business</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission pressure; sacraments, schooling</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission pressure; sacraments, business</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission pressure; relatives at Bakoiudu</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission pressure; sacraments, schooling, business</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schooling</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business, schooling</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Followed others for no particular reason</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other reasons (to teach, to see what Bakoiudu is like)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No reply</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>43</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Informants were asked why they came down to Bakoiudu. The question was open-ended but answers were grouped into the categories listed above.

2. While the distinction was not always clear or consistent, some informants distinguished between Mission pressure *per se* and resettling for religious (sacramental) reasons. The distinction is noted here as a matter of record and the point may be stretched to differentiate between compulsive (Mission pressure) and spontaneous (sacramental) expression of religious beliefs and attitudes. While the two categories may well overlap and seem complementary, it is interesting that informants did think it relevant to express reasons for descent in these two ways.
Mission centres, one at Bakoiudu and one in the homelands. Forty four per cent of informants said they would return to the homelands if Obaoba were re-opened, 37 per cent claimed they would remain at Bakoiudu, 16 per cent were undecided and three per cent declined to answer. This comparative readiness to return to the homelands if the Mission station there were re-opened, corroborates the overall impression of the first census that Mission-orientated (as opposed to economic or other) reasons were the primary motivation for resettlement. However, the position was markedly different at a similar sounding of opinion conducted in February 1965 at a time when the economic basis of Bakoiudu had become well established. On this occasion business interests occurred in 64 per cent of the reasons given for resettling, followed by schooling (56 per cent) and religious (sacramental) reasons (50 per cent). Mission and Administration pressure had, in retrospect, become slighter considerations for resettlement, occurring in less than 35 per cent of answers. Less than 20 per cent of informants professed willingness to return to the homelands permanently if Obaoba were re-opened.

The different reasons advanced for resettlement in 1963 and 1965 pose a problem of interpretation. These reasons can be described as primarily religious and primarily economic respectively. In attempting to reconcile them, two approaches are possible. Either both sets of replies can be interpreted as approximately reflecting the conviction of settlers at the time of
the interview, in which case different viewpoints may tentatively be attributed to the change in circumstances during the period between interviews; or one (or both) set(s) of replies can be interpreted as not really expressing the true sentiments of informants. The dichotomy is not easily resolved particularly as extraneous factors such as attitudes towards the interviewer, projection of ideal norms, inhibitions of informants and other factors may have restrained the spontaneous expression of reasons for resettling.

Despite these reservations, however, several considerations suggest that the religious and economic reasons for resettlement given in 1963 and 1965 respectively, do in fact represent the convictions of informants at those particular times. The emphasis on religious reasons in 1963 is not surprising given the authority of the Mission in Kuni, the way resettlement was proposed to the homelanders and the particular nature of Kuni Catholicism with its accent on fear of damnation and its dependence on the Church and the sacraments as safeguards against hell. That socio-economic interests were relatively unimportant to the homelanders who first resettled at Bakoiudu, is evinced by their reaction to a proposal by the Administration in March-April 1962 to move the resettlement further south as Bakoiudu was thought to be economically unexploitable.\(^1\) Although the technical findings on

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\(^1\) File 12.3.2, Department of District Administration, Port Moresby; correspondence and documents dated between March and April 1962.
which this observation had been made were subsequently revised, the settlers refused to accept the proposal, claiming that they had no interest in any large-scale cash cropping and that they had come down primarily to be a 'united Catholic people (cf. Knudson 1964: 151).

This pre-occupation with religious ends is even shown by the homelanders who refused to resettle at Bakoiudu. As discussed in Appendix 1, over 500 Kuni have remained in the mountainous homelands. Nevertheless these homelanders, particularly Devadeva 2 parish men who are the most vehemently opposed to resettling at Bakoiudu, have of their own accord taken steps to ensure the preservation of their faith in the homelands by seeking alliance with the nearest Mission station in the Goilala census-subdivision. Here also, therefore, religious sanctions are seen operating spontaneously among a group of people who have chosen to remain out of the jurisdiction of the Mission in Kuni. Interestingly, Bakoiudu settlers look upon these homelanders as religious renegades and call them 'pagans'. This criticism further emphasizes the attitude to resettlement of those homelanders who came to Bakoiudu in the early days. Resettlement in this context might even be described as a quasi-religious movement. This is borne out by the discussion so far, and by the nature of particular requests made to Father Boell. Thus, for example, several appeals were made to him to forbid all so-called 'badly marrieds' (polygynists) from coming to Bakoiudu, as the new settlement was to be 'a good place for true Catholics'.
Although Father Boell did not meet this request, arguing that polygynists should not be ostracized but persuaded to change their ways, the request illustrates the framework in which resettlement was seen by many homelanders.

In effect, secular rationalization of resettlement became prominent only after the initial hardships of resettling were over, and when the prospects of substantial cash cropping became a clear possibility. Until then the settlers had seen themselves as followers of the Mission rather than seekers of 'cargo'. Against the background of different socio-economic conditions at Bakoiudu in 1963 and 1965, the different responses given by informants lose their ambiguity. They appear rather as a commentary on the changes brought about by resettlement.

Resettlement

One of the paradoxes of resettlement was the marginal role played by Father Boell in the organization of the descent from the homelands and the settling of homelanders at Bakoiudu. After giving the initial impetus to the scheme by leaving the homelands, the 'carpenter priest' concentrated on construction works for the new Mission station, aid post, school and church at Bakoiudu. The organization of resettlement was left predominantly in the hands of Faika Peto and traditional homeland chiefs, with the missionary intervening in an advisory capacity only when called upon to do so. No external sanctions were enforced to
organize the mass migration of the homeland Kuni. Resettlement was essentially a spontaneous movement prompted by the self-generated internal sanctions of Kuni Catholicism.

Although Father Boell had urged that the young and able-bodied should form the vanguard of settlers to prepare houses and plant gardens at Bakoiudu in readiness for those who were less able to take the rigours of the first months of resettlement, no steps were taken to implement or assure such progressive descent. Homelanders came down sporadically in disorganized groups long before conditions at Bakoiudu were suitable for mass migration. Many homelanders who should have been the last to come down for reasons of age or health, formed the vanguard of migrants as they feared to be left behind in the homelands without sacraments. Others, especially older traditional chiefs, felt it incumbent upon them to lead the way for members of their *inau* notwithstanding considerations of health. These people were least able to withstand the rigours of resettlement and several died on the way to Bakoiudu or soon after arrival there.

These deaths, particularly those of traditional chiefs, greatly discouraged surviving relatives and kinsmen of the deceased, many of whom did not come down to Bakoiudu at all or returned to the homelands after arriving. For example, Yaifa parish men returned to the homelands after the deaths of a warrior-chief and three of their parish members within six months of resettling. Convinced that they were ill-fated at
Bakoiudu, it was only towards the beginning of 1965 that members of this parish began to return to the settlement. The return of would-be settlers to the homelands, and their reports on conditions of life at Bakoiudu and the spate of deaths there during the early months, entrenched anti-resettlement feelings among homelanders. Bakoiudu was described as a place of hardships and great emphasis was laid on the death rate at the settlement.

Mission records confirm that there was some concentration of deaths during the early months of resettlement, but do not show any notable increase in the overall annual number of deaths after resettlement. To would-be settlers, however, the spate of deaths during the early months of resettlement was highly disturbing, and suspicions of sorcery were voiced. This was partly because, at Bakoiudu, traditional enemies and rivals were for the first time living in relative proximity, away from the safeguards associated with their ancestral lands. Sorcery was expected to flourish under such conditions. In fact, fear of sorcery at Bakoiudu continues to deter homelanders (and Port Moresby Kuni) from resettling at Bakoiudu to the present day. This is particularly true of Devadeva homelanders who have not yet reconciled themselves to the death of one of their peace-chiefs during his descent to Bakoiudu in 1961. As late as October 1963, fears associated with this death prompted a Devadeva homeland peace-chief to write as follows to a local leader at Bakoiudu:
I would descend to work [at Bakoiudu] but I am scared and I stay here [Devadeva homelands]. I fear that I would die if I were to go to Bakoiudu. That is why I am staying here. Therefore hold a meeting [to find out who is the threatener of sorcery] and when you know something, write me another letter. I shall not stay at the village. I shall really come down to work. But who is the person who asked for poison?

It is thus not only the initial attitude of homelanders to resettlement, but also the reaction of the first settlers to Bakoiudu that determined the rate and manner of resettlement. Some homelanders came down of their own accord individually or in family groups; others came under the directive of their inau chiefs, while others still were strongly influenced by the admonitions of homeland catechists most of whom actively supported the idea of resettlement and exerted varying influence in deciding homelanders to resettle. Some homelanders followed Father Boell soon after his departure; others remained in the homelands for several months; still others are undecided to this day. A similar range of attitudes underlay the reactions of homelanders to Bakoiudu, some of whom remained there despite hardships while others returned to the homelands permanently or shuttled between their homelands and the settlement.

These different approaches to resettlement make it difficult to postulate any uniformity or regularity in its implementation. Even today it is impossible to generalize about the degree and stability of resettlement and/or homeland residence. As shown in
Table 1, parishes differ widely in the number of their members resettled at Bakoiudu and those remaining in the homelands. In very broad terms we may distinguish the so-called 'Obaoba parishes' with the majority of their members resettled at Bakoiudu, and geographically removed parishes such as Devadeva 2, Maimai 2 and Vale Bekena which have a considerable homelander population. These latter parishes are further differentiated according to the number of their parish men residing at Bakoiudu: some like Devadeva 2 having no settlers at all at Bakoiudu while others have appreciable numbers resettled there. (The reasons for these differences will emerge in the course of discussion). The situation is further complicated by the fact that Bakoiudu-homeland relations are in a constant state of flux. There is a continuous migration of Kuni between the settlement and the homelands and vice-versa, making it particularly difficult to generalize about the extent of resettlement or to discuss it as a fait accompli.

Despite the great diversity in the attitudes of homelanders to resettlement, and the lack of uniformity in setting about it, it is possible to discuss in general terms the problems which confronted would-be settlers in the homelands prior to departure, and those which beset them upon arrival at Bakoiudu. This is particularly true of the early months of resettlement when settlers were faced with essentially the same problems of adaptation at the new place.
The first complication posed by resettlement was its timing. The beginning of resettlement in July 1961 coincided awkwardly with the beginning of the Auli-Moleala horticultural cycle (see Figure 2). Some homelanders had already begun cutting gardens in the homelands and the completion of this task prevented them from establishing new gardens at Bakoiudu. Conversely, those willing to start their mid-year gardens at the settlement could not simultaneously provide for relatives remaining in the homelands. These conflicting responsibilities and interests retarded the rate of descent to Bakoiudu and resulted in a dual organization whereby some members of each local group descended to Bakoiudu while others remained in the homelands (cf. Larson 1966: 148-9).

In a sense this dual arrangement was indispensable to the organization of resettlement as there were not enough gardens at Bakoiudu to cater for the number of settlers (about 200) who came down within the first six months of resettlement. The few who could trace kinship ties with Faika Peto, either cognatically or affinally, or who could lay claim to his hospitality on some other grounds, did so by setting up house with him at the original hamlet of Bakoiudu, and partly drew on his garden resources until they established themselves independently. For the majority of settlers, however, who bore no relation to the landowner, it was a matter of obtaining his permission to cut a clearing at some convenient locality in the forest, either alongside the main track or adjoining Bakoiudu hamlet, and erecting
makeshift lean-tos. The tendency was for members of the same parish to cluster together in one locality, often inhabiting the same communal temporary 'long house' which formed the nucleus for harbouring more relatives and kinsmen descending from the homelands.

This category of settlers (and, to a lesser extent, those related to Faika Peto), depended for their everyday subsistence on food supplies brought down from the homelands, supplemented with wild tubers and fruit gathered in the forest. The unprecedented influx of inhabitants at Bakoiudu led to the rapid extermination and dispersal of game so that the spoils of hunting were a negligible contribution to the meagre diet of the settlers. Early resettlement days are recalled as times of hunger and extenuating labour, which were relieved by frequent visits to the homelands lasting from a couple of days to months at a time. Progressively, however, as the forest was cut and gardens were planted at Bakoiudu, the pressure on the settlers eased and the settlement acquired some stability (cf. White 1965: 8-9).

From the beginning of resettlement up to the time that Bakoiudu residents no longer depended on extraneous food supplies for their everyday subsistence, resettlement was characterized by its spontaneous, somewhat haphazard development. The conditions of resettlement characterized by inadequate housing, dearth of food and the need for co-operation in big tasks like clearing and cutting the virgin forest, gave rise to new bonds and associations which cut across
traditional parish isolation. The irregularity of migration and the unequal matching of manpower per parish resulted perforce in certain forms of inter-parish co-operation which had no precedent under homeland conditions. Despite these novel aspects, however, and the opportunities which resettlement offered for changing one's group of allegiance (facilitated by the traditional flexibile politico-kinship system), most settlers sought to retain their discrete homeland identities in their patterns of association and residential organization. Common inau and parish membership remained the basis of reciprocity and co-operation even though temporary pressures enforced a widening of relationships.

Another important aspect of early resettlement days was the almost complete dependence of Bakoiudu settlers on the homelands for sustenance. Informants vividly recollect the continuous trips made between Bakoiudu and the homelands and back again during the first months of resettlement in order to keep the settlers supplied with food and rootstock for planting in the new gardens. Though dependence on the homelands for food supplies was temporary and decreased as gardens at Bakoiudu came into bearing, the frame of mind engendered by this system, and the alternating way of life between Bakoiudu and the homelands which it promoted, persisted long after the food crisis at the settlement was resolved. To this day Bakoiudu settlers have retained a close link with their traditional homelands for a variety of reasons, and periodically
return there for visits. This trend was particularly marked during the early days of resettlement when quarrels, death, disillusion, dearth of food and simple wanderlust drove the settlers to return to the homelands for longer or shorter periods of time.

Against this background of flux and migration of settlers, it is difficult to establish the rate of settlement or the number of quasi-permanent settlers at Bakoiudu at any point of time, particularly during the first couple of years of resettlement. Administration and Mission statistics are at complete variance with each other, and contain many incongruities within themselves. At a guess one would hazard that there were about 200 settlers residing at Bakoiudu by December 1961, twice as many in 1962 and twice as many again by August 1964 when the Administration census recorded some 850 settlers at Bakoiudu. The increase in numbers was primarily the result of continued migrations from the northern homelands, which at the time of writing still harbour some 500 Kuni.

Land Tenure and Allocation at Bakoiudu

In order to understand the mechanism of resettlement and the problems inherent in 'migration by invitation', (some of which are only now becoming explicit, particularly in relation to the ownership of cash-cropping land), it is necessary to review the traditional system of land tenure in Kuni and its application to resettlement.
The basic land-holding group in Kuni is the named parish whose members trace their common descent and title to the land back to ancestral times (tsitsifa) or to a point of fission in the more recent pre-contact past. While the boundaries of parish-owned land are known to parish members, within the parish itself there is no demarcation or allocation of land on an inau basis. However, since rights to land are essentially rights of use rather than rights of permanent ownership, and since members of a hamlet (who usually belong to the same inau) tend to locate their gardens as close as possible to the settlement, it is possible to distinguish a certain patterning or grouping of land holdings within the parish. Where an inau has become associated with a given area for a long time, the adjoining land may come to be known by its name, but this does not mean exclusive or permanent ownership.

This lack of rigidity in rules of land tenure may partly be related to the relative lack of pressure on land in the Kuni homelands. Traditionally, land shortage was not a problem in Kuni. Though informants relate that disputes over land were one of the major causes of warfare in pre-contact times, accounts of such disputes invariably point to technicalities relating to land boundaries - not to competition over scarce land. Land acquired as a gage in warfare was often left unexploited. There was an over-abundance of land, so much so that even where an individual relinquished his rights to paternal inau (parish) land for some reason (migration, uxorilocal marriage or
whatever), he was always regarded as maintaining latent rights to that land. Abundance of land in the homeland areas also facilitated the recruitment of non-agnatic members to the local group. There was plenty of land to go round and the principles underlying land tenure (occupation and use by parish members, the latter defined as quasi-permanent or permanent residents of a parish), gave ample scope for the accretion of new members at the parish and inau level without threatening the economic security of the original landholders.

It was within this context of traditional land tenure and recruitment of members to the local group that Faika Peto as peace-chief of the local inau at Bakoiudu had originally invited a few members of Vale 4 parish to settle there. The mass migration into which this offer snowballed, was on an unprecedented scale in Kuni and gave rise to the rival claims of land-ownership discussed earlier. The main difficulty from Faika Peto's angle, however, was not in ceding Bakoiudu to the homelanders but in actually allocating the land to the settlers as they came down in disorganized and irregular numbers from the homelands.

At the time of the meeting at Obaoba announcing resettlement, Faika Peto had declared that he would allocate land at Bakoiudu on the principle of first come first served. In this he had been strongly supported by Father Boell who, being eager to establish a nucleus of permanent residents at Bakoiudu, had added the injunction that claims to land at Bakoiudu could be
validated by actual occupation and use only. These two principles came into early conflict at Bakoiudu as several groups of homelanders came down to Bakoiudu, had their land demarcated for them by Faika Peto and then returned to the homelands leaving the land unoccupied. In several cases such land was subsequently cleared and planted by the members of another parish who sought to validate their claims by pitting Father Boell's statement about tenure by occupation against Faika Peto's allocations of land. Father Boell himself was rarely involved directly in such disputes. Though his intervention was sometimes solicited in a quarrel, his opinion was rarely implemented if it overruled the original land allocations made by Faika Peto. This is an important indication of the respect and authority with which the settlers viewed the local chief at Bakoiudu upon first arriving there. The role of Father Boell was rather that of mediator and scapegoat in these disputes.

The procedure and pattern for allocating land at Bakoiudu was as follows. As soon as a group of settlers (usually headed by a peace- or warrior-chief) arrived at Bakoiudu, they reconnoitred the land with Faika Peto for a suitable residential site. The land which Faika Peto had reserved for residential allocations comprised the ridges to the left and right of the main vehicular road running through Bakoiudu (cf. Map 3). These residential sites were allocated on a parish basis by Faika Peto with the assistance of representatives of the parish concerned, three leading
persons from Dilava and Vale 4 parishes who witnessed all land allocations at Bakoiudu, and interested onlookers: 'we were all interested to know the boundaries; it was to be our land and we were witnesses'. On this basis Faika Peto allocated a residential site to each resettling parish, corresponding as closely as possible to the site preferred by the parish representatives present. There were no arguments or disagreements over these initial allocations of land as the authority of Faika Peto was respected and the principle of first come first served worked effectively. Dissension arose at a later stage when parish men did not settle immediately on their new allocations which were then exploited by others. Eight such allocations averaging some ten acres each were made to the different homeland parishes over a period of six months after the beginning of resettlement. These were:

1. the original site of Bakoiudu and surrounding areas (ceded to Yumu and Dalava-Bubuni parishes);
2. Yaibo Idu (Vale Bekena 1, 2 and 3);
3. Faoa Idu (Maimai and Yaifa parishes);
4. Moka Moka Abu Abu Youa, known as Moka Youa (Vale 4 parish);
5. Biluluani (Yoyaka parish);
6. Ili Nefuna (Keakamana parish, after the latter had refused to accept Tsitsivaiva for fear of the spirits believed to dwell there);
7. Ukubidu, better known as Tsinifana (Madiu parish); and
Kauaka and Devadeva homelanders came down to Bakoiudu only after these allocations had been made, and allied themselves to already established groups: the former with Keakamana residents, and Devadeva homelanders at Poleka.

These residential areas were contained within a relatively compact area in which the farthest removed were within one hour's walk from each other. (The steep hill leading down to Poleka makes it the only relatively isolated residential site at Bakoiudu). There was no written or formalized demarcation of parish plots at any stage: Faika Peto simply reconnoitred the proposed area, pointed out its fresh-water springs and natural boundaries, and stipulated a few conditions for settlement. These were the same for all parishes, to the effect that land thus allocated to any one parish was to be regarded as the inalienable possession of that parish. Faika Peto did not even make any provision for retaining rights to the okari- and betelnut trees which he himself had planted on land ceded to foreign parishes at Bakoiudu. The transfer of land to the newcomers was thus complete with the proviso that these allocations should be used primarily as the residential sites for the parishes concerned. He encouraged the planting of traditionally individually-owned trees such as betelnut, okarinut, orange groves and tobacco at these localities, but stipulated that they were not to be regarded as sites for establishing
the main food gardens as he had defined communal gardening sites for this purpose.

These communal gardening sites skirted the residential areas, being particularly extensive on the southern boundary of Bakoiudu to the left and right of the main vehicular road leading down to Kubuna. These proposed garden sites were somewhat removed from the main Bakoiudu settlement area and could under no circumstances be appropriated at the parish, inau or personal level. Rights to communal garden land were to be determined by use only. (At the time there was plenty of land and little likelihood of immediate competition and clashes due to shortage thereof). As soon as a garden was turned to fallow, the land would automatically revert to the communal pool. For this reason Faika Peto forbade the planting of betelnut and other trees on communal land as this might lead to claims of permanent land ownership. It was also for this reason that he allocated fairly sizeable residential areas to each parish so that these trees might be planted on inalienable parish land where ownership rights could not be challenged so easily. On this account too, such parish land might not be used for cash cropping, for which purpose Faika Peto designated some land outside the residential and communal gardening areas.

Throughout this period of preliminary organization, Faika Peto was looked upon as the 'father' of the settlement and was clearly in charge. Several Kuni still refer to him as baba, father, 'because he received
us on his land like his children'. His own attitude
towards the settlement was one of paternal pride and he
took pleasure in welcoming the settlers and extending
his hospitality to them. He expected nothing from the
settlers in return for their settling at Bakoiudu,
though he did express the hope in an interview, that
should the rubber plantation at Bakoiudu be successful,
the people would 'look after him in his old age', give
him tobacco, a few clothes and supply him with a little
pocket money.\footnote{Whether such a proposition, if implemented, might not
perhaps introduce a system of rent remains to be seen
(cf. Hogbin 1964: 11; van Rijswijck 1966: 28, 48).}

Very soon, however, disillusionment set in for
Faika Peto. Despite his setting out the rules of land
tenure and his allocation of plots on a parish basis,
many clashes over land tenure arose during the first
months of resettlement. These were mostly due to the
disorganized and uneven rate of migration which
involved continuous coming and going between Bakoiudu
and the homelands, so that few settlers remained at
Bakoiudu permanently to work their allotted plots.
This gave rise to rival claims over unexploited land,
in which different parishes or sections thereof
competed against one another. This created tensions
and promoted factions between settler groups some of
which have persisted to this day, notably between
members of Maimai and Vale Bekena parishes.
The brunt of all these disputes fell squarely on Faika Peto, who, as the local resident chief, was called upon to arbitrate in quarrels arising at Bakoiudu. In addition, the settlers did not appeal to him in matters concerning land tenure only; they also sought his mediation in inter-parish disputes and local quarrels. This aspect of leadership at the new Bakoiudu disconcerted Faika Peto. He was neither able nor willing to cope with the increasing burden of being a universal peace-chief to the settlers. Frail in constitution, naturally retiring and with little personal ambition besides, the 'father' of the settlement strained under the responsibility thrust upon him by the settlers. He was further discouraged by his position in which he was, so to speak, caught between the conflicting interests of different parishes, in addition to being manoeuvred by the settlers into opposing Father Boell's rule that land allocations were valid only if exploited. The combination of these factors disheartened Faika Peto. On the occasion of the death of an affinal relative at Lapeka parish towards the end of 1962, he left Bakoiudu and settled there quasi-permanently returning to the settlement only on fleeting visits.

The effect of Faika Peto's departure on the structure of leadership which evolved at Bakoiudu is discussed in Chapter 5. Suffice it at this point to mention that his adopted son Umulu Michaelo was too young and inexperienced to assume the leadership of the whole settlement, that authority was decentralized and
that it temporarily reverted to traditional local chiefs. The settlers never forgave Faika Peto for deserting Bakoiudu 'like a woman', leaving them to cope alone with the problems of social organization in the new setting.

Residential Patterns and Social Organization

The pattern of residence which emerged at Bakoiudu was not as clear-cut as Faika Peto's allocation of land on a parish basis would have led one to suppose. Conditions of resettlement were such that despite distinct parish allocations, members of different parishes set up joint residence and started common gardens in order to tide over immediate problems of housing and shortage of manpower. The flexibility of the traditional Kuni social system with its fluid definition of kinship relations and residential ties was a boon under resettlement conditions. It enabled settlers to make the best of available opportunities by maximizing their kinship ties and extending their contacts across the limited range of kin which had more or less been defined by physical distance in the homelands.

As a result of this spontaneous development of new residential ties cutting across former homeland associations, it is difficult to define any one pattern of social organization at Bakoiudu during the first years. In particular, the high rate of residential mobility within the settlement and the continuous migratory flux between it and the homelands, often
followed by new patterns of association at Bakoiudu upon returning, make generalization about residence patterns and social organization difficult.

It is nevertheless possible in retrospect to distinguish two broad trends in residential organization at Bakoiudu and to theorize generally on the direction that changes in association appear to be taking currently. There is a clear distinction for example, between the members of parishes like Maimai and Yumu which from the very beginning of resettlement, set up residence at their appointed parish sites and had little residential contact with other parishes, either as temporary dwellers there or as hosts to newcomers; and members of Inaumaka, Dilava and Vale 4 parishes whose members from the outset exhibited a dispersed, highly fragmentary and shifting type of residence. This is one aspect of resettlement worth noting. The second point is more hypothetical and concerns the process of change at Bakoiudu. There appears to be a general trend for the dispersed members of any given parish to unite, though this process in turn gives place to, or is hampered by, a trend towards wider associations and independent residential organization. These points are discussed in greater detail below.

The fact that Maimai parish men did not disperse residentially is explained by their traditional notoriety as sorcerers and operators of contagious black magic (minog). Non-Maimai settlers were not prepared to harbour Maimai newcomers at Bakoiudu, nor
were they willing to seek their hospitality upon first arriving there. To this day, whenever there is unrest at Bakoiudu, it is covertly and implicitly blamed on the magical 'pagan' machinations of the Maimai. Another factor which contributed to the self-containment of Maimai parish at Bakoiudu, was its independence from other parishes in economic activity due to its large size. Whereas the members of smaller parishes willy-nilly had to seek the co-operation of other parishes in their major economic tasks, Maimai parish could draw independently on its own labour supply. This factor, combined with the fear of Maimai sorcery on the part of other parishes, promoted the unity and compactness of this parish at Bakoiudu, both as a residential and as a socio-economic unit.

After Maimai, Yumu is the next most stable and non-dispersed parish at Bakoiudu. The best explanation for this (in the absence of marked reasons such as those applicable to the Maimai), is that Yumu parish men coming to Bakoiudu had direct kinship ties with Faika Peto. There was no need for them to seek new bonds and associations with other parishes in order to resolve immediate problems of housing and food production. As a result this parish maintained the insularity which had characterized its homeland social organization.

In both Yumu and Maimai, however, residential solidarity at the parish level did not mean that hamlet and inau distinctions were thereby eradicated as well. On the contrary, within parish-based allocations at
Bakoiudu, residential patterns tended to follow traditional hamlet separation, marked by a slight withdrawal and clustering together of huts belonging to any one hamlet. Thus for example there are two distinct hamlets on Faoa Idu, one comprising Maimai 1 residents, the other Maimai 2. Within these hamlets again, members of the same inau tended to inhabit the same communal hut until each family was able to provide its own abode. At that stage there would often arise a further splitting of residential association and members of the same inau would set up a separate hamlet (still on parish land), following the homeland pattern. Thus for example, within Yumu parish, Inau Kanufa members have remained at the original site of Bakoiudu hamlet while members of Inau Molofa and Inau Mabai later established their separate hamlet sites at Naininina (cf. Map 3). The trend in these parishes is clearly towards restoring the residential grouping of the homelands and maintaining (by implication) the solidarities and cleavages of pre-resettlement social organization.

The main difference in these residentially compact parishes is that parish land is very much smaller at Bakoiudu than in the homelands, so that hamlet separation here does not represent the physical isolation of residential groups which characterized living in the homelands. This is shown by the difference in population density in the two areas: 5 persons per square mile in the homelands before resettlement, as against 170 per square mile at
Bakoiudu in 1964. Another important departure from traditional hamlet organization since resettlement is that there are no men's houses at Bakoiudu. This is partly because the settlers were too busy during the first years of resettlement to build men's houses; partly because the Mission opposed them on the grounds that they allegedly disrupted family life; and partly because residence was so dispersed during the first years of resettlement that it would have been difficult to locate convenient sites for men's houses in any case. Whatever the reason, there is little doubt that the absence of men's houses at Bakoiudu contributed to the loose-structuredness of the settlement by eliminating one of the focal points of communal living in the traditional social organization.

In contrast to the residentially compact parishes described above, most parishes at Bakoiudu are residentially dispersed. That is to say, the members of such parishes reside at various localities throughout the settlement together with members of other parishes. They are not united as one residential group on the land originally allocated by Faika to specific parishes. The Kuni refer to localities with multiple parish membership as mikies (mixed) or daibili (confused). The most important and centrally situated of such mixed residential areas in November 1963 was Moka Youa, numbering eleven huts with 126 inhabitants from Vale 4, Inaumaka, Dilava, Yoyaka and Keakamana parishes. The Kuni deplore such mixed residence because 'it makes people jealous of one another and
leads to quarrels'. The consensus of opinion favours restoring separate parish residential groups following the traditional homeland pattern.

However, there are several obstacles to this. With the exception of Maimai and Yumu parishes, both of which were somewhat atypical, newcomers to Bakoiudu had no option but to seek residence and gardening associations with members of different parishes in order to tide them over their immediate problems of housing and sustenance. Though material conditions subsequently improved at Bakoiudu, it was not easy to break the ties thus established with foreign parishes during the first months. Besides, the re-unification of the members of dispersed parishes was hampered by rifts and fission which arose among the members of such parishes after resettlement. Vale 4 parish for example, split into two main residential groups based on lineage filiation. Both groups (Inau Faleo centred at Moka Youa and Inau Alia and Olaba centred at Moka Agri) vied with each other to become the nucleus of an all-Vale 4 residential unit. Since both inau have forceful traditional leaders who each reiterate their opposing viewpoints, there is little likelihood of one of them ceding. As a result the disjunction of Vale 4 parish at Bakoiudu seems almost permanent.

On the other hand, ineffective leadership within a parish can have the same results as a clash of leaders. Madiu and Inaumaka parishes for example, both lack a strong leadership. Both are characterized by a widespread dispersal of their members scattered in
household units throughout the settlement, despite persistent efforts to unite and assume a degree of solidarity *vis-a-vis* other parishes. The most important obstacle to the unification of such dispersed parishes is their weak leadership structure. Interestingly, in both the parishes under discussion, the weakness of the leadership structure is partly derived from Catholic strictures. In Madiu parish, for example, the peace-chief of the main inau, was a polygynist and ostracized on this account both by the community at large and by his fellow parish members. General ostracism was shown by the fact that he was not allocated food at feasts organized by other parishes at Bakoiudu, and that he was rarely visited by non-Madiu settlers.

The non-recognition, on religious grounds, of the peace-chief of its most important lineage considerably weakened the solidarity of Madiu parish. Settled in two major residential groups at Poleka and Tsinifana, and scattered in several independent households along the main road between Naininina and the original site of Bakoiudu, its members ineffectively sought to draw the parish together and to localize it. The death of the chief in August 1964 removed a major obstacle to reunification but other factors intervened, namely, that the two men who could have taken over the hereditary leadership within this parish were both widowers. In Kuni, the concept of leadership and authority is indissoluble from that of social adulthood which in turn depends on marriage. Although no
particular stigma attaches to a widower, a chief should be in a position to entertain and give largesse, both of which are difficult unless he is married. As the widower chiefs themselves acknowledge:

The people all listen because we are chiefs, but none will obey because they say: 'Who are they to talk when they have no wife and must look after themselves or beg their keep from relatives like an ordinary fellow?'.

The residential dispersal of Inaumaka parish can also be attributed to its ineffective leadership. At the time of resettlement, the direct heir to Inaumaka leadership opted against Bakoiudu and joined the counter-resettlement at Inika (cf. Appendix 1). The next person in succession entered into an adulterous relationship at Bakoiudu and was dismissed from consideration for the chieftainship on these grounds. Here again, the absence of forceful leadership resulted in the scattering of Inaumaka parish men to no less than six other parish sites. Like members of Madiu parish, the Inaumaka tried without success to unite at one locality at Bakoiudu (Moka Agri) and to restore their status as a self-sufficient parish.

Both these parishes with their widely dispersed residence patterns and unsuccessful attempts at unification, present the opposite extreme to the compact residential organization of Maimai and Yumu parishes. Dispersal in the former parishes was further facilitated by the characteristic attributes of Kuni social organization: widespread mobility, the tradition of recruitment, manipulation of cognatic and affinal
kinship ties and the overall flexibility of social relations. These traits made it possible for members of Kauaka and Devadeva 1 parishes to find a footing at Bakoiudu even though they arrived after Faika Peto had completed the land allocations on a parish basis. Moreover, whereas separate parish identity in the homelands was defined in terms of geographical separation, at Bakoiudu the physical proximity of all residential groups has considerably reduced the relevance of distance as a determinant of parish membership. As evidenced in the sphere of economic change, resettlement has given scope for the redefinition and realignment of parish filiations.

Another factor which underlies shifting residence patterns at Bakoiudu is the characteristic mobility of the Kuni mentioned earlier in relation to their post-contact homeland way of life. At Bakoiudu the residential proximity of different kin groups and the wide variety of associates has increased this trait, particularly among unmarried youths, some of whom have no fixed place of residence, but sleep one night with one group of relatives, another with an age-mate, another with a namesake and so on. This practice known as enokeke has further helped to break down the rigidity of parish identification at Bakoiudu particularly among the younger generation.¹

¹ Indeed, in several instances adolescents were unwilling to identify themselves as members of any one parish because 'we sleep and work confusedly nowadays'. 
For the majority of Bakoiudu residents, however, parish solidarity remains the ideal to be striven for, irrespective of the tensions and fissive tendencies within each parish. Thus the members of Keakamana parish who were scattered in households along the main road between Moka Youa and Yaibo Idu from the time of resettlement till about March 1964, subsequently all moved down to Faika Peto's original allocation at Ili Nefuna. Although three distinct residential groupings are discernible at Ilu Nefuna following the hamlet divisions which had prevailed in the homelands, the Keakamana look forward to amalgamating these into one big hamlet laid out in traditional style under the leadership of the peace-chief of the most senior inau.

The emphasis of Keakamana parish men on parish unity as contrasted to separate hamlet identity within the parish, is a new trend at Bakoiudu. This emphasis is also manifested by the members of Vale Bekena parish who were the first to erect a communal enclosure for their pigs and who were among the last to relinquish the practice of communal cash cropping. Even in this parish, however, residential and economic solidarity was undermined by internal rivalries and tensions. Gradually homeland separateness re-asserted itself even though common residence was maintained at Yaibo Idu. Three major residential groups can now be distinguished following the homeland division into Vale 1, 2, and 3. Irrespective of the tensions and cleavages within the parish however, its members display solidarity in dealing with other settlers at Bakoiudu.
This trend is exemplified in several attempts at groupings across parish membership at Bakoiudu. The most notable of these was the attempt by Dilava leaders to unite the former 'Obaoba parishes' of Dilava, Inaumaka, Vale 4, Madiu and Yoyaka in one residential grouping at Moka Youa. Though this scheme did not eventuate largely on account of the internal cleavages within the parishes concerned, its very airing did give expression to a new orientation at Bakoiudu in which strict parish demarcation was no longer deemed indispensable or even desirable. (An important aspect of the proposal was undoubtedly the practical advantage which would have accrued to numerically weak and insignificant Dilava parish from such unification).\footnote{Since February 1966, in fact, the 'Obaoba parishes' have co-operated \textit{en bloc} in such activities as road building, Mission projects and other community tasks.}

Two opposite trends in social organization can thus be distinguished at Bakoiudu, both of them taking place against the background of dispersed residence which resulted from unplanned resettlement. In the first place, there is a tendency towards restoring homeland-type solidarities as manifest in the localization of parishes, usually followed by cleavages within the parish along traditional hamlet and inau groupings. The second trend denotes a tendency to play down separate parish solidarity and to emphasize wider loyalties. This trend is particularly evident in the new approaches to communal economic activity and
collective responsibility at Bakoiudu, expressed in the catch-phrase that Bakoiudu is kompani moika, like a company. As used by the Kuni this expression refers to the ideal of communal solidarity and common interests (social, economic and other) which unite the settlers at Bakoiudu. It is in this sense that sectarian parish-based interests tend to be played down and that wider community (company) ends are held in view.

As regards residential organization, however, most settlers agree that both kompani and sectarian interests are better served by restoring and maintaining separate parish sites. In the first place, tensions in mixed parishes are rightly or wrongly imputed to rivalries between members of different parishes. Secondly, disputes over pigs are a major incentive for parishes to set up separate residential sites. Few pigs are fenced in at Bakoiudu and those that are allowed to stray round the huts are usually blinded to restrict their movements. Blinding of pigs was commonplace in the homelands to prevent pigs from straying too far from hamlets and damaging unfenced gardens. At Bakoiudu, however, the proximity of hamlets and gardens has reduced the efficacity of this practice. Numerous quarrels arise over pigs, particularly among co-residents of mixed parishes, and the general opinion is that the sooner such quarrels are contained within single parishes, the better. Conversely, however, the damages caused by wandering pigs prompted members of different parishes to co-operate in building joint pig enclosures. Such communal enterprise did extend ties
of association, though none of them outlasted the first indication of illness in a pig. Any real or imagined illness in a pig was invariably blamed on alleged malevolent designs of the sharers of the enclosure, followed by the withdrawal of the suspecting owner from the partnership (cf. van Rijswijck 1966: 20-1).

A subsidiary factor which hastened the breaking up of mixed parishes was the introduction by the Mission of a corrugated-iron roof scheme about August 1964. Thatching grass and other suitable materials are very scarce at Bakoiudu, and deteriorating housing conditions decided Father Boell to introduce corrugated-iron roofing at the settlement. Sheets of roofing iron were ordered and made available to the settlers on credit. ¹ While the scheme was essentially practical and aimed at improving housing and health at Bakoiudu, it did pose some problems to the settlers. Most of those who availed themselves of the Mission's offer looked upon the erection of an iron-roofed house as a quasi-permanent investment involving residential immobility as opposed to the relative ease with which inexpensive

¹ Three hundred sheets sufficing for 20 houses were ordered in the first consignment. There were over 130 thatched huts at Bakoiudu about this time, of which approximately 20 were initially erected as 'pig-huts' - huts to shelter pigs and the person(s) temporarily tending them. Most of these pig-huts subsequently formed the nuclei of permanent settlements, and for this reason they are not distinguished in Map 3. The Kuni later ordered more roofing sheets through the intermediary of the Kuni Club (cf. White 1965: 28).
bush-material huts were formerly abandoned and re-erected in different localities. The choice of residential site was thus a matter of primary importance. As one informant put the case for most settlers:

This is not just a matter of pleasing one person or another. With an iron-roofed house, we will not shift as easily as we used to do. We shall be living like Europeans: forever in one place [cf. Goodenough 1963: 242-3]. So we must know with whom we really want to live. There will be quarrels with foreigners: it is our fashion. It is much better that members of one parish should stay together, and better still if inau members build alongside each other.

The trend here is clearly towards the re-instatement of traditional residential organization. However there are also indications of a tendency in the opposite direction. This has already been mentioned in respect of the category of Bakoiudu settlers who display roving residence (enokeke), and who do not care to identify themselves with any one parish. Liberation from formal parish association is also implied in the conceptualization of Bakoiudu as kompani moika. More significantly, however, there is a perceptible increase in the number of independently situated houses at Bakoiudu, whether they are located on parish-owned land or not. The existence of such 'fringe' households suggests a breaking away from the formal collectivity of traditional hamlet organization. This trend towards neolocal residence may be an extension of the highly fragmented residential organization which arose in the homelands after contact, though there is little doubt
that the particular conditions of resettlement at Bakoiudu have given additional scope for a considerable remodelling of traditional social organization.

To sum up, one of the first changes introduced by resettlement was the break-down of the traditional system of social organization where territorial (parish) boundaries also defined the limits of major socio-economic co-operation between its resident members. At Bakoiudu, although many settlers advocate the concentration of members of the same parish into compact residential areas for practical reasons, there is a simultaneous contrary reaction whereby individuals increasingly seek to liberate themselves from traditional associations based on ties of extra-familial kinship and common residence. These trends are clearly opposed and have engendered many tense situations involving conflicting loyalties and interests. These are particularly evident in the sphere of economic organization.
CHAPTER 4

ECONOMIC CHANGE

One of the explicit aims of resettlement was the promotion of economic development in Kuni through the introduction of cash cropping. Here as in other parts of New Guinea, cash cropping has brought about important changes, not only in the economic sphere but in many other aspects of social organization as well (cf. Rowley 1965: 94-102). At Bakoiudu, however, cash cropping was preceded by resettlement with its independent impact on traditional social organization, including economic institutions. It is thus possible to distinguish broadly between changes in the economic system brought about specifically by resettlement, and those deriving more particularly from cash cropping. However, insofar that resettlement was a pre-requisite to cash cropping, both types of change are clearly interrelated. In the discussion which follows, attention focuses first on the effects of resettlement on traditional economic organization, and then on the changes introduced by cash cropping.

New Associations in Subsistence Gardening

Although resettlement at Bakoiudu has resulted in a much more sedentary way of life than formerly, it has not undermined the traditional subsistence economy of the Kuni based on swidden horticulture (cf. Rimoldi
1966: 65, 94ff). For the time being, despite pressure on gardening land (particularly that closest to the residential areas), the system has been able to maintain itself thanks to the vast expanses of unexploited primary forest surrounding Bakoiudu. However, it is not unreasonable to expect some changes in the future as pressure on land increases and there arises a shortage of unexploited land. One of two alternatives suggests itself: either traditional swidden horticultural patterns will have to be modified, or residential mobility will prevail once more, as settlers move farther and farther afield in search of new garden land. Both trends are already incipient at Bakoiudu. Contrary to homeland practice, many gardens have been reworked for two to three years in succession, and there is every indication that periods of fallow will be curtailed.\footnote{A speculative point here, is whether Faika Peto's ruling that fallow land should revert to the common pool will be upheld. It is possible that competition for fallow land in the immediate vicinity of Bakoiudu will lead to a reinstatement of traditional land rights based on the primacy of original use, i.e. the person or group that first cleared a patch of land have prior claims to it when it emerges from the period of fallow. The case will be tested in 1968 when the earliest fallows re-enter the economic cycle.} As regards changing residential practices, several settlers already exhibit alternate residence between their homes at Bakoiudu and makeshift huts (diaba lumana) erected in their farthest removed gardens. In addition, there are several isolated 'pig settlements' purposely removed from Bakoiudu where pigs
are tended by semi-permanent residents, mostly widowed women and young girls. It is possible of course, that these changes may be forestalled by changes in other spheres, e.g. the introduction of vehicular transport to and from garden areas scattered along the main road from Bakoiudu to Kubuna; the (partial) change-over to a cash economy once there is a regular cash income from rubber; and greater dependence on storable staples such as rice, which was introduced at Bakoiudu to tide over the period of acute food shortage in the early days of resettlement, and which is now an important seasonal crop and article of diet.

More relevant, perhaps, than these expected changes in the nature and future role of subsistence economy among the resettled Kuni, are the changes which are currently taking place in economic organization at Bakoiudu. Population density (170 persons per sq. mile) and relative concentration of residential areas at Bakoiudu has created opportunities for modifying or departing from traditional patterns of association and co-operation in most fields, especially the economic. Whereas in the homelands the scatter of hamlets had imposed geographic limits to a man's range of social contacts, at Bakoiudu there are no such obstacles, and the individual has practically unlimited scope for entering into contact with a wide range of kin and unrelated fellow-settlers. Kinship ties and residential association are no longer the necessary basis for economic co-operation.
This is demonstrated, for example, by comparing production, distribution and consumption before and after resettlement. In the homelands, unless a hamlet happened to be short of able-bodied males, the productive, distributive and consuming unit was the local inau comprising distinct nuclear (or extended) families. At Bakoiudu, however, aspects of economic activity have become relatively dissociated, and the units involved at one level of economic activity (e.g., production) are by no means necessarily the participants at another (distribution or consumption). Thus it is possible for a man to establish a garden with the help of unrelated members of a foreign parish; to share the products of that garden with kinsmen; and to consume the food with his residential associates who may belong to either or both of the former groups.

An important departure from traditional patterns of co-operation at Bakoiudu occurs during the preliminary stages of gardening activity (abulu). Most gardens are prepared on a communal (parish or inter-parish) basis which has no parallel in traditional practice (cf. Dakeyne 1966: 38-9). Once the prominent members of any one parish have decided on the site of a future garden, they convene a large work-party comprising own and/or foreign parish members to cut a communal parish abulu. (Obviously, work parties can be, and are, convened at the instigation of particular inau or even smaller units, but these involve increasingly greater economic strain on the conveners who have to feed the workers). Each day the workers are rewarded
with a liberal meal (gayaya) and at the completion of the task, the garden ready for planting reverts to the original conveners of the work party who then subdivide it on an inau and elementary family basis. The members of foreign parishes who help cut such a garden have no share in its products though they carry the expectation that they may some time in the future invoke the reciprocal help of those whom they have helped in the first instance. Although it is too early to postulate regularities of association between parishes at Bakoiudu resulting from such co-operation in gardening, certain trends are detectable showing interesting departures from pre-resettlement inter-parish relationships.

The most notable of these is the prominent participation of the Maimai in other-parish abulu activity. This is rather surprising considering the traditional isolation of this parish in the homelands, and its persisting residential segregation at Bakoiudu on account of the reputed proficiency in sorcery of its members. Despite these strictures, Maimai parish men are frequently called upon to join the work parties of other parishes. The reasons for this are fairly evident: Maimai is one of the more populous parishes at Bakoiudu; it has many able-bodied men and they have a reputation for hard work. On the other hand, numerically small parishes like Dilava and Vale 4 are also very active at Bakoiudu, not only as participants in the work parties of others, but as conveners of big inter-parish work parties as well. These two
activities are clearly interdependent, and both are related to the numerical weakness of these two parishes. For example, as the smallest parish at Bakoiudu, Dilava is unable to cope alone with such big preparatory tasks as cutting several abulu for subsistence crops, rice gardens and the rubber plantation; it depends on the co-operation of other parishes. This may explain why its members are more prominent than those of any other parish at Bakoiudu (including Maimai), in joining the work parties of other parishes, be it at their request or voluntarily. Such participation ensures reciprocal co-operation and enables Dilava parish, so to speak, to bridge its own shortage of manpower. The members of most small parishes at Bakoiudu are in a similar quasi-soliciting position, especially those of residentially dispersed parishes which have little internal cohesion. Big parishes, on the other hand, are relatively self-sufficient and exhibit different patterns of association. Thus Yumu and Vale Bekena parishes restrict their co-operation in economic activity almost exclusively to each other. This may be related to the fact that these parishes were traditionally linked in the homelands and that they are residentially compact at Bakoiudu, with little incorporation of foreign parish members. Keakamana parish, on the other hand, despite its numbers, participates in the work parties of many other parishes at Bakoiudu, and also convenes large ones itself. The reason for this may be traced to the residential dispersal of Keakamana parish men during the first years at Bakoiudu, and to the ties of
association which were then established with the members of other parishes.

In fact one can detect three main areas of co-operation at Bakoiudu, corresponding roughly to residential groupings (cf. Map 3). The first of these is the Vale Bekena-Yumu group already mentioned; the second comprises settlers residing in the vicinity of Moka Agri and Poleka, i.e. Inaumaka, Madiu and Devadeva parishes; and the third includes all the parishes settled between these groups, i.e. the 'Obaoba parishes' including Keakamana, Yoyaka and Maimai parishes. While this tripartite division of parishes on a locality basis at Bakoiudu also extends to co-operation in other joint activities such as erecting pig fences and participating in Mission projects, it is not as inflexible as residential association used to be in the homelands. Members of particular parishes can and do enlist the help of different parishes at different times, the more so that residential stability at Bakoiudu is by no means established.

The unprecedented multiple-parish associations discussed so far do not apply to all levels of economic organization. Thus, while abulu activity usually involves the co-operation of the members of several parishes, once the garden has been cut, burnt and cleared it is subdivided and planted according to the traditional pattern where kinship ties form the basis of association. At Bakoiudu the greater number and range of kin who reside locally has given rise to new ties where members of the same inau are no longer
necessarily the only or main garden associates. On the other hand *inau* solidarity does still dominate the distribution and consumption of food though there is an increasing tendency to take non-*inau* persons into consideration as well. Thus, in addition to sharing (sometimes pooling) the evening meal with *inau* members, a housewife may send a plate of food to a friend or neighbour.

Here as in other respects, it is difficult to generalize about conditions at Bakoiudu since the situation is still in a state of flux, influenced to a large extent by unstable residence, temporary associations and the wide range of relationships struck under the singular conditions of non-organized resettlement. Thus, while there appears to be a clear difference between associations during production, distribution and consumption, ranging from relatively impersonal relations at one end, to the assertion of traditional *inau* solidarity at the other, it is difficult to interpret the process involved. Does it in fact represent a fundamental departure from traditional ties of association where practically the same group was involved throughout, or is the diversity merely a survival of the associations which had sprung up during early resettlement days?

The reply is not easily given and will almost certainly emerge during the next five years or so as residential and economic stability increase at Bakoiudu. At present one can only speculate on two apparently contradictory trends. On one hand there is a tendency
towards playing down traditional associations. This is expressed in the notion of kompani moika with its emphasis on communal ends and interests, and is also manifest in new residence patterns which no longer necessarily correspond to traditional associations. On the other hand there is a trend towards restoring the old order and reverting to homeland-type parish and inau-based solidarities. As one informant remarked when his attention was drawn to the fact that he worked his two subsistence gardens, rice plot and rubber allocation with different persons in each case: 'This is because we did things all mixed up when we came down; we are now straightening things out'. Such 'straightening out' may not be as easy to achieve as most settlers presume. Resettlement has generated distinctive conditions which may impede a return to traditional associations. This is illustrated, for example, by post-resettlement changes in such practices as the gayaya (work-party meal) associated with traditional work patterns and organization.

Changes in the Gayaya Custom

From the preceding section it is already apparent that Kuni attitudes towards work and the organization of labour cannot be dissociated from their social context in which reciprocal interests, social obligations, and non-economic values relating to conviviality and group activity operate at least as strongly as economic rationale and motives of personal interest and gain. Following Sahlins' classification
of reciprocities, much of the co-operation in Kuni economic activity can be described as falling in the sphere of generalized reciprocity where requital for services rendered is neither stipulated nor compulsory (1965: 147ff). Nevertheless, labour and participation in work are acknowledged by the distribution of food and the sharing of a meal while a particular task is being undertaken. This custom is called gayaya and refers to the meal offered to co-workers, hangers-on and all those present at any joint economic task such as house building, cutting of abulu, erecting pig fences and so on (cf. Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 82-90, 284).

Gayaya was ideally suited to conditions in the homelands where monetary and other forms of labour remuneration were unknown, and where the potential number of participants in a work party was necessarily limited by the physical distance between hamlets. There was thus no need to set a limit on the number of participants in a work party and the convener of work was easily able to feed the workers from his own garden produce. At Bakoiudu, however, the density of population is such that the potential number of participants may pose serious feeding problems. This is aggravated by the fact that gayaya has acquired new characteristics at the settlement. In addition to staple foods, workers expect the meal to include foods bought from one of the local or Mission stores: tinned meat or fish, rice, tea, sugar, and in big work-parties, pancakes or dampers as well. These innovations impose
a financial drain on the host which did not exist in the homelands where staple foods and game were the items of fare.

In the beginning these circumstances made the convening of work-parties difficult at Bakoiudu, particularly for those persons or groups who had little or no cash. On one hand, co-operative labour was indispensable for the carrying out of certain economic activities; on the other, there was no means of circumventing the new gayaya practices without inviting the criticism of being mean. As a result, settlers who had no cash reserves planted fewer gardens, smaller rice fields and lagged behind in renovating their houses and erecting pig fences - tasks that they undertook on a traditional extended family basis where no formal gayaya was expected. This method, however, was clearly unsatisfactory at Bakoiudu where the settlers were called upon to participate in community projects such as road upkeep, building the school and aid post, and where cash cropping made further demands on their labour. This increase and diversification in work activity at Bakoiudu made it imperative that big tasks should be carried out communally, at least in the preparatory stages; but the modified form of gayaya posed obstacles to this. The clash, in fact, was between established custom and the principles of economic expediency.

The first break-through in this apparent deadlock was through the intervention of Father Boell who soon detected the incongruities and financially prohibitive
aspects of gayaya. Until June 1964 when the Kuni Club store was opened, the Mission ran the only sizeable store at Bakoiudu, and Father Boell therefore had a fair appreciation of expenditure patterns and the amount of money circulated by the settlers. It was an easy matter to note the rise in the sale of tinned goods and flour at abulu and rice harvesting times, and to record the cost of financing gayaya parties, some of which cost as much as $30 in foodstuffs. Father Boell was unequivocally against the perpetuation of gayaya at Bakoiudu. He considered it a wasteful custom, particularly as the services rendered by members of a work party would have to be reciprocated by the hosts sooner or later, since all the settlers needed their abulu cut, their rice harvested and their houses built. In addition, as store-keeper, the missionary observed that the distribution of cash within the settlement was uneven, depending on the connections of settlers with cash-earning relations in Port Moresby, their employment as contract labour at Kubuna, and the opportunities for engaging in the limited avenues for cash-employment in and about the settlement. It was clear to Father Boell that cash-orientated gayaya was prejudicial against those who had no money. This put them in a disadvantageous position for recruiting labour, resulting in lesser productivity and income, thus further aggravating their original position.

Throughout the latter part of 1964, Father Boell openly advocated the abolition of gayaya, or at least its temporary suspension until all settlers had access
to money through cash cropping. The channels used for expressing his sentiments were the same as those currently used in other contexts whenever he feels that he should intervene or at least make known his opinion. These include appeals to individuals and groups, both formally and informally. Informal occasions for sounding and exchanging opinions include shopping time when the settlers come to the Mission store in the evening and chat with the missionary about current affairs whilst purchasing; days on which communal work is undertaken specifically on some Mission project (e.g. building of the school) when Father Boell mingles with the people, exchanging jokes and jibes with them; and numerous other occasions, e.g. when settlers come to the Mission to sell garden produce or when Father Boell visits hamlets en route to look at the rubber or to attend to some ministerial duties. All these occasions present opportunities for exchanging points of view in an informal atmosphere. Formal approaches include private discussion with persons directly involved in an issue, or with traditional chiefs; convening a meeting of all influential persons at the Mission; and more often than either of these, exhortations and addresses during or after the sermon on Sundays when virtually all the settlers are gathered at the Mission (cf. Considine 1963: 78).

In his appeal against the continuation of gayaya at Bakoiudu, Father Boell used both formal and informal approaches. In several sermons devoted to the subject in August 1964, he pointed out the discriminatory aspects of the custom and urged that major economic
tasks requiring co-operative labour should be undertaken on a communal reciprocative basis without imposing upon hosts the economic burden of feeding workers. Although his criticism was directed particularly against the monetization of gayaya, he advocated that the custom as a whole should be set aside, at least temporarily. Instead he suggested that house building, abulu preparation and other such tasks should be organized on a compulsory rotational basis involving no gayaya, each worker bringing his own food with him to the working place (cf. Knudson 1964: 133, 148, 175-8, 226; Larson 1966: 93).

Father Boell's pronouncements on gayaya met with little overt reaction at the time that they were made. Back in the village, however, leaders and settlers individually condemned the missionary's intervention in the custom and dismissed his view as being typical of the Western approach with its stress on personal acquisitiveness and lack of consideration for others. 'Imagine the shame', informants exclaimed, 'of sending away people who have worked for you without feeding them. That is the white man's way; we Papuans know the rules of hospitality and generosity'.

This attitude prevailed for several months. Despite repeated appeals by Father Boell that the practice should be abandoned, gayaya remained the

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1 When the Kuni discuss Western values and approaches they tend to identify themselves as Papuans.
highlight of work parties. In fact, small parishes like Dilava which had been the very ones whose interests Father Boell had sought to protect, went to greater lengths to have elaborate gayaya than bigger parishes, simply in order that they might attract the labour on which they depended for the completion of big economic tasks. For these small parishes, obtaining money for buying stores was proportionately a bigger problem too. This made Dilava parish men particularly eager to avail themselves of opportunities for cash employment offered by DASF at Bakoiudu. Some also accepted contracts as short-term labour at Kubuna plantations and others even went to Port Moresby to collect money from relatives and fellow parish men there. In October 1964 for example, an influential man from Dilava parish collected over $60 from kinsmen at Port Moresby, of which $36 was used to convene big working parties during the November-January abulu cutting season at Bakoiudu. This enabled Dilava parish to clear a large expanse of forest for planting rubber, and to keep pace with parishes whose larger membership made them less dependent on gayaya as a means of recruiting work. This example illustrates the adaptability of the Dilava (and other settlers) who effectively combined aspects of cash economy with traditional custom in order to maximise opportunities for cash cropping at a future date.

Not all parishes, however, were equally resourceful or fortunate in obtaining cash for organizing work parties on a large scale. As a result,
there were variants of *gayaya* depending on the amount of cash available, the size of the parish soliciting help and the nature of the work to be done. Three main forms of *gayaya* can be discerned though the Kuni do not distinguish between them by name. The first follows the traditional practice and consists of a meal of traditional staples served with or without game. This type of *gayaya* is not popular and is the established pattern in work parties convened by poorer settlers or members of big parishes who do not rely on a large number of participants. Relatives and kinsmen of the host, bound by principles of reciprocity and co-operation, predominate at such working parties run along traditional lines. The second form of *gayaya* includes tinned foods, tea and other luxuries in addition to staples. It is characterized by an uneven distribution of food among the workers operating on a family hold-back basis. Relatives of the host are fed mainly on staples and the surplus of tinned foods, whereas unrelated workers are given the choice morsels. The explanation for this distinction between kin and non-kin is based on the principle of reciprocity and obligation which underlies all associations between relatives, whereas strangers are in no way compelled to co-operate and must therefore be enticed to come (cf. Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 90). This type of *gayaya* prevails in work parties convened by persons with moderate incomes who require additional help for some specific economic tasks.
The third form of gayaya consists of a substantial meal prepared almost exclusively from bought foods which is shared equally by all workers irrespective of their relationship to the host(s). This type of gayaya involves considerable expenditure and brings considerable prestige to its hosts. The conveners of work parties involving this gayaya appear to be the better off settlers at Bakoiudu, but this does not always follow; nor does the organization of such a work party necessarily mean that its conveners are most direly in need of communal help. Prestige motivations are important. A cursory examination of the relationship between gayaya budgets, the numerical strength of the group acting as a host, the number of workers present and the amount of work done, reveals interesting insights into the role of work parties at Bakoiudu and the relative importance of different types of gayaya in this setting.

However, important changes in the approach to traditional gayaya were set in motion at a large meeting of Bakoiudu residents held in March 1965 to discuss work attitudes and work organization. By this date it had become apparent to most settlers that gayaya hampered the progress of work. Apart from the problems of uneven cash distribution at the settlement resulting in unequal opportunities for convening work parties, gayaya was a burden to the hosts. Staple foods for the meal had to be collected from the hosts' gardens at least a day before the work party; stores had to be bought in advance; preparation of the food on
the day itself was a full-time occupation for the women of the group having to cater for from 20 to 60 persons per work-party; finally, the meal itself was a long and protracted affair which interrupted work and sometimes brought it to an early end. Gayaya was thus not only expensive but time-consuming as well (cf. Lundsgaarde 1966: 70ff).

At the March meeting convened by local Kuni leaders, these various aspects of gayaya were discussed and the consensus of opinion was that it should be discontinued at Bakoiudu. Instead it was agreed that workers should come voluntarily, each with his own food, and that all major tasks should be undertaken on a rotational basis. Thus, having selected a garden site, a group would convene a communal (kompani) work-party for an appointed day. Settlers were expected to join the owners of the abulu in completing the task, after which all would move on to the next abulu. This innovation bypassed gayaya and was generally approved at the meeting, though some dissension arose between members of small and large parishes on the relative number of persons per parish who should contribute to such work parties. Leaders of small parishes like Dilava urged that the maximum number from each parish should participate in all such communal activities, whereas spokesmen of larger parishes like Yumu, Vale Bekena and Maimai stated their preference for a system of reciprocal voluntary labour between specified parishes. This division of opinion was clearly related to the disparate numbers of these parishes. The
abolition of *gayaya* closed the most important means of recruiting labour to small parishes who therefore endorsed the system of compulsory rotational labour. On the other hand members of big parishes were quick to perceive that they would have to bear the brunt of communal economic activity at Bakoiudu for relatively little return, and therefore advocated co-operative labour between equally matched parishes.

The deadlock resulting from these conflicting approaches had not yet been resolved when I left Kuni in April 1965. At the time, the settlers were still debating the two approaches and there had appeared a clear rift between small and big parishes at the settlement. Both sides vouched that they would rather continue with *gayaya* than give in to the opposite point of view.¹ Interestingly, many settlers saw a solution to the problem of work parties and *gayaya* in the eventual introduction of hired labour, expressing the opinion that as soon as a regular cash income was available from the rubber plantation, there would no longer be any use for work parties, with or without *gayaya*. Settlers would then hire workers for the day 'like European planters'. Some indeed, had already taken to hiring workers at rice harvesting time. In some cases,

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¹ It appears that a compromise solution was evolved by the end of that year whereby the smaller parishes of Dilava, Madiu and Yoyaka united into an 'Obaoba' parish for economic purposes. All work on Ofio-Okamo abulu took place on a non-*gayaya* basis, 'Obaoba' working with Maimai, and Yumu with Vale Bekena parishes.
even relatives of the plot owner were paid as labour if they came to work because, 'rice is a cash crop and each one wants to keep his money to himself. So we pay off relatives and they know that they cannot come later to ask for money. This is the new way called business'. These trends draw attention to a new orientation or dimension in Kuni thinking where cash economy is seen as an intrinsic aspect of the new social order.

**Cash cropping: Problems of Work Organization**

Although interest in cash cropping does not seem to have been an important consideration for resettling, there is little doubt that the resettled Kuni did subsequently develop considerable interest in it, to the point even, as shown in the preceding section, where the returns of cash cropping are looked forward to as a means of resolving problems for recruiting labour in subsistence economy. The current attitude of the Kuni towards cash cropping is succinctly expressed in their frequent references to Bakoiudu as a place of work (bilaula afuna) and more particularly, a place for business (bisnes afuna). Less frequently they use the term moni tsinana (literally, the money's mother) which clearly refers to the settlement as a source of cash (cf. Knudson 1964: 134). These terms are closely associated with two other notions, that of ba-nao (literally, to become like a European, i.e. to achieve a Western way of life), and kompani with its implication that the means to this end are through community enterprise and co-operation (cf. White 1965: 7-8). In
other words, the Kuni look upon resettlement as the stepping stone to a new way of life based on business and hard work undertaken in a spirit of solidarity in order to achieve Western standards of living, and the settlers look to cash cropping as the means to attain these goals.

To this end the Department of Agriculture, Stock and Fisheries had established an extension station at Bakoiudu, and between December 1961 and February 1963, several DASF officers visited the settlement intermittently in order to gauge the agricultural potential of the land and to decide upon the crop best suited for large-scale economic exploitation. Rubber was selected as the most suitable crop, and in April 1963, Mr Chris Abel arrived at Bakoiudu in order to supervise the establishment of a rubber plantation there.

The appointment of Mr Abel as the first resident agricultural officer at Bakoiudu was an important milestone in the development of the settlement. Apart from introducing cash cropping to the resettled Kuni, he figured prominently in many spheres of social activity where his involvement in local affairs broke the monopoly of influence, so to speak, which the Mission had exercised over the Kuni since the time of
contact. For these reasons it is necessary to look further into the position and role of Mr Abel at Bakoiudu in order to understand his relationship with the settlers, his approach to economic development and his choice of methods to implement it.

As soon as he arrived at Bakoiudu, the agricultural officer struck up an amicable relationship with Father Boell and established particularly warm ties with the settlers. Himself the member of a missionary family, Mr Abel was sympathetic to the aims of Father Boell even though he did not agree with some of his approaches. These differences, however, were never an open issue between them, nor were they raised before the settlers. On the contrary, his open disposition, unassuming manner and evident interest in all that happened at Bakoiudu soon made Mr Abel a confidant of the settlers, particularly local leaders.

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1 My own arrival in August 1963 reinforced the impact of secular influences at Bakoiudu, though it was considerably less than that of the agricultural officer who was directly involved in shaping the course of development at the settlement. The only other permanent secular residents in Kuni are three European planters settled on Crown land at Kubuna. The first of these arrived in 1946, followed by two others in 1962. Their influence on the northern Kuni was negligible throughout this period and it is only since resettlement that there has been some contact between planters and settlers, mostly at the virtually impersonal level of employer-employee relationship.

2 Mr Abel's grandfather had started Kwato Mission, an offshoot of the London Missionary Society, with its headquarters at Samarai, East Papua.
who frequently called at the agricultural station to exchange news and discuss their problems. In fact, during his term of 21 months, Mr Abel temporarily displaced Father Boell as the dominant figure at Bakoiudu. This was largely the result of their respective duties. Whereas Father Boell was restricted in his movements and contact with the settlers by the sheer burden of construction works, Mr Abel, by the nature of his work, was constantly in touch with the people, and his position as instructor of the much coveted cash-cropping methods further enhanced his status. In addition, the agricultural station was virtually an 'open house' to any settlers and many matters of wider interest were discussed there in a relaxed and informal atmosphere instead of being brought to the Mission as had been the former practice.

Mr Abel was aware of the tensions inherent to his position at Bakoiudu and attempted as far as possible to remain uninvolved in issues which normally would have fallen under Father Boell's jurisdiction. Despite this, the prestige and authority of the missionary was undermined by the very presence of the agriculture officer who provided an alternative channel to the settlers for confiding problems and expressing their grievances, many of which were levelled against the missionary himself. This situation generated some tension between the two Europeans, the more so in that, unknown to themselves, they were often played off against each other by the people. Such frictions and misunderstandings, however, were short-lived. Both men
were sincerely interested in the success of resettlement and resolved their differences through amicable discussion and compromise.

Although Mr Abel was for some time a prominent figure at Bakoiudu, he was by no means a dominating personality. His unobtrusive disposition, awareness of his position with respect to Father Boell, deference for the opinion of local leaders and a measure of diffidence stemming from inexperience and youth, (Bakoiudu was his first practical assignment at the age of 22), made him a much less forceful agent of change and instigator of new ways than the opportunities inherent to his position offered him. This had important implications on the development of cash cropping at Bakoiudu. Its implementation and organization here was not simply a matter of endorsing pre-determined Administration policy on economic development, or otherwise imposing on the local populace the whims of a particular officer in charge. On the contrary, excepting the instruction on the technical aspects of establishing a rubber plantation which Mr Abel undertook himself, all other decisions relating to work organization, subdivision of the plantation and other such practical problems were arrived at after discussion and consultation with local leaders. Often it was they who suggested particular approaches or alternatives to Mr Abel; at other times, it was he who appealed to them to popularize a new approach which might then be rejected or adopted. In fact the organization of the rubber plantation was.
worked out gradually within a framework of close interaction and solidarity between the settlers and the agricultural officer. Because of this informal approach, it is possible, by studying changes in work organization and the structural organization of the rubber plantation, to trace the evolution and progressive adaptation of the settlers to the innovations of cash cropping.

One of the first departures from traditional forms, for example, was in relation to the organization of work on the future site of the rubber plantation. In consultation with local leaders who had expressed dissatisfaction with the disorganized and segmented organization of work in subsistence economy and other tasks, Mr Abel devised a weekly programme of work soon after his arrival at Bakoiudu. This was based on the allocation of weekdays to specific economic activities, some of which were to be carried out on a communal basis (cf. White 1965: 12). Though the routine was altered several times to meet changing conditions, the weekly schema was roughly as follows: two days were set aside for work on subsistence gardens following whatever pattern of work prevailed at the time; two were designated for work on the rubber plantation which, at the time that the schema was devised, was envisaged as a communal project in which all able-bodied men and women were supposed to participate in clearing and preparing the site for planting; and two days were allocated for voluntary labour on community projects sponsored by the Mission and Administration.
respectively, e.g. road maintenance, work on the local aid post, the school etc. No work was done on Sunday.

The programme of work thus mapped out by Mr Abel clearly embraced a wider range of activity than cash cropping per se and reflects the extent of his interest and participation in local affairs at Bakoiudu. Although he viewed the systematization of work as an indispensable pre-condition for the success of large-scale development at the settlement, the scheme worked only with moderate success. Within a couple of months its novelty wore off, interest waned and work slackened, particularly on the days of voluntary labour on community projects, and later, on days for communal activity on the rubber plantation as well. There were several reasons for this, deriving as much from the persistence of traditional notions of work which were inadaptable to the new situation, as from the emergence of new attitudes towards work, outstripping the traditional notion of voluntary unremunerated labour.

Traditionally, there was no concept of regular scheduled work on the scale tentatively organized at Bakoiudu by Mr Abel. Within the limits imposed by natural cycles, the Kuni used to carry out their subsistence gardening activity relatively independently, each household being concerned primarily with its own immediate needs. It was only on the occasion of big feasts that communal activity occurred on a large scale, and then every step in the gardening process was planned out and supervised by persons whose authority was widely recognized (cf. Goodenough 1963: 484-91).
At Bakoiudu, by contrast (with the exception of work parties organized for specific tasks), the principle of communal labour in cash cropping and community projects was introduced without providing any mechanism to organize and enforce it on an inter-parish basis; nor was any effort made to utilize traditional channels of authority to this end. Ideally each settler was supposed to pull his weight and work voluntarily. However, in the absence of a sanctioning authority to ensure the carrying out of tasks, there were increasing numbers of non-participants whose absence from work was a constant provocation and challenge to those who did offer their services voluntarily. The number of volunteers dwindled and the weekly routine of work was all but abandoned (cf. Dakeyne 1966).

Other contributory factors which undermined the work schedule at Bakoiudu were the lure of the homelands which periodically drew settlers back to their old haunts, and the opportunities for cash employment as contract labour on European-owned plantations at Kubuna. Work was thus not only irregular, but attitudes towards it were becoming increasingly cash-orientated. This trend reached its clearest expression when, towards the end of 1963, funds were allocated by the Administration for the upkeep of the road from Bakoiudu to Kubuna. The settlers seized on this opportunity to acquire cash locally and thereafter the notion of voluntary unpaid work on community projects was widely discredited. There was outspoken criticism against working on Mission projects on the grounds that the Mission did not pay for services rendered.
This pre-occupation with cash wages was markedly different to the attitudes towards work which had prevailed during early resettlement days when the Kuni were imbued with the notion of kompani interests and cared little for personal returns. For example, they had refused to accept wages for work done on the DASF rubber nursery between December 1962 and March 1963, on the grounds that the plantation was a communal venture, that nobody should derive particular benefit from working on it and that traditional reciprocity and co-operative labour was the basis for working on the rubber. More important, perhaps, as a reason for this stand at the time, was the fear expressed by most informants that acceptance of money might have invalidated their claims to the plantation and that the Administration would have assumed its ownership. In time this fear abated, and as the settlers familiarized themselves with cash employment from other sources, they not only claimed wages for work done for DASF, but became increasingly disenchanted with the principle of communal work on the plantation as well.

1 The unclaimed wages amounting to $336 for work on the nursery, were deposited in a communal fund (the Kuni Rubber Growers' Benefit Account), by Mr Abel, on behalf of the Kuni people. The money was later used to buy stores for the Kuni Club at Bakoiudu. The emphasis of the settlers on self-aid was logical enough, particularly as by arrangement with DASF they will refund 20c per grown rubber tree when tapping starts in order to recoup the cost price of seeds. By December 1966, DASF had supplied about 100,000 rubber seeds of a special high-yielding Malaysian stock to the Kuni project.
Although it was impossible to gauge accurately who did how much work on the plantation, it was a matter of everyday observation that some settlers worked more regularly and harder than others. Moreover, some settlers did no work at all on the grounds that they were either too old, not interested in cash cropping, were childless, did not have male heirs who could inherit their plots after them, or some such reasons. Those who did participate in the scheme often had different approaches to work based on personal inclination. This resulted in uneven contributions of work, aggravated by the absence of co-ordinated supervision and the indifference of settlers to the injunctions to work by local leaders. As a result, contributions of work became even more disparate, fewer persons came to work on rubber work days and the very establishment of the plantation was threatened (cf. Larson 1966: 99; White 1965: 15-6, 154-5).

The Work Book System

In an attempt to counteract this trend, towards the end of 1963 the 'work book' system was introduced by Mr Abel after consultation with Toneba. The latter was a prominent figure in Dilava parish who was elected work leader at Bakoiudu by the settlers, and who had had experience of rubber work on coastal plantations in the past. The 'work book' system utilized a book listing all the able-bodied men at Bakoiudu according to parish membership. On rubber work days, the roll call of workers was taken by Mr Abel or Toneba, each
Absentee and person present being recorded with distinctive marks. The idea was that the site of the rubber plantation should be cleared as a (controlled) communal effort, and that the land should then be divided out on a parish basis so that terracing and digging holes could be undertaken by local groups. The means of achieving an equitable subdivision of land was not carefully worked out beforehand. The general notion was that the total number of 'present' marks per parish would be totalled up for each parish and the land subdivided on a basis proportional to the contribution of work of all its members (cf. Dakeyne 1966: 32).

The promoters of this scheme were mainly concerned with inducing the settlers to take a motivated interest in the development of the plantation. Mr Abel sought to increase individual initiative further by asserting that when planting began, he would distribute trees on an individual basis, proportionately to the record of work noted in the work book for each person. In addition, he popularized the idea that the work book would be an excellent means of safeguarding the interests of settlers against the possible future claims of relatives in the homelands and Port Moresby, by suggesting that only persons who had actively worked on the plantation should have rights to its proceeds. In short, all these suggestions attempted to introduce a modified version of the rate for the job at Bakoiudu in order to redress some of the inequalities of the system of communal labour.
The initial reaction of the settlers to the work book system was very enthusiastic. People elaborated at length on the advantages of the system and stressed the benefits which would accrue to individual workers. 'Money is not like food: one doesn't give it away for nothing'. In particular, the proposition that non-workers would have no claim on working relatives was very popular. The suggestion came at a time when many homelanders were still undecided about resettling and the brunt of the pioneering work had to be done by those who had resettled. Bakoiudu settlers who had formerly resented this and begrudged the homelanders their easy way of life, now expressed pity for 'those deluded ones staying up there, whose present laziness will cause their children to suffer in years to come'. In short, the work book system restored the self-confidence of the settlers and succeeded in its primary object of boosting activity in the rubber plantation. Within the space of a few months 150 acres of virgin forest were cleared for the plantation on this basis.

The scheme had other implications which greatly modified traditional patterns of association at Bakoiudu. Enthusiasm for the system generated a competitive spirit in which each parish sought to have as many workers enrolled under its name as possible, in

1 Resettlement and the adoption of cash cropping introduced important changes in many traditional Kuni values and practices. These changes are discussed in Appendix 2.
order that they might score more marks on rubber work days and thus acquire rights to larger shares of land in the plantation. This gave rise to fervent recruiting activity especially by the members of small parishes who were particularly eager to increase their numbers. Recruiting was carried out primarily amongst Bakoiudu residents, though it was also directed towards parish members who resided in the homelands, and even extended to Port Moresby Kuni in some cases. The concentration of effort on local residents was logical enough, particularly as the residential confusion which had resulted from unorganized resettlement, had weakened the clear-cut parish filiations which had prevailed in the homelands. Although most Bakoiudu settlers complained about relatives and kinsmen remaining in the homelands, and threatened that their shares from the proceeds of the plantation would be forfeited unless they joined the settlement, these threats were only half-hearted: Bakoiudu settlers depended on the homelands for their supplies of betelnut, and homelanders safeguarded these against theft. On the other hand, although recruitment of Port Moresby Kuni to the settlement was seriously handicapped by distance and lack of communication, the introduction of the work book system and cash cropping

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1 An extreme example of this were attempts by members of Dilava and Vale to marry off their daughters to Goilala men in order to extend their kinship ties; and the stressed assertion that uxorilocal residence would be enforced in all such 'mixed' marriages.
at Bakoiudu did bring about appreciable changes in the relationship between Kuni living in and out of the tribal area. These changes are discussed in Appendix 4.

A complicating factor in recruitment and one which re-evoked old factions and created new ones, was the ambiguous definition of parish membership in the traditional social organization. Traditionally, parish membership was ascribed patrilineally at birth but could effectively be changed by prolonged residence in any given locality. Post-natal residence patterns might in turn be determined by other factors such as adoption, the payment or non-payment of bride price and so on. These characteristics had rendered traditional patterns of association eminently flexible and suited to manipulation (cf. Rimoldi 1966). At Bakoiudu, residential proximity of a wide range of kin and non-kin, plus the conditions of resettlement which willy-nilly had broken down some of the traditional sectarianism, had given rise to a category of persons with no fixed parish membership. This was particularly true of unmarried youths and newly married couples whose patterns of residence were not yet fixed and who hesitated to commit themselves as members of this or that parish. In addition there were persons who had used the opportunity of resettlement to break homeland-type associations and who had either joined other parishes (usually by invoking cognatic or affinal ties), or had set up neolocal residence. Finally there was the important category of late arrivers at Bakoiudu, notably members of Devadeva 1 and Kauaka parishes who
had not been allocated a separate residential site by Faika Peto and who had no option but to seek at least temporary filiation with another group.¹

The attention of Bakoiudu settlers seeking to reinforce their local membership, was directed especially towards the category of persons whose actual or would-be parish filiations could be challenged either by invoking natal membership, non-payment of bride price, rights by adoption and/or claims of long-standing association, in addition to evoking kinship ties, both cognatic and affinal. Bakoiudu residents falling into this category were subject to conflicting pressures to change residential associations or at least to enrol in the work book with this rather than that parish. There was no set pattern for the solution of such conflicting claims. In some cases individuals admitted the validity of claims and took appropriate steps, either by changing residence and enrolling in the work book with the claimant group, or by adopting some compromise solution, e.g. residence in one parish and working in another; working in several parishes

¹ Kauaka parish men joined members of Keakamana parish with whom they had close relationships in the homelands. They also enrolled under Keakamana in the work book. The Devadeva, who had established wide contacts in the homelands, had a large reservoir of social relations upon which to draw at Bakoiudu, and they were much more dispersed residentially, notably amongst kinsmen in Keakamana and Vale 4 parishes. Subsequently both groups set up discrete residential units: Kauaka at Ili Nefuna and Devadeva at Poleka.
alternatively (this was widely practised by Devadeva homelidders upon first arriving at Bakoiudu); paying or promising to pay compensation to the deprived parish and so on.

In other instances, individuals ignored the claims pressed against them, or even took the initiative to change parish alliance of their own accord. Some foster-parents, for example, sought to enrol under the parish of their foster-children where this was different from their own, and where there was advantage to be gained from the change. Not all these attempts were successful, but the trend is worth recording. These cases remain sources of friction at Bakoiudu and the tension is likely to increase when tapping begins and the distribution of cash will be an additional consideration. It is almost certain that many claims which have currently been dropped at Bakoiudu shall then be reinstated and will present interesting case studies of the dynamics of social organization in Kuni, its underlying assumptions and the relative importance of its various institutions.

Such a test case, for example, is that of Inau Aume whose members currently work their rubber in Vale 3 parish on the basis of a residential association which dates back to pre-contact times. However, the founder of Inau Aume was from Dilava parish, and the Dilava sought the co-operation of Inau Aume in cash cropping at Bakoiudu by invoking their common ancestry. Whilst admitting their historical ties with Dilava, Inau Aume spokesmen rejected the proposal on the
grounds that they have been linked with Vale 3 parish in Administration census books. To this Dilava parish men retorted that books and letters are irrelevant when it comes to money and the rights of kinship. The situation remains deadlocked but is likely to flare up again as soon as the plantation produces. Dilava men speak openly of the claims they shall then make from Inau Aume, as kinsmen who have been denied mutual aid. Whether these threats are implemented or not, they do reflect the tensions underlying residential and kinship principles in Kuni social organization.

In fact the work book system helped to crystallize these potential sources of conflict and put to question many aspects of traditional social organization. For example, traditionally, one of the main determinants of residence (and therefore of parish membership) was the payment of bride-price. As described in Chapter 1, small inau might even refuse bride-price for their women in order to enforce uxorilocal residence and thereby accrue new members to the local group. The children of such unions were considered members of their natal parish, though they could always be 'bought back' to their father's group by subsequent payment of

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1 The conflict of rights is tacitly acknowledged by the rest of Vale 3 parish men who have since subdivided their rubber plot on an inau basis, thus isolating Inau Aume and preventing other Vale 3 inau from being affected by possible Dilava claims to cash returns from the rubber. This subdivision preceded similar ones in other parishes for parallel reasons.
bride-price. Following traditional practice, in May 1964 a Keakamana chief at Bakoiudu laid a taboo on the marriage of Keakamana girls out of their natal parish:

If any man from another parish wants to marry one of our girls, let him come and stay with us and work our rubber. We do not care for bride-price; we desire more men.

The interesting feature of this declaration is that it was dismissed as 'rubbish talk' (avaka lakua) by most Bakoiudu settlers who were by this time beginning to realise that traditional methods of recruitment resulting in indeterminate parish and inau membership were inapplicable to the conditions of cash cropping. As an informant put it:

Rubber is here to stay; who will inherit it when we die? Our relationships are all confused and if we do not resolve the question of inheritance and succession now, there will be fighting later.

As conflicts over group membership increased (in one notable case three brothers were planting rubber in three different parishes), so did the settlers' awareness that it was indispensable to stabilize group membership in order to ensure orderly inheritance within the plantation. This awareness was expressed at several informal group discussions initiated by local leaders in August 1964 on whether or not the payment of bride-price should be maintained at Bakoiudu. Concern over the custom had arisen as a result of the pronouncement quoted earlier by the Keakamana chief, and also because Father Boell had denounced the practice several times during sermons on the grounds
that it inhibited the free choice of marriage partners. Although many settlers expressed dissatisfaction with the custom, all agreed that its enforcement was the only means of determining group membership and ensuring some stability in inheritance and succession. For this reason local leaders advocated not only the speedy payment of bride-price in all new marriages, but called for the settlement of outstanding bride-price debts as well. Some of these dated back several decades and were responsible for a number of the disputes over group membership brought to a head by the work book system.

However, at the same time that the settlers were beginning to apprehend the socio-economic implications of the work book, the system itself was undergoing important modifications and had run into some practical problems. These derived from basic misconceptions underlying the very principles of the work book. With its emphasis on individual enterprise, the scheme ignored traditional Kuni notions of reciprocity, co-operative labour and the solidarity of kin groups. There were many times when individuals had no option but to act in terms of wider solidarities e.g. some engaged in contract labour in order to provide cash for the local group; others went to the homelands to obtain
provisions of betelnut to be shared with kinsmen, still others left for Port Moresby on behalf of the local inau or even parish, and so on. As these occasions arose, and individuals were recorded as absent, the incongruities of the system became evident. Not only did the absence of a person from work reduce his personal share of rubber trees; it also decreased the rights to land of the parish as a whole. These repercussions were not compatible with traditional notions of co-operative labour, particularly as individuals otherwise engaged than in clearing the plantation might in fact be so at the request of their relatives.

As these unexpected aspects of the work book system came to light, the settlers did not denounce it (for it was still an effective sanction against idle persons and homelanders), as much as they ignored its applicability in particular instances. Thus while a man was away in the homelands, a younger relative not listed in the work book might work in his place, or his kinsmen would simply shrug off his absence: 'later when we divide the land, he will get an equal share because he is absent on a communal errand'. In other words,

1 The Kuni are inveterate betelnut-chewers: 'it clears our minds and puts us in good humour'. The most important single reason for returning to the homelands is the almost total absence of locally-grown betelnut at Bakoiudu. As it takes at least seven years for a newly planted tree to bear, settlers depend on homeland groves for their supplies.
the system gradually acquired a different function: from being a record of labour against which allocations of land and rubber trees might be estimated, it became little more than a sanction against non-participants in work, particularly those who were far afield and knew little about the situation at Bakoiudu.

Paradoxically enough, the final collapse of the scheme was brought about by its originator. In mid-1964, Mr Abel gave rubber saplings for planting to a Devadeva 2 parish man who had left Port Moresby a few months earlier expressly to start cash cropping at Bakoiudu. This allocation clearly ignored the premises of the work book system since the recipient of the trees had not contributed in any way to the clearing of the plantation site. For this reason the settlers had already refused to allow him to join the main plantation known as kompani (cf. Map 3). The enterprising and industrious newcomer had then obtained permission from a local leader to start his own plot at the Neno river where he was subsequently joined by Inaumaka and Devadeva 1 parish men. Nevertheless his successful request for planting material was denounced by the settlers as a violation of the basic principle of the work book. Criticism was particularly outspoken in this case because the settlers resented the refusal of Devadeva 2 homelanders to resettle at Bakoiudu. The incident was also highlighted because the newcomer was unable to conceal his plight by joining an already existing nucleus of fellow parish men (as several other newcomers subsequently did). The few distant relatives
and kinsmen who did reside at Bakoiudu were prepared to
give him temporary assistance, but none were prepared
to let him join them in cash cropping. As one
informant put it: 'Who is to know when his relatives
will come down from the mountains and lay claims to the
proceeds of our joint work? Better that he should work
independently'.

This incident conclusively discredited the work
book system, and it was abandoned soon after. It lost
its function as a work sanction, and few settlers
referred to it any longer as the determining criterion
for establishing the relative rights of individuals and
parishes to planting material and land respectively.¹
Moreover, the work book had already achieved its
original purpose; by December 1963, 150 acres had been
cleared for the plantation under the scheme. During
the period that followed, communal labour was no longer
an issue. Instead it was a question of organizing work
and co-operation within the plantation according to the
various groupings which were then emerging in it. This
latter phase in the development of the plantation was
quite distinct from that which had preceded it and
highlighted even further the points of cleavage in
traditional Kuni social organization.

¹ However, it is possible that enrolment in the work book
may be invoked in the future as a means to rebuff the
claims of non-participants to a share of the proceeds
from the rubber. The use of the work book as a
safeguard against outsiders (rather than as a charter of
action for Bakoiudu settlers) remains a possibility, and
settlers have occasionally referred to it in this
context.
The salient features of the beginnings of cash cropping at Bakoiudu can then be recapitulated as follows: at the outset the whole rubber project was viewed as a communal enterprise, exemplified in the still current reference to it as kompani, in contrast to individually owned plots set up at the Neno river in 1964 and along the main road from Kubuna to Ikeike in 1965/66. The ideal then was that work on the plantation should follow traditional patterns of voluntary co-operative labour, organized on a weekly schedule. When this failed because not all individuals pulled their weight, the work book system was introduced as an incentive for individuals to work on their own account. However, this system also failed because of its incompatibility with traditional notions of kinship solidarity and mutual aid. The early stages of cash cropping in Kuni were thus characterized by conflict between traditional (communal), and new (individualistic) approaches to work organization, and ineffective attempts to reconcile them. This conflict derived from the motives of gain and acquisition which underlay cash cropping as opposed to subsistence horticulture. Not surprisingly, subsequent phases in the development of the plantation revealed an increasing disparity between traditional and new values, and gave rise to substantially different patterns of organization (cf. Knudson 1964: 101).
The Re-organization of the Rubber Plantation

In December 1963, Mr Abel subdivided the cleared site of the plantation in order that contour terracing, digging of holes and planting of rubber might take place on a parish basis as the settlers had planned originally. Given its imperfect formulation and uncertain promises, the work book was of little use in determining the size of parish allocations. Subdivision of land was a rather approximate affair in which smaller parishes were allocated smaller sections than larger parishes, the average size being about 15 acres per parish. The actual site of sections and their boundaries was not established by any rigorous method either. The unevenness of the terrain made surveying difficult and some areas were more exploitable than others. The question was conveniently solved by the fact that most settlers had established subsistence gardens at the proposed plantation site as soon as the forest had been cleared. Such gardens, most of them clustered on a parish basis, formed natural groupings within the plantation. According to the wishes of their owners, Mr Abel tried, as far as possible, to make the boundaries of the parish sections correspond with pre-

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1 It is important to emphasize at this point that the discussion below relates to events up to March 1965 only; and refers only to developments within the original communal rubber plantation (kompani). Since then most new plots have been allocated on an individual basis, and the composition and organization of the kompani plantation may have changed as well.
existing clusters of subsistence gardens. A few wooden posts were erected and painted to mark such boundaries which tended to skirt ridges and depressions within the original kompani cleared site. There were no arguments over this preliminary subdivision of land on a parish basis which Mr Abel carried out in consultation with the leaders of the parishes concerned.

However, as soon as the allocations were completed, numerous dissensions arose within individual parishes. The target no longer being that of clearing land but of preparing it for planting, the settlers were imbued with a sense of urgency and competition. In most parishes, the organization of work was the major cause of dissension. This was particularly the case of parishes like Vale 4, Inaumaka and Madiu whose members were residentially dispersed at Bakoiudu, and who, apart from their initial reasons for living separately, were inconveniently situated or unwilling to co-operate with their fellow parish men. Some came to work later than others; or on different days; or busied themselves with their subsistence gardens rather than terracing when they did come. All these differences created tension within the parishes, the more so that traditionally there was no leader for a whole parish, and few traditional inau chiefs were prepared to take the initiative of organizing work on an all-parish basis.

The outcome of this situation was the progressive fragmentation of parish sections between January and June 1964. At the request of individuals or groups,
Mr Abel subdivided the initial parish sections on an inau, nuclear family or other basis according to the lines of cleavage within any one parish. In particular, the members of small parishes with chronic shortage of men resisted segmentation, though none (with the exception of Dilava parish), were able to organize their work satisfactorily on an all-parish basis under local leadership. Bigger parishes on the other hand, were especially prone to segment as competition increased and differences in work contribution became evident. Most such subdivisions first occurred along inau lines, e.g. the Keakamana parish section was subdivided further into seven distinct subsections based on inau membership. These subdivisions were as approximate as those originally made for whole parishes, though Mr Abel attempted to take the number of adult men per inau into consideration. Often, however, local leaders proposed the boundaries to him and it was merely a case of endorsing their decision.

With the exception of Dilava, all other parishes sought subdivision of their original allocations within six months of the first division.¹ In some cases the

¹ The cohesiveness of Dilava parish was largely due to Toneba's leadership and contagious enthusiasm. His plan was that all the returns from Dilava rubber should be put into a communal fund, half of which would be divided equally among all families working on the project and the remainder kept in a cumulative communal fund which would be used to finance larger projects, e.g. buying a lorry to start a Dilava transport business, erecting cement water tanks and supplying (continued p.241)
inau units thus created formed effective work groups under the leadership of traditional leaders. In others, where inau solidarity was weak and leadership ineffectual resulting in disorganized and sporadic work on the plantation, further subdivisions were requested from Mr Abel. These requests were usually put by go-ahead and industrious individuals who desired to work independently as they were not prepared to bear the brunt of the work within the inau, and subsequently share its returns with their fellow inau members. The remaining members of the inau either followed suit or remained working as a collective unit. Alternatively, members of an inau decided between themselves to work on a personal basis without bothering to formalize the agreement with the agricultural officer. There were in fact a vast number of alternatives open to the settlers ranging from economic units based on family groups, to inau solidarities and parish collectivity (cf. KPR 5 of 1953/54). The co-existence of these different forms, and the movement of individuals from one to another,

1 (continued from p.240)

iron-roofing for each Dilava household, and even introducing electricity and flush sanitation. Although, theoretically, most of these proposals are realisable, it is doubtful that they will be put into effect. They represent typical examples of Toneba's well-intentioned and often far-seeing enthusiasm, unfortunately divorced from the realities of local conditions. Thus, while he did his best to recruit Goilala affines to Bakoiudu in order to swell the numbers of Dilava parish, he paid little heed to the long-term implications that this might have on rights of tenure and inheritance at the settlement, supposing a considerable number of Goilala migrants were in fact to join the scheme.
testified to the uncertainty of the settlers in the new situation and illustrated their attempts to come to terms with the particular demands of cash cropping.

Those who were particularly affected by the departure from communal (parish-based) cash cropping, were childless adults and families having no male children. These settlers who had formerly worked in parish sections found themselves faced with the choice, either of working an independent plot on their own behalf (in which few were interested as they had no direct heirs), or linking themselves with a particular group, a constraint which did not suit them either. Indeed several childless couples and widowers at Bakoiudu did not work on the plantation from the outset for this very reason, while others only gave up after subdivisions were completed on a family basis. In a few instances widowers and childless couples continued in the plantation nevertheless, maintaining plots on behalf of kinsmen or relatives, or simply to reap the benefits during their own lifetime.

The Kuni explain this increasing emphasis on individual enterprise as being consistent with the fact that rubber is a cash crop introduced by Europeans and therefore not subject to the rules of reciprocity, mutual co-operation and quasi group-ownership based on kinship which still governs the cultivation of subsistence crops (cf. Rowley 1965: 95). Despite this, the new emphasis on personal advantage has not yet altogether displaced or invalidated traditional values, even in cash cropping. Just as the work book system
failed because of its disregard for traditional relationships, so also the subdivision of the rubber plantation on an individual basis has only been partly effective. In practice, few settlers have denied close relatives arriving at Bakoiudu from the homelands or Port Moresby, the right to share their plots as full co-owners. This has further complicated land tenure within the plantation, and resulted in an unanticipated degree of congestion. The original parish allocations were reduced to pocket-handkerchief size plots, and Mr Abel expressed anxiety at the influx of relatives and associates into holdings which had originally been allocated and divided on the basis of acreage adequate for those only who had helped to clear the abulu on a communal basis. Subsequent influx of non-participant members created a situation where allocations became uneconomic units.1

1 Subsequently, when new areas were opened for planting rubber, Mr Abel attempted to forestall a repetition of the problems which had beset the kompani plantation by enforcing individual tenure of plots. The shift from communal to smallholder enterprise, however, need not necessarily contain the solution to cash-cropping problems at Bakoiudu. As Crocombe points out 'to be successful, communal farming like any other farming system, must be coupled with appropriate organizational structures, sanctions and incentives as well as with extension, processing and marketing facilities' (1964: 36). These are largely still lacking at Bakoiudu. For discussions on the relative merits of smallholder versus communal and co-operative commercial enterprise in New Guinea, see Crocombe 1964: 33-6, 1965: 34-8; also Hogbin 1965 and 1964: 25ff; Rimoldi 1966: 86-93, 101-3; and Dakeyne 1966.
Far from being deterred by the disproportion between the size of plots and the number of workers on them, individual plot-owners were willing enough to work their plots with close relatives or other persons who had no independent title to kompani land. In the first place, it added to their prestige, though the trend was too recent at the time of fieldwork to establish whether or not such economic partnership had any repercussions on social relationships. In addition, sharing a plot perpetuated the tradition of group activity, however limited. This was particularly appreciated in the plantation where contour terracing, digging holes and planting were tedious and arduous tasks in which few settlers persevered alone. Moreover, the failure of the work book had removed the limitations on the number and category of people who could obtain planting material from the rubber nurseries. As a result, those who obtained plots of land within the plantation were eager to have co-workers in order that they might plant more rubber more quickly. Finally, an important advantage of joint or multiple working of a plot, was that it enabled one or more of the workers not to come to the plantation without bringing work to a standstill. This is important considering the wanderlust of the Kuni, and will be all the more so when tapping begins, even though it may pose problems of distribution of cash returns.

In fact, it is almost certain that, beginning with rubber tapping, the Kuni will enter into a new accelerated phase of economic change at Bakoiudu. To
date, the changes have been primarily adaptive and organizational, caused as much by the particular problems of resettlement as by the introduction of a cash crop. The discussion of the evolution of gayaya for example, revolved essentially on problems of work organization and the dynamics of group membership in the new setting, to which cash cropping per se was only incidental. Similarly developments in the rubber plantation ranging from the early kompani approach to the individualistic work book system, its retrenchment, and the latest trend where economic activity is neither communal nor strictly private, point to comparable problems involving a clash between traditional organization and values, and the new approaches emerging at the settlement, accentuated it is true, by preparations for cash cropping. As Hogbin and Wedgwood point out:

The introduction of crops demanding a cultivation which is incompatible with traditional duties of kin or with traditional forms of land tenure can easily upset the existing form of [economic] organization and undermine the sanctions which uphold it (1953: 75; cf. S. Epstein 1966: 36-7, 53; Salisbury 1962: 328).

This observation is particularly true of Kuni where economic changes can be related to the introduction of rubber rather than another cash crop. Whereas copra, coffee or cocoa ('lazy men's crops', S. Epstein 1966: 35-7, 54) require relatively little upkeep, and cash cropping itself is either seasonal or requires a low labour intensity, this is not the case with rubber which requires daily or alternate-day
tapping, all the year round. Thus, while cash cropping in the first instance does not consume much time, or at least does not interfere substantially with traditional economic and other activities, the opposite is true of rubber cash cropping. Extending the comparison, the rate of change attending the introduction of cash cropping can be expected to vary according to the choice of crop. As Epstein suggests, 'the rate of social change will be inversely related to the ease with which new cash earning activities can be combined with the traditional way of life' (1966: 55). Rate of change is also related to the labour requirements of various crops; thus, the higher the labour requirements of a cash crop, the greater its impact on traditional economy and the higher the rate of change. These observations are particularly relevant to the Kuni situation and since they may present clues to future changes in economic organization, it is worth looking into their application.

An interesting question, for example, is how the Kuni will adapt themselves to the monotonous regularity and daily routine of rubber tapping, supposing that the maximum use of resources is the ideal to be striven for. Not only is there no parallel in traditional economic activity for such compulsory daily routine work, but the high labour requirement of rubber tapping, and its time-consuming attributes may seriously encroach upon subsistence gardening. This is likely to be particularly felt at Bakoiudu where most settlers will own at least two to three discrete rubber plots by the time production starts in earnest. Some of these are
already as much as two hours' walk distant from each other and will require at least a full morning's work if tapping is to be at all thorough. This is without taking into account time spent getting from the residential area to the various plots, and from these again to the processing factory whose site has not yet been determined. The time spent in commuting between these points added to that spent tapping, would leave little over for subsistence gardening; particularly as afternoon showers are common for the greater part of the year, and subsistence gardens will inevitably sooner or later be far removed from rubber plots under the prevailing system of swidden horticulture.

Activities associated with cash cropping are thus likely to impose a serious strain on subsistence gardening, and, by extension, presumably on pig husbandry as well, which would indirectly influence ceremonial life (cf. Goodenough 1963: 334-5). Leisure-time activities will also probably be influenced, as indeed, many aspects of social life would also be (cf. Hogbin 1964: 100-6; Dakeyne 1966: 51). The institution of a clear division of labour between the sexes, say, whereby men would engage in cash cropping while women work in gardens, would be only a partial solution. In the first place, there are tasks such as the clearing and preparation of new garden sites, which require the mobilization of both men and women for periods of concentrated activity in order to make the best of short periods of rainless weather; and secondly, with the current emphasis on nuclear family enterprise
(which is likely to increase when cash is obtained from the plantation), both cash cropping and subsistence gardening are rendered vulnerable supposing either of the spouses is incapacitated and unable to work.

In fact, present-day economic activity will have to be modified considerably to adjust to tapping if cash cropping is to be at all successful at Bakoiudu. Amongst others, four major possibilities for future development suggest themselves at present. First, the settlers might not take to tapping as easily as is currently presumed. Apart from the revolution in traditional informal attitudes to work that tapping requires, there is the added obstacle of dispersed rubber holdings at Bakoiudu. These are likely to render tapping a particularly drawn-out and tedious task, much more so than if each settler had a compact plot within a reasonable distance from the factory, and not too far removed from the residential areas. Although several solutions to this problem suggest themselves, e.g. tapping of different plots alternatively, vehicular transport of workers to more distant plots along the Bakoiudu-Kubuna road, several smaller factory units erected at suitable intervals (and, some settlers have even anticipated moving residence nearer to their rubber plots,\(^1\) selling more

\(^1\) There is a strong possibility, indeed, that the settlers may find that shifting residence nearer to their rubber plots along the Bakoiudu-Ikeike road, may be the best solution to this problem. In this event, the trend away from large nucleated settlement to a farmstead pattern of residence may introduce further important changes in social organization at Bakoiudu (cf. Dakeyne 1966: 42, 49; White 1965: 30, 149).
distant ones or hiring labour), these are at best secondhand solutions. They do not really come to grips with the central problem of whether the Kuni will in fact adjust themselves to a regular work schedule where failure to tap on any one day would mean a permanent loss of cash income. To date, successive attempts to enforce a regular work pattern at Bakoiudu have failed and no work sanctions have proved effective for any length of time. It remains to be seen whether cash cropping *per se* will provide a sufficient incentive for the Kuni to adopt new attitudes to work and evolve a new system of economic organization involving changes in subsistence economy as well (cf. Oram 1966a: 64). Unless these adjustments are made, tapping will be seriously handicapped and rubber production may be well below the potential of the plantation (cf. Hogbin 1964, 1965).

A second choice that is likely to confront the settlers will be the relative importance of subsistence gardening activity in the new setting. It is almost certain that under the system of individual cash cropping, nuclear families will have to choose between efficiency in cash cropping and inefficiency in subsistence gardening, or vice versa. One possibility is that subsistence gardening may assume less and less importance as cash income increases and the settlers come to rely more on store goods (cf. White 1965: 65). In fact the unstoreable sweet potato might even be replaced by rice as the staple food at Bakoiudu, in which case subsistence gardening would not divert
labour from cash cropping to the same extent. These possibilities remain speculative and indeed, might seriously challenge the validity of cash cropping, since a substantial part of cash returns would be consumed as food in order to make good the crippling of subsistence gardening caused by concentration of labour on cash cropping.

Other alternatives which may derive from the difficulty of efficiently maintaining both cash cropping and subsistence gardening, is that the settlers may revert to some form of communal or co-operative enterprise, either in cash cropping, or in subsistence gardening, or both. So far, the trend in the plantation has been towards increased individualism in economic activity, and the playing down of kinship and other ties (cf. S. Epstein 1966: 25, 56; Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 207; Rowley 1965: 94ff). Such insularity, however, may prove a serious handicap when tapping starts and settlers are faced with the practical difficulties of maintaining subsistence and cash economy, in addition to engaging in other routine tasks, e.g. house-building, ceremonial activity etc. It may well be that a contrary trend will then set in, in which settlers will re-unite into co-operative units (based on kinship ties, proximity of rubber holdings or whatever basis) - an approach which would substantially decrease the burden of activity on individual members. Coterminous areas of rubber might then be tapped efficiently by some members of the group in rotation, enabling others to engage in other activities. Such a
system, however, would once more raise problems of cash distribution and would possibly re-open the issue of enforcing sanctions against less active members of the co-operative group. The system would nevertheless resolve many of the problems which would be unsurmountable under the present system of individual enterprise and widely dispersed holdings.

A fourth possibility of course, is that the settlers might themselves, by dint of exchanging plots or selling them, achieve some concentration of rubber holdings, thereby considerably facilitating tapping.¹ Some settlers, indeed, showed awareness of the problems inherent to dispersed rubber holdings at the time that the land around the Neno river was opened up for planting rubber. Devadeva 1 parish men who had earlier established joint rubber plots with relatives in the kompani rubber, chose to concentrate their efforts at Neno which was nearer to their homes (cf. Map 3). Faced with the problem of having two plots about one hour's walk distant from each other, most Devadeva 1 surrendered their rights to their kompani plots. Some did so gratuitously in acknowledgment of the hospitality granted them when they first arrived at

¹ Less likely, but a remote possibility nevertheless, if difficulties prove insuperable, is that the Administration might intervene by buying up the plantation, dividing it into economic units and re-allocating it to the settlers for an annual rental (cf. Larson 1966: 124-32; Rowley 1965: 125; White 1965: 82-6). According to their current stand, the settlers would strongly oppose any such move.
Bakoiudu; others asked some compensation, either in goods or kind (i.e. the right to call on former partners to help establish the new plot); while one only persisted in working the two plots concurrently, and intends to sell the more cumbersome of the two to any willing buyer when he finally decides where he shall reside permanently (which depends on whether or not he will pay his wife's bride-price). These examples suggest that the prevailing cumbersome system of tenure, and expected increased pressure for land in the future, may give rise to a free market for land which in turn may promote the emergence of capitalist enterprise within the plantation. Individuals may choose to sell their land, hire it out, or offer themselves as hired labour to work for wages on the land of others rather than work their own plots. If implemented on a large scale, these developments which already have some precedents would revolutionize the very basis of traditional economy in Kuni.

Other difficulties which cash cropping is likely to raise in the near future at Bakoiudu and which may involve more or less important changes in local economic organization, include: establishing and managing the rubber processing factory; problems of land tenure which are likely to be accentuated by informal transactions involving the transfer of land rights, as well as by increased competition for cash-cropping land already beginning to run short late in 1966 (cf. S. Epstein 1966: 46-56; Rowley 1965: 123-5); problems of cash investment, to which the Kuni Club
will offer only a partial solution supposing it does achieve its aims (cf. Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 328; Beckett 1953: 143-52 and van der Kolff 1953: 202-6); and, most important of all, problems of distributing cash and determining rights of ownership, inheritance and succession.

To date these rights remain confused by conflicting principles of Kuni social organization: rights ascribed by kinship on one hand, and rights achieved through residential association and other bonds, e.g. adoption, on the other, (cf. S. Epstein's discussion on the conflict between matrilineal descent and patrivirilocal residence in determining rights to cash crops among the Tolai of New Britain, 1966: 45-56; Hogbin 1964: 57; White 1965: 80; van Rijswijck 1966: 47-8). In Kuni, however, the situation is further complicated by the fact that prolonged residence in one locality entitles one to almost the same rights as members of that particular local group, at the same time that (latent) membership of the natal parish is retained.

In conclusion, resettlement has heightened the occasions for conflict between residential and kinship principles in Kuni by providing maximum opportunities for establishing new residential associations and emphasizing this or that kinship relation within the flexible and permissive structure of traditional kinship organization. The settlers' awareness of the need to settle bride-price debts in order to stabilize residential habits and fix the group membership of
individuals is a telling recognition of the urgency of the problem. But there remains the difficulty of implementing this idea; nor does it necessarily follow that this is the best or the most effective way of resolving the difficulties which currently prevail at Bakoiudu and which are expected to increase in the near future. Traditional notions about kinship solidarity, residential associations and the criteria of group membership have not ceased to be challenged, questioned and modified since the beginning of resettlement. It is not impossible, therefore, that the settlers may evolve a completely different solution to the problems of cash cropping in the new setting.
Plate 11. Bakoiudu: site cleared for residential areas (Ili Nefuna in foreground to Tsitsivaiva on the ridge. CF.Map III.)

Plate 12. Bakoiudu: informal grouping of huts at Moka Youa. DASF tractor and trailer used to carry rice, rubber seeds — and children.
Plate 13. Traditional hut.

Plate 15. Bakoiudu cash cropping: rubber work day; youths and men collect rubber saplings from the nursery to transplant them in the main plantation.

Plate 16. Bakoiudu: Mr. Abel weighs locally grown rice.
Plate 17. Traditional craft: making a hammock.

Plate 18. Bakoiudu:
Father Boell sawing logs for the new school.
Plate 19. Traditional bloodletting with miniature bow and arrow to relieve headaches and other pains.

Plate 20. Bakoibu: Medical Orderly Loli at work at the local Aid Post.
Plate 21. Traditional warrior dress with possum head-dress of a manslayer.

Plate 22. Syncretism in leadership: Foloa Patricio, one-time catechist (symbolized by the cross), Village Councillor (whistle) and manslayer (head-dress).
Plate 23. Preparing food to distribute amongst guests at a wedding feast (Bakoiudu).

Plate 24. Bride price of pig and traditional riches: stringed trochus shell, shell armbands, nose piercer, plumes, £1 notes.
CHAPTER 5

LEADERSHIP AND SOCIAL CONTROL

In preceding chapters, problems of residential dispersal and economic organization were at least partly attributed to the absence of an effective co-ordinated leadership at Bakoiudu. Although Father Boell and Mr Abel were prominent figures, their authority and influence did not extend to the grass roots of the society, nor did their respective duties permit them to involve themselves in everyday local affairs to the extent that would have been necessary to ensure co-ordinated activity and the smooth running of the settlement. Nor, strictly speaking, was this their responsibility, and it may not be overstating the case to say that the future of Bakoiudu will to a large extent depend on how the settlers come to terms with the problems of community living and how they reconcile their highly segmented and autonomous system of traditional chieftainship with the particular needs of the settlement as a whole. This chapter describes changes in the traditional system of leadership that have taken place since contact, and attempts an analysis of the mechanics of social control in traditional and contemporary Kuni society.
The Traditional System

Before contact, the two traditional leadership positions, peace-chief and warrior-chief, in each inau, were filled by hereditary succession, with strong preferences for descent through men rather than women, higher sibling rank, and suitable personal characteristics (cf. Epstein, A. 1966: 20; Sahlins 1963). A man living elsewhere, as in uxorilocal residence, could succeed only if he returned home. Those in the direct agnatic line who did not succeed, retained a chiefly title and expected that eventually one of their descendants would succeed to office. Commoners displaying the chiefly qualities of generosity, integrity, wisdom and readiness to conciliate were sometimes called 'imitation chiefs' (yobia maidaina), but could not overrule the authority of the hereditary peace-chiefs.1

The importance of descent qualifications and proper character disposition as determinants of succession to chieftainship can be illustrated with reference to Genealogy 2 showing the lines of actual and possible future succession to the peace-chieftainship in Inau Olaba, Vale Bekena parish. In this example, succession passed from the now-deceased

1 The distinction here, between imitation chiefs and hereditary ones is that which Sahlins draws between big-men and chiefs in Melanesian and Polynesian societies respectively; or, as he puts it, between princes among men and Princes of the Danes (1963: 289, 294).
peace-chief A, to his youngest son D because the latter's elder siblings were disqualified from succession on the basis of sex (B) and childlessness (C). Generally speaking, a man did not succeed to office if it was apparent that he could not have heirs. D remained at the head of Inau Olaba until about ten years ago when he stood down from office ceremoniously and handed over the succession to G, his second-elder son. F, the rightful heir by the rule of agnatic primogeniture, was bypassed because he had failed to show the characteristics of a good leader and had alienated himself from fellow inau members through alleged meanness and narrow-mindedness. He accepted the decision but expects his own teenage son J to resume the leadership from G. While most members of Inau Olaba acknowledge the prior claims of J over K as successor to G, they are nevertheless wary of committing themselves in any way at present as they want to see which of the two boys (J or K) will show more qualities of leadership.

At this level, where both incumbents are truly 'sons of a chief', the system is open to competition between the rival candidates, and informants say that if the claimants (and their followers) are really matched and that neither is prepared to concede to the other (which K should to J on the ground of the latter's seniority), a split could occur in the inau. An alternative suggestion in this eventuality, or if both candidates prove equally unsuitable to become peace-chiefs, is that succession should pass to H or L,
though most informants stated that this would make succession too far removed from direct succession to A (cf. Sahlins 1963: 287-8). In this event, many said they would prefer I or M to assume the chieftainship of Inau Olaba. Reversion to the most senior line of descent is here considered more important, notwithstanding descent through women, than direct descent from a person (D), who became chief only by default.

Direct succession could also be deferred on residential grounds. This is illustrated in Genealogy 3 showing succession to the position of peace-chief in Inau Yema of Yumu parish. When A, the head of the lineage, died, succession passed to his fourth youngest son F who resided with him. None of F's older siblings were prepared or able to assume succession: C, the direct heir, had left Kuni to reside uxorilocally among the Kabadi; D was living uxorilocally in Vale parish and was not interested in returning to Yumu, while E was disqualified on the grounds of abnormality. Succession thus passed to F who died without male issue, and the problem of succession arose again. F's own daughter L, had left Yumu parish to reside virilocally after marriage, and other eligible candidates (I, J and K) also resided outside Yumu parish, so that succession passed to M, the eldest son of F's sister G who was residing in Yumu at the time. This solution was reached after consultation between members of Inau Yema and Inau Kanufa to which G's husband (H) belonged. It was agreed that M should permanently transfer his
Genealogy 3: Descent, residence and succession, Inau Yema, Yumu parish.

Legend:

u.r.: uxorilocal residence
m.r.: matrilocal
p.r.: patrilocal
v.r.: virilocal
n.r.: neolocal
>
<: extra-parish
Δ: agnatic members of Inau Yema
Δ: accreted
Δ*: other-inau
—: line of succession
—: possible

1. Junior branches of Inau Yema are not contestants for the chieftainship.
membership to Inau Yema and become its peace-chief, provided M's full brother N, remained a member of Inau Kanufa. The unusual situation which resulted from this arrangement was that two full siblings (M and N) now belong to different inau, one tracing matrilineal succession to Inau Yema and the other retaining membership of his paternal inau. Future succession to Inau Yema leadership is a current topic of conversation among its members. General opinion favours a reversion to the senior line and the institution of O as peace-chief provided he shows suitable qualities of leadership. Failing this, the leadership may pass to S with the same proviso.

The two examples described so far permit the characterization of traditional Kuni leadership as ascribed by rules of descent but validated by proper character qualifications and residential habits (cf. Reay 1964: 244-5). Here, as in many other aspects of Kuni life, pragmatic considerations intervened to reduce the rigidity of a given norm. Despite the rule of descent, traditional Kuni leadership was relatively flexible and offered some opportunity for manipulation. This manoeuvering, however, was essentially between rival aspirants to power. It was not (as in the case of 'big men') a contest about power and its sphere of application. This was institutionally vested in the offices of peace- and warrior-chiefs (particularly the former), and once a chief was ceremoniously installed, his power was defined by, and contained within his office (cf. Sahlins 1963: 295).
Before contact, this system was well suited to a way of life threatened by internal dissension and aggressions from without. On one hand, hereditary leadership ensured a measure of stability and continuity within the group; on the other, relative flexibility within the confines of lineality permitted departure from strict agnatic primogeniture where adherence to it might otherwise have proved disadvantageous to the group as a whole. In particular, traditional leadership was prevented from becoming tyrannical by the balance of power between the peace- and warrior-chiefs since the former depended on the latter for the protection of the local group, whereas the warrior-chief could not engage in warfare without the acquiescence of the peace-chief (cf. Sahlins 1963: 291).

Post-contact Leadership in the Homelands

At the turn of the century, the combined effect of pacification and missionary influence undermined the structure of traditional Kuni leadership. In the first place, despite the Mission's policy to work with and recognize established leaders, the very presence of missionaries and administrative patrols challenged the authority of the old order. Later, the appointment of catechists by the Mission, and Village Constables and Village Councillors by the Administration, introduced a new hierarchy which, though it often coincided with the traditional one in Kuni, nevertheless derived its authority from non-traditional sources and entailed
wielding new powers and sanctions. Some Mission teachings and attitudes, e.g. the emphasis on the right of individuals to choose their own marriage partners notwithstanding the wishes of the wider kinship group, and the denunciation of traditional taboos, challenged established values either directly or indirectly, and often undermined the authority of traditional chiefs.

The position and role of warrior-chiefs were the first to be affected by the changes resulting from European contact. The abolition of warfare and the appointment of Village Constables and later, Village Councillors to maintain order and report offences to administrative patrols, made the position of warrior-chief superfluous. Informants regretfully acknowledge this and emphasize that covert hostility was minimal in pre-contact days when raiding and warfare provided direct and effective means of expressing grievances (cf. Wedgwood 1930). After contact, however, informants claim that grievances were harboured for much longer because there was no means of paying back the initial wrong. Although latent aggressions within any group could and did lead to residential separation and the segmentation of hamlets, these measures did not of themselves resolve the initial cause of friction. On the contrary, the Kuni considered such passive resistance somewhat like cutting one's nose to spite one's face.

It is to the abolition of warfare and the virtual 'demotion' of warrior-chiefs that informants attribute the introduction of sorcery in Kuni:
Before the Europeans came, we used to fight continually over women and pigs, but we made peace after and few of us died. After the Europeans came, we could not fight any more. We were at a loss. Then the people started to wander and to go to other places. That is how they went to Nara and Kabadi and got the oada [evil eye stone]. So also the Maimai went to Fuyughe and got mino [sympathetic and contagious magic]. Before, when we used to fight, we did not know about these things and did not use them. After, we started using the oada and resorting to mino. Then many people started dying because nobody knew who was responsible. That is why many people died after the arrival of the Europeans, and why many inau became extinct.

Notwithstanding the dubious rationale of the latter part of this assertion (and its interesting insight into post-contact demographic trends), it does suggest that sorcery was not widespread before contact. This is corroborated by Father Egidì who, in 1913, dismissed sorcery as virtually non-existent in Kuni but only beginning to penetrate at the fringes (1913a; cf. Seligmann 1910: 282-9; Chabot 1930: 214ff). According to informants, most of whom believe in the efficacy of sorcery, it became widely used as the means of resolving the tensions which had formerly been expressed through raiding and warfare (cf. Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 37; Lawrence and Meggitt 1965: 18; Read 1952: 237; Marwick 1965).

Although sorcery is feared throughout Kuni nowadays, the general view is that mino has remained the particular skill of the Maimai, while oada, more dreaded and lethal, is practised only by a few persons,
mostly in the centre and south of Kuni. Informants are reluctant to talk at length about oada practices, but several alleged that traditional warrior-chiefs became the main operators of oada since they were well versed in the use of war magic and could ensure that the stone would not harm its manipulator or kill the wrong victim. These persons are called oada yobiatsi or oada chiefs. It is difficult to unravel the exact nature of this change from warrior-chiefs to oada chiefs, from warfare to sorcery, and to ascertain whether this position too, has become hereditary or whether it is restricted to warrior-chiefs of early contact days only. Mission and administrative authorities condemn magical practices and most Kuni claim ignorance of oada chiefs though they do not disclaim the occurrence of oada.

Although the office of warrior-chief was thus radically affected by the changes brought about by contact, the traditional structure of authority remained otherwise relatively unchanged for a long time after contact. This was because the Kuni nominated traditional leaders for appointment as Village Constables and Village Councillors by the Administration. In many parts of New Guinea where the indigenous people were suspicious of the Administration, they proposed persons of little consequence to assume these positions (cf. Epstein, A. 1966: 27-8; Belshaw 1954: 107-10; Burridge 1960: 210; Salisbury 1964; Brown 1963). By contrast, the Kuni filled all the new positions created by the Administration with traditional leaders, to the point that even Councillors' badges of office and
tunics of Constables became hereditary from father to son by primogeniture. The offices of Village Councillor and Village Constable (*kimani*) became institutionalized in the mould of traditional leadership.

The duty of Village Councillor being primarily that of mediation, guidance and maintenance of the peace, this office was naturally filled by traditional peace-chiefs who had performed similar functions in pre-contact times. The role of Village Constable fell to warrior-chiefs whose traditional function coincided with the law-enforcing duties of the former. These positions were held to be mutually exclusive: traditional peace-chiefs thought their role to be incompatible with that of *kimani*, and, to a lesser extent, traditional warrior-chiefs considered themselves unsuited to assume the conciliatory position of Village Councillors.¹ Under this system, and with the exception of warrior-chiefs who were forbidden their war-mongering activities, traditional leaders were only marginally affected by the introduction of new offices in Kuni. In particular, the isolation of

¹ A striking exception was that of a traditional peace-chief who went to Port Moresby during the war and entered into the Police Force there. ('Our taboos no longer apply when we leave Kuni'). Years later he returned to Kuni and refused to resume the duties befitting his hereditary status of peace-chief: 'How could I? My hands of peace had been defiled by the use of handcuffs'.
this tribe and the infrequency of administrative patrols made the maintenance of the status quo relatively easy. The main difference under the new system was that traditional leaders acquired additional status as Administration appointees, even though their effective authority was considerably curtailed by the abolition of warfare.

The balance thus attained between the traditional and 'new' leadership structure was, however, increasingly strained over the years by the post-contact phenomenon of hamlet fragmentation. Whereas additional Village Councillors were appointed by administrative patrols to each new major residential unit thus formed, the number of kimani was not increased proportionately and remained at one Constable per parish or major part thereof. The appointment of additional Village Councillors thus introduced the first disjunction in the system by creating more positions for leadership than there were traditional peace-chiefs.

As a result, opportunities were created for commoners to enter into the formal structure of leadership, thereby presenting the first challenge to traditional leadership from within the society. (For all their influence, missionaries and patrol officers remained outsiders to the traditional Kuni political system). Indeed, it might be argued that post-contact hamlet fragmentation was precisely the outcome of attempts by ambitious men to break away from the authority of traditional leadership. As Administration appointees in such break-away hamlets, they were often
far removed from the main hamlet and therefore out of the sphere of influence of the traditional peace-chief and kimani residing there. These new leaders often wielded considerable authority in their local groups where they combined the role of Councillor and kimani (cf. KPR 16 of 1947/8 and Kairuku Sub-District Yearly Report 1960/1: 14-5). Under these conditions, it is surprising that they did not gain wider power or upset the institution of hereditary chieftainship (cf. Oram 1966a: 19ff). Several reasons can be suggested for this.

In the first place, given the relatively small size of most Kuni hamlets, the numbers involved in such splinter groups must have been insignificant. Secondly, physical separation and the tradition of structural segmentation made it difficult for several splinter hamlets to unite in their efforts to oppose traditional chiefs. Finally and most important, the sanction of hereditary chieftainship was so ingrained among the Kuni that Administration appointees in these splinter hamlets were not accorded independent status and recognition at ceremonial or ritual occasions. These factors combined to make it virtually impossible for such persons to become 'big men' to more than their immediate restricted following, or to co-ordinate their efforts with like-minded leaders of splinter groups. The only means of acquiring recognition was through traditional channels, either by accepting the leadership of an established hereditary leader, or by purchasing the emblems of chiefs in order to acquire
independent chiefly rights (cf. Sahlins 1963: 290-1). Either alternative endorsed the traditional system. This explains why non-hereditary 'big men' did not figure prominently in Kuni before resettlement. It may also be a reason (additional to socio-economic ones) for the fusion of fragmented hamlets sooner or later after fission (cf. Sahlins 1963: 298).

Another challenge to the authority of traditional leaders, particularly during the first years of contact, was the appointment by the Mission of prayer-leaders or Committee men (komisi) and teacher catechists (katekis). These persons were hand-picked by the missionaries according to their religious devotion and their understanding of Catholic doctrine, and were by no means always traditional leaders. On the contrary, the latter were often too actively engaged in local affairs to undergo the specialized training which catechists, in particular, received at Obaoba. Though the role of komisi was held to be compatible with that of active leadership because it did not require much training and interfered little with every day life, there were few active traditional leaders who were also catechists or komisi. The Kuni prefer to keep different spheres of influence separate, though the same person may hold different positions at different times. Thus several peace-chiefs became komisi on their retirement, when they had 'more time to do God's work'. Others retired from active leadership earlier for this reason, and in one case, the eldest son of a peace-chief passed his succession to his younger brother as he wished to become a catechist.
Disjunction of office meant that the positions of catechist and komisi were in effect open to anyone who showed the proper disposition. This emphasis on achieved status was novel in Kuni where it had been virtually unknown in the traditional system, and where it had scarcely applied to the appointment of Village Councillors and kimani.

Although catechists and komisi were chosen by the missionaries specifically to maintain religious instruction and uphold a Catholic way of life during the absence of the priests, their influence often extended beyond this sphere. As 'men of God' some of them took it upon themselves to mediate in disputes and acquired considerable prestige as advisers. A few went further yet and intervened directly in practical matters simply because their association with the Mission accorded them status. Although this intrusion into non-religious activity was resented by traditional leaders ('the work of the man of God is of one sort, and that of the peace-chief, another'), komisi and catechists were on the whole respected and esteemed in Kuni, particularly during the first decades of contact and evangelization. Their peripheral position with respect to the established structure of leadership was compensated by the influence which they wielded as the spokesmen of the Mission, and by their manipulation of Catholic sanctions. Like non-chiefly Village Councillors, however, catechists and komisi prevailed little against the structure of traditional hereditary chieftainship. Though informants recall incidents
where catechists opposed peace-chiefs, such cases usually involved a point of religious doctrine and never challenged (at least explicitly) the institution of hereditary chieftainship (cf. Rowley: 84).

The structure of post-contact leadership in Kuni can then be described as one in which hereditary chieftainship remained its dominant characteristic. Unlike the situation in other parts of New Guinea where the appointment of officials by the Administration introduced a measure of despotism (Brown 1963), or alternatively upset the pre-existing balance of social control by introducing 'bureaucrats rather than satraps' (cf. Salisbury 1964: 225, 232), in Kuni, Administration appointees were drawn mostly from among the ranks of hereditary chiefs so that the traditional structure of leadership was hardly challenged. Nevertheless the system was strained indirectly by the increase in hamlet fragmentation after contact. Village Councillors appointed in each of these major residential units were often of commoner status, and the dispersal of hamlets also prompted the Mission to appoint catechists and komisi to each hamlet, most of whom were again commoners. This diversification of leadership, or at least the opening of positions of authority to non-chiefly persons, was a novel development in Kuni and amounted to an experiment in achieved leadership. The insignificance of this leadership and its inability to evolve independently of ascribed chieftainship characterized post-contact Kuni leadership. It also set the pattern (and the problems)
of leadership which became manifest at Bakoiudu decades later.

Leadership at Bakoiudu: Elected Leaders

Resettlement reversed the residential pattern which had prevailed in the homelands. Instead of widely dispersed and continuously fragmenting local groups, each under the authority of their independent leaders, resettlement resulted in a single large residential community which greatly affected the pre-existing structure of leadership. At first the situation was somewhat anomalous at Bakoiudu with a resettled population of about 800, including no less than 12 Constables, most of whom were also traditional warrior-chiefs; over 30 Village Councillors, a large number of whom were also peace-chiefs; a score of komisi and four catechists. That is, approximately one settler out of 12 derived authority from traditional, administrative or Mission sources, or a combination of these.

During the first months of resettlement the proliferation of leaders at Bakoiudu was not an impediment. Although peace-chiefs did much to boost the morale and co-ordinate the activities of their immediate followers, most of the responsibility for the welfare of the settlers fell on Faika Peto and to a lesser degree on Father Boell. Since it was contrary to traditional practice for 'foreign' chiefs to assert their authority on the territory of their hosts, the settlers turned to Faika Peto in their problems,
particularly those relating to food shortage and land allocation, the latter clearly being out of the jurisdiction of homeland leaders.

Faika Peto, however, had neither the interest nor the disposition to meet the demands of the settlers. Had he done so, and assumed the role of leader of the settlement, the structure of authority and leadership at Bakoiudu might have been quite different from that which actually emerged. But he was not an authoritarian, and the complexity of the situation, the conflicting demands, quarrels and jealousies of the settlers, galled him. For this reason, as soon as he acquitted himself of his main task of distributing the land at Bakoiudu, he left the settlement and went to reside quasi-permanently at Lapeka parish.

With Faika Peto's departure, therefore, leadership became decentralized once more and reverted to traditional inau chiefs. However, the implementation of traditional leadership at Bakoiudu was not easy. The high degree of residential dispersal and the scatter of inau members in different parishes engendered conflicting loyalties and interests among individuals, thereby undermining the authority of traditional chiefs. The absence of men's houses no doubt contributed to this, as men's houses had been the focus of inau solidarity in the homelands and had also been the channel whereby chiefs had sounded local opinion and made known their wishes. The position of traditional chiefs was further weakened by the fact that they were no longer isolated as they had been in the homelands.
and were exposed to the continuous appraisal and criticism of other settlers. This in turn affected the attitude of local inau members towards them. Thus the chiefs of Madiu and Inaumaka parishes, for example, invited the ostracism of other settlers because they were involved in irregular marital unions, with the result that their status and authority was put to doubt even by local parish men. In other parishes, e.g. Vale 4 and Vale Bekena, effective leadership was hampered by the rivalry between chiefs of hitherto autonomous inau which had been grouped together residentially at Bakoiudu.

The authority of traditional chiefs was thus handicapped in two ways: residential dispersal of inau members resulting in ineffective leadership, and residential concentration of all settlers giving rise to rivalry between individual leaders, including catechists and other persons in authority. These factors engendered much tension over leadership at the local parish and inau levels, impeding the co-operation of groups and hampering a common approach to the socio-economic problems posed by resettlement.

The stalemate created by this situation became increasingly apparent to the settlers, and in April 1963, partly at the suggestion of Father Boell, the settlers elected leaders to deal specifically with problems of economic organization and related matters arising from resettlement. Election was by nomination and show of hands at a general meeting held at Yaibo Idu. Three men were chosen initially. The first was
Toneba Joachimo, a middle-aged man from Inaumaka parish who had assumed the leadership (through matrilineal succession) of Dilava parish at the request of its members. Toneba was elected for his past experience on coastal rubber plantations and in Port Moresby, which had won him the reputation of being a 'big man well-versed in the white man's way of life'. The second person elected was Kuala Liberto (b.1928) of Yumu parish, chosen for his fluency in English and his close association with the Mission. The last choice fell to Aleki Moke of Vale 4 on account of his association with the Kuni Club ever since its inception at Obaoba.

Subsequently two more persons were elected: Amaka Amaka of Vale 4 to organize and supervise the work of women especially in their tasks around the Mission (planting gardens, weeding, etc), and a youth, Raphael Foiege of Madiu parish, who was chosen to represent the interests of young men at Bakoiudu. These two last positions remained insignificant and their holders achieved little.

An intelligent man with a forceful, shrewd personality, Toneba was by far the most important of the elected leaders. Wholly dedicated to the success

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According to Toneba himself, however, these reasons given by the people for his election are less important than the fact that he can establish kinship ties with almost every parish. Extending the same argument, he asserts that Liberto can never become a big leader at Bakoiudu as most of his relations are restricted to Yumu and Vale Bekena parishes: 'like a tree with few roots, he cannot grow tall'.
of resettlement, it was he, in consultation with Mr Abel, who set the pace at Bakoiudu, organizing work on the rubber plantation; heading all formal and most informal meetings in the village; acting as liaison officer between the people, Father Boell and Mr Abel; rallying the settlers in times of stress; being leader, counsellor, admonisher and organizer all in one.

Although the elected leaders were chosen to deal with business and matters arising specifically from resettlement, their authority and influence soon extended into spheres where normally the intervention of traditional peace-chiefs and inau elders would have been sufficient. Toneba in particular made it a point to enquire about, witness and where necessary, intervene in local disputes which he increasingly came to look upon as potentially disruptive elements at the settlement, undermining its stability and contradicting his ideal of community mindedness.

Up to that time, despite the new conditions at the settlement, the rights of authority of peace-chiefs over their local groups had not been challenged seriously except in the cases already noted, where chiefs were ostracized on moral grounds. Indeed, Faika Peto's departure restored traditional chiefs to practically complete autonomy and they continued to perform very much the same functions which they had done in the homelands notwithstanding problems of residential dispersal and rivalry over leadership at Bakoiudu. In a word, leadership continued to be atomized and inau-centred.
However, as the settlers became more conscious of their collective membership of the settlement, they became increasingly community-minded and emphasized (at least verbally) the importance of communal solidarity as opposed to the furthering of individual or inau interests. 'We are kompani at Bakoiudu, one people, with one mind and one goal, and people should not seek their own advantage'. This was the approach which underlay the ostracism of Madiu and Inaumaka chiefs who were considered to have violated the collective conscience as it were, by being what the settlers call bad Catholics. It was also in this spirit of kompani-mindedness that the settlers elected leaders to deal specifically with matters of so-called kompani interest, particularly those relating to communal cash cropping. To this extent it was understood that local solidarities should be subjugated in the interests of the community at large.

As it turned out, elected leaders took this responsibility to heart and tried to extend their influence beyond the sphere of economic organization. Supported by komisi, catechists, Village Councillors and onlookers (whose numbers varied according to the occasion), they intervened in local disputes, held informal courts and in general took a hand in the running of local affairs at Bakoiudu. The traditionally undisputed authority of chiefs was thus counterbalanced by the increased participation of elected leaders and other interested persons in local matters, and the insularity of local groups was
progressively broken down as fewer issues escaped widespread interest or multilateral intervention.

In a sense, it was inevitable that any dispute should become a matter of general interest at Bakoiudu, however localized or personal its origin. Residential proximity was such that any disturbance could not but draw attention to it. Although curiosity was usually the initial reason for becoming involved in the affairs of others, settlers often developed a genuine concern in disputes, especially where they felt that the interests of the settlement were at stake. The resolution of dissensions and quarrels were still said to be primarily the concern of the inau and local leaders immediately involved, but increasing pressures, through insinuation, private suggestion or public declaration, were brought to bear on them to effect a quick settlement for the sake of economic progress, residential stability or for whatever reason where general rather than particular interests were at stake.

One outcome of this new orientation was that the functions of elected leaders overlapped and clashed with those of traditional chiefs, since the former took it upon themselves actively to promote the solidarity of the settlement, irrespective of the sectarian inau interests which hereditary chiefs had hitherto defended. This conflict of interest between elected leaders and traditional chiefs was a major obstacle to effective leadership at any level at Bakoiudu from April 1963 to November 1964, when the system of elected leadership was revised. This period saw a marked decline in the
status and authority of traditional chiefs at Bakoiudu, though there were a few cases when allegiance to traditional authority carried the day.¹

For the most part, however, elected leaders not only counterbalanced the authority of traditional chiefs, but in some cases, displaced it altogether. Decisions were sometimes forced upon a peace-chief who found himself outnumbered by a host of 'outsiders' - elected leaders, Village Councillors, etc., whose presence and opinions were invariably sanctioned by the catch-phrase: 'we are here for the sake of peace at the settlement'. Even in those instances where peace-chiefs welcomed such intervention, or agreed with the sentiments expressed by onlookers, they admitted that the very presence of outsiders undermined their authority in the local group. In fact, the appointment of elected leaders and the attempted separation of function between them and traditional chiefs was a

¹ Thus, for example, Toneba actively canvassed for the residential unification of all Obaoba parishes on the hillside overlooking Moka Youa, and many members of these parishes heeded his words simply because he was 'the boss of Bakoiudu'. The test case, however, arose when the warrior-chief of Yoyaka parish decided to establish a permanent iron-roofed house and found himself drawn between Toneba's invitation to join him at Moka Youa, and his own peace-chief's request that he settle at Biluluani. After much hesitation and considerable ill-feeling on both sides, the warrior-chief decided to establish himself at Biluluani. This was a major setback to Toneba's authority and several settlers followed suit, seeking to establish separate residential units on their own parish land.
failure and accelerated the break down of the traditional structure of leadership and authority.

Paradoxically, however, in weakening the authority of traditional chiefs, elected leaders were doing themselves a disservice and undermining their own position. Whereas they could effectively overwhelm the authority of a chief in a local dispute by outnumbering him and invoking kompani sentiments, the position was reversed when they themselves sought settlement-wide co-operation for some economic or other project. In this case, elected leaders found themselves alone without any sanctions or means of enforcing their authority at the community level. At the same time, having estranged themselves from chiefs through their intervention in other respects, they were hardly in a position to solicit the help of chiefs to organize economic activity at a local level.

Thus it was, for example, that Toneba and his two helpers found themselves faced with major organizational problems in the rubber plantation. After the initial spontaneous enthusiasm for communal work wore off, the elected leaders were unable to enforce sustained activity among the settlers. They could not invoke any external sanctions, and they knew it. Instead, they sought to stimulate interest and renew activity in the plantation by indirect means, e.g. holding numerous meetings in the village, delivering impromptu speeches after Sunday Mass or at any gathering, requesting Father Boell to raise the work issue during his sermons, and appealing to individuals - all of which was to
little avail. Though the settlers were interested enough in the plantation and were also genuinely concerned to promote kompani interests, most of them had no experience of disciplined and co-ordinated regular work on the scale required at the plantation. As a result, they only half-heartedly obeyed the summons to work on the rubber on particular days and there was no means of compelling them to do so if they did not want to. The work book system operated as an effective sanction only for a few months before it too, was disregarded by the settlers. In short, elected leaders achieved little at Bakoiudu except to undermine the status and authority of traditional chiefs.

The issues involved in this crisis in leadership were clearly exposed at a general meeting convened by Toneba in April 1964. On this occasion a (non-chiefly) settler who had recently arrived from Port Moresby\(^1\) suggested that the dissociation of elected and traditional leaders was unfortunate at Bakoiudu, and that work patterns and general organization could be

\(^1\) With this notable exception, the dozen or so ex-Port Moresby Kuni living at Bakoiudu had little influence at the settlement and did not figure at all prominently at the settlement. Most of them were unmarried youths who, by traditional standards, had not attained social adulthood, so that even if they did express opinions (most of which were against the established order), they were told to observe the rules of propriety and keep quiet. The 'gerontocracy' at Bakoiudu, as Port Moresby Kuni see it, is one of their main alleged reasons for not joining the settlement (cf. Hogbin 1951: 191-3).
improved if elected leaders co-operated with traditional chiefs. This suggestion was enthusiastically backed by most of the chiefs present, many of whom spoke up in favour of the idea. The general proposition put to Toneba and Mr Abel who were leading the meeting, was that elected leaders should convey their work plans and schedules to the chiefs of each parish and/or inau, and that the latter would then be responsible for mustering their local members to do the specified task on the appointed day. This proposal of delegated authority combining the organizational skill of elected leaders and the sanctioned authority of chiefs was strongly supported at this meeting and on many subsequent occasions, but nothing came of it.

The reasons for this are fairly apparent. In the first place, this compromise solution was based on the assumption that all local chiefs would agree to the proposals of elected leaders, and that inau members in turn would obey the instructions of their chiefs. This was by no means a foregone conclusion. Rivalry between local chiefs, and between them and elected leaders again, hampered co-operation, while the authority of chiefs was itself increasingly challenged by the settlers. This trend began under the conditions of dispersed residence, increased under the influence of elected leadership, and reached a particularly vocal expression among younger settlers, especially newcomers from Port Moresby, who were impatient of 'the outdated and whimsical ways of the old folk' (cf. White 1965: 164-5). Several traditional chiefs themselves
acknowledged that their position was anachronistic at Bakoiudu where residential patterns had changed and where leaders had to assume new duties and responsibilities. As one peace-chief put it: 'the days of the lime gourd are over and must be replaced by those of the whistle and work book'.

Another reason why the proposition for combined leadership was not put into effect, was Toneba's unwillingness to concede that he was unable to manage alone effectively. Nor was he prepared, by delegating authority to local chiefs, to share his undisputed position of person in charge of kompani and business interests at Bakoiudu. He had little time for traditional chiefs and was acutely aware of their fast diminishing authority over their followers. However, his own position was not much better off as he too had difficulty in getting widespread support for his socio-economic projects, the more so that his authority was not sanctioned by tradition.

The failure to combine the roles of traditional and elected leaders thus resulted in a deadlock in leadership. On one hand, traditional chiefs lost much of their authority as a result of the intervention of elected leaders in local affairs; and on the other, elected leaders were unable to implement their decisions and plans because they lacked means of enforcing them and more importantly, because they had alienated themselves from traditional chiefs. Against this background it was singularly difficult to co-ordinate activity and to forge the esprit de corps necessary to
implement changes and accelerate the pace of socio-economic development at the settlement.

The Councillor System

By October 1964, the ineffectiveness of the system of elected leadership was as manifest to Mission and Administration authorities as to the settlers themselves. Mr Ken Brown A.D.O., who had remained interested in the progress of the settlement ever since its inception, visited Bakoiudu in November and instituted major changes in the structure of leadership. After consultation with Father Boell and local leaders, he dismissed all the Village Councillors and Village Constables whose appointments dated back to pre-resettlement days and whose concentration at Bakoiudu only confused the implementation of authority. The elected leaders were dismissed as well. Instead, Mr Brown introduced a system of leadership based on the election of 12 Councillors and one policeman for the whole settlement.¹

Though any settler was eligible for election to these positions, Mr Brown advocated a representative system whereby each main parish at Bakoiudu would elect its own Councillor. Once elected to office, the 12 Councillors were to elect a Chief Councillor from amongst themselves to whom they might turn in case of necessity. In recognition of his important role as

¹ I was away from Bakoiudu at the time of these changes, and the account which follows is based on the renderings and interpretations of informants.
chief elected leader under the old system, Toneba was appointed as the bossi kaona (boss) of Bakoiudu, over and above the position of Councillors. His duty was to point out to the Councillors the tasks which urgently needed attention and to supervise and co-ordinate their activities on all fronts so that development might not be unilateral. The new system also provided for the election of a secretary who should be literate and whose task was to record the minutes of Councillors' meetings, scheduled to take place once a month. Councillors were to be elected for one year, after which new elections were to take place, former Councillors being eligible for re-election. None of the offices were to be remunerated.

Though the Councillor system provided for the representation of most parishes at Bakoiudu, Mr Brown was careful to point out that the aim of the new leadership was not to bolster up local parish interests, but to undertake specific duties on a settlement-wide basis. These duties included the upkeep of roads; supervision of house-building; organization of collective activity in community projects, e.g. the school, aid post and rugby field; co-operation with Mission and DASF staff in their tasks, and the establishment and upkeep of a communal cemetery.¹

¹ The Mission had unsuccessfully attempted to start a communal cemetery many times in the past. After some argument over the location of a communal cemetery (each parish desired to secure this privilege on its own residential ground), a neutral site was chosen not far from the first rubber nursery (cf. Map 3).
These various tasks were to be distributed among the Councillors according to their choice, each Councillor being responsible thereafter for the carrying out of his particular duty.

Mr Brown also outlined the procedure to be adopted by Councillors in executing their responsibilities. As soon as a matter of general concern was brought to their notice, or the Councillors themselves thought that some specific task should be undertaken, the first step was to refer it to the Councillor(s) in charge of that particular sphere of activity. This Councillor would then decide on what day and in what manner the task might best be accomplished after discussing it with fellow Councillors and soliciting their help if necessary. Each Councillor was thus informed that a specific task would be undertaken on a particular day, and was responsible for convening the labour and/or materials from the parish which he represented. Ideally, this meant that the manpower of the whole settlement could be mobilized and activity co-ordinated for any task at relatively short notice.

The Councillor system elaborated by Mr Brown combined the principles of specialized and localized (parish-based) leadership which many settlers had implicitly advocated earlier when they had suggested that elected leaders should be assisted by traditional chiefs in their tasks. The new system, however, went further by doing away with the multiplicity of Village Councillors and Constables who had earlier confused the structure of leadership and authority at Bakoiudu. At
the same time it was more complex than the restricted elected leader system which had isolated Toneba as a figurehead without providing him with effective means for communicating with the settlers at all levels. Under the new system, every parish was represented by a Councillor so that there was a direct link between the organizers of activity (the Councillors) and those who were meant to carry it out (the settlers). In addition, the allocation to each Councillor of specific responsibilities requiring settlement-wide co-operation, was intended to break down the parochialism of traditional leadership where authority had been vested in the local group. Mr Brown also looked upon the Councillor system as a step towards the eventual introduction of a Local Government Council in Kuni by providing the settlers with greater experience in the running of local affairs.

The Councillor system took no account of traditional leadership, nor did it define the latter's status or role in the new setting. Indeed, one of the implicit aims of the new system as conceived by Mr Brown, was to cut across local kinship and residential ties which had hitherto characterized traditional chieftainship and inhibited the development of a widespread solidarity among the settlers. However, despite changing attitudes towards institutionalized chieftainship, the settlers still adhered to it in practice. This was demonstrated conclusively by their choice of Councillors at the first election held in November 1964. The results of
this election are set out in Table 4 giving the traditional status of the new Councillors as well as their status before the election.

A striking feature of this Table is the extent to which the Kuni have adhered to the precepts of traditional chieftainship at Bakoiudu, and indeed, ever since contact (cf. Larson 1966: 176-7). Thus all but one person elected to the new positions were either traditional chiefs or at least direct descendants of chiefs (cf. Columns F and D); and the exception (13) is explained by the fact that Inaumaka leadership lapsed at Bakoiudu for reasons described earlier. For this reason also, Lofi Romano did not have any official status of authority before the elections (cf. Column E), while the similar position of 15 can clearly be related to his youth. The new Councillors were thus elected within the conservative framework of traditional leadership, though a choice had to be made among leaders. There were far fewer Councillors than chiefs. Each parish had at least three inau, each with its own peace- and/or warrior-chiefs. Significantly, those finally elected either belonged to the most prominent inau of the parish, or were the oldest, and hence the most respected of the peace-chiefs in the parish concerned.

Special circumstances accounted for the inclusion of young persons (3, 15) into the new system. The selection of a secretary was necessarily limited to literate settlers, and these were predominantly young people. Kuau Louis (15) was elected as one of the very
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A Name</th>
<th>B Date of birth</th>
<th>C Parish</th>
<th>D Traditional status</th>
<th>E Pre-November 1964 status</th>
<th>F Post-November 1964 status</th>
<th>G Task allotted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Toneba Joachimo</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>Dilava (ex-Inaumaka)</td>
<td>Peace-chief</td>
<td>Chief elected leader</td>
<td>'Boss' of Bakoiudu</td>
<td>General supervisor and co-ordinator of activity</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Kula Liberto</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Yumu</td>
<td>Chiefly rank</td>
<td>Elected leader</td>
<td>Chief Councillor</td>
<td>Road upkeep and housing</td>
</tr>
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<td>3</td>
<td>Umulu Michaelo</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Idoido</td>
<td>Chiefly rank</td>
<td>Heir to Bakoiudu</td>
<td>Councillor</td>
<td>D.A.S.F., rubber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Faika Joane</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Yoyaka</td>
<td>Warrior-chief</td>
<td>Village Constable</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Roads and housing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Aiana Romano</td>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Yaifa-Idoido</td>
<td>Peace-chief</td>
<td>Village Councillor</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Rugby field</td>
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<td>6</td>
<td>Lufa Joane</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Dilava (ex-Polipoi)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>Aid post</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>Olua Louis</td>
<td>1930</td>
<td>Keakamana</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Yabakao Marcello</td>
<td>1922</td>
<td>Madiu</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Roads</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Oloi Michaelo</td>
<td>1918-66</td>
<td>Vale 4 (ex-Inaumaka)</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Aid post</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Obona Julio</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Maimai 1</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mission and school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Mana Paolo</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Vale Bekena</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Mission and school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Manau Erico</td>
<td>1903</td>
<td>Vale Bekena</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot; &quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Cemetery</td>
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<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Lofi Romano</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>Inaumaka</td>
<td>Commoner</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>D.A.S.F., rubber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Kamoana Cyrillo</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>Maimai 2</td>
<td>Peace-chief</td>
<td>Village Councillor</td>
<td>Policeman</td>
<td>Policing duties</td>
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<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Kuau Louis</td>
<td>1942</td>
<td>Dilava</td>
<td>Chiefly rank</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Secretarial duties</td>
</tr>
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TABLE 4
COUNCILLORS ELECTED AT BAKOIUDU, NOVEMBER 1964
few sufficiently literate persons who could undertake secretarial duties. However, the extent to which the settlers still subscribed to the principle of formal hereditary leadership was best demonstrated by their nomination (not election) of Umulu Michaelo (3) as a Councillor, despite his age and relative social immaturity at the time of the election. As the heir to Bakoiudu, the settlers took it as a matter of course that he should be one of the Councillors even though in other contexts, they opposed the trend of 'young persons elbowing their way into the company of their elders'. In the words of the oldest Councillor (12): 'It is true that he is young, but he is the father [owner] of Bakoiudu and must therefore have a say in the running of affairs here'.

The principles and values underlying traditional leadership were thus extended to the Councillor system. These applied even to details. For example, it is significant that out of the great number of peace- and warrior-chiefs at Bakoiudu, over 66 per cent of the new Councillors were chosen from among the ranks of former peace-chiefs, thereby perpetuating the tradition of the peace-chief as the focus of authority and preserver of order and social control. Conversely, there were only two cases (4 and 14) where the traditional separation of roles between the stereotypes of conciliatory peace-chiefs and belligerent warrior-chiefs broke down. In the first case, a traditional warrior-chief (4) who (consistently enough) was a Village Constable before the election, became a Councillor - an office
associated with conciliatory peace-chiefly attributes. In the second, a traditional peace-chief (14) who (equally consistently) was a Village Councillor before the election, became the local policeman at Bakoiudu. The first example is explained by the fact that the peace-chief of Yoyaka parish was ailing at the time of the election, and that there was nobody better than Faika Joane to represent this parish. Moreover, the office of warrior-chief had been in abeyance for so long that much of the stigma attaching to warrior-chiefs had fallen away. Much more incongruous, however, was the election of a peace-chief to the position of policeman, where these roles are distinctly held to be incompatible by traditional (and contemporary) Kuni standards. It is therefore worthwhile looking into the process which led to Kamoana Cyrillo's election as policeman at Bakoiudu.

When Mr Brown announced his decision to dismiss the 12 Village Constables and called for the appointment of one policeman only, the settlers were very much dismayed. They appealed to him that at least two policemen should be appointed: one to represent the homeland parishes which had lived on the northern bank of the Arabure river (Yaifa-Maimai parishes) and the other to represent the rest of Kuni. It was inconceivable to the settlers that one person only should represent 'the two sides of the river', or that this could be achieved at all impartially. Suspicion stemmed back to traditional rivalries between the so-called sorcerer north-eastern parishes and
parishes on the southern bank of the Arabure. Unaware of these tensions, Mr Brown stood firm in his decision that the settlers should nominate one policeman only, and requested that the nominee should be chosen within 24 hours. Back in the village, however, the settlers split into two camps along the traditional divide, and each nominated one candidate. The Yaifa-Maimai nominee was Tamatai Cypriano from Maimai 2 parish who had formerly been a policeman in Port Moresby; the other parishes agreed that Ibibi Vicensio, a warrior-chief from Vale 4, should be their representative. Neither side was prepared to concede to the other, and on the morrow the settlers once more appealed to Mr Brown that two policemen should be appointed. This suggestion was again refuted on the grounds that there was no need to duplicate the office of Policeman, and that if it were, it would only serve to perpetuate factions at Bakoiudu.

It is difficult to reconstruct what happened at this juncture. Apparently the settlers had not expected that Mr Brown would reiterate his earlier decision, and when he asked them who was their candidate, they were at a loss. Informants agree only that the settlers were completely confused by this request and that neither of the two original candidates was prepared to come forward. In the hubbub that followed, and being pressed to nominate someone, Kamoana Cyrillo (14) 'was thrust forward' and appointed policeman without further ado.
It is likely, as the settlers themselves claim, that the choice was a spontaneous one, the more so that a traditional peace-chief was elected to a position which had always been considered incompatible with that of peace-chieftainship. Nevertheless, it is tempting to interpret the sudden, almost compulsive election of a peace-chief to the office of Policeman as a subconscious resolution of the dilemma which faced the settlers at this point. The appointment of either of the original nominees would have meant that one group at Bakoiudu would have had a distinct psychological advantage over the other. The choice of a peace-chief in a sense resolved this impasse since peace-chiefs are widely respected, are not versed in sorcery and do not possess the redoubtable attributes of warrior-chiefs.

But neither of the groups was really satisfied with this compromise solution, least of all the appointee himself who declared from the outset that his peace-chieftainship in Maimai 2 would prevent him from being an impartial and effective policeman, at least to his fellow inau members. The settlers were also very sceptical about the usefulness and potential efficacy of the appointment of a single policeman at Bakoiudu. With characteristic frankness they pointed out the loopholes in the system: how individuals could invoke sectarian solidarities to oppose him in his duties, and how the fear of sorcery would always be a deterrent, discouraging the Maimai policeman from interfering in the affairs of people versed in oada magic. Thus, although the settlers accepted the appointment of a
single policeman 'because the Government said so', they remained convinced that he could achieve little, and that only the appointment of a second policeman would restore the situation to a working equilibrium.

Just as group rivalries and conflicting interests intervened in the appointment of the policeman, so they also gradually intruded into the Councillor system despite the fact that it had been devised on a non-localized basis. Under the new system, Councillors were allowed to hold minor civil courts provided they did not impose any fines or enforce any external sanctions and that unresolved cases were referred to administrative patrols. This was essentially a continuation of the traditional system of informal courts whereby peace-chiefs (Village Councillors) and older men had resolved local disputes. The important innovation was that these minor court cases were no longer to be confined to the local group(s) involved in the dispute as had been the former practice. Instead, whenever a dispute was brought to the notice of the Councillors or they themselves considered that intervention was necessary, they had to hold court altogether, give the litigants a hearing, and collectively decide on a course of action. Supposing their opinions were divided over a case, they were to decide it by majority vote with the policeman having the casting vote if necessary.¹

¹ I never witnessed any voting at Bakoiudu.
The new system meant that local disputes were formally taken out of the hands of traditional leaders, and that they officially became a matter of institutionalized general concern. This caused much resentment among the settlers. In the first wave of enthusiasm after the election of the Councillors, many disputes were brought to their notice with or without the consent of the people directly involved. Several cases alleged to have been unsatisfactorily decided in the past were also revived, thereby stirring up old quarrels and enmities. In particular, since these matters were discussed at formal meetings at which all Councillors were necessarily present, and since no attempt was made to curb the curiosity of onlookers, the result of these court cases was that many skeletons in the local cupboards, so to speak, became matters of public debate, discussion and gossip. It was only a matter of time for reaction to set in and for the people to become wary of Councillor activity and to speak out against their interference in local affairs.

With the settlers turning against Councillors in their collective role, the structure of leadership and authority at Bakoiudu became more precarious than ever. Individual Councillors fared little better since their responsibilities as Councillors clashed with their loyalties as traditional peace-chiefs. The attempted centralization of Councillor authority contradicted that of traditional chiefs whose authority and power had always been vested in the local group. Councillors found themselves torn between conflicting demands: on
one hand, their traditional position as peace-chiefs invested them with a degree of authority over their fellow inau members to whom they owed loyalty and for whose well-being they were responsible; on the other, their position as Councillors required them to overlook the primacy of such rights and obligations, and to stress the importance of communal kompani interests instead. The relation between Councillors and non-Councillor peace-chiefs was another source of tension at Bakoiudu as Councillors were often forced into the position of either challenging the authority of traditional chiefs or of disregarding their own authority and duty as Councillors (cf. KAR 1960/1: 15). In either case they could not fail to invoke criticism and increase their unpopularity.

The situation was thus fraught with tension, and individual Councillors sought to reconcile their conflicting responsibilities as best they could. Some, considered 'good' Councillors by the majority of settlers, waived the preferential considerations which, as peace-chiefs, they would normally have accorded to the members of their parish. By being impartial, however, these Councillors alienated themselves from their own parish members who considered them bad chiefs, and on whose goodwill they depended for re-election after their year in office. Others, considered 'bad' Councillors by the majority of settlers, but good chiefs by their parish men, openly acted in the interests of their local group and bothered little with so-called kompani interests. These 'bad' Councillors were much
more certain of being re-elected than so called 'good' Councillors who had antagonized their fellow parish men.

Between these extremes, there were a few Councillors who managed with considerable ingenuity to strike a balance and to antagonize relatively few settlers. A typical instance of the resourcefulness of one Councillor, for example, arose when a pig owned by one of his fellow parish members trespassed into the gardens owned by the member of another parish. As a Councillor, it was his duty to summons his fellow parish man and to arrange a court case; as peace-chief, he would rather have ignored the incident hoping that no formal claim would be made, and if it were, would have preferred to settle the matter quietly between the persons concerned. Confronted with this dilemma, the Councillor privately appealed to another Councillor to lay a charge against his own fellow parish man and to conduct the proceedings as he could do neither without the risk of losing the support of his own parish. Few Councillors, however, had the ingenuity to go to such lengths in order to perform their duties, or were prepared to do so if they had. Generally speaking, it would be true to say that when Councillors were confronted with a clash of loyalty and responsibilities, local interests usually carried the day.

The conflicts contained within the Councillor system, and the contradiction between this system and the structure and values of traditional leadership, crippled its effective operation from the outset. Indeed, the attempt at introducing a 'neutral' non-
affiliated system of leadership among the resettled Kuni was premature, since localized authority and hereditary chieftainship were still very much a part of Kuni life (cf. Ryan 1963: 12; Hogbin 1951: 151). This was undoubtedly related to the fact that European contact did not upset the traditional system of leadership in Kuni. On the contrary, the appointment of Village Councillors and Village Constables reinforced the authority of the hereditary chiefs who assumed these positions. As a result, unlike other New Guinea peoples to whom European contact provided an opportunity to break with traditional authority if there was any, or to evolve a system of leadership based on achievement, the Kuni maintained their traditional system of localized leadership vested in hereditary chiefs. This background made it particularly difficult for the so-called non-aligned Councillor system to operate at Bakoiju, the more so that most Councillors were also traditional chiefs.

By a strange combination of circumstances therefore, the Kuni appear to be caught in a process which is undermining any formal authority under the present system. On one hand, the basic idea of the Councillor system was to draw the settlement together under a centralized authority. This meant that traditional chiefs had to surrender some of their autonomy. To some extent the Councillors succeeded in this and several traditional chiefs have acknowledged that their days in office are counted at Bakoiju. On the other hand, however, since most Councillors were
themselves traditional chiefs nominated as Councillors by the members of their own parish, they found themselves forced to assume the role of 'super' peace-chiefs to their local parish - in direct contradiction to their function as Councillors. The settlers were not slow to perceive this contradiction in office and capitalized on it with characteristic pragmatism. Increasing numbers of them, particularly young men, defied the authority of local chiefs by arguing that such-or-such a matter was the concern of Councillors. Conversely, the authority of Councillors was likewise challenged by accusing them of furthering the interests of their own parishes or of interfering in local matters.

In short, the Councillor system undermined traditional authority without offering an acceptable substitute to the settlers. It was relatively easy for the settlers to oppose any authority simply by pitting one Councillor against another, or confusing the roles of peace-chief and Councillor in the same person. For example, when one of the Councillors in charge of roadwork convened a meeting to arrange that one day should be set aside for repairing the Bakoiudu-Kubuna road, young men openly refused to co-operate by asserting that the Councillor in charge of the rugby field had failed to organize communal work parties to extend and improve it. In the end these tasks were undertaken under the supervision of Father Boell and Mr Abel respectively. Similarly, when a Councillor acting in his capacity of local peace-chief asked his
fellow parish members to build a communal pig enclosure for their collective use, they refused to do so on the grounds that (as a Councillor) he had not stood up for them in a quarrel involving members of another parish.

The Kuni are adept in local politicking and manoeuvering between these different authorities, including Father Boell and Mr Abel. In the process, they have become sceptical of formalized authority; so much so, in fact, that many expressly oppose the idea that a Local Government Council should be instituted in Kuni, whenever the question is broached by Administration or Mission authorities. Their standpoint is best expressed in the words of a prominent settler who is convinced that the Kuni are too independent to accept the constraints and responsibilities of local government:

The people might agree to pay taxes and comply with some of the rules of the Council, but they would never accept rules restraining their movements, regulating their work and interfering with their ways. We have always been a wandering people, and when the urge to go visiting comes upon us, we go - never mind the Government or the Council. So if a Council is introduced, one of two things will happen: either the people will ignore it as they do Councillors now; or they will simply return to the homelands if they are compelled to obey rules. We are not ready for it, nor do we want it.

Though this judgment may be proved wrong, it is an interesting reflection on Kuni attitudes to their current situation and formal authority (cf. Knudson 1964: 101; White 1965: 20). Given this approach, it
may appositely be asked how order and social control are at all maintained at Bakoiudu. To answer this, it is necessary to look more closely at the type of sanctions which operate in this society.

Sanctions and Social Control

In order to understand the basis of order and social control at Bakoiudu, it is necessary to examine the sanctions which operated in traditional Kuni society, and to contrast them with those that currently prevail at the settlement. As used in this context, the term sanction denotes the mechanisms by which conformity is obtained in society, by which desired behaviour is induced and undesired behaviour prevented (cf. Mead 1937: 493-5; Radcliffe-Brown 1952: 205-9). Following Mead, these may be divided into internal sanctions whereby the individual internalizes the standards of his society and obeys them without being forced to do so by outside pressures, and external sanctions whereby conformity is induced by some external compulsion or fear that pressures will be brought to bear on one by others (1937: 493).

Before contact, order and social control in Kuni were maintained through the operation of a number of internal and external sanctions. The former were indissociable from the widespread fear of spirits that pervaded Kuni society, and the belief that spirits were directly or indirectly responsible for misfortune, disease and death. Fear of spirits thus acted as an internal sanction which prompted individuals to conform
to social norms lest the anger of spirits should otherwise be aroused. Although protective magic allegedly safeguarded individuals against the actions of spirits, the latter were considered to be capricious, and the dread of them induced individuals to uphold the rules and taboos regulating everyday behaviour e.g. rules governing the separation of the sexes, division of labour, respect for elders, acquiescence to the authority of chiefs, sexual and eating taboos, etc.

In addition to these internal sanctions, and more important than them perhaps in pre-contact times, were a number of external sanctions. These sanctions ranged from the formalized authority which was vested in the office of hereditary chieftainship, to less formal but no less effective sanctions embodied in the concept of shame (*faotsia*). Just as the power of chiefs and their right to mete out punishment was a deterrent against non-conformist behaviour, so also the disgrace of being shamed through public derision, ostracism or abuse following some untoward action, induced a measure of conformity among individuals. Other important sanctions in pre-contact days were the ever-present threat of raiding, warfare and homicide. According to informants, these radical sanctions deterred individuals and groups from challenging the *status quo*. 'In those days everybody knew what were the rules of living, and to whom to appeal in case of trouble [i.e. the peace-chief].'

The arrival of the missionaries and the pacification of Kuni brought important changes in the
operation of traditional Kuni sanctions, both internal and external. Internal sanctions were very much consolidated by conversion to Catholicism which introduced a plethora of new spirits without invalidating beliefs in old ones. The fear of Satan and the dread of hellfire which accentuated so much of early missionary teaching, must have been at least as important an internal sanction as the dread of spirits in the past. However, Catholicism also introduced positive internal sanctions in its notion of sacramental grace, indulgences, and the belief in an eternal heaven. Thus, for example, a converted Kuni might refrain from theft not merely because of the fear of going to hell, or of spirits causing him to become ill (negative internal sanctions), but also because of the desire to go to heaven (positive internal sanction). This latter aspect did not exist under the traditional system and was an addition to the body of internal sanctions in Kuni society after contact (cf. Hogbin 1951: 233-4; 258-64).

An important feature of these internal Catholic sanctions was the belief that they were automatically enforced irrespective of society's awareness of one's actions. Traditionally, non-conformity was blameable to the extent that it was detected by society, and even spirits could be warded off by the proper application of protective magic. The Catholic approach, however, pays little attention to the approval or disapproval of society: the ultimate responsibility is between the individual and God. Internal sanctions were thus
imbued with a new compulsiveness and became much more
ego-centred than in the past, when the individual had
acted primarily in terms of social approbation. This
new orientation is implicit in the tales of informants
about the first converts and no doubt accounted for
their departure from established (pagan) norms in the
face of opposition: 'The people laughed at them and
ostracized them, calling them the white man's stooges.
But they went their way knowing that God knew. That
was enough for them'.

To the Kuni Catholic, internal sanctions were no
longer based simply on the fear of spirits, but were
contained in a body of religious sanctions which were
binding on the individual and which imposed Catholic
norms of behaviour. These norms were based on the Ten
Commandments and were spelt out in detail in the
Catechism. Persons deviating from these rules ipso
facto estranged themselves from God, and this had
nothing to do with public knowledge of an act. The
notion of personal sin, individual guilt and self-
atonement which thus formed the basis of Catholic
internal sanctions was the direct opposite of
traditional socially-defined shame. Conversion to
Catholicism almost certainly extended the range and
compulsiveness of internal sanctions in Kuni society,
making Catholic values and considerations important
determinants of behaviour thereafter.

Traditional external sanctions were also modified
under the influence of European contact. The
pacification of Kuni eliminated raiding, warfare and
homicide as coercive threats against anti-social behaviour. The abolition of warfare undermined the authority of traditional chiefs, particularly warrior-chiefs whose authority had largely derived from their control over war-magic and associated rites. On the other hand, traditional peace- and warrior-chiefs assumed the roles of Village Councillors and Village Constables and their association with the Administration bolstered their position considerably. All in all the authority of traditional chiefs remained relatively unchanged after contact despite its being challenged on four fronts: first, by the diversification of authority stemming from the appointment by the Mission of catechists and komisi from commoner ranks; second, by the invalidation of certain traditional taboos and practices by Catholic doctrine, thereby partly undermining the cohesiveness of traditional society; third, by the increase in hamlet fragmentation following the Pax Australiana which meant at least a temporary break with the authority of traditional local chiefs; and fourth, by the appointment by the Administration of extra (commoner) Village Councillors to these break-away hamlets. Despite these trends, however, the authority of traditional chiefs remained an important external sanction for conformist behaviour, the more so indeed, that it was sanctioned by the Administration.

If the assertions and interpretations of informants are correct, the post-contact period saw the spread of an important new internal sanction viz. the
adoption of sorcery. The Kuni, most of whom believe in the efficacy of sorcery, look upon it as an external sanction and regulate their behaviour accordingly. Sorcery is not believed to operate indiscriminately, but rather to be directed against persons who have infringed the rights of others or otherwise deviated from the social norm.

It is difficult in retrospect to establish what the attitude of the Kuni was to sorcery at the time of its adoption: whether they looked upon it as a legitimate retaliatory substitute for raiding or warfare; or whether its practice was socially condemned (cf. Marwick 1964: 264, 268). If the former attitude ever prevailed, it has since been completely replaced by Catholic values and attitudes which categorically condemn all sorcery practices. Indeed, since sorcery appears to have infiltrated into Kuni as a post-contact phenomenon, its practice met with Mission opposition from the very outset, and it was driven underground. Nowadays the Kuni unambiguously condemn sorcery as anti-social destructive activity which is completely incompatible with Catholicism; and it is in this sense that the term is used in this discussion.

Just as the threat of raiding and warfare had curbed anti-social actions before contact, so also the dread of sorcery dissuaded persons from deviating from the social norm thereafter. The disgrace of shame continued to be a deterrent against non-conformist behaviour, but the fear of sorcery became much more important as an internal sanction because it was
believed to be lethal and could be practised by almost anybody given sufficient provocation, irrespective of distance between sorcerer and would-be victim. Although missionaries denounced this practice and denied its efficacy, few Kuni were really convinced by this. There was a vague notion that Catholic non-believers in spirits and magic would alone be immune to the effects of sorcery, but very few Kuni believed this implicitly (cf. White 1965: 47).

The post-contact period in Kuni thus witnessed a consolidation of internal sanctions, largely through conversion to Catholicism, but also through the adoption of sorcery. Pacification eliminated the more radical external sanctions of warfare and homicide, but this was compensated by the introduction of sorcery. Other external sanctions embodied in the office of hereditary chiefs were maintained and even increased through association with the Administration while the concept of shame persisted although its effectiveness as a sanction was reduced by the new opportunities for individuals to leave their hamlets and to set up independent residence rather than to acquiesce to social pressures to conform.

At Bakoiudu, internal and external sanctions underwent further modification as the result of resettlement, thereby altering the basis of order and social control even more. Internal sanctions based on Catholic values were particularly potent during the
first months of resettlement when, coincidentally, formalized external authority was least organized. This was largely because of the spirit in which resettlement was undertaken, whereby most settlers originally looked upon themselves as quasi-crusaders for the Catholic cause. Imbued with this awareness and very much conscious of their communal sacrifice of their homeland way of life, the settlers came to look upon Bakoiudu primarily as a Catholic community. At the outset, its economic and other potentials hardly figured in the minds of the settlers; what counted was that it should be a place harbouring good Catholics and where all the Kuni people could live together as a 'true Christian community' (Kristiano kaotsi doka).

This approach explains why the settlers appealed to Father Boell to exclude so-called 'badly-marrieds' from Bakoiudu, and why the settlers persevered there despite the hardships of the early years. As one informant put it: 'We are Catholics, and any hardships we endure will help in Purgatory. We accept them gladly for this reason and seek to keep peace between ourselves as it behoves good Catholics'.

Internal Catholic sanctions thus appear to have been important instruments of order and social control during the first months of resettlement. Traditional internal sanctions were also reinforced during this period as the homeland Kuni settled into an area adjoining the Diéné mountains which traditionally had been identified as the abode of fearsome spirits. Informants say that settlers were careful not to incite
these local spirits by provocative behaviour, and that they took care to acquaint themselves with the taboos (kafu) which applied particularly to Bakoiudu. 'It was a foreign place, with its own spirits and taboos, and we sought to be as inconspicuous as possible and kept our peace'.

However, it was external sanctions which underwent the greatest change as a result of resettlement. On one hand, the traditional authority of hereditary chiefs was seriously undermined by the introduction of the elected leader and Councillor systems. On the other, the new leaders attempted to evolve new external sanctions. Discussion here focusses on the introduction of new external sanctions since the collapse of old ones has already been described in earlier sections of this chapter.

During their terms in office, both elected leaders and Councillors tried to introduce supplementary sanctions to strengthen their authority. Thus Toneba introduced the work book system which carried with it the threat of expulsion from the rubber scheme for inactivity. However, nothing came of this; first, because there was nobody really authorized or willing to implement such drastic measures; and second, because the settlers challenged the validity of the sanction by asserting that it contradicted the very raison d'être of resettlement: that everyone was entitled by reason of resettling to have a share in the rubber. Whether this interpretation was valid or not, it carried the day and the work book system proved useless as a sanction.
The Councillors also attempted to introduce some sanctions at Bakoiudu, based on Mr Brown's alleged permission to impose punishments such as grass-cutting, on persons who had refused to obey Councillor's orders or who had been found guilty of some minor offence. Ironically, the first case where this measure was invoked, involved a dispute between a Councillor and a peace-chief where the latter refused to work on the road on an appointed day. The peace-chief was found guilty by the Councillors and was ordered to cut grass for one day at the DASF station. Although he accepted the decision without argument, the peace-chief did not carry out the punishment himself but had it executed by two youths from his inau. The Councillors accepted this compromise and even lauded it: 'It would have been a disgrace for a chief to cut grass and he would have been put to shame before everybody'. This incident did not help to entrench the system, particularly as younger settlers resented the delegation of punishment to them. After two more instances involving this type of sanction, both of which evoked criticism and opposition from some sector of the population, the practice fell into abeyance.

Attempts to introduce new sanctions at Bakoiudu were thus systematically foiled, at least until April
1965.¹ This was no doubt partly due to the fact that the authority of those implementing these sanctions (elected leaders and Councillors) was itself challenged. Nevertheless the particular conditions of resettlement generated new internal sanctions for maintaining order and social control. These were sanctions derived from the new community-consciousness which developed after resettlement and sanctions stemming from the externalization of internal Catholic values. In the discussion below, these are referred to as kompani and Catholic sanctions respectively.

Despite the many tensions which arose between different settler groups at Bakoiudu, there is little doubt that resettlement per se drew the settlers together in more than a residential or physical sense.

¹ I am informed that about February 1966, the Councillors introduced a system whereby persons who did not join in communal work projects were fined 10c a day. The money thus collected was put into a common fund used to buy food for communal work parties working on individual and/or communal tasks in rotation. Although this system was reported to be very effective both as a sanction against laziness and as an attraction to join communal work parties, I would suspect that its success will be (was?) of limited duration. If the course of preceding events is any indication, it seems almost inevitable that factionalism will arise over the payment of fines, and that some parishes will 'go on strike' as it were, or threaten to do so out of solidarity for one of their members. If this were to be the case in one of the large parishes e.g., Maimai or Vale Bekena, the Councillors would have no choice but to abandon the system or risk the crippling of communal work parties to which Maimai and Vale Bekena presumably contribute most members (cf. White 1965: 80).
The settlers looked upon themselves collectively as a Catholic people who had migrated for a common reason viz. that of preserving and consolidating their faith. This gave them a sense of unity which very soon developed into a particular solidarity and *esprit de corps* expressed by them in the notion of *kompani*. Although *kompani* interests were particularly manifest in cash cropping where communal activity was the rule in the beginning, it also pervaded many other spheres of everyday life. Thus Toneba who was elected specially to deal with *kompani* economic interests, felt himself justified in intervening in the running of local affairs, and regulating disputes 'in order to preserve *kompani* unity'. It became increasingly common for court-cases and quarrels to be resolved by an appeal to the sense of community-mindedness of the persons involved. Elected leaders and Councillors as well as catechists advised, chided and upbraided the settlers with numerous references to *kompani* solidarity. In ordinary conversation as well, the notion of *kompani* interests recurred very often and the general sentiment was that individual advantage should be sacrificed for the sake of group solidarity.

This *esprit de corps* was a new and important internal sanction at Bakoiudu and helps to explain how the settlers achieved as much as they did in terms of economic advancement and community projects, notwithstanding their dearth of formal leadership. It was a matter of pride and prestige for the settlers to make their settlement work, and many tasks were
undertaken and completed under no other compulsion than that of kompani motivation. It was in this sense too, that the settlers more or less acquiesced to the authority of elected leaders and Councillors, though the latter did not have access to any coercive external sanctions in case the settlers decided (as they sometimes did) to ignore their recommendations.¹

Elected leaders and Councillors thus wielded authority 'by the grace of the kompani' in a very literal sense (cf. Williams 1941). To the extent that they could arouse communal solidarity and kompani-mindedness, they were assured of reasonable support, but they could do little if the settlers collectively chose to oppose them. On the other hand, conditions at

¹ This was the case, for example, when immediately after their appointment, the Councillors decided that all pigs should compulsorily be enclosed in fences within two months, after which stray pigs might be shot with impunity. The settlers poo-pooed this resolution and derided the idea that the Councillors could even have thought of challenging 'the customs of our forefathers' whereby no one could kill stray pigs at will. Accordingly, they only made half-hearted attempts to erect pig enclosures within the stipulated two months, at the end of which most pigs were still loose. The shooting of the firsttrespassing pig after this time created such a furore between its owner and the person who shot it, that the latter paid compensation to the owner. This was in direct opposition to the Councillors' ruling, but none of them was prepared to intervene in the dispute. An alternative proposition made by a settler, that only Councillors should shoot stray pigs, was likewise waived by them, and understandably so, as this would have opened the possibility of Councillors having to shoot the pigs of fellow parish members, thus rendering their position more precarious than ever.
Bakoiudu made it particularly unpleasant for individuals to oppose alone the decisions of Councillors. This was because the settlement was so compact that individuals who challenged Councillor authority (i.e. who disregard *kompani* sanctions) were earmarked in the society and became the subjects of criticism, gossip and sometimes even ostracism. This amounted to a direct invocation of the sanction of shame which has assumed great importance at Bakoiudu where the community is much larger than in the homelands, and relatively close-knit (cf. White 1965: 22, 70). Since individual deviants cannot leave the settlement as easily as they used to leave hamlets in the homelands, they have no option but to conform or endure public stricture.

It is obvious, however, that *kompani* sanctions do not provide a stable or permanent basis for maintaining order and social control. The whole system is based on a self-enforcing spirit of community-mindedness which cannot be taken for granted indefinitely. With respect to cash cropping, it is already apparent that individual interests and motivations are beginning to override *kompani* ones, and it is likely that voluntary acquiescence to the community-orientated decisions of Councillors may become less marked in the future. In this event the settlers may find themselves devoid of any functional leadership unless they manage to introduce truly operative external sanctions, or evolve
(adopt) a new structure of authority such as a Local Government Council.¹

Catholic sanctions have also become very prominent at Bakoiudu, and, in conjunction with kompani ones, help to preserve order and social control. For analytical purposes, we may distinguish between ego-centred internal Catholic sanctions discussed earlier, which are characterized by the individual's concern with his personal salvation and proper relationship to God; and more socially-orientated internal Catholic sanctions, particularly prominent at Bakoiudu, characterized by their emphasis on the importance of preserving order and unity at the settlement seen as a Catholic community. The appeal here, is not so much to the individual conscience, as to the collective responsibility of the settlers as Catholics.

As we would expect, appeals to internal Catholic sanctions and the invocation of Catholic values were particularly utilized by Father Boell whose primary concern was that Bakoiudu should succeed as a model Catholic community. His approach varied from the private admonition of individuals, to collective exhortations during sermons, sometimes at the request of chiefs and Councillors. Although these were but weak and diffuse external sanctions, they were aimed at

¹ Between 1965-7, the Administration several times raised the possibility of linking the Kuni to the Mekeo Local Government Council. The Kuni were unanimous in their rejection of the suggestion.
activating latent strong internal sanctions of Catholic morality.

It is difficult to gauge the impact of these internal Catholic sanctions on the regulation of behaviour at Bakoiudu. As noted earlier with respect to the gayaya custom, the settlers certainly did not feel bound by conscience to obey Father Boell's injunctions though they always gave him a respectful hearing. Often, the points raised by him were taken up by prominent leaders who reiterated them in the village or expanded on them in spontaneous orations there and then, at the conclusion of the church service. By and large, however, the settlers retained their own discretion and evaluated the Missionary's suggestions in their own terms.¹

¹ A striking example of this arose over a sermon in which Father Boell denounced traditional practices involving the recitation of spells. In order to emphasize that his approach did not reject traditional custom indiscriminately, he made a point of stressing that the application of medicinal herbs, for example, was not only a valid practice but one which needed to be taught to the children. In making this pronouncement, however, the missionary was unaware that the use of certain herbs was still accompanied by the recitation of spells to render them effective. The sermon thus confused the settlers, some of whom said that it validated the use of medicinal spells, whereas others argued that Father Boell was simply unaware of the implication of his statement and that no spells whatsoever were permissible. The topic was widely discussed in the village and, largely under the influence of 'the big catechist of Kuni', Kalau Daniel, the latter point of view prevailed - at least officially.
A much more powerful Catholic sanction for the settlers is that contained in the threat (real or imagined) that they may be refused the sacraments if they persist in a particular course of action.\footnote{The only time that I was actually present when such a pronouncement was made, was at the occasion of a meeting of Councillors when Father Boell half-jocularly said that he would not give Communion to persons who claimed to be rain-makers (cf. Larson 1966: 111).} Although Mission policy does not condone this practice (cf. Navarre 1907: 44-5; Luzbetak 1963: 304), rumours that Father Boell may take this step do circulate at Bakoiudu in times of crisis, and are often the turning point in situations where neither sermons nor discussion have proved effective. In fact it is likely that some of these so-called threats of exclusion from the sacraments are initiated by leaders and interested persons as a last resort when conventional approaches fail to produce the desired effect. Thus, for example, on the occasion of a mortuary feast in the homelands where the killing of pigs was repeatedly delayed, the rumour began to circulate among the guests (most of whom were from Bakoiudu), that unless proceedings were speeded up so that the settlers could return to work, Father Boell would refuse the sacraments to all those who had attended the feast. Whether this rumour was founded or not, it had the desired effect. As one guest put it in half-earnest jest: 'It would be silly to despatch our dead to their mountain abodes while we ourselves pave our way to hell'.
Catholic sanctions were also invoked in other situations at Bakoiudu, and were particularly prominent in court cases involving sorcery accusations. Although resettlement was seen as a Catholic venture by the settlers, it did not allay their fears and suspicions of magical practices. On the contrary, it is generally held that sorcery is much more prevalent at Bakoiudu because there are so many people living close together, more occasions for friction, and therefore, more expressions of revenge through the practice of sorcery.\footnote{Some informants, for example, made a direct correlation between the allegedly higher rainfall at Bakoiudu and the greater density of population there, by arguing that there were proportionately more persons with grudges who expressed them by invoking untimely rains to spoil the gardens of others (cf. Wilson 1936).} In particular, the settlers are very conscious of the fact that the specialists of contagious magic (Maimai parish men) are now living cheek to jowl with the wielders of evil eye stones (the central and southern Kuni). The emphasis on sorcery is no doubt also related to the number of persons who died during the first months of resettlement, thereby branding the settlement from the outset as a place riddled with sorcerers. The notoriety of Bakoiudu in this respect is such that Port Moresby Kuni openly acknowledge that it is one of the main deterrents to their returning to the tribal area. This point of view was put expressly to two Councillors from Bakoiudu who visited Port Moresby in February and June 1965 in order to appeal to
the urban Kuni to return home. Ironically enough, the Councillors acknowledged the validity of the argument and let the matter drop temporarily.

There were certainly many accusations of sorcery at Bakoiudu, particularly during the first year of resettlement. Most of these petered out as soon as the grounds for accusation, e.g. sickness or bad weather, were dispelled. In other cases, however, where a settler was persistently plagued with misfortune, afflicted with a malignant disease, or died in unusual circumstances, resentment and suspicion would mount until someone was openly accused, by various circumlocutions, of having performed sorcery. In many cases, the alleged victim of sorcery was also the accuser, though in the case of sudden death, a close agnatic kinsman (often a full brother) would sow the suspicion of sorcery. This was a serious accusation at Bakoiudu where the settlers pride themselves above all on being good Catholics, and where sorcery is looked upon as a 'pagan and sinful practice'. A direct accusation of sorcery (as opposed to vague airings and suspicions thereof), therefore invariably engendered a major dispute which, under the new system of leadership sooner or later came to the notice of Councillors who then organized a court case to mediate in it.¹

¹ I attended three such informal court cases at Bakoiudu between August 1964 and March 1965. In addition I gathered information on another 11 disputes involving sorcery accusations, none of which I attended myself. Eight of these related to incidents which had occurred (continued p.317)
Despite the uniqueness of each case, sorcery accusations at Bakoiudu have several characteristics in common. For example, in contrast to what appears to be the predominant pattern in other parts of New Guinea where sorcery accusations are mostly directed towards persons living outside the community (cf. Marwick 1964), every case of sorcery that came to my notice was initially confined to members of the settlement. In all cases indeed, the person initially accused of sorcery was either cognatically or affinally related to the alleged victim. As a result the court case opened at a high level of tension, for the Kuni lay a great stress on the moral force of kin ties.

This consideration, indeed, formed the basis of the defence of the accused who invariably protested his/her innocence on two grounds: first, that as a Catholic who regularly went to the sacraments he/she would never envisage practising sorcery; and second, that the genealogical tie, spelt out in great detail, between the accused and the alleged victim made nonsense of the insinuation that 'persons whose ancestors were the same' could engage in sorcery. The validity of this defence was never challenged in the cases I observed, and attention would then move to finding another cause for the misfortune.

1 (continued from p. 316)

at Bakoiudu since resettlement, and the remaining three had occurred in the homelands before 1961. The discussion which follows is based on the combined evidence of data relating to post-resettlement sorcery accusations, all of which exhibited very similar characteristics.
In most cases, this meant shifting the blame on 'some' non-Kuni visitor or passer-by, usually a Mekeo or Goilala tribesman; or else on 'a' member of Lapeka or Devadeva 2 parish whose alleged jealousy of Bakoiudu settlers was supposed to make them particularly prone to perform sorcery against them. At this later stage in the proceedings then, the Kuni seem to follow the more common Melanesian practice of accusing persons outside the community of practising sorcery. Nevertheless, the restriction of the initial accusation to persons related to the alleged victim remains a distinctive feature of Kuni sorcery accusations. This procedure seems to have a cathartic effect by giving an opportunity for persons with close ties (and therefore many opportunities for developing tensions) to voice their innermost grievances within an institutionalized framework.

In some instances, however, where the attempt to shift the blame on someone outside the community did not allay suspicions, the supporters of the alleged victim might stir up the dispute again and bring the whole matter to a crisis once more. In this event, Catholic values were usually appealed to as the only means of resolving the issue, and the accused professed his innocence in religious terms. In particularly serious cases, he might even refute the charge by swearing publicly on a Cross and calling God as witness to his innocence. An individual who resorted to this method voluntarily, or who submitted to a challenge in these terms issued by his accusers, effectively
terminated the line of inquiry against him, and was pronounced guiltless in the eyes of the community. The invocation of supernatural sanctions was considered to be so serious a step that few persons resorted spontaneously to this means, and, when they did, even fewer dared to express publicly any further doubt as to the alleged sorcerer's innocence. As one settler put it:

The matter is now between this persons [who took the oath] and God. We can do no more but await the final judgment day when we shall know who was the root of all this trouble. In the meantime, we must forget this quarrel and live as good Catholics should.

The preceding discussion has drawn attention to an important mechanism of social control at Bakoidudu, operating independently as it were, of any formal structure of authority. This consists of one internal sanction (belief in God's judgment) holding in check the operation of another (belief in the efficacy of sorcery). In combination, these sanctions contribute to the maintenance of order and social control. Nevertheless, although conformist behaviour is induced as much by the fear of sorcery as by Catholic sanctions,¹

¹ This can be observed in many contexts in Kuni. For example, mothers reprimanding their children against some mischief may often be heard warning them that their actions will lead them straight to hell, or that their lack of consideration will prompt others to perform sorcery against them. The distinction between Catholic and magical sanctions in this context is marginal.
accusations of sorcery are potentially very disruptive through their externalization of tensions at the very levels of society where relationships are the most intense, and co-operation most needed. Catholic sanctions serve an important function by keeping these tensions within bounds and emphasizing the bonds of communal solidarity uniting all settlers.

An important aspect of the interrelation of these two sanctions is that neither completely invalidates the other. Thus Kuni Catholicism does not deny belief in sorcery, although its practice is unequivocably condemned as being pagan and sinful. This characteristic of Kuni Catholicism enables sorcery to operate as a sanction, but at the same time prevents it as it were, from running out of control. By the settlers' own avowals, accusations of sorcery are said to give expression to the frustrations and tensions which, in pre-contact times, would have found an outlet in raids, and even in warfare. Significantly, informants assert that sorcery accusations are much more frequent at Bakoiudu than in the homelands, and expect them to increase after tapping begins in the rubber plantation: 'Then we shall have real cause for quarrels and suspicion because we feel differently about money. There will be many accusations of sorcery then, and much more trouble than now'. Sorcery thinking in this context is largely social thinking and its diagnosis and treatment are largely in social terms (Kark 1958: 25). In Marwick's terms (1964: 263-8; 1965), accusations of sorcery at Bakoiudu are truly indicators of the points
of tension and a measure of the degree of tension at the settlement.

Finally, it is necessary to draw attention to the operation of Catholic sanctions in two more spheres. First, as discussed in Appendix 2, Catholic values have been important means of introducing major changes in custom and value-orientation at Bakoiudu, and second, they have also been used with particular consistency by Committee men (komisi), as means of entrenching their position and of enforcing order and social control. In November 1964, Father Boell called for the election of Committee men, and, though this was done independently of the appointment of Councillors, it was clearly intended to coincide with the revival of leadership at other levels at Bakoiudu. Twenty-one Committee men were elected, twelve of whom were former position holders.

The responsibility of komisi at Bakoiudu was the same as it had been in the homelands viz., to act as prayer leaders, and in general to uphold high standards of piety and morals throughout the settlement. However, their influence was minimal, even negligible, in addition to which the settlers, particularly elected leaders and Councillors, looked upon them with suspicion and accused them of informing against them to the Mission (cf. Mager 1937: 33; Oram 1966b: 41-2). Komisi themselves asserted that theirs was a thankless task since mixed residence had given rise to a new form
of worship. The practice in the homelands had been for all the members of the hamlet to gather together for prayers under the leadership of their local komisi. At Bakoiudu, however, where persons of different parishes and inau often live together, there developed a pattern of family worship whereby each household carried out its own devotions. This system avoided problems of co-ordination and forestalled clashes between komisi belonging to different groups, but it also deprived the prayer leaders of their main function.

Nevertheless they did wield some authority, particularly with regard to the invocation of Catholic sanctions and values, where their words were heeded because theirs was 'the voice of people working for God'. In this respect the settlers make a clear distinction between secular and non-secular spheres of action. For example, it is worth noting that the Councillors consistently refused to try cases of polygyny brought to their notice by settlers on the grounds that this was the concern of Committee men. The fundamental reasons for this attitude, however, are much more deep-rooted, and stem from a shrewd assessment of the contradiction between the Catholic condemnation of polygyny and the legal position of polygynists in New Guinea, which is sanctioned provided all the dependants of the husband are properly provided for. As one Councillor put it:

We Councillors can do nothing about bad marriages, and most certainly not interfere with them, else we will be forced to draw these cases to the attention of the next
administrative patrol. And if we do this, the Administration will simply condone this sin. We cannot fight against the white man's law. We are Catholics, so it is better that komisi should try to break up these bad marriages. That is truly their work.

Despite this delegation of authority, however, most komisi have very little influence at Bakoiudu for the reasons given earlier. Their main influence is during court cases or quarrels when they invariably intervene by appealing to Catholic values. In general terms too, their presence helps to maintain a 'Catholic consciousness' among the settlers, and adds to their sense of being a Catholic community.

In conclusion, the problem of leadership and social control at Bakoiudu can be related to the incompatibility of the principles of hereditary localized leadership with the particular conditions and needs created by resettlement. The system of hereditary chieftainship was effective enough under homeland conditions where each local group had its hereditary chief in whom authority was vested. The autonomy and authority of local chiefs was further enhanced after contact when, instead of being displaced by Administration appointees, hereditary chiefs themselves assumed the new positions of Village Councillors and Village Constables created by the Administration (cf. Bulmer 1961; Salisbury 1964: 232; Brown 1963).
Against this traditional background of leadership and authority vested in hereditary chieftainship, the Kuni resettled at Bakoiudu in 1961, and found themselves confronted with an unprecedented situation where the traditional isolation of local groups was removed, and where the principle of local grouping itself was challenged by new residential habits and associative patterns. These novel conditions to some extent undermined the authority of traditional chiefs without, however, invalidating the principle of hereditary local chieftainship. Yet this principle was the main obstacle to achieving the ends of resettlement which required settlement-wide co-operation rather than localized activity.

In an attempt to resolve this problem, two attempts were made to superimpose a non-localized leadership structure at Bakoiudu: first under the system of elected leaders, then under the Councillor system. In both cases, however, the principle of hereditary leadership intervened, not only in the election of the candidates, but also in determining their course of action and restricting it to the local group or parish. The new leaders thus achieved little except to confuse the relationship between themselves and hereditary chiefs, and generally, to undermine the authority of the latter. Despite this confusion and division in leadership, progress did occur on all fronts. This was largely due to the dexterity of a few leaders, notably Toneba and Liberto, in utilizing sanctions which evoked the desired response among the
settlers. These sanctions were primarily kompani and Catholic ones which appealed to the settlers conscious of themselves as members of a Catholic community.

However, it is becoming increasingly apparent that these sanctions are not likely to remain effective tools of social control for very long at Bakoiudu. In the economic sphere for example, settlers are already beginning to reject kompani values and this trend will almost certainly increase as soon as the plantation comes into production. Kompani sanctions are then likely to become less effective and may become irrelevant, at least with respect to economic activity. In the same way, Catholic sanctions may be expected to lose their importance and become insufficient and restricted means of implementing order and social control. This trend was already noticeable between 1963 and 1965, when the settlers shifted from a religious to an economic explanation of their reasons for resettlement. Similarly, appeals to a sense of dedication and self-sacrifice are likely to become less effective in the future. Again, this was clearly shown by the increasing reluctance of the settlers to work on Mission projects unless they were given some remuneration in cash or kind.

In fact, new sanctions, like old ones vested in the authority of hereditary chiefs, are also proving inadequate at Bakoiudu as means of implementing order and social control. The organizational complexity of the settlement, its singular problems, its unprecedented size and its involvement in large-scale
commercial cropping are posing problems which the present makeshift leadership can hardly manage. Under these conditions, and unless authority is to revert to some extraneous body, be it the local Mission or DASF staff, it seems inevitable that important changes in the structure and authority of leadership will have to take place in the near future if the settlers are to keep pace with the developments and changes currently under way.
CHAPTER 6

CHANGES IN KINSHIP ORGANIZATION

In the preceding chapters the importance of kinship bonds in determining the course of change at Bakoiudu either directly or indirectly has often been stressed. For example, we have seen how the continued application of the principle of hereditary leadership and adherence to its premises has to a large extent hampered the development of effective authority. Conversely, the traditional flexibility of the kinship system with its residential and descent criteria of group membership has also given rise to confusion at the settlement by creating conflicting loyalties and responsibilities. The failure of the work book system, residential dispersal and problems over inheritance and succession in the rubber plantation, can all be traced to conflict between the different principles underlying kinship organization in traditional Kuni society.

However, the process was not entirely one-sided: resettlement also affected the basis of traditional kinship structure. Considering the importance of residential and associative bonds in challenging the dominance of descent ties in the kinship paradigm, we would logically have expected that resettlement would have accentuated the importance of the former since residential mobility is so much more prevalent at Bakoiudu. In other words, we would have expected that
the principle of lineality would have been undermined even further under the new system.

In fact, resettlement has had the opposite effect. A combination of factors, discussed presently, has accentuated the importance of lineality and descent in present day kinship organization. Residence patterns and bonds of association have become less important as determinants of inau membership, even though they have a much wider scope for expression at Bakoiudu than ever before. It is a paradox of resettlement that while it has promoted a clearer formulation of conventional kinship in terms of descent and lineality, at the same time it has given unprecedented opportunities for the establishment of independent residential and associative ties, which, in the homelands, had been the very reason for the relative unimportance of the lineal principle in determining group membership.

This chapter analyses the process whereby Kuni kinship moved from its traditional flexibility characterized by a high degree of optation, to its present state typified by a far greater emphasis on formal patrilineality.

Patriliny and Bride-price before Contact

As outlined in Chapter 1, the principle of patrilineality was prominent in traditional Kuni kinship organization. It operated at many levels, beginning with the automatic ascription of agnatic inau membership at birth. Although a person might subsequently become the member of another inau by
reason of prolonged residence there and close ties with its members, the priority of patrilineal descent was always recognized. This was particularly true of succession to chieftainship which was ideally by strict agnatic male primogeniture. Inheritance was also patrilineal, at least with respect to immovable property e.g. betelnut trees. For the rest, the Kuni had very few personal possessions which were not destroyed at their death by relatives as a demonstration of grief, or buried with them. The most important exception concerned traditional valuables (shells, plumes, dogs' teeth etc), which were usually distributed as mortuary payments (ola) to distant cognatic kinsmen of the deceased to whom he had been obligated in the past.

The solidarity of the agnatic nucleus of every inau was further expressed in rules of protocol relating to the acknowledgment of gifts (e.g. contributions to bride-price), and/or the distribution of pork. The order of precedence in the distribution or return of such gifts pointed inversely to the degree of solidarity between the groups involved. Thus primary consideration would be given to affinal relatives, then uterine kinsmen and only in the last resort if there was any surplus, would attention be given to agnatic relations, the most distantly related (koli-kolina) being given priority. It was a matter of prestige for the inau to deplete itself of its resources in favour of affinal and uterine relations, and inau members prided themselves collectively on their
liberality without stressing who had contributed what. Gifts within the agnic inau were truly gifts; out of it, they became prestations (cf. Sahlins 1965: 145ff).

There was thus a firm patrilineal core in pre-contact Kuni society. This was further accentuated by the fact that members of a single inau tended to live concentrated in single hamlets to afford maximum protection against enemy raids and warfare. The hamlet was the primary unit of socio-economic activity for its inau members, although there was considerable interaction between the members of each parish, and to a lesser extent between members of linked parishes. These relationships were almost invariably based on pre-existing bonds based on cognatic or affinal relationships. According to informants, travelling was always hazardous before pacification, but the likelihood of being attacked decreased as a man moved from an area where he had no relations whatsoever, to one where he could trace affinal connections, to one where he could establish matrilineal or matrilateral bonds, and finally to one where he could claim to be a fellow inau member. Patrilineality was clearly an important element of social organization in those days.

Nevertheless, the members of any given inau were not for that reason necessarily all natal members of that patrilineage. As described in Chapter 1, parish and inau membership was also defined residentially, and informants relate how every inau sought to increase its membership for reasons of prestige and to protect itself more effectively against enemy raids. There
were many opportunities open for the individual Kuni to align himself to *inau* where he was not an agnate. Circumstances sometimes forced it upon him; in other cases it was a matter of personal manoeuvering and initiative.

The most important determinants of non-agnatic *inau* membership in pre-contact Kuni appear to have been the following:

(i) Devastation of hamlets in raids, resulting in dispersal of *inau* members and often, their incorporation into other *inau*;
(ii) Voluntary disbandment of hamlets and dispersal of *inau* members following deaths or epidemics. This often led the members of these *inau* to seek permanent alignment with other *inau*;
(iii) Serious decline of *inau* membership for whatever reason, rendering it demographically non-viable and leading to fusion with one or several other *inau*;
(iv) Death of a peace-chief without a successor. If this condition persisted for a long time, members of the *inau* tended to seek alliance with another *inau*, since an *inau* without a peace-chief was likened to 'a tree without roots' and therefore not viable;
(v) Prolonged residence in a foreign *inau* as a matter of personal option or by invitation;
(vi) Prolonged residence in a foreign *inau* as a result of adoption or fostering;
(vii) Birth under conditions where a man's mother's bride-price had not been paid. He was then a potential member of her inau, as well as a potential member of his father's inau. In either case, effective inau membership had to be validated by residential and other associations;

(viii) Inability (or unwillingness) of a groom and/or his patrikin to pay bride-price, leading to bilocal residence and the establishment of close ties with the affinal inau. This sometimes resulted in adoption into it. The inau membership of the children born of such a union was subject to the same provisions as in (vii) above.

(ix) Acceptance of 'male' bride-price by a groom's kinsmen, resulting in permanent uxorilocality for him, incorporation into the affinal inau, and membership of their mother's agnatic group for his children.

It is possible to group these various determinants of non-agnatic inau membership into those which were extraneous to the individual and which compelled him to seek new affiliations willy-nilly [i-iv]; and those where new allegiances, to some extent at least, depended on personal initiative or acceptance of the status quo [v-ix]. Even in those instances where non-agnatic inau membership was, as it were, thrust upon the individual from birth or infancy [vi, vii], it always remained possible for him to reassert his
patrilineal rights simply by shifting residence back to his agnatic inau, and paying compensation (e.g. one pig and several valuables) to members of the non-agnatic inau as a recognition (and simultaneous dissolution) of their past relationship. Although this move might be resented by the inau of adoption and disputes might ensue, particularly over the membership of children if any were involved, the primary rights of patrilineality were nevertheless recognized. Indeed, they were so entrenched in Kuni, that common patrilineal ties could be invoked after years and even generations of separation in order to renew bonds and cement relationships.

Conversely, however, the relative flexibility of the system enabled individuals to dissociate themselves fairly easily from their agnatic inau and to assume non-agnatic inau membership. Although there was no formal procedure for becoming a member of another inau, certain requirements were implicitly understood viz. prolonged residence in the new inau and participation in the socio-economic activities of its members. The rate and extent to which non-agnates were incorporated into the local group were evinced by the degree of their participation in local functions and the consequential recognition accorded to them by natal inau members.

Generally speaking, as long as agnatic members of the inau offered some counter-gift or other acknowledgement for co-operation or participation which would be taken for granted among fellow agnates, the
non-agnate was still considered a fringe member of the inau. If and when this formality was dropped, accreted persons were tacitly recognized as full members of the non-agnatic inau even though their genealogical links with their own paternal inau were not thereby forgotten or falsified. The patrilineal descendants of these new members of the inau were then automatically assimilated into the local agnatic group whose name they assumed, and they were indistinguishable from natal inau members in everything but their genealogical background. Nevertheless, this was an important distinction for it meant that these persons always had an entrée into their fathers' natal agnatic inau. Each succeeding generation became increasingly removed from this original 'grafting point', and, though the genealogical details might be forgotten, not so the original link since it could be invoked to form the basis of new relationships in times of stress or need. As the Kuni put it: 'a tree with many roots lives longer and is more difficult to uproot'.

Our initial description of pre-contact kinship organization as predominantly patrilineal must then be qualified to make allowance for the considerable laxity of the system and its provision for non-agnatic group membership (cf. Barnes 1962; Brown 1962; Langness 1964; Pouwer 1964). Since formal patrifiliation depended on certain residential qualifications and on socio-economic co-operation with the agnatic inau, and since individuals could and did manipulate their various kinship connections, including affinal ties, to
withdraw from active membership of the patrilineal inau if they wished to do so, pre-contact Kuni kinship might more appositely be described as preferentially patrilineal rather than prescriptively patrilineal. It is difficult to ascertain statistically to what extent individuals in fact did change inau membership before contact, but informants allege that, notwithstanding the disturbing influence of warfare and large-scale epidemics, inau membership used to be much more stable and less dispersed than nowadays, largely on account of the more fixed and concentrated residential patterns, resulting in the concentration of marriages within relatively restricted geographic areas.

This last observation draws attention to the importance of marriage as a determinant of group membership because marriage ipso facto removed one (or both) of the spouses from their agnatic inau. Since residence was a major challenger of the principle of formal patriliny, it is necessary to look more carefully into the nature of marriage alliances and patterns of post-marital residence. In particular, it is important to discuss the institution of bride-price in pre-contact Kuni society since payment of bride-price was one of the most important determinants of residence in Kuni society, and thence by implication, of inau membership as well.

When bride-price was paid, post-marital residence was almost invariably virilocai and the children born of such unions were unambiguously considered members of their patrilineal inau. When bride-price was not paid,
post-marital residence was usually bilocal (cf. Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953: 242) i.e. alternating between patri-virilocality and patri-uxorilocality. The inau membership of children born of such unions remained ambiguous, as it were cognatic, until they struck up permanent residence with any one group. Even then, however, their inau filiations often remained undefined unless some payment was effected, amounting to a delayed bride-price payment. This could be requested decades after the original marriage of ego's parents and was the main way of validating his claims of membership to this rather than that inau.

Since payment or non-payment of bride-price allegedly played such a prominent role in determining residence and lineality in traditional Kuni society, it is worth-while examining in greater detail the approach of the people to this custom. Discussion is necessarily based on the evidence of present-day informants, but, according to elderly Kuni, contemporary evaluations of the custom are very similar to traditional approaches, even though there have been some innovations in practice, as discussed below.

The attitude of Kuni women towards the payment of bride-price in unequivocal:–

If we go and stay with our husbands afar off, it is better that bride-price should be paid. Otherwise members of our inau will always be fretting over our absence and their hearts will turn to anger. Our children will ail, ourselves too perhaps, our pigs grow skinny, crops fail and disease will strike. Finally we shall die like strangers: pigs and dogs in a foreign land. But, if our brothers do
not want bride-price because they want us to keep looking after them, or if we go and stay with our kinsfolk now and again, it is all right. Then nobody is angry and the children can choose themselves later where they will grow up. It's as their hearts will tell them.

The correlation between payment of bride-price, residence patterns and filiations is explicit. However, there are instances where bride-price is not required by mutual agreement of the contracting parties, and where virilocality and patrilineality nevertheless prevail. These instances include sister-exchange marriages or symmetrical connubium (afi-kava); marriages between people having common ancestral links beyond the three-generation incest prohibition; marriage of widows past child-bearing age; and other instances where the payment of bride-price is either considered meaningless because the same inau is alternatively (or simultaneously) in a donor and/or recipient position, or thought to be uncalled for (e.g. in marriages with women past child-bearing age), since there is no likelihood of the groom's inau acquiring any permanent benefit (i.e. children) from the union.

The attitude of men towards bride-price payment differs slightly from that of women. Payment of bride-price is considered necessary not only to guarantee the membership of children in the agnatic inau, but also for the groom to remain a resident member of his own inau. This is an important consideration for Kuni men because even intermittent uxorilocal residence is not favoured. Men residing with their wives' kin for not better
reason than that they have not paid bride-price are looked upon as weaklings and nicknamed 'women's men'. Certain exceptions are nevertheless recognized. Permanent uxorilocal residence is tolerated where a man has been co-opted into his bride's group through the payment of the equivalent of bride-price to his inau (groom-price); where both inau have agreed that the man should 'raise heirs' for the woman's patrilineal inau (usually in chiefly families without male issue); or where physical disabilities prevent him from alternating residence. In most other cases, however, members of his agnatic inau will exert pressures on him to return at least periodically, and where he has a number of children, to return permanently to the agnatic inau and to cut off his residential association with his affines by paying off his wife's bride-price.¹

Present-day Kuni thus look upon the payment of bride-price as the ideal norm and give the validation of (patri)lineality and succession as the main reasons for doing so. In practice, however, this does not seem always to have been the case in pre-contact Kuni society. According to informants, bride-price was

¹ This does not mean that affinal ties are thereby severed. On the contrary, they become emphasized and as it were institutionalized though numerous and continuous gifts of good, spoils from the hunt and nowadays, money, from the groom to his affines, which the latter may or may not reciprocate. The Kuni call this perpetuation of ties despite residential dissociation, kavana e fala lit. perpetuating [bride-price] payment.
rarely paid in intra-parish marriages. Since hamlets were grouped close together for protective reasons, marriage did not entail the geographic separation of the spouses from their respective inau, whatever pattern of post-marital residence was adopted. Marriage did not lead to the depletion of the local group or to the withdrawal of manpower from it. On the contrary, it cemented relations between hamlets and inau whose residential proximity had already been the basis of socio-economic co-operation.

Under these conditions, there was no point in enforcing bride-price payment since the members of the contracting inau were probably related by previous intermarriages and would benefit little from the transaction. Indeed, the payment of bride-price appears to have been looked at somewhat askance, as though a man intended by this means to isolate himself from the ties of reciprocity and mutual obligation which formed the basis of unity in those days when raiding and warfare were rife. For this reason bride-price payment was allegedly rarely requested or offered spontaneously before contact, least of all in intra-parish marriages. Residence was predominantly virilocal though the proximity of the wife's inau facilitated alternate residence. Patrilineal succession was taken as a matter of course and there appears to have been no reason to challenge it since the numerical strength of one group spelt the protection of adjoining ones. In contrast to the standpoint of present-day Kuni, then, patrilineality
did not have to be bolstered by rules enforcing particular patterns of residence and the payment of bride-price. It appears to have underlined the basis of pre-contact Kuni society even though there were many opportunities for individuals to manipulate their relationships and to align themselves to patrilineages other than their natal ones.

Informants nevertheless point out two instances where bride-price was always paid before contact. The first concerned the marriages of peace-chiefs and their direct heirs, where their wives' bride-prices were always paid by the collective contribution of valuables by all the members of the groom's inau. This was to ensure that no rival (affinal) claims could be made to the children of such a union, and to guarantee patrilineal succession. Bride-price was also paid whenever marriages took place between members of different parishes. In this event, marriage invariably meant that one of the spouses had to forsake his/her inau unless bilocal residence was practised. This was not a popular alternative since raids and warfare were common in those days. Accordingly, bride-price was paid and virilocal residence ensued. The payment of bride-price 'bought the woman's bones' as the Kuni put

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Interestingly, a contrary trend is evinced at Bakoiudu where the settlers have insisted that Umulu Michaelo, the heir to the settlement, should not pay the bride-price for his wife. The reasons for this stand and its implications are discussed in later sections of this chapter.
it, and she was automatically integrated as a member of her husband's inau.¹

The characteristics of pre-contact Kuni kinship organization can perhaps best be expressed by drawing a distinction between the principle of patrilineality and agnatic group membership (cf. Groves 1963: 25; Langness 1964: 169). Our discussion on descent, bride-price and associated topics leaves little doubt that patrilineality was an important principle in Kuni, even in those instances where the individual chose to dissociate himself from a particular patrilineal group, say his agnatic inau. In this event, as we have shown, the overriding importance of the patrilineal principle enabled the individual to re-invoke his former patrilineal ties and to resume membership of a particular patrilineage after years, decades perhaps, of absentee membership. Accordingly, it is possible to elaborate upon our earlier observation that pre-contact Kuni kinship was preferentially rather than prescriptively agnatic. In fact, the principle of

¹ Cf. Groves 1963: 28. Significantly, Kuni women whose bride-price had been paid and who resided virilocally, almost invariably identified themselves as members of their husbands' inau. It was only when I asked them specifically for their agnatic membership that they gave their maiden inau. Men residing uxorilocally were much more reluctant to identify themselves as members of their wives' inau, possibly because of the stigma attached to this practice. Several nevertheless did so spontaneously.
agnatic descent appears almost always to have been prescribed whereas patrilineal group membership was optional. In other words, a person automatically belonged to the inau of his father, even though he might be an effective resident member of another patrilineage. Where residence was prolonged in the alternative group, it sometimes happened that the individual assumed full inau membership of the adopted inau. In this event the operation of the patrilineal principle was as it were transferred from one agnatic group to another (cf. Meggitt 1965).

Residence was therefore an important determinant of agnatic group membership and also helped to channel the operation of the patrilineal principle (cf. Groves 1963: 20ff). In this light, the institution of bride-price (and less often groom-price), can be interpreted as one of the regulators of patrilineal group membership; and payment can be looked upon as a compensation for the denial of alternative patrilineality of either of the spouses and their offspring. An inau which gives a woman in virilocal marriage, or one which allows a man to reside uxorilocally permanently, loses a member and her/his descendants. Bride- or groom-price offers compensation for this loss and transfers the rights to inau membership from one group to another. Conversely, however, where no bride-price is paid, both partners remain members of their respective patrilineas and the status of children remains undefined even though there is a tendency for patrilineal ties to be emphasized.
In pre-contact days, bride-price did not figure prominently except in marriages involving the removal over long distances of one of the spouses from his/her inau. Intra-parish marriages were localized within a relatively restricted area and no bride-price was paid. In this case patrilineality operated without any apparent constraint, allegedly because both inau could draw freely on the labour and co-operation of the spouses and their offspring.

**Patriliney and Bride-price after Contact**

As a result of the Pax Australiana, post-contact residential organization in Kuni changed considerably. The traditional large hamlet complexes gave way to dispersed and increasingly fragmented residential units within which permitted marriage partners were scarce. Partly driven by necessity, partly prompted by Mission teachings urging that individuals should marry whom they pleased, and increasingly reassured by the pacification of the area, the Kuni progressively extended their marriage ties farther afield. It is to this time, when the dispersal of inau women to distant areas became general, that the Kuni attribute the widespread adoption and implementation of bride-price payments:

How could we else? We were losing our women and their children for ever. Who would tend our pigs, grow our gardens, feed our aged, honour our guests and raise up new men? That is why we asked for big payments of pig and valuables when our sisters married far away.
Then only could their husbands have full rights over them.¹

During this period the patrilineal principle was not invalidated. On the contrary, strict adherence to bride-price payment enforced membership of the groom's patrilineage and removed the possibility of ambiguities arising over the status, inheritance and succession of the children born of such unions. Payment of bride-price also compensated the woman's inau for the loss of services and manpower which was not so manifest in the days when residence was concentrated and both spouses were accessible to either inau irrespective of whether residence was virilocal or uxorilocal.

In retrospect, it is difficult to state when the post-contact Kuni realized the negative aspects of this practice viz. that the acceptance of bride-price permanently and effectively excluded the woman's inau from claims to her working and child-rearing capacity, as well as to her husband's manpower. No doubt this awareness had always been implicit in the indifference over the payment of bride-price before contact, but then payment had been considered redundant because of

¹ As mentioned in Chapter 1, the rights thus acquired extended over the woman and her offspring. This point is particularly clearly evinced in the bride-price transactions which occur when a young widow remarries. In this case, the bride-price paid by her second husband is handed to her dead husband's kinsmen who themselves originally paid out to her inau. Informants explain: 'the kinsmen of the deceased man must have something in return, for they lose one of their women and all the children subsequently born to her'.
the relative proximity of hamlets and the ease with which spouses could move from one group to another. After pacification, however, as hamlet segmentation increased and women continued to disperse farther afield, the economic position of hamlets became precarious. This was aggravated by the exodus of Kuni men from the homelands during and after World War II. As a result, each inau increasingly sought to retain its members, particularly its women, and attempted to recruit new ones. This involved a reorientation of attitudes towards the payment of bride-price and a corresponding change of emphasis in the determination of patriliny.

During this later phase in the post-contact period, therefore, the Kuni recanted from their earlier stress on the compulsory payment of bride-price at marriage. Instead, the benefits of wealth accumulation were increasingly weighed up against the loss of labour and productivity resulting from asking for and/or accepting bride-price for a kinswoman marrying out. Generally speaking, the Kuni tended towards the latter alternative and demands for the payment of bride-price were relaxed considerably as a result. The finality of the break implicit in bride-price payment was increasingly looked upon as an obstacle by the bride's kinsmen. This was particularly true of the parents of girls who were reluctant that bride-price should be paid, as non-payment gave them claims over their
daughters and assured them of continuous care and attendance during old age.¹

In short, payment of bride-price came to be seen as the outcome of a conflict of interests: wealth accumulation versus (partial or total) retention of at least one inau member, if not the accretion of more (the groom and children). Bride-price was not only not requested, but in many cases, refused when offered. The logical extension of this approach was epitomized in the transaction called vabine mukau e kava (lit. the woman buys the man), whereby the woman's kin paid the equivalent of groom-price to the groom's kinsmen thus acquiring full membership rights over him and his descendants. The Kuni say that this practice was fairly common after contact because 'the distances were great and the man's inau did not want to lose a member for nothing if he went to stay at his wife's hamlet'.

It is evident that this new approach to the payment of bride-price must have had repercussions on patterns of residence, succession and inheritance, if not patrilineality itself, in post-contact Kuni society where residence remained a determining criterion of group membership. Under the conditions of dispersed residence, the new system operated in favour of the

¹ Although separation was not so final before contact, the attitude of parents was allegedly very much the same. As an informant put it: The hearts of parents are too soft; they cannot bear to part with their daughters, so more distant kinsmen start bride-price proceedings.
bride's kinsmen. In Kuni, the final decision about payment or non-payment of bride-price does not rest with the groom's kinsmen but with those of the bride who are most often those who initiate bride-price proceedings, or who conversely may refuse to entertain any offers from the kin of a would-be groom. The only choice that pertains to the groom's kinsmen then, is either to accept the demand for, or refusal of, bride-price payment, or to refuse the bride.1

The disregard for bride-price payments during the later post-contact period thus amounted to a rejection of the principle of exclusive virilocality, and resulted in a corresponding relaxation of the rule of patrilineality. The conflict between residential and descent criteria of group membership which underlay traditional Kuni social organization was particularly highlighted during this period - and the kinship system appears to have shifted from preferential patriliny towards a cognatic reckoning of kinship ties. As an informant put it:

1 The explanation given for the ascendancy of the bride's kin group in this respect is as follows: 'The woman is a person of great honour and importance. Is it not she who has pain in giving birth to the child, who gives it her breast, carries it to the gardens and tends it when sick? Is it not women who, with their footsteps have criss-crossed over the whole country and filled it with people? Why then, it is only right that it should be her parents who should decide whether they will part with her or not. What are men? They just walk about, that's all'. 
Inau membership was completely confused. Hamlets kept breaking up; people were shifting residence and bride-price payment was refused at will. There were plenty of disputes over this [cf. KPR 4 of 1957/8] but by and large, people chose to live where it best suited them, drawing equally on the father's and the mother's inau.

To recapitulate, we can trace two trends in post-contact Kuni social organization. The immediate reaction to hamlet fragmentation and the extension of marriage ties was the enforcement of bride-price payment to compensate the bride's group for the loss of a member. The effect of this was to entrench and consolidate the principle of formal patriliny which had underlined traditional Kuni kinship organization. Later, however, at a time which is difficult to define but which may arbitrarily be set at about the beginning of World War II, hamlet viability was seriously endangered by the loss of members through migration and dispersal of women in marriage. As a result, local groups turned upon themselves as it were, and became reluctant to cede any of their members, least of all their women, to other inau. Bride-price payment was waived and to some extent even, replaced by groom-price. This brought the principle of agnatic descent into conflict with that of kinship ties based on residential association. The effect of this was to shift the emphasis from formal patriliny towards cognatic descent with payment of bride-price and post-marital residence patterns as the determining factors.
Although the changes in the relationship between patriliny and bride-price outlined above were clearly due to the different residential organization which prevailed in Kuni before and after contact, there was another important reason for the alleged decline in bride-price payments during the later post-contact period. This was the impact of Catholic teachings and Mission attitudes in relation to sexual mores in general, and to bride-price in particular. It is therefore worthwhile looking into the relationship between Catholicism and the institution of bride-price in some detail.

**Catholicism and Bride-price**

In order to understand the impact of Catholicism on the practice of bride-price payment, it is necessary to describe the pattern of pre-contact Kuni marriages. Traditionally, marriage was preceded by a period of courting which involved rigorous fasting and adherence to many taboos for both girls and boys. The details of courtship are not directly relevant here, except to note that cohabitation occurred as a matter of course during the later stages of courtship and was even considered necessary during what may be called a 'trial marriage' period. At the conclusion of this period which could last from a couple of months to upwards of a year, if the couple found that their 'hearts were at peace about each other', they indicated their intention of formalizing their union by eating together publicly on a ceremonial occasion.
If bride-price was required, payment generally followed promptly after this ceremony, though sometimes it was delayed until the bride became pregnant, or even until the birth of the first child. Informants say that prompt payment was preferred because bride-price was mostly requested in marriages between spouses who lived far apart. The kinsmen of the bride therefore pressed their demands for compensation and those of the groom obliged to avoid ill-will. If the bride proved sterile, the groom had implicit rights to another woman from her inau, usually a younger sibling or classificatory sister. No bride-price was paid for the second spouse as she was looked upon as fulfilling the duty (procreating children) for which her inau had initially received bride-price.

Reflecting on the pattern of traditional marriages, present-day Kuni informants allege that the 'trial marriage' period was one of the reasons why marriages were stable before contact and why the groom's kin showed little reluctance to pay bride-price when requested to do so.

The man had stayed with his wife before; he knew her ways and was sure in his heart about her. So his relatives did not mind paying bride-price since they had seen that she was a good worker and looked well after the aged, the sick, children and the pigs.

Besides, in pre-contact days, if a wife proved sterile or unmanageable, or if she deserted her husband, there was always the possibility of making good the loss by requesting a second bride from the first wife's inau,
or simply by marrying a second spouse from a different inau, though bride-payment might be required in the latter case.

The arrival of the Mission and the introduction of Catholic values with respect to pre-marital chastity, monogamy and the stress on marriages as a sacramental union, upset the traditional complex relation between courtship, marriage, bride-price payment and hence, kinship filiation (cf. Rowley 1965: 152). In the first place, the insistence of missionaries on abstention from sexual intercourse before marriage had the immediate effect of delaying bride-price payments. As informants put it:

What were we to pay bride-price quickly for? To find out that the bride was barren, quick-tongued, lazy and bad-tempered? No fear; in the olden days we'd try the women out first. After we became Catholics, we took matrimonio [the sacrament of marriage] and that settled it for ever - never mind what the woman turned out to be. So we thought twice before we paid out bride-price, and delayed it as much as possible, so that we could find out more about the bride.

In addition to prohibiting 'trial marriages' and giving marriage a character of finality which it never

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1 The attitude of the Kuni to 'trial marriages' and pre-marital chastity is ambiguous. If interrogated specifically on these points, most, but by no means all informants say that sexual intercourse out of marriage is a grievous sin. In casual conversation, however, and in practice, pre-marital intercourse is condoned if it falls within the framework of what was traditionally a trial marriage. This was brought out clearly by the
had previously, the Catholic ethic automatically cut off the traditional 'safety valves' in the system, viz. the possibility of repudiating a useless wife and/or acquiring a substitute or a supplementary one. Under these circumstances payment of bride-price became a highly hazardous investment; and, according to informants, the practice was deliberately and increasingly avoided by those who wished to follow the precepts of the Church. Moreover, the missionaries openly denounced this custom on the grounds that it formed the basis of arranged marriages, sister-exchanges and other such practices where material

1 (continued from p.351) reaction of the settlers to a sermon by Father Boell in June 1964, when he requested that any couples who had lived together before marriage should be married in a private weekday ceremony and not at Sunday Mass before the whole congregation. At the time that this pronouncement was made, four couples were in fact living together awaiting church marriage while their bans were being read. Of these, only one couple was reported to Father Boell by Committee men as living together before marriage; the other three were married publicly on a Sunday. The general explanation for this apparently unfair discrimination against one couple was as follows: 'They [the ostracized couple] played around with other people as well, defying God's law and scorning the Church; but the other three only sought each other, trying to find out in their hearts whether they were suited. There is no harm in that - it is our fashion'. This reinterpretation of Catholic teachings in terms of local custom is widespread in Kuni. The general attitude is to condone the amorous adventures of unmarried people, including widow(ers): 'they are not married, why should they not obey the dictates of their hearts?' But in relation to 'badly marrieds' (polygamists of any description and adulterers) the reprobation is unequivocal: 'These people spoil God's law and are just going straight to hell'. 
considerations predominated and where allegedly little or no regard was given to the sentiments of those contracting the marriage.

Catholic values were therefore important additional factors for the decline in the practice of paying bride-price after contact. Dispersed residence and the desire to recruit members to the local group were undoubtedly contributory factors, particularly in the decades between 1939-1959 when emigration from Kuni was most marked and residential stability most affected. This period also corresponds to that when evangelization was terminated and when the social implications of their new religion most probably confronted the Kuni in all its complexity. These factors undermined the institution of bride-price payment thereby upsetting the former balance between payment, residential patterns and filiation. As a result formal patriliny was also undermined and kinship organization became quasi-cognatic.

Patriliny and Bride-price at Bakoiudu

According to the discussion in the preceding sections, we would have expected that resettlement would have resulted in a return to pre-contact kinship organization with its particular correlation between residential compactness, payment of bride-price and patriliny. That is, we would have expected bride-price payment to become negligible at Bakoiudu where all the members of the community live in close proximity and where residential separation is no longer a factor to
take into account at marriage. Contrary to expectation, however, the kinship pattern which appears to be emerging seems rather to approximate that of the early post-contact period when spatial separation led to the enforcement of the payment of bride-price. In order to understand this apparent contradiction, it is necessary to trace the evolution of kinship relations at Bakoiudu since resettlement.

The quasi-cognatic kinship system which had evolved in the homelands was a boon to the settlers during the first months of resettlement. The traditional flexibility of kinship relations was admirably suited to the difficult conditions at the outset, and enabled individuals to maximize on their agnatic, uterine and/or affinal relations as it best suited them. Residential compactness made it particularly easy for persons to change their associations without being physically removed from other groups to which they might owe allegiance or socio-economic co-operation. Residential proximity enabled individuals to discharge these duties without necessarily having to change residence as was the case in the homelands. As a result, the first year of resettlement was characterized by a widespread disregard for homeland-type residence and association focussed on a particular inau or parish. Instead, individuals manipulated social relations to their best advantage within the permissive framework of quasi-cognatic kinship organization.
In fact, the first year of resettlement was characterized by an almost conscious playing down of sectarian solidarities by the settlers. This was no doubt partly an adaptive measure, but it also stemmed from the community-mindedness of the first settlers. Instead of stressing parish or inau membership, settlers identified themselves as a Catholic community or kompanì. This attitude accounted for the relative cohesion of the settlement at the beginning and was subsequently translated into action. Thus for example, the settlers emphasized the importance of collective enterprise in cash cropping, and economic co-operation across inau and parish boundaries. Later, this approach percolated into certain customs e.g. mortuary ritual, when Bakoiudu residents did away with the traditional distinction between kin and non-kin in the ceremonial distribution of food (cf. Chapter 2: 107-8). All settlers were counted as brothers and specific kinship ties were played down.

The clearest expression of the collective solidarity of the settlers, however, was expressed in the decision of Vale 4, strongly supported by general opinion, that Umulu Michaelo, the heir to Bakoiudu, should not pay bride-price for his wife (see Genealogy 1). 'He is the father of this land, how can we expect him to pay bride-price in order to remain on it? Let his children be heirs to Bakoiudu without any payment'. Although this gesture was an expression of the kompanì-mindedness of the settlers, and an explicit recognition of their indebtedness to Faika Peto and his
descendants, it is clear that it may pose long-term problems of lineality and succession if not with respect to titular ownership of Bakoiudu, at least as regards cash cropping. At the time that the settlers waived the rule of bride-price payment for Umulu, however, the main intention was to express their sense of unity and collective responsibility.

Despite this emphasis on communal solidarity, a counter-reaction emphasizing local group membership set in as new problems arose. Although multiple affiliation gave individuals greater security and room to manoeuvre during the first months of resettlement, it was clearly detrimental to inau and parish solidarity (cf. Barnes 1962: 7). This was manifest in the break-down of the authority of peace-chiefs, in the conflict between residential associates and kin groups, and more particularly, with respect to the organization and co-ordination of labour on the rubber plantation. The settlers became increasingly aware of the problems that multiple affiliation posed to ownership, inheritance and succession within the context of cash cropping. As a result there was reaction against the earlier flexible definition of kinship ties based on residential association.

Instead, the settlers sought to restore traditional parish and inau groupings, but this was not easy in the new setting. In addition to the new ties and relationships which the settlers had established at Bakoiudu and which could not easily be discarded, there were positive incentives for maximizing relationships
notwithstanding the complications inherent to this practice. As discussed in Chapter 4, the work book system and the basis of land and rubber allocation for the plantation, operated on a basis which favoured the maximal definition of the local group. As a result, settlers were torn between the immediate practical advantage of recruiting as many members as possible to the local group, and the long-term disadvantage thereby, of confusing inheritance and succession in the plantation. Although these conflicting pressures were still very much in evidence in April 1965, there was a general tendency towards the narrower definition of kinship relations, at least as far as work on the rubber plantation was concerned. Kinship was much more ego-orientated as it were, and individuals extended or restricted their associations as it best suited them, with less regard for collective inau opinion (cf. Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 25; Groves 1963: 28; Oram 1966b: 45).

However, the greatest obstacle against individual settlers extricating themselves from the ties of multiple affiliation, was their confused lineality and conflicting obligations derived from the fact that many of them were born from, and/or were themselves involved in, marriages where no bride-price had been paid. As a result, most settlers had undetermined inau status, or were subject to conflicting pressures and demands by different kin groups. As the settlers became aware of this, and of the conflicting expectations of residential associates and kinsmen, they laid
increasing stress on the necessity to pay bride-price in order that the *inau* membership of any given person and/or his descendants might be established beyond doubt. Most settlers advocated that no more marriages should be allowed at Bakoiudu without at least some preliminary negotiations with regard to the payment of bride-price, and many others stressed that past marriages should be formalized as well by the payment of bride-price.

The reinstatement of the payment of bride-price as an adjunct of every marriage was no easy matter. In the first place, this practice never was compulsory, and individuals always had the choice of paying bride-price or of adopting alternating post-marital residence. Although the status and *inau* membership of children was indefinite as a result, this had been an advantage rather than a drawback under the precarious conditions of life in the homelands. Similar considerations apply to some extent at Bakoiudu where families have shifted residence in order to escape the less congenial atmosphere of a given *inau*, and where residential mobility cannot be maintained so easily if bride-price is paid.

Secondly, as discussed in Chapter 4, the pressure to recruit members to the local group for economic reasons also acted as a deterrent against enforcing the payment of bride-price. Kinsmen of the bride were often unwilling to press for payment as this meant that they forfeited their rights to the groom's labour. This was particularly true of the attitude of small
parishes whose members unqualifiably preferred to recruit the groom to the local group rather than to receive bride-price. Some Dilava parish men for example, extended this preoccupation with recruitment to the point of seeking Goilala husbands for their daughters, while a peace-chief in Keakamana parish proclaimed a taboo on the virilocal marriage of local girls and stressed that bride-price was not sought by his inau. As mentioned earlier, the policy of these groups was fundamentally short-sighted since it did not take into account the problems which non-agnatic members will pose with respect to distribution of profits, succession and inheritance in the rubber plantation. Nevertheless the trend persisted.

Paradoxically enough, the groom's relatives were equally reluctant to support the compulsory payment of bride-price even though this would have ensured patrilineal succession within the plantation. The reasons for this were primarily economic. In the first place, there was a relative shortage of pigs at Bakoiudu as most settlers had either slaughtered their herds in the homelands before resettling, or had come down with piglets only. This meant that there were fewer pigs for ceremonial occasions. Moreover, settlers who did own pigs were reluctant to give them away as bride-price payment because it had become established practice at Bakoiudu to slaughter pigs and sell them as pork to fellow settlers. This new emphasis in pig husbandry to a large extent displaced its former primarily ceremonial attributes and
accounted for some of the unwillingness to pay bride-price.

Another reason was the increase in the value of bride-payments at Bakoiudu. Very soon after resettlement, it became customary to include money as an integral part of traditional ceremonial transactions (cf. Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 199-201; Hogbin 1966). In their emulation of European standards and attitudes, many settlers adopted a somewhat disparaging attitude towards traditional valuables and spoke of them as 'the riches of the ignorant'. Instead, there was an increased emphasis on cash, and money payments became an integral part of bride-price payments. Although the sums involved rarely exceeded $20-$40, this was a substantial disbursement for most settlers, the more so that they were acutely aware that money was a consumable good and that, once given away, it was truly lost to its owner. Under the traditional system of bride-price payment, valuables circulated in the society and sooner or later reverted to their owners, only to be passed on again in a chain of reciprocity and counter-obligations.

Changed residential patterns at Bakoiudu also undermined the institution of bride-price. Residential proximity removed one of the main reasons for payment or non-payment of bride-price viz. its compensation for the loss of a member through distant post-marital residence. Residential concentration has made bride-price payment nearly redundant in the new setting. A man can dispense his obligations to his affines, help
them in economic tasks and in other ways without necessarily having to shift residence, or if he does, without thereby cutting himself off from his own agnatic group. The relationship between bride-price payment and post-marital residence has become virtually meaningless at Bakoiudu, and is a strong point in favour of those who delay paying, even though this only accentuates the problem of group membership.

Against this background, it is surprising that the settlers nevertheless widely hold the view that bride-price payment should be enforced at Bakoiudu. The reasons for this, as we have seen, stem from their increased awareness that the traditional kinship system with its indeterminate group membership is incompatible with the need to regularize ownership, succession and inheritance in the rubber plantation. At present, short-sighted economic egocentrism and residential considerations are marked obstacles to the restoration of bride-price on a wide scale. Nevertheless, given the flexibility of the traditional kinship system, it seems that this would be one way of averting widespread confusion over the distribution of cash returns from the plantation, and later, over the transfer of ownership.

It is interesting to speculate on how the Kuni will resolve the conflicting interests which are likely to come to a head when tapping starts in the plantation toward the end of 1967. Assuming, for argument's sake, that the problems outlined above are not resolved by the formation of a co-operative venture (in which case
individual ownership and succession become less relevant), we may ask how the present impasse can be breached. On the basis of current attitudes two possibilities suggest themselves, both based on the restoration of bride-price which is the settlers' own starting point.

In the first instance, given the present confusion of inau membership where many adults have close ties with affinal or maternal patrilineages and only hold nominal membership of their own agnatic inau, it is highly unlikely that bride-price payment will be enforced specifically to assert agnatic inau membership. It is more probable that the emphasis in payments will be on establishing unchallengeable membership of a single inau, rather than on asserting any specific line of descent. In other words agnatic, affinal and maternal patrilineages, including inau of adoption and/or residence, will become potential bidders as it were, for the membership of any person. In this event, strictly speaking, payments would no longer be bride-price payments although they would perform essentially the same function of stabilizing the inau membership of the persons concerned and their children.

The drawbacks of this alternative, as indeed of the traditional bride-price system as a whole, is that the relationship of the individual vis-à-vis his co-inau members remains undefined. Group membership is ensured, but the system remains essentially communal since traditionally bride-price was paid by the joint contribution of all inau members. The individual would
therefore remain indebted to those who had co-opted him into their inau, and the problem of inheritance and distribution would merely be reduced, not resolved.

The second possibility and the more logical one considering the current emphasis on individual enterprise and personal gain, is that individuals will take it upon themselves to pay bride-price (or any other payments) without soliciting the help of any kinsmen. This would liberate them from extended lineal ties, at least with respect to cash-cropping obligations, at the same time that it would ensure patrilineal succession and inheritance. Some settlers, particularly young married couples, have already indicated an implicit leaning towards this alternative in their assiduous attempts to pay off their own bride-price without the help of kinsmen. Whether or not this will become the established practice remains to be seen. But it is almost certain that the prevailing system of indefinite kinship relations cannot meet the challenge of commercial cropping in the future.

In conclusion, it is possible to abstract two main principles underlying traditional Kuni kinship organization and to review these in historical perspective. The first principle is clearly that formal (as opposed to nominal) inau membership is validated by the payment of bride- or groom-price; and the second, which underlies the first, is that the payment of bride-price in turn depends on spatial separation. Generally speaking, the closer the
residence between the contracting parties to a marriage, the less emphasis is likely to be put on the payment of bride-price and vice versa. In other words, it is possible to discuss the changes in kinship organization outlined in this chapter at the outcome of changes in one variable viz. residence patterns. In Barnes' terms (1960: 858) 'the social significance of spatial separation has changed radically' several times in Kuni since contact. A brief comparison of these changes and their effects will highlight the interrelation between the various factors underlying Kuni kinship organization.

Before contact, the threat of raiding and warfare accounted for relatively compact residential habits: hamlets were large stable units and those of a single parish tended to be clustered close together. Spatial separation was not great, and the contracting parties in a marriage were often co-residents of the same or adjoining hamlet(s). Under these conditions bride-price payment was rarely enforced since the acquisition of wealth was offset by easy access to the labour and co-operation of the new family. Patriliny was the rule. Bride-price payments were required only in marriages between spouses who resided in different parishes or in far-distant hamlets. However, these marriages were relatively few because of the suspicion and hostilities which then prevailed between different groups in Kuni. Spatial separation thus corresponded roughly to kinship separation (cf. Sahlins 1965: 149-58).
Contact and pacification brought a marked increase in the spatial separation of hamlets. Hamlets fragmented and dispersed throughout parish territory, forming small and unstable residential units. This fact, added to the safety of movement within Kuni, resulted in the extension of marriage ties across parish boundaries. This meant that post-marital residence involved the removal of one (or both) spouses from their hamlets of origin, thus depriving their kinsmen of their manpower. Bride-price payments were rigidly enforced during this early post-contact period in order to compensate *inau* for the loss of a member. Patrilineality remained the established norm.

Later, however, about the forties, there was a relaxation in the demand for bride-price as a result of Catholic attitudes to monogamy, and the exodus of men from Kuni during World War II. Spatial separation continued to increase in the wake of hamlet segmentation, but the shortage of manpower and the need to recruit members to the local group worked against the enforcement of bride-price payment. Instead, homelanders preferred a system of alternating residence whereby both the bride and the groom's kin had access to the manpower of the new family. Bilocality and non-payment of bride-price undermined formal patrilineity and gave rise to a quasi-cognatic kinship system.

Resettlement introduced a radical change in the significance of spatial separation. By homeland standards, Bakoiudu settlers resided in a large extended hamlet where residential distance was virtually
negligible. Indeed, post-resettlement residence patterns were the closest approximation to pre-contact ones. In both cases the payment of bride-price appeared redundant since all settlers were in close proximity to all others. However, this did not mean that patrilineal succession was automatically restored. On the contrary, residential associations changed so radically at Bakoiudu, and mobility was so high, that many individuals were still in the process of sorting out their parish and inau allegiances several years after resettlement.

The necessity for this was brought home urgently by the involvement of the settlers in cash cropping and by their realizing that unambiguous group membership would have to be restored if chaos in the rubber plantation was to be averted. As a result, towards the end of 1964, settlers began to advocate that bride-price payment should be made compulsory at Bakoiudu although economic and residential considerations undermined the immediate implementation of this decision.

The solution to the present crisis between traditional kinship organization and the problems posed by commercial cropping was perhaps unwittingly expressed by an unmarried youth at Bakoiudu:

First I'll go to Port Moresby and make a lot of money. Then I shall come back here, get married and pay my bride-price in cash. Nobody will argue over me then, or bully me around. I'll live where it pleases me, grow as much rubber as I care and spend my money as I wish, like Europeans do.
This approach represents the opposite extreme to the communal spirit in which resettlement was initially undertaken with its emphasis on group solidarity and kompani benefits. Its assertion of individual interests is symptomatic of the emerging spirit at Bakoiudu and points to a new phase in the socio-economic development of the resettled Kuni.
Looking back at the course of events in Kuni since the turn of the century and particularly during the last six years, it is clear that various influences have operated at different times either to initiate change, to promote it or to restrict its rate and extent. Lawrence makes the same point when he distinguishes between precipitating and enabling conditions of change, 'the one being represented by the history of contact and the other by the native culture' (1964: 223). With some adjustment and elaboration, this distinction forms a convenient framework for the analysis of social change in Kuni.

Precipitating Conditions of Change

We may discern several historical events which precipitated change in Kuni, or which exerted particular pressure on the social structure prevailing at any time. The first precipitating factor was undoubtedly European contact at the turn of the century with its twofold repercussion of pacification and evangelization. These factors in turn introduced important changes in the rules governing social relationships in traditional Kuni society (cf. Mair 1964: 1).
In the first place, pacification led to a redefinition of the roles of traditional hereditary peace- and warrior-chiefs. The abolition of homicide, raiding and warfare deprived them of important external sanctions which had bolstered their positions and enforced order and social control in pre-contact Kuni society. The role of warrior-chiefs in particular was affected by this change. On the other hand, traditional chiefs assumed the positions of Village Councillors and Village Constables created by the Administration, and this additional prestige to some extent compensated for their loss of actual power under the new system.

Secondly, by removing the threat of raiding and warfare, pacification led to a change in residential organization. Hamlets segmented under the pressure of internal quarrels, and the newly formed sectors established independent residential sites scattered throughout Kuni. Post-contact hamlet segmentation in turn engendered other changes: marriage alliances were spread farther afield as a result of the scatter of small residential units; bride (or groom)-price payment was rigidly enforced to compensate local groups for the loss of members through marriage; and additional Village Councillors were appointed to the new hamlets. Since most of the segmenting groups did not have their own traditional chiefs, this meant that commoners were for the first time elected to positions of authority, thereby undermining the former monopoly of power of hereditary chiefs. Residential dispersal also threatened the viability of the small units thus formed.
and made them particularly vulnerable to the devastation of epidemics. The alleged depopulation of Kuni was imputed to these changes in residential habits.

Finally, pacification and the removal of threats of aggression resulted in increased mobility both within Kuni and between the Kuni and neighbouring tribes. As a result of this, the Kuni adopted many foreign culture traits, one of which was the practice of sorcery. As belief in the efficacity of sorcery spread throughout Kuni, so did the importance of this trait as an internal sanction regulating social behaviour. To some extent belief in sorcery replaced raiding and warfare as a means of inducing social conformity. Though conclusive evidence lacks, there is a suggestion that traditional warrior-chiefs achieved particular prominence as manipulators of sorcery.

Another important change precipitated by European contact was the establishment of the Roman Catholic Mission in Kuni. Given the geographic isolation of the area and the insignificant influence of the Administration over the Kuni, the Mission was able to assume a position of unchallenged authority over them. As the repositor of whatever education, economic and medical facilities existed in the area, it was the main channel for introducing the Kuni to western values and practices. This meant that the process of acculturation was to a large extent limited and controlled by the Mission which operated here in a role of benevolent despotism.
Mission control was manifest by the establishment of a network of secondary stations run by specially trained Kuni catechists and prayer-leaders who were responsible to Mission staff stationed at Obaoba. These catechists and prayer-leaders, many of whom were young men of non-chiefly status, sometimes assumed considerable importance and presented a new challenge to the authority of hereditary chiefs.

More importantly, however, the arrival of the Mission led to the evangelization of the Kuni. This had widespread repercussions on their traditional way of life. Many customs were explicitly condemned and to a large extent eradicated e.g. infanticide, polygyny, abortion. In other spheres the change was less radical, involving a change in values and new orientations. Thus for example, Catholic sexual mores indirectly led to a reassessment of the practice of bride-price payment, leading to its relaxation and consequent changes in kinship organization. Catholic morality with its emphasis on personal salvation and the responsibility of each individual before God, generated new internal sanctions for regulating behaviour and inducing social conformity. This was accentuated by the stress on eternal punishment and damnation which typified the evangelical approach of the early missionaries.

Despite the accent on formal and compulsory adherence to Catholic doctrine, however, Kuni Catholicism incorporated many aspects of traditional religion. Religious syncretism was derived from
mistaken identification of Catholic with traditional beliefs in spirits, and was founded on traditional Kuni religion with its pragmatic, socially-orientated stress on the relationship between the individual and society. Subsequently, these characteristics of Kuni Catholicism facilitated adaptation to change under resettlement conditions.

The next precipitator of change in Kuni was the outbreak of World War II which led to the emigration of able-bodied men from the area. The effect of this was to undermine the residential and economic stability of life in the homelands even further. As a result local groups turned upon themselves, as it were, and sought to consolidate their meagre membership by refusing bride-price for their daughters while offering bride-price for their daughters-in-law. Kinship organization was much affected by this new emphasis and the strength for the preference for patriliny declined considerably. Hamlet segmentation reached such proportions that Administration and Mission officials expressed serious concern about the future of the Kuni whose overall population continued to decrease during this period. The war also led to a re-orientation of Mission policy and to a new emphasis on socio-economic development. This led to an attempt to introduce cash cropping in coffee, but the scheme failed largely due to transport and marketing difficulties. The post-war period thus saw a general deterioration in the conditions of life in Kuni. This was accentuated by the withdrawal of Mission staff from the area. The introduction of head
tax in 1958 gave an additional incentive for men to leave the homelands.

Resettlement in 1961 precipitated major changes in the traditional life of the Kuni. This involved the unprecedented relocation of over 800 settlers at one settlement, engendering far-reaching changes in traditional kinship, residential and leadership organization. These changes were accentuated by the haphazard and disorganized way in which resettlement took place. The lack of facilities for newcomers at Bakoiudu forced settlers into residential and economic associations which often cut across traditional kinship and parish solidarities. Residential dispersal and disregard for former groupings in turn undermined the authority of traditional chiefs whose position was subsequently further challenged by the election of leaders and Councillors.

In addition to these changes in residential organization and leadership, resettlement precipitated other changes through the introduction of rubber planting on a large scale. This led to substantial changes in economic activity, particularly with respect to work organization. Initially, the settlers were motivated by collective interests and communal solidarity, expressed in their reference to themselves as kompani. Later, however, individual interests became dominant and settlers began to strive after their own best advantage in an attempt to emulate the European way of life (ba-nao). It then became increasingly clear to them that diffuse kinship ties
were incompatible with their new aspirations, particularly with respect to the distribution of cash income, and ownership and succession in the rubber plantation. As a result many settlers advocated that payment of bride-price should be made compulsory in order that strict patrilineality might be restored. It remains to be seen whether or not this practice will be resumed at Bakoiudu.

Looking ahead, attention may be drawn to two further likely precipitating conditions of change. The first of these is likely to confront the Kuni before the end of 1967, when tapping begins in the plantation. It is then that the settlers will be forced to come to terms with some of the obscurities of their present social organization where kinship ties are only vaguely defined and where kinship rights and obligations are equally fluid. It is almost certain that current happy-go-lucky attitudes will be abandoned, and that the settlers will have to re-assess the respective importance of residential and kinship ties. Rules of descent and inheritance will also have to be defined in terms compatible with the practical realities of cash cropping. The processing of rubber latex is almost certain to pose serious difficulties as well, particularly if a centralized processing plant is established in preference to smaller units scattered at convenient intervals throughout the sprawling plantation. In addition, the settlers may eventually be faced with problems of consumption and investment, to which may be added changes in values and problems of
adaptation resulting from a way of life centred on commercial enterprise.

Another likely precipitator of change in the future is the possible return of Port Moresby Kuni to Bakoiudu if the plantation is a success. Although urban Kuni are sceptical at present about Bakoiudu and their alleged rights to participation in the activities there (cf. Appendix 4), they are clearly interested in the progress of the plantation. Many claim to be disenchanted with life in Port Moresby where they migrated before resettlement when the whole of Kuni was stagnating. If current problems at Bakoiudu are resolved and if the plantation truly operates at its maximal output (estimated at $100,000 gross income per annum, cf. The Age February 8, 1967), it may be that the trend of migration will be reversed and that some Port Moresby Kuni will return to their homelands. This is likely to happen on a small scale in any case as there is a shortage of Kuni women in Port Moresby and young men tend to return home to find brides. Whatever the reason for returning to the tribal area, it is likely that the influx of urban Kuni to Bakoiudu will have some repercussions on the way of life there and may indeed precipitate important changes.

However, the alternative possibility must also be envisaged, namely, that settlers may exploit the plantation merely as a means to travel to Port Moresby with some pocket money and stay for an indefinite period there. This trend is already apparent in the marked increase in trips to Port Moresby by tribal Kuni
since resettlement and the opening of local avenues of cash employment. In other words, the plantation may come to be looked upon as a stepping-stone to interests which are focussed essentially out of Bakoiudu. This is especially likely to happen if the settlers do not find satisfactory or sufficient means to invest their money, or simply to spend it, at the settlement. Significantly, anticipation of this need underlay the establishment of the Kuni Club which the settlers looked upon as the potential social and recreative centre of Bakoiudu, in addition to its primary function in financing a co-operative store. In this respect it is important to note that Father Boell opposed the establishment of the Club in 1964 on the grounds that it was premature. Though his judgment was subsequently proved correct by the closure of the store and the failure of the Club in every respect except the promotion of rugby matches against Port Moresby Kuni, it may be that the Mission has alienated itself from one of the potentially most important foci of communal life at Bakoiudu.

To recapitulate, post-contact changes in Kuni can be traced initially to the influence of extraneous factors upon this society, or as Lawrence puts it, to its history of contact. The main precipitating conditions of change were first, the arrival of the Europeans resulting in pacification and evangelization; then World War II and finally, resettlement in 1961. We may now turn to the analysis of the processes whereby change was actually brought about.
Enabling Conditions of Change

Whereas precipitating conditions of change depend largely on external variables, enabling conditions of change refer more specifically to intrinsic characteristics of both the recipient and the donor cultures which facilitate change. In this latter respect our interpretation of enabling conditions varies from that of Lawrence who limits it to attributes of the 'native culture'. The reasons for this are discussed later in this section.

The reaction of the Kuni to western contact was characterized by an overriding pragmatic approach to new values and practices, whether in the religious, economic or political spheres. Similar adaptibility has typified the reaction of many other New Guinean societies to European contact, though the reasons why this should be so have rarely been spelt out by scholars in more than vague generalizations about the so called 'deeply pragmatic and materialistic' attitudes of a particular people (cf. Watson 1964: 9); their welcoming of new ways (Oram 1966a: 26); or their dexterity as 'cultural improvisors' (Held 1951). These generalizations tell us little about the reasons for these attitudes or about the processes whereby adaptation and change are actually brought about (cf. Sinha 1960).

In Kuni, it is possible to trace the enabling conditions of change to at least three main sources: first, to their pre-contact history; second, to the distinctive structural configuration of Kuni society at
the time of western contact; and third, to the nature of contact and some permissive characteristics of the donor culture.

The reconstruction of Kuni pre-contact history remains difficult on account of the conflicting evidence of cultural (especially linguistic) and physical traits, some of which are of northern (Papuan) origin, while others derive from coastal (Melanesian) tribes. It is not clear whether the Kuni adopted these foreign culture traits during their alleged pre-contact migrations, or whether acculturation was forced upon them by conquering invaders. The combination and integration of different cultural influences was so complex that historians and anthropologists have not yet been able to establish their origin conclusively. Nevertheless, it is certain that the Kuni were exposed to several different cultural influences before contact, and that change and adaptation were part of their cultural heritage at the time of contact.

Indeed, the Kuni are very conscious of their comparatively flexible approach to custom and are fond of contrasting themselves to surrounding tribes whom they claim to be much more parochial and less adaptable to changing conditions. Significantly, several informants explained this characteristic by referring to pre-contact migrations when the Kuni allegedly intermingled with other tribes and adopted their ways. The historical accuracy of this postulate is less relevant than the insight which it gives into Kuni self-evaluation (cf. Mair 1957: 243). The Kuni look
upon themselves as distinct from neighbouring tribes even though they have drawn freely on their culture traits, taking what suited and rejecting what did not, 'exactly as we approach European customs nowadays'.

This attitude certainly underlined the acceptance of the first missionaries, allegedly 'because they brought us good things that we had never had before'. Pragmatic considerations based on the traditional belief that material success could be ensured by supernatural means no doubt also accounted for the eagerness with which the Kuni sought religious instruction. Similar traits are clearly detectable in the characteristic syncretism of Kuni Catholicism which, as we shall see later in this section, stood the settlers in good stead at Bakoiudu and was an important enabling condition of change. Flexibility and adaptability likewise characterized the reaction of the Kuni to Administration control. Pacification was not resisted and new offices were incorporated into the traditional leadership structure. Similar adaptability was demonstrated by the overall adjustment of the settlers to resettlement conditions, notwithstanding problems relating to leadership and work organization. This was particularly marked in the settlers' attitudes towards cash cropping and their modification or denunciation of traditional customs where these clashed with the new goals that the resettled Kuni had set for themselves. These goals were epitomized in the notion of ba-nao, expressing the aspiration of the settlers to emulate Europeans and to approximate a western standard of life.
The adaptability and pragmatism demonstrated or implicit in all these approaches were clearly important enabling conditions of change. To the Kuni, these characteristics are not extraneous explanatory factors. They make an explicit connection between their contemporary capacity for adjustment and their pre-contact past when they were allegedly migrating from the mountains towards the coastal plains and when adaptation was a condition of survival. In Mead's terms, 'culture contact was an active choice' for them (1956: 442). They neither opposed the new influences by entrenching themselves in their traditional order, nor did they submit unconditionally to western values and practices. Throughout, the approach of the Kuni to western contact was characterized by selective adaptation and the absence of any dominant or unshakeable single principle or overriding ideal of change. Their past history made them particularly favourably inclined towards change, aware as they apparently were that cultural forms differed and could be changed (cf. Mead 1956: 458; Luzbetak 1963: 270-1). It is in this sense that the historical background of the Kuni can be described as an important enabling condition of change.

Change was also facilitated by the structural configuration of Kuni society at the time of contact. Despite certain formal traits e.g. hereditary chieftainship and a tendency towards patriliney, Kuni social structure was essentially unrigid (cf. Barnes 1962, Brown 1962, Pouwer 1964). Politically, it
consisted of a large number of semi-autonomous local patrilines, each usually residing in a single hamlet, the latter in turn contained in one of 14 distinct territorial units or parishes. Although several hamlets or parishes might unite for offensive or defensive purposes, or for other reasons, these associations were informal and did not prescribe to any set rule or structural principle.

This was also true of kinship organization where membership of the basic kinship group (inau) could be achieved by residential association in addition to being agnatically prescribed. This relationship between residential factors and kinship organization was perhaps the most important single enabling condition of change. It facilitated adjustment to changed circumstances after contact, particularly after resettlement, by providing individuals with the possibility of changing group membership within a fluid framework, without inviting social or political anarchy in the system (cf. Lundsgaarde 1966: 7).

The permissiveness of traditional social structure gave the individual Kuni considerable freedom to manoeuvre (Mair 1964: 2). This characteristic was particularly marked during the first months of resettlement when the settlers were uprooted from their traditional socio-economic environment and placed in a situation where maximization of opportunities and manipulation of relationships became the determinants of successful adjustment. Resettlement widened the choices and broadened the spheres for manoeuvring
which had always been implicit in the traditional indeterminate relationship between group membership based on descent and that based on residential association. In pre-contact and pre-settlement days, however, these alternatives had been inhibited by the pressures of raiding and warfare, and by the regulating mechanism of bride-price payment which had restricted the choice of group membership. In particular, spatial distance between groups had led to the almost automatic association of the individual with one group rather than another.

At Bakoiudu, however, spatial separation became negligible as a determinant of group membership, and individuals were liberated from the restricting factors which had operated in the homelands. They found themselves more free to determine their group membership according to their best advantage by exploiting particular kinship and/or residential ties. This trend was essentially a continuation of traditional recruiting practices, with the important difference that initiative rested much more on the individual, and that the motivations for changing affiliation had changed considerably (cf. Mair 1964: 4). Thus, traditionally, a change in group membership was often the outcome of negotiations between groups in which the individual was subject to the pressures of kin groups on whom he/she depended for support in major life crises e.g. payment of bride-price. Recruitment of members to the local group was then motivated by reasons of collective security, prestige and access to
manpower. At Bakoiudu, however, individuals increasingly took the responsibility of changing group membership upon themselves, caring little for the stricture of kinsmen. Choice of alliance (or non-alliance) was increasingly dictated by interest in cash cropping, pre-occupation with individual prosperity and personal preference. This trend towards increased individualism owed much to the traditional indeterminate system whereby residence and descent were rival criteria of group membership. As we shall see in the next section, this flexibility nevertheless had its negative aspects in that it blurred the principle of lineality and posed new problems which later inhibited the rate of change. Generally speaking, however, the lack of rigidity in traditional social structure was undoubtedly an enabling condition of change, particularly during the first year of resettlement.

So far, following Lawrence, we have been discussing enabling conditions of change by referring specifically to permissive aspects of traditional Kuni culture. For a balanced appreciation of enabling conditions of change, however, it is also necessary to take into account aspects of western culture which facilitated change in the contact situation. In the preceding section we have drawn attention to the history of contact and to the impact of western culture as a precipitating condition of change. The distinction which we would introduce at this stage is between the historical fact of contact as a precipitator of change, and the nature of contact as an enabling condition of
change; the latter including the analysis of aspects of the foreign culture which have been particularly conducive to change. This distinction is not academic but underlines an important variant in the study of social change. Thus for example, we may generalize that contact between different cultures invariably precipitates change. But the nature of that change and its rate are in turn determined by factors contained both within the donor and the recipient cultures. The situation in Kuni may have been quite different today if this people had been contacted by Germans rather than Australians, and/or evangelized by Lutherans or Roman Catholic Capuchins rather than by Roman Catholic Missionaries of the Sacred Heart.

The peaceful nature of contact and the absence of bloodshed in the course of pacification was perhaps not an important but nevertheless a contributory enabling condition of change in Kuni. Informants contrast their own attitudes to the Administration with those alleged to prevail among the Goilala where pacification involved resistance and bloodshed:

We do not oppose the Government because it was always good to us, gave us guns and chased the Japanese; but the Goilala were unjustly shot. That is why they refuse the Government and scorn it, rightly so.

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1 The point can be made even more precise: there is a distinct difference for example, between the approaches to evangelization and native custom of French Missionaries of the Sacred Heart and their German counterparts (cf. van Rijswijck 1966).
It is possible of course, that Kuni acceptance of administrative control was reinforced by the events which happened in Goilala to their immediate north. Nevertheless, relationships between the Administration and the people appear to have been remarkably amicable throughout the period of contact. If anything, the Kuni resented the infrequency of patrols and the lack of socio-economic advancement in their area for which they blamed the Administration. For the rest, innovations by the Administration e.g. the creation of the offices of Village Constables and Councillors, were incorporated into the traditional social structure thereby eliminating what could otherwise have been a source of conflict between traditional chiefs and appointed leaders. Though some Kuni land at Kubuna was alienated by the Administration, it was comparatively little and was left unexploited until 1962. There was some resentment among local Kuni over this, but certainly no widespread antagonism. In short, the Kuni were generally well-disposed towards the Administration and had no reason actively to oppose its propositions or to be suspicious of them.

This standpoint was endorsed after resettlement despite initial uneasiness about the outcome of migration. With time, and particularly after the appointment of Mr Abel, the settlers became even better disposed towards the Administration which sponsored the rubber plantation and made substantial sums of money available for road work and other projects. Some settlers, indeed, extended their enthusiasm to the
point of criticizing the Administration for not setting up a Government school at Bakoiudu to replace the 'useless' Mission one. In other contexts, persons who considered that they had been treated unjustly either by the Mission, the Councillors or by any other persons, would threaten to put the case before the next patrol or to refer it immediately to Sub-District Headquarters at Bereina, in Mekeo. Several did in fact put these threats into effect, confident that 'the Government is just and not fooled by anybody's talk'.

If positive Kuni attitudes towards the Administration were an enabling condition of change, this was no less true of their overall approach to the missionaries and their teachings. From the time of

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1 It must be mentioned that Kuni attitudes towards the Administration vary greatly depending on the context of discussion. As long as the Administration-in-Kuni is discussed, the attitudes outlined above predominate. However, as soon as discussion moves farther afield, to the role of the Administration in Goilala or Mekeo, or to its role as the 'Government of Papua', the Kuni are very critical indeed of its achievements and especially of its approach. The main criticism levelled against it is that it is 'too soft, not like the German Government which made New Guineans work. We Papuans laugh at our Government because it threatens and talks a lot, like women, but achieves little. Patrol officers talk of gaol "next time", but next time never comes, and we know it. But when we shall have our own government run by ourselves, black men over black people, we shall show the white man what law is, and what business [progress] means. In no time we shall be driving cars and wearing shoes and hats. Why? Because we shall be strong - not talkers'.
contact till the present day, the Kuni have remained very much under the influence of the Mission. This was the result of a number of factors: the isolation of the area from other centres or agents of western influence; the acephalous structure of traditional Kuni society which made it difficult to resist the missionaries collectively had the Kuni wanted to do so; and the forceful approach of the Mission, supported by its monopoly over educational and medical facilities and more particularly, over western goods. These factors certainly promoted the ascendancy of the Mission in Kuni, enabling it to evangelize this tribe and to introduce the important changes in customs and social organization discussed earlier.

However, the position of the Mission in Kuni was also bolstered by factors other than the extraneous ones mentioned above. From the very outset, the missionaries were accorded special deference by the Kuni; first, because they were initially mistaken for reincarnate legendary heroes; and second, because Catholic beliefs and practices were almost certainly erroneously looked upon as the source of the highly-valued goods of the missionaries. This correlation was no doubt based on the traditional belief that material benefits can be achieved by magical means, endorsed as it were, by the marked affinity between certain Catholic and traditional beliefs. These combined reasons probably accounted for the initial alacrity with which the Kuni sought religious instruction and
for their overall acquiescence to Mission teachings and the extension of Mission control over them.¹

Subsequently, conversion to Catholicism and devotion to the new faith replaced these earlier considerations as enabling conditions of change. Missionaries were able to introduce innovations in custom and organization by invoking Catholic values and sanctions. This was strikingly the case with respect to resettlement which the Kuni undertook almost as an act of religious obedience. Catholic attitudes likewise underlined the approach of the settlers to

¹ These expectations are very similar to those which have been described as the basis of cargo movements in other parts of New Guinea (cf. Lawrence 1964; Inglis 1957; Stanner 1958; Bodrogi 1951). It may be asked why similar movements did not develop among the Kuni when their hopes for material advancement were not fulfilled by conversion. While it is true that the Kuni were tantalized by western goods and that their socio-economic order underwent serious deprivation after contact, there were several important reasons why their frustration did not engender such movements. In the first place, relations between the Kuni and the missionaries were predominantly amicable, lacking the stress and conflict of race relations found in urban areas. Secondly, the remoteness of the area isolated the Kuni from influences which could have undermined the position of the Mission or even positively activated a cargo movement. A corollary of this isolation was that the Kuni were not exposed to the constant provocation of much material wealth to which they were denied access. The Mission in Kuni was relatively poor and well removed from the traffic of goods more characteristic of urban and coastal centres. Its position was reinforced by the fact that most Kuni who left the tribal areas rarely returned to contradict (continued p.389)
problems at Bakoiu during the first years of resettlement, when co-operation and unity derived not so much from economic or other interests, as from the image which the settlers had projected of themselves as members of a single Catholic community (cf. Firth 1956: 48; Hogbin and Wedgwood 1953: 75; Lawrence 1963: Oram 1966b: 41-2, 47, 1967: 10; Read 1952: 238).

In fact, the manipulation of Catholic values and sanctions by the settlers was perhaps the most important single enabling condition of change at

1 (continued from p. 388) the world-view of the homelanders. Another important factor was the lack of emphasis on the Apocalypse in Mission teachings, which could otherwise plausibly have aroused millenial expectations among the people (cf. Inselmann 1948: 27-8). In short, European contact did not raise enough expectations or upset the established order sufficiently to engender a cargomovement. An important consideration in this respect was that pre-contact Kuni society was not dominated by the preoccupation with accumulating wealth and goods which is so characteristic of other New Guinean societies. Leadership was ascribed by heredity and the introduction of western goods in no way threatened the established order. It is also possible that Kuni pragmatism and matter-of-factness made them less disposed to utilize cargo movements as channels for expressing their needs and aspirations. Nevertheless, there is no denying the prevalence of distinctly cargo cult-like traits in certain recent Kuni approaches. For example, resettlement was undertaken in a quasi-messianic spirit which has since been replaced by exaggerated expectations of economic prosperity in the near future. The possibility cannot be excluded that the settlers may react in an unprecedented manner if and when their hopes are dashed, unless their characteristic versatility intervenes once more and leads to readjustment (cf. Maher 1958: 90; Oram 1967: 38-41).
Bakoiudu. Even before resettlement the Kuni had shown considerable dynamism in their adoption of Catholicism, as demonstrated by its syncretic characteristics (cf. Burger's notion of 'constipated' cultures which do not produce syncretism, 1966: 108). However, it was especially after resettlement, when the settlers were confronted with major problems of cultural and structural adjustment that Catholicism was deliberately utilized by them as a means of bringing about change and of bridging the gap between the old order and the new.

This was a new approach, quite distinct from the formal reiteration of Catholic doctrine which characterized the approach of Father Boell and which had also typified that of catechists and komisi before resettlement. Without losing its dogmatic and formal attributes, Catholicism was invested with a certain dynamism and treated almost as an independent variable by the settlers. We have seen how their approach to Bakoiudu as a Catholic community did much to engender a spirit of solidarity among them, particularly during the first years when they were strangers there. This orientation was initially infused by Father Boell, but was subsequently apprehended and elaborated upon by local leaders. Thus Toneba appealed to kompani values in order to ensure economic co-operation in the rubber plantation, and Councillors enjoined settlers to live in harmony as good Catholics should. Although it is difficult to gauge the impact of this approach, there is little doubt that it was effective for some time and
that it achieved concrete results as an internal sanction when other sanctions failed.

In other instances, however, the manipulation of Catholic values was more explicit. Thus certain (economically impracticable) mortuary ceremonies were publicly denounced as being pagan and inconsistent with Catholicism, despite the fact that these very same practices had been in vogue for 60 years without having invited this stricture. In fact, most traditional practices which proved to be cumbersome at Bakoiudu or which conflicted with new trends accentuating individual advantage, were roundly dismissed as being 'pagan'. In this return to 'pure' form, the settlers unwittingly exposed many syncretic aspects of pre-resettlement Catholicism and it is not impossible that this may lead to changes in the nature of Kuni Catholicism in the future.

However, though Catholic arguments were deliberately invoked to sanction changes in certain customs, it did not follow that the Kuni used this approach continuously or at all consistently. As we have seen with respect to the gayaya custom, the settlers first denounced Father Boell's suggestion that it should be abolished by arguing that he understood nothing about traditional Kuni hospitality and reciprocity. Later, however, when the settlers realized the economic soundness of the missionary's approach, they endorsed it, advocating that gayaya be abandoned and that settlers help each other without looking for a reward, or, as a catechist put, like good
Samaritans. More recently still, the good Samaritan approach is being replaced by a new emphasis on individual advantage where communal interests are becoming less relevant. This is particularly true of social relationships and dealings relating to cash cropping which the Kuni categorize as highly competitive and ego-centred activity. Nevertheless, when the occasion arises, Catholic values can be invoked even in this context. This was clearly demonstrated for example, by the lifting of mourning taboos at Bakoiudu, allegedly because bereaved relatives would 'do better to go to Mass to pray for their dead than to sit secluded in huts crying', but in effect because labour was needed on the rubber plantation.

It is clear from these examples that Catholicism was more than an enabling condition of change at Bakoiudu. It was the very mechanism whereby change was instituted, rationalized and upheld - not automatically, but by the deliberate invocation of Catholic values and sentiments in specific circumstances. Although anyone could utilize this method, it was mostly used by persons in authority: elected leaders, Councillors and traditional chiefs who, finding themselves bereft of sanctions in the new setting, exploited this means to institute changes and uphold their positions. Significantly, the resettled Kuni do not consider themselves bound by the changes introduced in the name of Catholicism. There is evidence that certain customs which were denounced as pagan in the first year of resettlement when economic conditions were at their
lowest ebb, are now being reinstituted because that was the way of our forefathers.

This apparent contradiction does not strike the Kuni. The attitude which underlies it is essentially the same as that which accounted for their initial adaptation to European influence and for their adjustment at Bakoiudu. It stems from their characteristic pragmatism and adaptability reaching back to their pre-contact past. For this reason they see no contradiction in moving from one cultural context to another, or, as Goodenough puts it, 'from one operating culture to another' (1963: 261).

To sum up, conditions which facilitated change in Kuni can be traced both to the nature of contact and to the enabling conditions within Kuni society itself, namely, its non-rigid social structure and its traditional scope for manipulating and manoeuvering social relationships. Overriding these factors, however, and particularly meaningful as an enabling condition of change during and after resettlement, was the utilization of Catholic values and sanctions to direct change and regulate adjustment in the spheres of economic, kinship and political (leadership) relations.

The pervasiveness of religious considerations in secular affairs may appear incongruous, and in some cases even, self-contradictory. This is not so if, dogma set aside, Kuni Catholicism is analysed against traditional attitudes towards religious beliefs and practices. These were essentially pragmatic and materialistic, and religion was seen as a technology
rather than a spiritual force for human salvation (Lawrence and Meggitt 1965: 18). Far from being looked upon as removed from the physical order in a symbolic or mystical sense, traditional religion was considered almost an extension of the social system and thus inseparable from it (Lawrence 1963: 6). This approach provides the key to understanding present-day Kuni manipulation of Catholicism in secular activity. What is taking place is essentially a continuation of the traditional approach to religion seen as a dynamic system, inseparable from the established social order, and actively engaged in changing it. Some scholars, indeed, look upon this combination of religious and secular factors in situations of forced or accelerated change, not only as inevitable, but as a necessary condition of success. Thus according to Goodenough:

It is difficult, moreover, to see how a development project that plans for any major reorganization of a people's way of life can succeed without acquiring some of the religious and totalitarian overtones of spontaneous revitalization movements (1963: 302 ff.).

In this light, the preoccupation of the settlers with Catholic values, and their emphasis on their identity as a Catholic community acquire added significance. Under the stress and strain of resettlement, Catholicism has proved a boon - rationalizing changes, validating and even originating them. For this reason it has emerged as the most important enabling condition of change at Bakojudu, facilitating adjustment and paving the way for the changes which must inevitably still follow.
Inhibiting Conditions of Change

Although the Kuni have shown considerable adaptability to the changes precipitated by contact and especially by resettlement, it cannot be said that their adaptation has been complete or equally successful on all fronts. For example, it is already apparent that the existing systems of economic organization and leadership are unsatisfactory, and that they are ill-adapted to cope with current problems of work organization and maintaining order and social control. The position is likely to become aggravated when tapping begins and when, judging by present trends, the prevailing opposition to formalized leadership becomes even more explicit. The discrepancy between traditional institutions, norms, practices and needs, and those currently emerging at Bakoiudu may then well reach a point of chronic maladjustment which may seriously threaten the stability of the settlement.

The source of this maladjustment in economic organization and leadership can be traced to a common factor, namely, the incompatibility of certain aspects of the traditional kinship system with the particular conditions and needs which have arisen at the settlement. The traditional ambiguity between rights ascribed by descent and rights achieved through residential association has become accentuated at Bakoiudu where residential proximity is so marked. Whereas this trait was decidedly an enabling condition of change during the first months of resettlement, it gradually became a source of tension as individuals
found themselves torn between divergent loyalties and responsibilities. Indeterminate group membership was particularly a source of conflict in the rubber plantation where concern with labour recruitment, maximizing resources and the operation of the work book system gave rise to competition and rivalry. This can only be expected to increase in the future with regards to distributing the cash returns of the plantation, inheritance and succession unless the settlers find a means of effectively formalizing group membership. Unless and until this is done, the traditional system of Kuni kinship characterized by a high degree of optation and widespread multiple affiliation can only inhibit adaptive change to the economic problems posed by cash cropping on a large scale.

In addition to these basic difficulties, economic development was also hampered by the absence of an effective leadership or body of sanctions (cf. Salisbury 1962: 328). This meant that the problems outlined above were aggravated by the fact that there was virtually no means of enforcing any economic programme, or of ensuring concerted activity at given times. While the community-mindedness of the settlers at the beginning, and their initial enthusiasm for cash cropping, somewhat compensated for these drawbacks during the first years of resettlement, this attitude cannot be expected to prevail indefinitely. Settlers are already beginning to play down the importance of group interests and to emphasize individual advantage. Since it is almost inevitable that the interest of
different individuals will clash sooner or later, there is clearly a need for an effective framework within which these interests can be channelled and where disputes can be resolved by mutually acceptable means.

At present there is no such framework at Bakoiudu, despite attempts to introduce a centralized authority and leadership, first through the system of elected leadership and then through the appointment of Councillors. The reasons for this are essentially the same as those which underlie problems of economic organization, namely, the clash between traditional and new institutions, and more particularly, the tenacity of traditional notions of kinship and descent despite their inapplicability to new forms. We have seen how the authority of elected leaders and Councillors clashed with that of traditional inau chiefs, undermining the authority of the latter and simultaneously weakening the position of the former. This was because the settlers elected their new leaders and Councillors in terms of the traditional principle of hereditary leadership.

As a result, the new structure of leadership was scarcely different from the old though its ability to exercise authority over the people was profoundly changed (cf. Goodenough 1963: 360). This was largely because individual leaders were faced with conflicting loyalties. On one hand, their position as Councillors required them to give priority to the interests of the settlement as a whole; on the other, their persisting status as peace- or warrior-chiefs in their own inau
invested them with responsibility towards their local group. The settlers quickly apprehended the contradiction inherent to the position of the new leaders and exploited the situation by challenging their authority in either or both of their roles. This approach discredited all formalized authority at Bakoiudu thereby seriously impeding the process of change. Leaders recognized the need for implementing specific changes and for forcing the pace in certain spheres of activity, but found themselves devoid of sanctions and deprived of public support to do so. This can also partly be attributed to Administration policy which has been reluctant to recognize or promote the development of native courts.

Theoretically, we may describe the current situation at Bakoiudu as one of disequilibrium resulting from uneven change in different institutional fields, or as 'the failure to adjust novelty with tradition - a change in one respect without change in other respects' (Wilson 1945: 132; cf. Mair 1964; Plotnicov 1962). Thus, whereas the Kuni have adopted cash cropping, they have been unable, as yet, to resolve the weaknesses inherent to their traditional flexible kinship structure. On the contrary, they have exploited these traits for specific interests, thereby confusing group membership and rights of ownership, inheritance and succession in the rubber plantation.

The same applies to leadership and social control. Although they recognized the necessity for a centralized authority and adopted the new structure of
leadership proposed by the Administration, the settlers have continued to apply traditional criteria of hereditary leadership in their selection of leaders thereby indirectly perpetuating the system of localized leadership. The failure of the system clearly derives from the disparity between the settlers' aspirations and their continued adherence to the conventions underlying traditional leadership. As the Wilsons point out:

Any attempt to bolster up a legal system based on kinship is doomed to failure in an expanding society, for it is part of a small-scale system. Wide-scale law is a necessary part of a wide-scale society (1945: 162).

Analysed in these terms, there is little doubt that the social system at Bakoiudu contains the elements of radical opposition i.e. 'conflicting laws, contradictory concepts and disharmonious conventions... supported by the same people' (Wilson 1945: 127). There is a clear struggle between traditional and emerging forms, between old and new beliefs and practices. At present it is difficult to detect the trend of change, particularly as its course will depend on the success or otherwise of the rubber plantation. It is nevertheless meaningful that the settlers have suggested that bride-price should be made compulsory as a means of resolving problems of ownership and succession in the plantation. This approach indicates that traditional norms and practices are still very much operative and that they may be important determinants of future change (cf. Mair 1964: 6).
As the time for tapping the first rubber trees approaches, the settlers are entering into what is perhaps the most crucial phase since resettlement. Many problems which have not yet acquired much magnitude are likely to attain far greater proportions and will have to be resolved relatively quickly and effectively if untoward consequences are to be avoided. Notwithstanding these expected difficulties, however, given the way in which the settlers have so far reacted to resettlement, it is perhaps permissible to look to the future with guarded optimism. It is not impossible, after all, that the settlers may resolve their current problems of economic organization and leadership with the same flexibility that they have shown in the past in other contexts. The Kuni flair for manipulation and manoeuvering may once more serve the settlers in good stead in a setting where choices and alternatives for action are continually expanding.
In August 1964, just over three years after the beginning of resettlement, there were still over 1000 Kuni living in the homelands, scattered in some 46 hamlets. Half of these resided in 32 hamlets situated in the so-called tsalua or mountainous northern area of Kuni from which the bulk of the 840 settlers at Bakoiudu were drawn (cf. Table 1). The rest of the homelanders were so-called tsimana or plains Kuni, members of Lapeka and Idoido parishes who had never been directly involved in the resettlement project. The discussion which follows deals only with the former group of homelanders.

To facilitate description, it is possible to distinguish roughly between two main types of homelanders on the basis of their relative attachment to the homelands and of the nature of their association (or lack thereof) with Bakoiudu. One type comprises homelanders who are expressly opposed to resettlement, and who have very little to do with Bakoiudu or its residents. Many of these have demonstrated their objection to resettlement by aligning themselves to non-Kuni tribesmen rather than being associated in any way with the resettled Kuni. Although it is difficult to specify the homelanders who might be described in these terms, it would generally be true to say that most residents of Devadeva 2 and Kauaka parishes belong
to this category, in addition to the residents of Ufafa, Inauaia and Ilailava hamlets in Yaifa, Vale Bekena and Maimai parishes respectively (cf. Maps 1 and 2).

The reasons for this distribution are fairly obvious. Members of these parishes were the farthest removed from the new settlement site and therefore stood to be most alienated from their traditional homelands if they did resettle. Another factor was that these homeland areas formed the frontier between Kuni and non-Kuni tribal areas. Homelanders in these parts were particularly unwilling to leave their traditional haunts as they feared that neighbouring tribesmen might encroach upon their territory, steal their betelnuts or ravage their erstwhile hamlets (cf. KPR 4 of 1959/60). For this reason most homelanders in these remoter areas of Kuni opposed resettlement from the outset. Ironically, however, their increased isolation after resettlement prompted many of them to seek closer ties with neighbouring groups, to the point even of migrating out of Kuni into the other tribal area.

The second category of homelanders consisted of persons who, while they did not actively oppose resettlement, proposed to remain in the homelands for an indefinite period. Homelanders falling into this category were scattered throughout the homelands, including the frontier areas mentioned above. Their alleged reasons for remaining in the homelands varied greatly. Some, particularly the aged and infirm,
claimed that they would be unable to accustom themselves to a new way of life at Bakoiudu and expressed their desire to die in the homelands like their forefathers.¹ Others remained in the homelands merely to look after the former group, and proposed to resettle as soon as their responsibilities in the homelands were dispensed. Still others considered themselves as caretakers in the homelands, tending the betelnut groves, pigs and hamlets of the bulk of residents who had left for Bakoiudu (cf. White 1965: 86).

In addition to these two broad categories of homelanders which can be regarded as the more or less permanent core of homeland dwellers, there was also a floating population of Bakoiudu settlers who visited the homelands for varying lengths of time. Although these visitors did not, strictly speaking, fall into the category of homeland Kuni (nor have they been counted as such in the figures quoted earlier), they did nevertheless affect the way of life in the homelands. For this reason the relationship between visiting Bakoiudu settlers and homeland Kuni is given

¹ For example, a crippled Vale Bekena girl in her early twenties refused to go to Bakoiudu fearing derision and exposure of her handicap before many people. Her insistence on remaining in the homelands forced members of her inau to stay back to look after her. Two other families involving ten persons returned to the homelands after a trial spell at Bakoiudu - one on the grounds of ill-health at resettlement; the other on the dubious assertion that sweet potatoes are not as palatable at Bakoiudu as in the homelands.
special attention below, after which the two categories of homeland dwellers will also be discussed in some detail.

Bakoiudu Visitors in the Homelands

Resettlement did not bring about an immediate or final break between the settlers and the homeland Kuni. On the contrary, continued links with the homelands was one of the conditions of adjustment at Bakoiudu since the homelands served as the main supplier of staple food and cuttings for planting for the settlers at least for the first six months after resettlement. Subsequently, when these basic commodities were produced at Bakoiudu, the homelands became less crucial to the survival of the settlement.

To the majority of settlers, however, their former homes stand for more than the economic functions which they fulfilled during the early transition period of resettlement. The homelands have retained a sentimental hold on Bakoiudu residents who periodically return there to visit their ancestral groves and graves, to find relief from the tensions of community living at the settlement, and to indulge in fishing and hunting - traditional occupations which have become virtually obsolete at Bakoiudu. More important, the homelands have remained the main suppliers of betelnut, okari nuts and luxury foods associated with long-term cultivation. As a result, there is a continuous trickle of settlers visiting the homelands to satisfy their desire for these items. This movement reaches a
seasonal peak when the okari nut ripens about June. These semi-utilitarian considerations set aside, spontaneous visits to the homelands are also made for no other reason than that of wanderlust.

During the first years of resettlement, the organization of feasts in the homelands was another major reason for extensive visits there. Many settlers had left the homelands without having fulfilled their ritual and ceremonial obligations. Since conditions at Bakoiudu were hardly suitable for organizing feasts, numerous feasts were held in the homelands to perform mortuary rites and other ceremonies. In particular, the settlers found it necessary to lift traditional taboos relating to eating, dress and residential habits which were no longer practicable under resettlement conditions. Conversely, new prohibitions relating to the way of life at Bakoiudu were ceremoniously instituted at these feasts e.g. rules relating to courting and marriage, post-marital residence and so on.

The combination of these factors meant that Bakoiudu settlers retained close ties with the homelanders after resettlement. Of course, not all settlers visited the homelands as frequently, or for the same reasons. In a questionnaire survey of 43 Bakoiudu settlers (29 men, 14 women) undertaken by myself towards the end of 1963, only three informants (one of whom was too old to walk any longer), stated that they had never returned to the homelands since resettling. Of the remainder, 90 per cent had returned to the homelands at least once (more often up to five
times) to gather betelnut and/or okari nuts; 70 per cent had attended at least one (sometimes two or three) feasts in the homelands; 50 per cent (especially women informants) had returned to the homelands many times during the early stages of resettlement to bring down food and cuttings for planting for relatives at Bakoiudu; and 20 per cent had gone to the homelands specifically to hunt and/or fish. On an average, each informant had paid 3.48 visits to the homelands per year, amounting to about 60 days altogether (cf. Larson 1966: 123, 148-9).

The alleged motivations for visiting the homelands and the number and duration of visits invites some speculation on future possible trends of migration between Bakoiudu and the homelands (cf. White 1965: 70-1). In the first place, it is manifest that betelnut gathering was the primary motivation for returning to the homelands in 1963. This trend is likely to persist until the trees planted at Bakoiudu begin to bear - between 1968-70, depending on the time of planting. Although it is unlikely that homeland groves of betelnut will ever be abandoned altogether, it is almost certain that the provision of a local supply of betelnut will appreciably cut down the number of visits to the homelands. This is in fact what happened when Bakoiudu became self-sufficient in staple foods: there was an immediate reduction and later a cessation of trips to the homelands for the purpose of gathering food supplies for the settlers. Similar developments may reasonably be expected with respect to the gathering of betelnuts.
The same argument may be applied in reverse to trips made to the homelands to visit relatives or for ceremonial reasons, where the continued presence of relatives and pigs was a pre-condition of the journey. It would be reasonable to expect the number of such visits to decrease proportionately to the decrease in the number of relatives and pigs in the homelands, particularly the former. At the time of the 1963 survey mentioned earlier, 53 per cent of the 43 informants still had relatives in the homelands. Twenty-six per cent of these homelanders were said to be intending to descend to Bakoiudu as soon as their pigs had been slain;¹ another 36 per cent were reported to be undecided; while 38 per cent allegedly preferred to remain in the homelands. Significantly, although all informants had visited the homelands almost equally often, there was a marked difference in the duration of visits of informants who had relatives (and gardens) in the homelands, and the length of visits of informants who did not. These differences are demonstrated statistically in Table 3.

If current trends are any indication of the future pattern of relationship between Bakoiudu settlers and the homelanders, we may assume that it will continue to decrease in extent and intensity provided nothing untoward happens at Bakoiudu to reverse the present trend.

¹ Between 1963-5 there was an appreciable decrease in the number of feasts held in the homelands. Several of these feasts were terminated by setting fire to the hamlet thereby effectively terminating permanent ties with the homelands.
TABLE 5
HOMELAND VISITS : FREQUENCY AND DURATION BY KIN AND GARDEN TIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(40) Bakoiudu Informants</th>
<th>% Informants</th>
<th>No. of Visits to Homelands per Year per Informant</th>
<th>Average Duration of Homeland Visit, in Days</th>
<th>No. of Days in Homelands per Year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>With relatives and gardens in the homelands</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Without relatives or gardens in the homelands</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With gardens only in the homelands</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Three informants have been omitted in the drawing up of this Table because they did not return to the homelands after resettlement.
Homelands

As we have pointed out at the outset, it is possible to distinguish between two types of homelands: those who expressly oppose resettlement, and those who whilst not opposing it, nevertheless still inhabit the homelands for a variety of reasons. For the purpose of discussion we shall distinguish between these as permanent and temporary homelanders respectively. So called permanent homelanders can further be distinguished from temporary ones by their tendency to ally themselves with non-Kuni tribal groups, and by their almost complete dissociation from Bakoiudu. Temporary homelanders, by contrast, have not sought to establish relationships with other tribes, and almost all of them have either been to Bakoiudu themselves and/or have relatives living there.

Both types of homelanders, however, have developed an important feature in common since the resettlement of their fellow tribesmen in 1961, namely, a tendency for the members of hitherto separate homeland hamlets to group themselves into single residential units, some of these sometimes even including members of different parishes. Although the reasons for these post-resettlement population movements in the homelands appear to have been different for permanent and temporary homelanders, it is nevertheless interesting that resettlement generated the same reaction throughout the homelands.

As we would have expected, the population movements which have occurred amongst temporary
homelanders are closely related to the effect of resettlement upon them. Many hamlets lost a large number of their members to Bakoiudu. In some cases, indeed, only aged and infirm persons remained in the homelands, being cared for by resettled relatives who took it in turns to return to their old homes to look after them. This was an unsatisfactory arrangement as it interfered with the activities of settlers at Bakoiudu, particularly in the rubber plantation where it was important that as many persons as possible should be actively engaged. In fact, leaders at Bakoiudu were very much opposed to this system whereby settlers helped to sustain the homelanders to the detriment of their own work at the settlement. This was especially true of those instances where settlers were called upon to establish gardens, build huts or erect fences in homeland hamlets inhabited by able-bodied men and women. These were time-consuming activities which diverted manpower from Bakoiudu at the same time that they helped temporary homelanders to entrench themselves in the homelands. Most Bakoiudu settlers resented this, referring to all homelanders collectively as women, lazybones, or pagans.

Although Bakoiudu leaders lacked the sanctions and the authority to forbid prolonged visits to the homelands, enough pressure was exercised upon settlers and homelanders for the latter to take active steps to ensure a relative degree of self-sufficiency. Since traditional Kuni methods of horticulture were based on collective labour, the obvious way to achieve this was
for the members of hitherto separate small hamlets to unite into a single residential unit. This is in fact what happened. In most cases, some or all the members of a single parish set up joint residence. In a few instances the new residential units comprised members of different parishes.

In Devadeva 1 parish, for example, several homelanders refused to resettle at Bakoiudu after the death of their peace-chief on his way there. Being so far removed from the new settlement, the non-resettled homelanders soon realised that they could not rely on continuous or extensive help from resettled relatives. Accordingly, the members of three distinct hamlets decided to establish a joint hamlet for themselves at a new locality called Dube (pop. 29, May 1964). The residents of a fourth hamlet (Ifalua: pop. 8, May 1964) refused to settle at Dube even though they were invited to do so. This population movement had interesting repercussions. Whereas Dube residents became virtually self-sufficient, the temporary homelanders at Ifalua suffered deprivation and became almost entirely dependent on outside help to establish their gardens. Having estranged themselves from fellow Devadeva homelanders by refusing to settle at Dube, they depended more than ever on relatives residing at Bakoiudu. The latter, however, were impatient of the

The discrepancy between these figures and those given in Table 1 must be attributed to population movements between May and August 1964, when the Administration census was taken.
'stubborness' of their kinsmen in refusing to join the new homeland hamlet and for this reason, were reluctant to render assistance. It is clear that this state of affairs could not have endured for long and it would be interesting to know how the impasse was resolved.

Similar population movements occurred in other homeland parishes, with some local variations. Yaifa parish men, for example, were clearly divided in their attitudes to resettlement from the outset. The residents of Ufafa hamlet (pop. 25) opposed resettlement while the rest of Yaifa homelanders were prepared to migrate. However, misfortune struck them at Bakoiudu and within two months of resettling three of their members died, including a warrior-chief. Discouraged by these happenings, the members of Yaifa parish returned to the homelands, but they were unwilling to go back to their old hamlets which were relatively far removed from Bakoiudu. Instead, they set up two new hamlets at localities which were closer to the settlement, thereby enabling their residents to avail themselves of the facilities at Bakoiudu without actually living there.

The two hamlets in question were Kanibauni and Lie with populations of 11 and 10 respectively in May 1964. Lie residents were particularly eager that their hamlet should become the sole centre for Yaifa homelanders and hoped that this hamlet might eventually become the centre of a Yaifa cash-cropping industry since the terrain on the right bank of the Arabure was fairly flat and suited to large-scale development.
By far the most ambitious relocation, however, was planned by the temporary homelanders from Vale Bekena parish. In May 1964 there were still five hamlets in Vale Bekena, four of which could be described as inhabited by temporary homelanders. At the time, these homelanders (numbering 88) were planning to establish a single large residential unit at a new site called Ekeke. Preparations for the movement were under way and the forest was being cleared for new gardens. Migration to the new locality began in February 1965. The Ekeke homeland settlement was certainly the largest spontaneous migration of its kind. Although it was only in its infancy at the time that I left Bakoiudu, it would be an interesting place to revisit since it represents the most graphic example of spontaneous homeland resettlement arising as a reaction to resettlement at Bakoiudu.

In contrast to the relocation of homelanders discussed above, there were also population movements which resulted in the creation of mixed hamlets i.e. hamlets comprising members of different parishes. The most important of these was Uafo hamlet (pop. 17) which was established by the joint effort of Maimai, Yoyaka and Dilava temporary homelanders. Because of its mixed membership and proximity to Obaoba (to which both settlers and homelanders have retained a strong sentimental attachment), this hamlet subsequently became almost the centre of homeland activity. Visitors to the homelands often came to this hamlet, remaining for days, sometimes weeks on end. Settlers
in particular made this their first night stop when they returned to the homelands. Unmarried youths likewise came to Uafo to escape the arduous labour at Bakoiudu and to observe the fasting and other taboos associated with courtship.

For these reasons Councillors at the settlement were particularly opposed to this hamlet even though it was numerically less significant than either Ekeke or Dube. Despite admonitions by leaders against prolonged visits to the homelands, Bakoiudu settlers who could trace any connection with Uafo residents continued to visit this hamlet, kept on helping its residents to establish their gardens, and continued to build new houses there. In 1961, at the time of resettlement, there was only one hut at Uafo used by temporary visitors; in 1965 there were five of them forming the basis of a settlement, and more were being built. It can thus be seen how resettlement at Bakoiudu has triggered off widespread changes in the life of so-called temporary homelanders.

This observation is no less true of the permanent homelanders, though the reason for the population movements amongst them is less easily explained. Whereas economic deprivation resulting from the loss of members to Bakoiudu was undoubtedly a major reason for the relocation of temporary homelanders, the same cannot be said of permanent homelanders who lost few, if any, of their members to Bakoiudu. The reasons for relocation must therefore be sought elsewhere, though it must be pointed out that not all permanent
homelanders resorted to this approach. Thus the members of Inauaia and Ufafa hamlets opposed resettlement and remained where they were without changing their residential habits at all. Significantly, however, residents of these hamlets have sought to establish closer ties with their non-Kuni neighbours. This is also true of other permanent homelanders.

For example, after resettlement, 49 Kauaka parish men left Kuni and migrated into Goilala (cf. KPR 5 of 1961/2). Following misunderstandings with their hosts, some left and set up a hamlet on the banks of the Arabure on the frontier of Kuni and Goilala. Not much has been heard of them since, except that they look to Tapini in the Goilala Sub-District rather than to Bakoiudu for any major needs. With the decay of liana bridges over the Arabure river, Ufafa homelanders are likewise virtually cut off from Bakoiudu and identify themselves with the neighbouring Mekeo village of Inawauni. Seventeen Maimai homelanders from Ilailava have become incorporated into the Goilala hamlet of Opore; while the residents of Tsinini, after three unsuccessful attempts to settle at Bakoiudu and one abortive attempt to migrate into Goilala, have now resigned themselves to remain in the homeland, looking to Tapini rather than to Bakoiudu as their main centre.
In contrast to this trend involving the dispersal of permanent homelanders, there was also an opposite reaction whereby permanent homelanders sought to group themselves into large units within their own tribal territory. The reasons underlying these widely divergent reactions to resettlement appear to have been fundamentally the same. By withdrawing from the homelands, the Mission had effectively deprived the remaining homelanders of the sacramental, medical, schooling and shopping facilities which it had formerly provided. These were important privations for the homelanders, particularly permanent ones, who were the farthest removed from the new centre of Mission activity. Despite peevish comments by Bakoiudu settlers to the effect that all homelanders were 'pagans, unmindful of their responsibilities as Catholics', the homelanders were very much perturbed by the effect of resettlement on their religious life. Whereas most temporary homelanders were within one or two days' walk from Bakoiudu, permanent homelanders were at least three days away. Besides, travel was becoming increasingly more difficult as tracks were fast becoming overgrown from lack of use.

These factors in combination made it particularly difficult for permanent homelanders to carry out their religious obligations, the most pressing of which was that their children should be given a formal Catholic education. For this reason several permanent homelanders left Kuni altogether and sought closer affiliation with neighbouring groups which were still
under effective Mission control, albeit from a different centre. Other homelanders, however, were not prepared to leave their traditional homes and sought to establish a compromise solution.

This was the case, for example, of Devadeva 2 homelanders who strongly opposed resettlement. In 1961 there were about 150 of them residing in four distinct hamlets. For the first few months after the closing down of Obaoba they managed to fulfil their religious obligations by frequenting the nearest central Mission station in Goilala, situated at Fané, about two days' walk from the farthest Devadeva 2 hamlet. This arrangement worked satisfactorily until the end of 1962 when an armed clash between Devadeva homelanders and Goilala tribesmen at Fané prompted Mission authorities there to forbid the Kuni to visit the station regularly. This prohibition effectively isolated the Devadeva 2 homelanders from all Mission influence since they still rejected the idea of resettling at Bakoiudu.

It was in response to this challenge that the homelanders established a new hamlet - Auloli - just on the Kuni side of the border with Goilala. The intention behind this was that as many Devadeva 2 permanent homelanders as possible should migrate to Auloli which was only a few hours' walk away from Mafulu, the nearest secondary Mission station in Goilala. The homelanders hoped that this would make it easy for missionaries from Fané to visit them at Auloli when they made their rounds of Goilala secondary stations. A makeshift bush-material chapel was built,
as well as a spacious house for visiting priests, and there was talk of dismantling the old secondary Mission station in Devadeva to set up a school at Auloli. The homelanders thus sought to draw attention to their plight and to demonstrate their goodwill, in the hope that a Mission teacher might be stationed at Auloli, and that priests would visit the new settlement regularly. In this way they proposed to establish a modus vivendi in their traditional homelands without being forced to resettle at Bakoiudu or quit Kuni.

Work at the new site was begun in mid-1963 and by January 1964, 11 huts had been erected in addition to the church and priest's house already mentioned. Thirty-eight homelanders drawn from all four traditional hamlets had migrated to Auloli and more were preparing to do so. There was no particular urgency to resettle at Auloli since the hamlets from which the migrants came were within a radius of one to four hours' walk. Homelanders could therefore commute between the new hamlet and their traditional homes without difficulty, with the result that the population at Auloli was very mobile.

Nevertheless the hamlet achieved its primary aim. One of the priests at Fané was particularly well disposed towards the frontier settlers and visited Auloli regularly, urging the local residents to plant sweet potatoes and betelnut in abundance, and assuring them that they would find a ready market at Fané. Auloli thus grew in size and importance, and the permanent homelanders were enthused with the idea of
establishing a business centre in the homelands to rival Bakoiudu. To promote this end, they joined a Goilala scheme comprising eight other hamlets, each of which worked for two weeks in rotation at Fané in order to establish an airstrip there under Mission supervision. The homelanders looked forward to the completion of this airstrip as it would put them in direct contact with Port Moresby, and, they hoped, would enable them to airfreight their surplus produce to that town.

Bakoiudu settlers were very much piqued by this development in the homelands. News of the establishment of Auloli reached them in highly exaggerated terms and the settlers were aggravated by reports of the alleged prosperity and progress in the homelands whereas they had had to struggle so much at Bakoiudu (cf. Larson 1966: 52-54; White 1965: 10). However, the reports of Auloli's success were premature. In May 1964, a serious quarrel arose between the land-owners at Auloli and some of the homeland migrants settled there. This caused dissension among the residents and by October 1964 the population of Auloli had been reduced by half. An additional obstacle to the success of this settlement was its close proximity to the original hamlets of the migrants. Few settlers, if any, gave their undivided loyalty to the stability and success of Auloli, since all had retained vested interests in their own hamlets. As a result, the settlement lost what little cohesion it had, and it seemed to be on its way to complete dissolution by April 1965.
What the future holds for these self-styled permanent homelanders remains an open question. To the observer, one of three possibilities suggests itself: that they will simply revert to their traditional way of life, living in isolated hamlets with the Mission station at Fané as their only contact with the outside world and sole dispenser of medical care and store goods; that they will continue to lose increasing numbers of able-bodied men and youths to urban centres until they are forced by reason of economic deprivation to unite or migrate; or that they will gradually relax their objections to Bakoiudu and accept to resettle there. The way lies open for this last alternative since a Devadeva 2 parish man from Port Moresby has already established himself at Bakoiudu where he is a prominent and respected citizen. Parish loyalties are strong in Kuni, and the Bakoiudu settler has explicitly stated that he is preparing the ground for the descent of his fellow parish men: 'They will come down in their own time, without being pressed, when their hearts grow wise. We are Papuans: there is no point in rushing us'.
APPENDIX 2

THE IMPACT OF RESETTLEMENT ON SELECTED TRADITIONAL KUNI CUSTOMS AND VALUES

Changes in 'Kafala' and Other Mourning Customs

More ritual, ceremonial and taboos surround death than any other crisis in Kuni life. To the observer, the most striking of these observations is perhaps the custom called kafala which entitles relatives of the deceased who are not co-residents of his/her hamlet, to devastate his/her erstwhile gardens, to spear the death hut, to kill fowls, and in the case of someone who has died in the prime of life, to slaughter any pigs that come into sight. All this destruction of property takes place with impunity and is said to give vent the 'badness in the hearts' of bereaved relatives. In effect, this is a euphemism for expressing suspicion of death through sorcery, and direct accusations may or may not ensue. Most often kafala takes place when the deceased is a man who had resided uxorilocally and died at his wife's hamlet, or conversely, a woman who had resided with her husband's kinsmen in virilocal residence.

Other traditional mourning practices included the prohibition for anybody within earshot of the hamlet (grave) of the deceased to engage in any work which might entail making a noise e.g. felling trees, or
produce large quantities of smoke e.g. burning new garden sites. Noise and smoke were believed to disturb the soul of the recent dead and the taboo was enforced for about a week to a fortnight. It was also customary for very close relatives of the bereaved to undergo a prolonged period of seclusion which might last several months up to the time of the big mortuary feast (nadu). Although the Mission did its best to abolish these customs, particularly the practice of seclusion (cf. Navarre 1907: 73), they persisted relatively unchanged till resettlement in 1961 when they became the focus of argument and debate at Bakoiudu.

The reasons for this are fairly evident. Kafala was tolerable in the homelands to the extent that an individual's gardens were widely scattered over rugged terrain so that they were rarely all destroyed by the raiders. Besides, even if they were, the destitute persons could always rely on the help of kinsmen whose property had remained untouched. At Bakoiudu, however, the concentration of gardens within a relatively small communal garden area made them all equally vulnerable to spoliation. In addition, especially during the first years when food was short, gardens were often worked jointly by persons who did not necessarily have close kin ties. The destruction of a garden could therefore result in a serious state of deprivation, besides engendering ill-feeling between settlers.

As the settlers became aware of the incompatibility of traditional kafala with their strained economic position, they began to speak out against the custom
and denounced it as economically wasteful and unsuited to the changed way of life at Bakoiudu. In October 1963, after a particularly devastating kafala, one of the persons directly influenced by the raid appealed to Father Boell to preach against this practice and to outlaw it at the settlement.

This was one of the earliest appeals to the Mission for direct intervention in a situation where the settlers found themselves unable to tackle problems in terms of their traditional values and social organization. Father Boell complied with the request and admonished the settlers to abandon customs which, apart from being pagan, were entirely impracticable under the conditions of resettlement. The missionary's standpoint accorded with the view of the settlers themselves, and the destructive aspects of kafala were abandoned. In some cases, however, a vestige of the practice remained as when bereaved relatives would cut down a tree or spear a hen to demonstrate their grief or spite. But this attenuated version of kafala did not really upset the economic position of the property-owing group.

It is interesting that the socio-economic problems posed by kafala were ultimately resolved in this roundabout matter, by appealing to Catholic values (cf. Oram 1967: 11). This approach was to become a characteristic manner of implementing change at Bakoiudu when all other methods failed. Sometimes the intervention of the Mission was sought by individuals or groups, sometimes not, but the argument remained
consistent, phrased in terms of the dichotomy Christian-versus-pagan. 'The custom must be abandoned because it is pagan; let those who consider themselves true Catholics no longer take part in it'. Later, this argument was reinforced by appeals to business interests (bisnes) and to the common desire of most settlers to achieve a western standard of living (ba-nao): 'We are here for business and to live like Europeans; let the old ways of pagans and bush folk therefore be abandoned'.

It is possible to detect the influence of these various attitudes in the changes which gradually overcame other mourning practices as well. In terms of sheer practicality, it was impossible to perpetuate the prolonged seclusion of bereaved relatives at Bakoiudu where manpower was short. This was even more true of the taboo prohibiting activities involving the burning of large fires or making noise. Since most gardens were within sight and earshot of Bakoiudu, and since all settlers resided at one locality, it followed that the death of any one person in fact imposed a taboo on all the settlers, irrespective of whether they were related to the deceased or not. This was because, traditionally, if a mourning taboo was infringed by a co-resident of the homeland hamlet, defaulters had to pay compensation to the relatives of the deceased. It was also feared that the spirit thus abused might seek to revenge itself by bringing misfortune upon the person(s) who had violated the taboo.
The settlers were quick to perceive that they could not observe these taboos, the more so that the number of deaths at Bakoiudu had increased proportionately to its population i.e. approximately 20 deaths per year in the 1963-5 period, whereas an average hamlet in the homelands might experience one or two deaths only. In particular, settlers resented having to desist from their work in order to observe a taboo for the death of someone to whom they might not be related at all. In the beginning, there was a semblance of adherence to these taboos, but, since all the settlers were faced with the same problems of establishing their gardens, few complaints were raised if and when the taboos were violated. However, as material conditions improved, there was a tendency to reassert them. In a few instances bereaved families publicly proclaimed a mourning period of a week or so, and requested compensation when this was violated. Unseasonal rains and misfortunes of any description were attributed to disregard for traditional practices.

The attitude of the settlers towards mourning customs was clearly ambivalent. On one hand, they realized that these practices were impracticable and impeded economic development; on the other hand, their continued belief in, and fear of the souls of the deceased prevented them from abandoning these customs. As a result, socio-economic relations became increasingly tense and it was evident that this deadlock had to be resolved if there was to be progress.
Matters came to a head in September 1964 on the occasion of the death of a polygynist chief. At the *gimatsu* ceremony introducing the mourning period immediately after the burial of the deceased, a prominent leader at Bakoiudu spoke out against the perpetuation of widow seclusion at the settlement, and advocated that taboos on certain forms of work should likewise be abolished. In an astute argument, the leader pointed out that since the deceased was a polygynist who had died unrepentant, there was little point in observing mourning taboos of any sort since his soul was most likely to be in hell. In any event, he urged that the widows of the deceased would busy themselves much better by going to church and attending Mass on behalf of their husband, than by remaining secluded.¹

Extending the point, he urged that the practice of mourning seclusion should be abandoned altogether at Bakoiudu: 'We are Catholics, why should we adhere to these prohibitions of old? Let bereaved relatives pray for the deceased, receive Communion and return to work without more ado'. In particular, he admonished the settlers not to desist from work for ritual reasons, pointing out that 'these old ways of our forefathers

¹ There is an obvious double standard of evaluation here. Whereas conventional Catholic arguments were forwarded in describing the deceased as having died in a state of mortal sin for having had a concubine in addition to the wife he married at church, both women were treated as legitimate widows and no distinction was made between them in the mourning ritual.
are incompatible with business and quite unlike the practice of Europeans'. Anticipating that there might be some resistance to this declaration, the leader appealed to bereaved relatives to accept his request and not to invoke rain or engage in other mischief by way of retaliation.

These recommendations were observed for the first few deaths that occurred after the events recorded above. But it so happened that the weather was particularly bad during the months that followed, and new gardens were spoilt by untimely rains which prevented burning them. Members of the parish of the deceased polygynist chief gloated over this, and one of their leaders publicly claimed responsibility for having invoked the unseasonal rain, blaming the settlers for the disrespect which they had shown to the soul of the deceased chief by disregarding mourning taboos. This declaration was made on the occasion of the burial of the wife of the speaker who warned the settlers that unless they showed proper deference to his wife's soul, the rains would continue unabated. He was supported in this stand by a prominent chief of Vale Bekena parish who was an affinal relative. The settlers heeded the warning and, despite two weeks of sunshine in January 1965 when they could have burnt their gardens, work came to a standstill.

Observance of the taboo, however, was not without mutterings and grumblings directed against the persons who had imposed it. Nor did the lull in gardening activity pass unnoticed. Father Boell observed the
slackening in work, and, being anxious that the settlers should establish their gardens, enquired about the reasons for the discontinuation of work. On 31 January, he convened a mass meeting of all Bakoiudu leaders at the mission. On this occasion he explained the physical processes underlying condensation and rainfall; pointed out that meteorological stations forecast the weather over the radio and jocularly challenged any rain-maker to bring down rain after sunshine had been forecast. Reiterating his view that old beliefs and practices should be abandoned at Bakoiudu, the missionary stated that he would refuse the sacraments to anybody who officially posed as rain-maker and who thereby interfered with economic activity.

Father Boell's exhortation was followed by animated discussion among all those present at the meeting. In the exchange of views which ensued, two points emerged clearly: first, that belief in the power of the dead still prevailed among the settlers, though the leaders themselves denied it; and second, that there was a marked difference between older and younger generations in their approach to traditional beliefs and practices, the latter being much more open to suggestion and new ideas than the former.

Apart from making these points explicit and offering an opportunity for frank and amiable discussion between Father Boell and local leaders, the meeting achieved little. Uprooting fundamental traditional beliefs about the nature of death, and liberating the young from the authority and influence
of the old, are not matters for meetings. These so-called problems find their roots in the very heart of Kuni cosmology and social organization. It may take decades, generations perhaps, to change these particular beliefs and to alter the organization of Kuni society. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the Kuni may find a practical solution to abolish restrictive mourning taboos without thereby necessarily undermining beliefs about the nature of death. This inference is prompted by the pragmatism and adaptability which they have shown in other contexts, notably with respect to changes in birth ceremonial.

Changes in Birth Ceremonial: the 'Bale-bale Naduna'

In Kuni, the birth of the first-born male child of a peace-chief was traditionally celebrated by a ceremony called bale-bale naduna, lit. running feast. On this occasion, while the mother and her infant son were still in seclusion, women from the local hamlet would dance before the birth hut acclaming the birth of an heir to the chieftainship. The dance would terminate in a mock attack on the hut during which the women would run towards it and hurl crudely-fashioned spears into its roof. These spears would previously have been adorned with fragments of sago-palm leaf, taro peels, pigs' tails and other decorations symbolizing the gifts which the dancers claimed as their reward for their presence at the running feast. After this the women would usually disperse to their respective homes. A few days later the father of the
newborn child would gather the spears, note the claims which had been made of him, and prepare to amass the food and pigs required to pay back the dancers. Depending on the number of women who had participated, and on the extravagance of their claims (neither of which was restricted), it might take several months to a couple of years before enough pigs were raised to repay the debt thus incurred by the chief on behalf of his newborn son. Nevertheless, when it did take place, the return feast (*bale-bale e beni* lit. to give for running) was a great celebration and the more generous and lavish it was, the greater the renown of the chief and his son.

At Bakoiudu, the celebration of the running feast posed economic problems of unprecedented magnitude. In the first place, whereas in the homelands the number of women participating in a running feast had necessarily been limited by the size and isolation of each hamlet, this was not the case at Bakoiudu where everybody lived in relative proximity and where the news of the birth of any child was relayed throughout the settlement in no time at all. This meant that there was a proportionately larger number of women who could take part in such a feast. In the second place, whereas food staples and pigs were the traditional items requested at pre-settlement running feasts, the range of goods was greatly widened at Bakoiudu to include money (symbolized by bits of paper tied to the spear), clothing (bits of cloth) biscuits and tinned foods (wrapping paper), in addition to traditional staples and pigs. Finally, whereas participants in pre-
resettlement running feasts were almost invariably related to the chief from whom they made their requests, and whom custom required that they should help in dispensing his obligations, this was not the case at Bakoiudu. There was a much wider range of distantly related and unrelated women who could dance without being called upon to help pay the debt accumulated at a running feast. In short, the celebration of this feast posed a much heavier economic burden on Bakoiudu chiefs than on their homeland counterparts.

The first chief confronted with the implications of celebrating a running feast at Bakoiudu was a young man from Keakamana parish who attempted to limit the economic strain of the dance by announcing in public before his wife went into labour that he expected only her closest relatives to celebrate the birth, if it was a boy. In doing so, he antagonized many of his kinsmen, some of whom demanded compensation for insult for having been slighted at so important a ceremony. The young man acknowledged his guilt in this respect, and paid out compensation where relatives insisted on it. In private, however, he assured me that compensation for insult was nothing as compared to what he would have had to pay to strangers had no limit been imposed. Even so, despite the fact that only nine women came to dance, their requests were so extravagant
that the chief had no option but to leave Bakoiudu and go to Port Moresby to earn money to pay his debt.¹

Although many settlers referred to the action taken by the young chief as 'non-chiefly and mean', it was quite apparent to them that the running feast could not be maintained at Bakoiudu in its traditional form. Many chiefs privately asserted that the custom should be abolished altogether, though none was prepared to take the initiative in advocating this publicly lest he should be labelled mean.

The test case occurred when Faika Peto's daughter-in-law became pregnant (cf. Genealogy 1). This was an important event as the unborn child was in the direct line of succession to Bakoiudu. There is little doubt that all the resettled women would have felt it incumbent upon them to dance and rejoice at the birth of an heir to the settlement, and would in fact have done so. This would have put Faika Peto and Umulu Michaelo in an untenable position as they would hardly have been able to repay the requests of upwards of 200 dancers. It was also clear to Faika Peto that he would not adopt the compromise solution of the Keakamana chief since his status as 'father' of the

¹ This case was complicated by the fact that the bride-price of the (newly-married) chief had not yet been paid. It was in order to maintain good relations with his affines that the chief had restricted participation in the running feast to them, but by this act he antagonized his own agnates upon whom he depended for help to pay off his wife's bride-price. Faced with this clash of loyalties, the young man left for Port Moresby with the intention of earning enough money to reward the dancers and pay his wife's bride-price on his own.
settlement made him equally responsible to all the settlers. To exclude any group from the running feast would have been a serious affront and a particularly indelicate action coming from one so important. The impending birth of an heir to Bakoiudu thus loomed with distressing economic implications for Faika Peto and his son.

In October 1963, on the occasion of a feast announcing the pregnancy of his daughter-in-law, Faika Peto skilfully averted the economic crisis which would almost certainly have resulted otherwise, by making a speech abolishing the custom of running feasts:

These feasts were fine in the homelands: they were the customs of our forefathers. But Bakoiudu is a new place, we have neither the time nor the riches to continue with these ways. Therefore, when the time comes and the child is born, there will be no running feast even if it is a boy. Our thoughts should dwell on work and business, and I strongly urge you all to adopt this new approach, otherwise we shall never become like Europeans.

And so it was done. Although the child born in April 1964 was a girl, Faika Peto's injunctions were upheld by the settlers. The precedent thus established enabled chiefs to waive the custom without being accused of meanness. It is worth noting that change in custom in this case was instituted as a matter of economic necessity and not by invoking Catholic arguments as we have seen in earlier examples.
Changes in 'Eli-eli' and Other Patterns of Distribution

It is clear from our discussion so far that ritual, social and economic factors are intricately interwoven in the socio-economic life of the Kuni, and that resettlement has upset the traditional balance between these elements by putting unprecedented stress on economic factors. The most subtle changes resulting from this new emphasis are perhaps those that have taken place with respect to the highly ritualized traditional distribution (eli-eli) of staple foods and pork that used to occur at the conclusion of feasts (particularly mortuary ones) and other ceremonial occasions.

An important feature of these eli-eli was that the pork thus distributed was rarely a pure gift. By far the greatest number of eli-eli were directed either towards repaying obligations or debts incurred in the past, in which case the pork distributed was known as uku; or/and initiating new ties of obligation by donating pork (vaikena) to persons to whom one was not indebted and who would sooner or later have to return the equivalent of the original presentation. Eli-eli were thus at the very centre of an intricate system of gift and counter-gift exchanges which pervaded Kuni social activity. It was a matter of pride for individuals to engage as many persons as possible in this nexus as it increased their renown and assured them of participation in feasts at other places. Traditionally this was an important consideration as feasts were the highlight of social activity in a
setting where hamlets were widely dispersed and social isolation was comparatively great.

Resettlement, concentration of population and the unprecedented emphasis on the economic aspect of socio-economic relations complicated the traditional pattern of eli-eli at Bakoiudu. The settlers were confronted with new problems of distribution which in turn engendered substantial changes in the nature of eli-eli and the notions underlying them. In the first place, residential proximity and the concentration of settlers in one locality led to a re-assessment of eli-eli. The problem at Bakoiudu was no longer how to extend relations and the circle of obligations as had been the case in the homelands; instead, settlers were faced with the difficulty of adequately acknowledging the extensive ties, reciprocities and obligations in which they were increasingly being involved. The main problem was how to establish a scale of priorities without offending or omitting persons who were entitled to recognition. This problem was in turn aggravated by the relative shortage of pigs at Bakoiudu; by the new demands made on labour so that activity was no longer directed primarily towards the fulfilment of social obligations; and by the new trend whereby comparatively expensive tinned goods had become an integral part of eli-eli. In combination, these factors made it impossible to perpetuate the size and frequency of prestations which had characterized homeland feasts.

The situation which arose over eli-eli was not unlike that described in Chapter 4 concerning changes
in the *gayaya* custom. In both cases, the discrepancy between demand for goods and their supply gave rise to new associations and modified certain traditional customs more or less radically. Thus in the *gayaya*, choice tinned foods were offered to non-kinsmen, whereas relatives of the convenor of the work party were given a meal of traditional staples. To some extent this distinction was also implicit in traditional *eli-eli* where guests and distant relatives were offered the choicest portions of pork as new prestations (*yaikena*), whereas closer kinsmen often received forelegs and tripe. At Bakoiodu, however, the distinction was both qualitative and quantitative. It was no longer possible, as in the homelands, to allocate a separate food heap and piece of pork to each person to whom one was indebted, or even to the peace-chief of every *inau* invited to the feast. The convenors of feasts found themselves almost compelled to invite representatives of all the parishes represented at Bakoiodu since the intensity and spread of social relations made it almost impossible to have no ties whatsoever with any one group. This being the case, and because there was not enough food to go round, it became customary to allocate food and pork to whole parishes, though the names of the main peace-chiefs 'and their relatives' of such parishes were usually called out at the time that the allocation was made. It was then the responsibility of these chiefs to sort out the collective allocation among themselves and to distribute it amongst their relatives,
This new variant of eli-eli had certain distinct advantages and drawbacks. From the point of view of the hosts, it was a convenient device for keeping the allocations to a manageable number. At the same time, group allocations spared them the difficulty of working out the inner divisions of parishes with which they were not well acquainted. Even so, the sheer number of parishes and the wide range of obligations which had to be repaid led to confusion and mistakes. In some cases, for example, whole parishes were accidentally omitted either at the time that the allocations were set out, or during the ceremonial distribution itself. This caused much unpleasantness, and the chiefs of such parishes often asked for compensation for insult ranging from a valuable (e.g. a shell ornament or dogs' teeth), to $4 per affront. In other cases, parishes or inau that were not eligible to receive a separate allocation because they did not have peace-chiefs who might ceremoniously accept the prestation were grouped with other parishes. This often led to tension, competition and frustration, the more so that it was particularly difficult for the recipients to decide who would eventually have to pay back how much.

It must be remembered that parishes were relatively isolated in the homelands and that ceremonial activity was concentrated between linked parishes. Given the stress on protocol and strict reciprocity, it can be imagined that a major difficulty for the settlers at Bakoiudu was to become acquainted with the divisions and groupings within different parishes and inau. The ledger of social relations was so complicated at certain feasts that I was requested to write out name tags for each food allocation.
In short, demographic factors and residential proximity added to the economic burden of ceremonial occasions and it was clear that traditional prestations based on strict reciprocity between relatively small groups were no longer suited to the changed way of life at Bakoiudu. Apart from the fact that there were comparatively fewer pigs and that very little spare time could be set aside to prepare special gardens and other requisites for traditional feasts, the settlers were very much aware of themselves as a community or kompani. This meant that participation in hitherto rather restricted social occasions became much more widespread. The death of an adult settler was an occasion for collective mourning and most settlers made it a point to come to weep over the body or at least to attend the funeral. Similarly, marriage was an occasion for general rejoicing, the more so that the ceremony was carried out before the assembled settlers at Sunday Mass. Involvement in these ceremonies was much more widespread than in the homelands and it was accordingly more difficult to circumscribe invitations to mourning or wedding feasts. An additional factor was the traditional flexible Kuni kinship system which permitted the maximal definition of cognatic kinship ties. Under the conditions of resettlement there were very few inau indeed which could not trace some relationship to any other group. For this reason it became customary to invite representatives of almost every parish and/or inau to major ceremonial occasions. Even where kinship ties could not be traced, bonds arising from residential association and other reasons
made it almost impossible to exclude any group consistently.

Similar changes in the range and extent of ceremonial activities have been observed in the wake of resettlement in other areas (cf. Knudson 1964: 59, 133, 175-8, 226; White 1965: 43-4), or simply as a characteristic of modernization (Crocombe 1966: 75; Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 191ff). At Bakoiudu the unprecedented concentration of settlers made adjustment necessary, especially after it became apparent that prestations to whole parishes led to friction and misunderstanding. The real problem was how to comply with the traditional expectation of equivalent reciprocity under the condition of shared or multiple prestation, itself the result of economic pressure. Although the settlers had not found a solution to this difficulty by April 1965, there was a clear trend away from the expectation of equivalent returns to one where conviviality and group solidarity were becoming the bases of ceremonial activity.

This was vividly illustrated on the occasion of a marriage feast held a few weeks before I left. On this occasion there were so many guests that there was not enough food to allocate even on a separate parish basis. Instead, food was distributed into four big portions, one each to the groom and bride's paternal and maternal
kinsmen. This unprecedented distribution was rationalized in a speech drawing attention to the fact that customs were changing at Bakoiudu (cf. Knudson 1964: 159) and that guests should not expect large individual shares any more than their hosts expected a return from them:

This is a new place and we are Catholics celebrating the sacrament of marriage which is the union of two families. Since we are all one family and kompani at Bakoiudu, we all rejoice in this wedding. Therefore let there be no idle talk about too little food or who is to return what; eat and go home - the old ways are gone.

It is significant that this departure from traditional patterns of distribution was rationalized in religious terms - a device to which the settlers usually resort when all other alternatives have proved ineffective. In fact, the Mission had always urged that major religious events such as baptism and confirmation should be celebrated by the families concerned, in the hope that religious feasts would eventually replace traditional ones. According to informants, however, it is only since resettlement that there has been a revival of these so-called sacramental feasts (sacramento feliana) which are clearly distinguished from traditional feasts (nadu), the latter

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It goes without saying that this manner of distribution does not redress the initial discrepancy between supply and demand of distributable goods. Fewer portions have the advantage of being more presentable to the eye and spare the host the very real difficulties and complications of working out the smaller shares within the group.
being characterized by fasting, dancing, the slaughter of pigs and formal *eli-eli* distributions. In *felia*, by contrast, there is no preliminary fasting; traditional dances have been replaced by *boogy-boogy* - a languid version of jiving; and food distributions are informal with little regard for equivalent return or size of the original prestation. To the observer, the new emphasis on *felia* at Bakoiudu is clearly a response to economic pressure especially with respect to marriage and mourning ritual. To the settlers, however, the adoption of new ways needs no economic explanation: it is interpreted as a response to Catholic teachings and as an indication that the resettled Kuni are becoming westernized.

**Changes Resulting from Participation in Cash Economy**

The changes in custom discussed in the preceding sections can be described as almost imperative adaptations to the demographic and economic pressures which resulted from resettlement. In the present section by contrast, we are concerned primarily with changes in custom, attitudes and values (particularly the latter), which derived from the settlers' participation in the cash economy at Bakoiudu, and from their involvement in commercial cropping. It is perhaps helpful to preface this discussion with a brief analysis of the rationale which underlay the changes described earlier.

In the first place, it appears that religious arguments and motivations were important activating
agents of change and adaptation at Bakoiudu. This has been shown with respect to changes in mourning and other customs where departure from traditional practice was rationalized as a fitting manifestation of Catholic responsibility. In other contexts, we have also seen how Catholic values and sanctions were manipulated by the settlers as a means of maintaining order and social control, as a justification for deferring the payment of bride-price, and so on. In particular, attention was drawn to the assertion made by a majority of settlers in 1963, that they had resettled at Bakoiudu for religious rather than secular reasons. Whether or not this post-facto assertion in fact represented the true motivations of the settlers at the time that they resettled, is perhaps less relevant than the reality which it represented for them, and the inspiration which it provided for future activity. As Hogbin points out, 'in reaching an understanding of the present what the past is supposed to have been is probably of greater concern than what it actually was' (1951: 204; cf. Mair 1957: 243).

For the resettled Kuni, religious considerations were undoubtedly enabling conditions of change during the early years of resettlement when they were most exposed to economic hardship and when their future at Bakoiudu loomed fraught with privation and insecurity. During this transition period Catholicism was undoubtedly an important integrative factor (cf. Firth 1956: 48). Religious arguments and appeals to Catholic values were particularly powerful catalysts of change
where other means were either inexistent or had proved ineffective (cf. Spiro 1966: 112-6).

As conditions improved at Bakoiudu, however, and as the settlers became more self-assured, pre-occupation with religious explanations decreased markedly, as also did the effectiveness of religious sanctions. Traditional customs were no longer necessarily denounced on the grounds that they were pagan, though this trend still prevailed in April 1965; instead, settlers began to evaluate the merits and demerits of traditional practices in terms of economic advantage, personal gain and the overriding ambition to emulate the European way of life (cf. Oram 1967). Pragmatic thinking to a large extent replaced abstract religious aspirations, and economic arguments likewise displaced former religious rationalizations of change. In short, increased economic stability brought with it the secularization of values and a more rational approach to problems of social change. As Spiro puts it, the importance of religion varied inversely with the importance of other projective and realistic institutions (1966: 116; cf. Lawrence and Meggitt 1965: 12-8).

The new orientation of the settlers was epitomized in their emphasis on 'making business' (bisnes a badai) which for them meant the development of a local cash-cropping industry. Ideally, this was to ensure them of a steady cash income which in turn would enable them to fulfill their other socio-economic aspirations, expressed in their reference to Bakoiudu as ba-nao afuna.
(the place where one becomes like Europeans) and monitsinana (the mother i.e. source, of money). At first, the emerging business rationale was manipulated in very much the same way that Catholic values had been wielded before. Settlers were admonished to desist from quarreling, to refrain from sorcery accusations and to work diligently 'because we have come down for business and must therefore avoid anything which will hamper our business interests'.

With time, however, and increased economic self-assurance, this indirect approach was set aside. Economic issues were treated as such and discussed on economic grounds. This is graphically illustrated by contrasting the attitudes of Bakoiudu settlers with those of homelanders with respect to the yuviviku, a bundle of sticks, animal and bird bones, and other material tightly bound together into a compact parcel about 4" long and 1"-2" in diameter. Traditionally, the yuviviku was very much valued because it was believed to attract riches to its owner. For this reason it was carefully preserved and inherited from father to son. Bakoiudu settlers, however, were willing to sell these heirlooms and disparaged their attributes:

They were all right in the homelands where they drew us plenty of gifts and riches, but here at Bakoiudu they are quite useless. This is a place for business, which means money obtained from work. Money doesn't come from nowhere.

By contrast, homelanders were much more reluctant to show their yuviviku, let alone part with them.
So-called business interests and attitudes gradually percolated into many spheres of social life at Bakoiudu, promoting a distinctive self-image among the settlers who came to identify themselves as businessmen (*bisnes kaomai*) *par excellence*. This point is invariably emphasized whenever settlers talk about Bakoiudu to homelanders, Port Moresby Kuni or non-Kuni persons:

Yes, now that the Kuni are doing rubber business at Bakoiudu, they have fame and repute. The Mekeo and Roro are at a loss on how to compete with us, for their betelnut, copra and rice plantations are nothing compared to the extent of our rubber plantation. That is why some of them send *oada* to us to make the business fail and to drive us back to the homelands with discouragement. For ourselves it is true, our backs are broken with labour, but it is only temporary. Already we have the results: western-style iron-roofed houses, rice for meals like Europeans and our money clinking in our trouser pockets.

Although most of the settlers were very much concerned with improving their standard of living through increased participation in business, they did not, for that reason, necessarily welcome or approve all the changes in customs and values which resulted therefrom. Certain changes such as those discussed earlier with respect to mourning ritual and birth rites, were accepted as the inevitable result of the new way of life at Bakoiudu: 'the ways of business are different from those of our forefathers and some
customs must go'. In other respects, however, the settlers resisted change and even actively opposed the values which underlay the emerging business rationale:

Everybody nowadays thinks of business. But what does business do to our souls? Does it help any? What does money do to our spirit? Does it make it strong? The young ones today just think of business and money, forgetting that we are here [on earth] for other reasons. We have God and our souls to think about. Business is another matter.

In fact, the Kuni were very much perturbed by what they described as the encroachment of so-called typical European characteristics of meanness, money-mindedness and selfishness upon traditional values hinged on hospitality and generosity (cf. Lundsgaarde 1966: 105). If, as Rowley so succinctly puts it 'money is the economic solvent of social custom, and a corrosive of traditional relations' (1965: 101), the Kuni did their best to resist this trend. This was the reason for their opposition to Father Boell's suggestion that the gayaya custom should be abandoned at Bakoiudu (cf. Chapter 4: 203-15). Though economic factors subsequently forced the settlers to abandon gayaya, most of them looked upon it as a regrettable concession to the negative aspects of engaging in business.

The introduction of money into other spheres of social and ceremonial activity met with similar opposition and criticism. For example, although the settlers became reconciled to money as an integral part of bride-price payments at Bakoiudu, many pointed out
that the spirit and underlying character of the ceremony has changed considerably as a result:

Before, the groom's people took pride in giving as much as they could to honour the bride. Now they hold talks and argue over who will give how much, each hoarding his money and reluctant to part with it. And the bride's people are just as embarrassed to accept the money for they will have to repay the same amount some day, or there will be trouble. We gave generously in the past and welcomed the new woman; now we buy her and argue [cf. Hogbin 1966: 81-2].

Pecuniary considerations likewise intruded into other spheres. For example, the ceremonial and ritual values traditionally associated with pig husbandry and the distribution of pork were progressively ousted by a new emphasis on the cash sale of pork. The commercialization of pig husbandry undermined traditional notions of liberality and hospitality, and accelerated the abandoning of certain ritual. Thus the stress on religious feasts (felia) as opposed to traditional ones (nadu), was almost certainly activated by the costliness (in cash terms) of the latter. Many settlers were reluctant to slaughter their pigs at feasts for ceremonial reasons when they could have an immediate cash return by selling pork (cf. Rowley 1965: 102). For the same reason, other settlers openly expressed the hope that they would not receive pork as a ritual prestation as they did not want to be involved in ceremonial pork exchanges any longer. Although nothing was done to arrest this trend, the settlers generally deplored the encroachment of purely economic
ends into the socio-economic sphere of pig husbandry. This point was reiterated at numerous feasts in roughly the same terms:

It is not because you can sell pork for money that you should abandon all the old customs which gave us fame in the past. If you go on like this, you will be no better than whites - and where does that get you?

Much the same sentiments underlay the reaction of the settlers to changes in everyday expressions of hospitality and generosity at Bakoiudu. Traditionally, one of the qualities most valued and respected by the Kuni was that of liberality (vade) expressed by the spontaneous sharing of food, betelnut and tobacco. Ideally, vade extended to everybody, both kinsmen and strangers. Indeed, the lesser the acquaintance, the greater was the stress on liberality. Thus a stranger or unrelated guest visiting one's hamlet for several days would often be honoured by the slaughter of a pig or piglet and would be presented with gifts of valuables (shells and plumes) at his departure.

At Bakoiudu, the character and context of vade manifestations have changed radically. Settlers allege that there has been a marked decrease in spontaneous liberality since resettlement, and it also appears that the relative importance of kinsmen and strangers as foci of vade activity has been reversed i.e. traditional expressions of generosity seem now to be directed towards close kinsmen rather than towards distant ones or strangers, the latter indeed being
looked upon as falling out of the sphere of vade relationships altogether.

There were several reasons for this atypical development at Bakoiudu. In the first place, concentration of population made it practically impossible to maintain the attitude of 'open house' which had characterized homeland living. Whereas visitors and passers-by had been the exception in the homelands and welcomed for that reason, the opposite was true at Bakoiudu where no household could possibly sustain traditional standards of hospitality under resettlement conditions. It is therefore not surprising that the settlers gradually limited the expression of vade to close kinsmen rather than to more distant ones or to strangers, since the latter were much more numerous at the settlement (cf. Hogbin 1951: 86; Salisbury Rowswell 1957: 92). An additional reason for this change in emphasis was that whereas vade shown to strangers was true liberality and no return was expected, vade between kinsmen formed part of an intricate network of reciprocity and mutual obligation (cf. Rowley 1965: 95; Sahlins 1965: 147ff). It was always possible to make a similar demand from close kinsmen without feeling shame for doing so. In other words, the traditional notion of vade underwent a subtle change at Bakoiudu. Instead of epitomizing Kuni values of generosity and uncalculated liberality, it acquired attributes of gift-exchange which, though spontaneous in origin, expects an eventual return. As one informant put it:
In the olden days we never thought of payment (kava) - we gave things for nothing, to anybody. But at Bakoiudu it is business, so the people have to buy betelnut and tobacco. That is why we do not give away things as before. To our close relatives we do not refuse, because we can always ask back, but to distant relatives or strangers we don't give anything. Why should we? We would lose our money for nothing. This is the way of white people: we now think of money and payback. It is the new fashion. It is not good but what can you do?

This statement draws attention to an important contributory reason for the change in vade relationships at Bakoiudu. There is an overall scarcity of locally grown betelnut and tobacco at the settlement and this condition can be expected to persist until 1968-1970 when the trees planted after resettlement will begin to bear. As a result, settlers have to obtain their supplies of betelnut from traditional groves, which means that tedious journeys have to be made periodically to the homelands. For this reason, Bakoiudu residents are unwilling to share their betelnuts indiscriminately though many are prepared to sell them. Some settlers, indeed, go to the homelands explicitly for this purpose thereby further undermining the attributes of generosity and hospitality which had traditionally been associated with sharing, giving, displaying and chewing betelnut. To some extent, the same is true of the traditional values surrounding smoking and the sharing of tobacco. At Bakoiudu, most of the settlers have taken to smoking trade tobacco purchased at local stores. As a result, settlers are as reluctant to extend vade to smoking as they are to betelnut chewing.
The 'commercialization', as it were, of betelnut chewing, smoking, and eating of pork at Bakoiudu, graphically illustrates Rowley's description of money as the economic solvent of custom and corrosive of traditional social relations (cf. Dakeyne 1966: 51; Epstein T. 1966: 37–8). While these changes are striking enough as it is, it must be remembered that the resettled Kuni have as yet only marginally been influenced by the introduction of a cash economy. The changes in custom, values and attitudes described in this Appendix are but an indication of things to come when cash cropping begins in earnest and when money becomes a widespread medium of exchange. At present, one can no more than speculate on the direction of these changes, but it may not be inappropriate to introduce a word of warning. As Firth points out (1964: 403):

Change is the implication of human choices. When we speak of the social implications of technological change we do not mean that the total process is inevitable; we mean only that an initial acceptance or committal in the technological field is likely to be followed by certain results. Some of these may be foreseen, but others not. Yet it is these unforeseen results which are often of the greatest importance, because they are often undesired. Being unexpected, no provision has been made against them, and being often long-term rather than short-term, they may eventuate long after there is any ordinary possibility for reversing the trend.
APPENDIX 3

THE KUNI CLUB AT BAKOIUDU

The closing down of the Kuni Club store in the homelands late in 1959 due to transport difficulties had been a great disappointment to the mountain Kuni to whom it had been a symbol of enterprise and advancement. For this reason, members of Vale 4, Inaumaka and Dilava parishes who had been involved most directly in running the store at Obaoba, supported resettlement from the outset in the hope that a store might be re-opened successfully at Bakoiudu.

During the first months of resettlement, however, the settlers were too busy to concern themselves with opening a store. Besides, Father Boell openly advocated against the revival of the Kuni Club at Bakoiudu as he considered that there were more pressing tasks to be done. To him, these included the erection of good houses with an out-door latrine each, a school, aid post, church and convent. Of these projected schemes, 20 iron-roofed houses were in different stages of

1 Most Kuni resisted the one-latrine-a-house project as it ran against the traditional separation of the sexes in defecatory functions. By April 1965, only one household had established a family latrine, while Maimai 2 and Inaumaka had compromised by erecting two pit-latrines each: one for men and one for women respectively. The rest of the settlers still followed the traditional practice of defecating in the bush, men and women having separate paths.
completion by April 1965 (cf. Plate 14) and a six-classroom school and an aid post had been completed; but nothing had yet been done about a permanent church or convent.

On the other hand, Mr Abel was from the outset an enthusiastic and active supporter of the idea of establishing a Club at Bakoiudu. Together with Toneba and other prominent persons, he popularized a conception of the Club which embraced much wider interests than had originally been envisaged in the homelands. He visualized the Club as a focus of community activity and interests at Bakoiudu; as a social centre, and eventually, as the channel for investing cash returns from the plantation.¹ By this means he hoped that Bakoiudu might acquire a distinct character and offer enough recreational and other facilities to discourage settlers from returning to the homelands or from seeking the reputed attractions of Port Moresby.

Mr Abel and Toneba spent many hours of informal discussion on how best to achieve these aims. In addition to the plan to re-open the Kuni Club store, their proposals included the erection of a large meeting house which might serve as the centre of Club activities, and the purchase of a stove which would be housed in one of the Club house annexes and used to train housewives in elementary cooking and baking. This idea later evolved into the notion of establishing a women's

¹ These views are set out in a report by Mr Abel entitled 'Rural Organizations', which he submitted to DASF Headquarters in August 1963.
club whose aims would be to train local girls and women in elementary hygiene and housewifery, including sewing, for which purpose a sewing machine would be bought (cf. White 1965: 32-4, 105-6). The leaders also hoped that adult education classes might eventually be introduced at Bakoiudu and that school concerts would be held at the Clubhouse as well. In addition to its educational aspects, the proposed Club was also popularized as the future centre of social activity at Bakoiudu.

Suggestions to this end included the organization of dances, sports meetings and discussion groups, and the purchase of basic equipment such as a transistor radio, darts, a table-tennis set and even a home-movie unit.

Mr Abel's proposals for broadening the scope and aims of the Kuni Club met with widespread enthusiasm among the settlers. In fact, the demand for a women's club and for adult education classes (particularly in the English language and arithmetic) had stemmed from the people themselves. Since Mr Abel's talks with Toneba were informal, other persons were usually present, contributed their own opinions and helped to spread the outcome of discussions, often embroidering upon them and emphasizing how Bakoiudu would become 'like Port Moresby - a town displaying the white man's way of life'. Apart from a few sceptics who questioned the practicability of one or more of the proposals, most settlers supported them, at least verbally, and expressed the need for improving their traditional way of life 'in order to become like Europeans'. This pre-occupation became especially marked towards the
middle of 1964 when iron-roofing was first introduced at Bakoiudu, and settlers spoke eloquently of the need to acquire western habits of cleanliness and housekeeping to befit their new European-style housing (cf. Goodenough 1963: 242).

In order to implement the aims of the Kuni Club, the settlers were invited to contribute $10 shares towards its establishment. By August 1963, $600 had been deposited in the Club savings account in addition to $336 representing unclaimed wages for work done on the rubber nursery in 1962. All monies were entrusted directly to Mr Abel who was the effective organiser of the scheme, with Toneba as his right-hand man. Father Boell's opinion was not sought with respect to the proposals for the Kuni Club, nor was his help solicited. Although he came to know about the various projects by hearsay and had grave reservations about the practicality of some of them, the missionary did not intervene in the plans though he did speak out against some and support others— with little practical effect in either case. For example, he considered the establishment of a Club store at Bakoiudu particularly ill-advised as he doubted that it could ever be run at a profit and feared that considerable capital investment might be lost. He was no doubt also anxious about the effect that the proposed new store might have on the Mission store at Bakoiudu. On the other hand, he gave his whole-hearted support to the idea of establishing a women's club and offered all the kitchen utensils still housed at Obaoba for that purpose, provided the
people brought them down themselves. On the whole, however, Father Boell was highly sceptical of the projected aims of the Club and doubted that anything would come of them (cf. Goodenough 1963: 35).

In effect, the scheme ran into difficulties as soon as practical measures had to be taken. Thus, while the settlers willingly contributed money shares towards the establishment of a Club store, none was prepared to take the initiative to build a Clubhouse or to go to Obaoba to bring down kitchen utensils. Mr Abel was not available to organize this aspect of the project and Toneba did not wield enough authority to set it in motion either. Thus thwarted in its initial premise, subsidiary aspects of the Club fell into abeyance as well, especially those associated with the Clubhouse as the centre of activity.

One achievement of the Club at Bakoiudu, however, was the opening of a store in mid-June 1964. This was largely due to the initiative and efforts of Mr Abel who opened a Club account directly with one of the trading companies in Port Moresby. By this means the Club store was able to obtain its supplies from Port Moresby without being formed into an officially-supervised co-operative which the settlers did not desire and for which they lacked the initial capital investment. Knowing Father Boell's opposition to the establishment of a local store, the settlers were a little wary of his reaction to its opening. Presented with the accomplished fact, however, Father Boell made a point of wishing the store success and removed any
cause for estrangement or friction in this respect. In fact, what dissensions did arise over the store did not involve Father Boell at all but highlighted other points of tension within the settlement.

There was a clear division of opinion, for example, as to where the permanent store should be erected. At the time of its opening in June 1964, the store was run temporarily from an annexe in the DASF station. Whereas Mr Abel wished that the new store should be built near the agricultural station in order that its running might be supervised at least until the settlers acquired technical know-how and a working knowledge of book-keeping, Toneba was outspokenly against this. The latter considered that the DASF site was too far removed from the main residential areas and feared that association of the store with DASF might invite Administration interference in its running should Mr Abel leave Bakoiudu. The majority of settlers were not involved in this issue and accepted the compromise solution whereby a temporary store was built on land adjoining the agricultural lease and its running supervised by Mr Abel until a suitable storekeeper was found. Influential settlers suggested an unmarried Vale 4 youth residing in Port Moresby as a suitable person to this position, and he was invited to come to Bakoiudu to assume this responsibility. This he did towards the end of 1964.

In the meantime, a one-roomed 10' x 12' store building was completed by voluntary labour in July 1964, and Father Boell formally blessed it at a feast
held in September. The first orders for the store included basic commodities such as tinned meat and fish, biscuits, sugar and tea. Although no detailed accounts were kept, sales in these goods were brisk at the Club store, and the Mission store run by Father Boell underwent a temporary setback. Settlers were particularly eager to buy at their own store even though some of the goods were more expensive than at the Mission, as they felt that, as shareholders, money spent at the Club would swell their share from its profits. Each new order introduced a number of new articles, and by September 1964 the store was moderately well stocked, including such articles as dresses, T-shirts, cigarettes and brassieres (cf. White 1965: 65). Despite this, the Club store had certain disadvantages against the Mission store in that its supplies were irregular and often pilfered en route. This was not the case with Mission goods which were ordered well in advance and stored safely on their way to Bakoiudu. As a result, the Club store often ran out of some goods or lacked others altogether.

For the first few months after the opening of the Club store, therefore, the settlers were somewhat undecided as to where to buy and what loyalties should prevail uppermost. Many felt that they should buy at their own store but found it more convenient to buy at the Mission; others, who for personal reasons did not wish to buy at the Club store, feared ostracism if they did not. This feeling was prompted by the fact that the Club store, like the rubber plantation in its early
days, was looked upon as a communal enterprise to which all settlers should voluntarily contribute. A partial solution to the predicament of the settlers was suggested by Toneba on the occasion of the blessing of the Club store, when he spoke as follows:-

Now some of you may be confused in your minds about where to spend your money. It is very easy: if you have $2 to spend, take $1 and spend it at the kompani (Club store) because that is what you gave shares for in the first place, and you will be helping your own place; spend the other $1 at Father's store because the missionary is there for us and the money is used to build our church, our school and our Mission. To whom will all the buildings at Bakoiudu belong when Father Boell goes? Not to him, to France or to Australia. They are ours, and when we shall have a Kuni priest, he will live there too. So spend your money equally between the two places.

This speech, together with the marked goodwill displayed by Father Boell towards the Club store helped to dispel the doubts of the settlers regarding their loyalties towards the two stores. Although no detailed budgets of expenditure were recorded, it seems that the relaxed atmosphere following the blessing of the Club store did much to dispel former reluctance to purchase at the Mission. Whereas sales at the Mission store rose thereafter, the Club store ran into difficulties. These derived not only from problems related to obtaining continuous supplies of goods, but involved factional disputes as well. For instance, there was considerable ill-feeling among the settlers against members of Inaumaka and Vale 4 parishes who were thought to dominate the running of the Club. Resentment
was particularly marked because one of those most closely associated with store activities was a polygynist. The settlers objected to his presence there and went as far as to boycott the Club store almost completely until the person concerned dissociated himself from the Club altogether. The temporary boycott of the Club store lasting about six weeks meant that the Mission store resumed its dominant position at Bakoiudu. By the time the boycott was over and before the Club was able to recoup its losses, a further setback occurred, more grievous than the first.

In February 1965, theft from the Club store was reported by Toneba who had taken stock of store goods during the storekeeper's absence. Since no detailed accounts of receipts and expenditure were kept, it was impossible to substantiate his claim. However, it was conclusively established that the Club store had not made any profit during the first eight months of operation and that there had been some credit sales despite injunctions and written notices that this was forbidden (cf. Epstein, T. 1966: 24-5). This incident angered the settlers very much and their bitterness was expressively directed against members of Vale 4 parish to whom the storekeeper was related and who had benefited most from the credit sales. The original
storekeeper was dismissed\(^1\) and an agricultural trainee from Yoyaka parish temporarily took over the running of the store. This was still the situation when I left Kuni in April 1965. By this time most settlers were disillusioned with the Club and its future at Bakoiudu was uncertain.\(^2\)

Throughout the vicissitudes of the Kuni Club store and the temporary indecision on what stand to take with respect to the Mission store, the majority of settlers consistently stressed the importance of group enterprise and unity of objectives at Bakoiudu. For this reason they were intolerant of two private storekeepers (both from Madiu parish) whose businesses were considered to flaunt the basic ideals of the settlement. Although the two stores in question were insignificant in terms of goods available and sales,\(^3\)

\(^1\) The youthful storekeeper's position was unenviable. The young man had left a moderately well-paid job in Port Moresby in order to run the store at Bakoiudu where he received no wage whatsoever because the store was considered to be a community venture. Soon after his arrival at Bakoiudu he fell in love with a girl from Madiu parish and found it embarrassing to refuse either his relatives or future in-laws when they came to the store (cf. Oram 1967: 15-6, White 1965: 18).

\(^2\) I have since been informed that the store was closed down in mid-1966.

\(^3\) One store, owned by a childless widower who had no share in the rubber plantation, had an estimated turnover of $1 a week, mainly through the sale of home-baked buns; the other, owned by a prominent Kubuna storekeeper, was maintained on his behalf mainly for prestige reasons and made very little profit, if any.
the settlers spoke at length against the self-centredness of the storekeepers and denounced their lack of *kompani*-mindedness. This attitude became much more pronounced after the opening of the Kuni Club and the storekeepers were told to quit the resettlement outright unless they revised their approaches. Although nothing came of these threats, the private stores were effectively boycotted following the settlers' resolution to oppose private enterprise at the settlement. Whether this trend represents a permanent attitude remains to be seen. It is not impossible that increased opportunities for cash investment and greater circulation of money may give a new lease to private businesses at Bakoiudu after tapping begins in earnest.

Despite its setbacks, the establishment of the Club store was one of the main achievements of the Kuni Club at Bakoiudu. The only other achievement was to build a rudimentary rugby field, again largely under the supervision of Mr Abel. Young men who had joined the resettlement from Port Moresby helped to train Bakoiudu youths in the game and two local teams, known by the Club name of St Michael, were chosen. Weekend matches held between these teams were very popular among the settlers who turned up in numbers to watch them. Disputes arising within and between teams during matches often highlighted points of tension and conflict within the settlement.

More important, the widespread popularity of the game prompted St Michael's to challenge two Port Moresby Kuni rugby teams (St Martin de Porres) to come
to play at Bakoiudu. The first match in April 1965 (won by St Martin) was followed by another at Port Moresby in July 1965 (won by St Michael) and another at Bakoiudu in April 1966 (won by St Michael). These matches did much to spread knowledge about Bakoiudu among Port Moresby Kuni and vice versa. For some time after the first meeting of the two teams there was talk of uniting the Kuni Club at Bakoiudu with that formed at Port Moresby early in 1965 by the residents there, known as de Boismenu Club. Although representatives of the two Clubs were unable to reach agreement on this score (indeed de Boismenu Club itself split into two in August 1966 at Port Moresby over some local differences), it is certain that these rugby matches did much to break down the isolation of the Kuni tribal areas. Thus, while the achievements of the Kuni Club at Bakoiudu have fallen far short of the settlers' ambitious aims, future developments may yet show that increased contact between the tribal and urban Kuni through the unlikely medium of rugby matches has been the most important contribution of the Kuni Club to local development.
APPENDIX 4

PORT MORESBY KUNI

In October 1964, about 63 per cent or 300 of the 480 Kuni living outside their tribal area, resided in Port Moresby. By far the largest number of these were men and youths who had left the Kuni homelands between World War II and the beginning of resettlement in 1961 for a variety of reasons, most of which can be traced directly or indirectly to the monotony of life in the tribal areas and to the socio-economic backwardness of Kuni. An additional reason for quitting the homelands was the head-tax of $2 per adult male which was introduced in 1958, forcing men to leave the area to seek cash employment. Most important of all, however, was the inquisitive desire of the homeland Kuni to experience some of the wonders they had heard about by the white man's way of life and which they themselves had partly witnessed through contact with the Mission at Obaoba (cf. Oram 1966a: 49).

In fact, there appears to be an inverse relationship between proximity to the old central Mission station and the number of emigrants from any given parish i.e., the closer the parish to Obaoba, the greater the number of its members to have left Kuni. Though other factors, such as opportunity and demographic considerations are likely to have been contributory causes for this trend, it is worth noting, for example,
that no less than 48 per cent of Vale 4 parish members were living outside Kuni in 1964 whereas Maimai 2 parish had only four per cent of migrants.

Most Kuni migrants leave their homelands permanently; at least this was the trend until very recently. In a sample survey of 66 Port Moresby Kuni men which I conducted in October 1964, 71 per cent of informants stated that they had never returned to Kuni since they had left the tribal area, while over 50 per cent of those that did return went only once, in order to get a bride. As shown in Table 6, there is a great

TABLE 6
Per cent Distribution of migrant Kuni based on age and sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adults (16+ years)</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children (-16 years)</td>
<td>22^2</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Based on Administration census, August 1964.
2 The higher proportion of male children is explained by the number of boys sent from the homelands to attend Mission and Administration schools outside Kuni. Fewer girls are accountable for in this way and the majority of those recorded here can be assumed to have been born outside Kuni.
disproportion between Kuni males and females in Port Moresby, particularly between adults (cf. Oram 1966a: 48 ff; Ryan 1966). Considering this disproportion, it is surprising that more Port Moresby Kuni do not return to their homelands to obtain brides (cf. White 1965: 121, 126). In part, this is compensated by marriage with non-Kuni women, accounting for 20 out of 49 recorded Kuni marriages in Port Moresby. However, these 'mixed' marriages are not favoured by the majority of Kuni because few of them are able to afford the cost of bride-price expected in coastal areas. As a result most of those who have married non-Kuni women reside uxorilocaly and are considered 'lost' to their fellow tribesmen.¹

Part of the reason for the quasi-permanent break of Port Moresby Kuni with the rural Kuni stems from the fact that the majority of them are in the 20-30 age group and still consider themselves 'too young' to undertake the responsibilities of married life in town 'where we change work often, have no fixed homes, and depend on the white man's whims'. Returning to the

¹ Port Moresby Kuni tend to keep very much to themselves, or, if they do associate with other tribesmen, prefer to do so with the Goilala whom they describe as 'mountain people like us'. Significantly, many profess to have greater solidarity with New Guinea Highlanders than with the coastal Mekeo, Hula or Motu for this very reason (cf. Polansky 1966: 46). For example, when it was rumoured in Port Moresby that the homeland Kuni might be joined to the Mekeo Local Government Council, the urban Kuni immediately sent two delegates to Bakoiudu to sound the opinion of the settlers and to dissuade them from any such move.
homelands in order to obtain a bride is therefore not an important consideration for them. Other alleged reasons for not returning to the homeland or even visiting them, is that many have long since lost contact with their relatives, that they no longer speak Kuni properly, and that they have no real incentive to go back to the 'forest'. Since resettlement, however, there has been an upsurge of interest among Port Moresby Kuni about the tribal areas, particularly inquisitiveness about Bakoiudu, but this is to a large extent tempered by widespread rumours that sorcery is rife at the settlement. In addition, Port Moresby Kuni are reluctant to join the settlement 'where we will be bossed around by old men and leaders with outdated ideas'.

More relevant than any of these reasons perhaps and contradicting them in part, is the fact that Port Moresby receive frequent visits from rural Kuni who arrive unexpectedly, remain for anything from one week

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1 This is particularly true of younger men and youths who prefer to speak Motu or even English among themselves.

2 The trip from the homelands to Port Moresby can be made southward via Yule Island and thence by sea to Port Moresby at a cost of $3; or northward to Tapini and thence by air to Port Moresby at a cost of $13; from Kubuna by air for $11; or overland at little cost at all. Since resettlement there has been a marked increase in travel between the tribal area and Port Moresby. Bakoiudu settlers travelling by air from Kubuna account for much of this increase.
to three months at the expense of their urban relatives, and return laden with goods (blankets, pots, clothes and cosmetics), plus a substantial sum of money which they have solicited from their hosts. In October 1964, over 80 per cent of informants claimed that they had been visited by relatives at least once since their arrival in Port Moresby. Most of them, however, had lost track of the number of visits received and of the amount of gifts they had given. It is therefore likely that the visits of rural Kuni have restricted the wanderlust of their urban counterparts whose resources are strained by the flow of visitors from the homelands. This is particularly the case of urban Devadeva 2 parish men who have had to carry the burden of the head tax of their numerous relatives in the Kuni homelands; the latter being the farthest removed from Bakoiudu, Kubuna and other centres of local cash employment.

Despite the strain on their income, particularly before resettlement brought a general improvement of conditions, the urban Kuni accepted their role vis-à-vis their rural counterparts in good grace: 'we are one people, speak one language: how could we refuse anything to our poor relatives who have come all the way from the bush to visit us?'. In fact, Port Moresby Kuni rather prided themselves on being the financial mainstay of the homelands and enjoyed showing bewildered visitors the various attractions of city life.

Resettlement brought a sudden volte-face in rural-urban Kuni relations. With the introduction of cash
cropping, and particularly of the work book system, Bakoiudu settlers found themselves in a strong bargaining position whereby they could lay down conditions for joining the scheme. Settlers were eager that Port Moresby Kuni should return to Bakoiudu, not only for sectarian interests, e.g., that the parish membership (and work book record) of this or that parish might be increased, but for more general reasons as well. Bakoiudu residents were aware that most of the key positions at the settlement were held by non-Kuni outsiders: Mekeo and Roro teachers, a New Guinea (Finschafen) medical orderly, a Roro carpenter and a Baniara agricultural aid to Mr Abel. Although relations with these persons were excellent,¹ the settlers expressed increasing concern at their own

¹ All 'foreigners' at Bakoiudu find themselves 'adopted' into a particular parish through a subtle process of progressive involvement and gift exchange with the members of that parish. This method is well-nigh standardized and settlers speak of Mr Abel as 'belonging' to Vale 4 parish, the carpenter to Inaumaka, the teacher to Vale Bekena, the medical orderly to Yumu and the anthropologist to Maimai parish respectively. Fathers Boell and Louis do not fall into such categorization because 'they are men of God and belong to everybody'. The only departure from this practice was with respect to a Mekeo agricultural officer who temporarily took charge of Bakoiudu when Mr Abel was transferred in November 1964. The settlers boycotted the newcomer on the grounds that 'being a Papuan he will not be able to teach us anything', and spread rumours that he was not willing to teach anything new to the settlers because of tribal jealousy. 'He's a Mekeo, so why would he tell us anything to make us advance?' The appointee was subsequently transferred from Bakoiudu and replaced by Marshall Lagooner who was accepted by the settlers.
inability to run local affairs. For this reason they looked to Port Moresby Kuni to supply the skills which they lacked. In addition, there was a general sentiment among the settlers that resettlement had removed any valid reason for remaining away from the tribal area any longer. The consensus of opinion was that resettlement was an all-Kuni venture and that Port Moresby Kuni should play their part. Failing this they would permanently cut themselves off from the tribal area and 'remain the lackeys of Europeans in Port Moresby, caring little for their own independent future'.

In the beginning, the settlers merely speculated among themselves on how to induce Port Moresby Kuni to return to the homelands. They were also wary of pressing their claims too much as they were unsure of the future of the settlement. Many, indeed, particularly the members of small parishes, depended heavily on their relatives in Port Moresby to supply them with the money which enabled them to organize the large work parties necessary to keep up with the pace of work of larger parishes. However, as conditions eased at Bakoiudu, and the settlers achieved a measure of financial independence through increased opportunities for local cash employment, their demand for the return of Port Moresby Kuni became bolder. In particular, they used the work book system as a sanction against them and threatened their exclusion from any participation in the scheme or sharing of its returns unless they either returned to Bakoiudu, or at least sent money to
compensate relatives who were working on their behalf there.

This point of view was widely publicized in Port Moresby; first, through the intermediary of casual visitors from the settlement; and, in October 1964, by Toneba himself who came to Port Moresby expressly to put the point of view of the settlers to the urban Kuni. In particular he warned them that whereas Bakoiudu settlers were still eager to swell their numbers and include as many people as possible in the scheme at the time of his visit, this trend would probably be reversed when tapping began. Thereafter, he warned astutely, the inclusion of newcomers to the scheme would be resisted since their arrival would proportionately diminish the cash returns of those already participating in it.

On this occasion Toneba also canvassed specifically on behalf of Dilava parish and urged anyone tracing either cognatic or affinal ties with members of this parish to return to Bakoiudu as Dilava was short of manpower. In particular he appealed to his full sister who was married to a Goilala tribesman to return to Bakoiudu, which she did with her husband and family in June 1965. By this means Toneba hoped to open a new avenue for recruiting (Goilala) members to Dilava parish. His example was subsequently followed by members of Vale 4 parish who sought to obtain Goilala husbands for their girls. These negotiations took place short-sightedly without considering their long-term implications on patterns of inheritance and
succession at Bakoiudu, and may pose serious problems in the future if they are implemented on a large scale.

Although Dilava parish men in Port Moresby contributed about $60 as a gage of their interest in the plantation, and obtained verbal assurances from Toneba that their share of Dilava rubber was thereby assured, most Port Moresby Kuni remained sceptical about their prospect of having any right to the proceeds of the plantation simply because they had sent money to the settlement. This was put explicitly to two envoys from Bakoiudu who came to Port Moresby in April 1965 expressly to recall young men to the settlement and to collect money for community projects. A general meeting was held in one of the labour compounds, and amidst a heated exchange of opinions, Port Moresby Kuni asserted that they could not be assured of any cash returns from the plantation unless they returned to Bakoiudu in person. This they were not prepared to do for a variety of reasons, namely, fear of sorcery and opposition to the authority of traditional chiefs. Consistently with this outlook most urban Kuni did not comply with the request of the spokesmen from Bakoiudu and refused to return to Kuni or to give money (cf. Dakeyne 1966: 34).
Subsequently, Bakoiudu settlers adopted a more independent and forceful stand. In June 1965, for example, at a second meeting held in Port Moresby, Bakoiudu spokesmen stated that the settlers no longer depended on urban Kuni for money since they had their own independent sources of cash income through the sale of rice and staple crops to the local DASF station and Mission, as well as opportunities for cash employment through road maintenance work and contract labour at the Kubuna plantations.¹ The settlers were allegedly only concerned that Port Moresby Kuni should join the scheme for the sake of Kuni unity and maximum solidarity. This change of emphasis disconcerted the urban Kuni who up to that time had been an important mainstay of Bakoiudu settlers and had been able for

¹ From 1963 to 1965 inclusive, DASF paid out $3460 in wages for roadwork and labour, and bought 26 tons of rice worth $1300 and sweet potatoes worth $100. In addition, five Kuni youths employed by DASF as agricultural trainees received wages of $10 a fortnight, plus rations. The Mission offered few opportunities for cash employment, but bought $1625 worth of sweet potatoes between May 1965 - December 1966, for consumption at other Mission stations and Yule Island. Contract labour at Kubuna provided an additional source of income though it tended to be limited to a few inau which had connections with Kubuna residents acting as recruiting agents on behalf of the local European planters. Although about $5000 was paid out in contract money by three Kubuna planters between August 1963 and December 1964, there is no means of estimating, even approximately, how much of this has been paid to Bakoiudu settlers. These figures are relevant only insofar that they show that there has been a substantial increase in local sources of cash income in Kuni in recent years.
that reason to defy their threats. It appears that at least twelve unmarried men have since returned to Bakoiudu and that several Port Moresby Kuni contributed $10 shares towards the maintenance of the Kuni Club store at Bakoiudu, in addition to other contributions made over the years e.g., about $500 donated between 1963-5 for the Bakoiudu church and school fund.

Port Moresby and Bakoiudu Kuni do not agree among themselves or with each other whether such contributions are to be regarded as voluntary donations or whether they represent a title to the proceeds from whatever developmental programmes are undertaken at Bakoiudu. Some maintain that cash cropping does not fall into the traditional sphere of exchange and reciprocity, and that non-workers have no right to the proceeds from the plantation notwithstanding any monetary help given to settlers. The protagonists of this view look upon financial aid as a voluntary gesture and an extension of traditional mutual aid. Others state explicitly that financial aid to Bakoiudu amounts to investment: 'like Europeans putting money in the bank', and assert that Port Moresby Kuni who have sent money to Bakoiudu do have valid claims to the proceeds from the plantation. A third group, consisting of a minority of informants, holds that kinship solidarity and mutual aid are fundamental aspects of the Kuni way of life and that these principles should prevail whether or not relatives from Port Moresby have sent money to Bakoiudu. This diversity of opinion raises important questions about
the future of Port Moresby - Bakoiudu relations, particularly with respect to the distribution of cash returns, and inheritance and succession in the plantation.

In the meantime, contacts between Port Moresby and Bakoiudu Kuni are increasing, particularly since rugby matches have been organized between them. Although these matches have engendered a spirit of competition and even of rivalry between the two main groups of Kuni, they have undoubtedly helped to break down the isolation which formerly separated urban and rural dwellers (cf. White 1965: 31). Nevertheless, the future of Port Moresby - Bakoiudu Kuni relations remains as inscrutable and enigmatic as the statement made by a visitor from Port Moresby upon her departure from Bakoiudu:

I am quite confused. It is like a city here. In the homelands we all used to live far from each other, therefore the people from Port Moresby did not understand or believe that there was really a town here. But look, it is true, people all over. Just you watch me: I shall return and tell them all about it. I shall draw their hearts to Bakoiudu, and I'll tell them that the place teems with girls and that they are there for the taking. What about myself? Oh! now I have seen it, my mind is at rest about Bakoiudu. I'm going back to Port Moresby for ever.
GLOSSARY

Only important terms are included hereunder since most vernacular words are translated in the text.

abulu: preparatory stages of a garden, prior to planting

abi yobiana: peace-chief

ba-ani: to feed, to adopt, to foster

badu-adu: mortuary feast

Bakoiudu: lit. stone used for sharpening

bale-bale naduna: running feast to celebrate certain births

ba-nao: to become like Europeans, to westernize

bisnes: business

daba yoko: what are you saying? [gaba loko/daba yo'o]
diaba: garden in full production
doka: true, genuine

eli-eli: division, distribution of food and/or pork; usually at feasts

faifai: spirit

faotsia: shame

felia: religious (Catholic) feast

gayaya: meal given at work-parties

gimatsu: mortuary feast at burial
idume: soul substance
inau: patrilineage
kafala: destructive raid immediately after a death
kafu: taboo, prohibition
katekis: catechist
kava: payment; to pay
kimani: Village Constable, policeman
komisi: prayer leader, Committee man
kompani: group, collectivity; community-mindedness; collective solidarity
kufu: men's house
mea: spell
mino: contagious black magic
nadu: feast; most often used of mortuary feasts
nao: European
oada: sorcery involving the use of a so-called evil-eye stone
olakava: bride-price; sometimes groom-price
tsaluja: sp. small wallaby; descriptive term for Kuni living in the mountains
tsimana: sp. large wallaby; descriptive term for Kuni living in flatter areas
tsitsifa: myth, legend; long ago
tsivia yobiana: warrior-chief
uku: return-payment, usually of pork
vade: generosity, liberality
yaikena: initial gift of pork (cf. uku)
yobia: chief
yobu: bird of paradise
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