SYNOPSIS

This study seeks to describe the changing structure of Mailu local groups since their incorporation into the Australian Territory of Papua and New Guinea. Though focused on the structure of local groups it has two general aims: (i) to gain insight into the nature of interdependence between different parts of the contemporary Mailu social structure; (ii) to assess continuity and change in that structure as a social process moving through time.

The study is divided into three parts, each of which consists of a number of chapters. The first part deals with the structure of local groups as it was in the past (about 1885), the second describes the changes that have occurred since the beginning of contact with Europeans, and the third provides an analysis of the contemporary social system.

The Mailu live on the south-east coast of Papua, about half-way between the towns of Port Moresby and Samarai. Culturally they occupy an intermediate position between what Seligman (1910: PP. 2—7) calls Western Papuo-Melanesians and the Southern Massim. To the north their neighbours are a hill people called the Dimuga. In addition the Mailu have scattered amidst them a few non-Mailu villages which are virtually identical in social structure and culture to the Mailu.

From the point of view of political and social solidarity, there were traditionally no such groups as the Mailu, the
Dimuga and the Southern Massim. Instead there were a number of autonomous villages occupying contiguous territory and speaking mostly the same language and having the same general culture. It was this predominance of a single language in a given area that gave it an appearance of linguistic and cultural uniformity.

Each Mailu village was a compact settlement with a well-defined territory. The distance between adjacent villages varied from 300 yards to several miles and their size ranged from six houses to 80. The shorter the distance between villages the more intense the neighbourly relations between them. Similarly the smaller the size of the village, the higher was the rate of out-village marriage, and the more strongly it was linked to its neighbours by ties of kinship and marriage.

Each village consisted of a number of named clan sectors usually forming distinct local subdivisions of the village and having land rights in its territory. The members of a clan sector were usually presumed to be linked by ties of agnatic descent. Similar but vaguer ties linked clan sectors bearing the same name but socially centred in different villages. Each clan sector was further divided into one or more lineage ideally consisting of three generations of male agnates, their wives, or widowed mothers, and single, widowed or divorced female agnates. The members of a lineage lived in one or more house. The lineage was a
more closer economic, social and ceremonial unit than the clan sector.

In one village—Mailupom—the clan sectors were grouped together to form a number of named Phratries. The Phratries performed some of the same functions as the clan sectors.

While describing the traditional structure I argue that the Mailu local groups within the village (households, lineages, clan sectors, Phratries) were linked to each other not only by cross-cutting ties of kinship and marriage but also by "multiple" and overlapping allegiance and membership. These potentially divisive ties while weakening the autonomy and internal unity of the above groups tended to make the village a strongly united local and kinship unit.

Social relations between villages varied with size, spatial distance, and intensity of cross-cutting ties and multiple and overlapping affiliation or allegiance of members. Closely related villages tended to cluster into political alliances whose membership overlapped and changed over time.

With the establishment of European control the Mailu became a subject people governed by a centralized administration controlled by a foreign state. The new administration compelled them to give up warfare, headhunting, self-help for redress of injury. It established a body to make laws and a system of courts, judges, magistrates, armed police and village constables to enforce them. As a result the clubhouses, the centres of ceremonies connected with head-
hunting, warfare and initiation fell into disuse war-
magicians and clan sector headmen lost their status as
men of power and influence, and the unity and autonomy of
the clan sectors declined. The area of peaceful relations
widened, and men freed from military duties extended their
trade relations and sought jobs as plantation hands, boats'
crew, policemen and domestic servants. In these capacities
they travelled over much of Papua and met and worked with
a large variety of people both Papuans and Europeans.
They learned new skills, new habits, new values, new loyalties, new ways of thinking about themselves and the world.

The missionaries who came at about the same time as
the Government started converting the people to Christianity
and to teach them reading and writing. In the mission schools
boys and girls from different villages studying, living and
playing together began to feel a sense of social solidarity
as school mates and as Mailu. Similarly the adults attending
the church and co-operating in its various tasks began to
develop new extra-kin and extra-village loyalties. By 1936
all but a small minority of the Mailu were not at least
nominal adherents to Christianity.

Since the end of the second world war a number of
formal associations—co-operative societies, local govern-
ment councils, church organizations, and village clubs have
come to be established. Though the individual and cumulative
effect of these associations varies from village to village
and from one association to another, they all have certain features in common producing similar effects. They create new corporate property and numerous elected positions at both intra-village and inter-village levels; and for the recruitment of members and office-bearers, they emphasise local (membership of a village or constituency) and universalistic (education and ability) criteria rather than ties of kinship.

The ties arising from the membership of the associations, together with the traditionally existing (now highly modified) ties creating divided loyalties, affect the structure of local groups in complex ways. At the intra-village level they sap the autonomy and vitality of the local kinship groups—households, lineages, clan sectors and Phratries—to make the village a strongly united local group, but at the inter-village level the same ties break the autonomy and solidarity of the village to link it with other villages into a united neighbourhood, though the bonds that link the people of a village to each other are still stronger than those linking them to wider groups. In the past it was the relatively greater autonomy of the local kinship groups rather than external links that countered the structural unity of the village. Now it is the external links that cut into its unity and autonomy.
THE MAIŁU : A STUDY OF THE CHANGING STRUCTURE
OF LOCAL GROUPS.

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
in the Australian National University

by

BEHARI L. VERMA

1964
This thesis is my own original work.

BEHARI L. VERMA.
24th December, 1964.
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PREFACE

Professor Hawthorn and the staff of the University of British Columbia first introduced me to Anthropology and encouraged me to research. Professor Gluckman and his seminar at Manchester University stimulated my interest in Social Anthropology. My debt to Professor Gluckman and to Professor Barnes of Australian National University should be obvious from my analysis of ties creating divided loyalties.

The field-work was carried out on a research scholarship from Australian National University, and I am grateful to that body for generous financial assistance, both while I was in the field and writing up the material in Canberra. For supervision at various stages during field-work and writing up I am indebted to Professors J.A. Barnes, W. E. H. Stanner, and Dr. R. Rooksby.

The thesis was completed while I was holding a lectureship at the University of Sydney and I am grateful to the staff of both universities for intellectual stimulation, comments and support, in particular Drs. P. Brown, M. Reay, C. Jayawardena, M. Swift. My friend and colleague Dr. M. Allen read through most of the manuscript and made many incisive comments. I am indebted to him for these and for taking over some of my share of the work.

The Department of Territories, the staff of the Department of Native Affairs and other Government departments made their records
available and helped me in the field in numerous ways. I would like to thank all of them, in particular the District Commissioner, Mr. Marsh, A.D.O.'s Mr. Clark and Mr. Mellor, P.O's Mr. Milne and Mr. Worland, and Co-operative Officers Mr. Corfield, Mr. Garski and Mr. Trecize.

The London Missionary Society generously made their records available and Reverends W. G. Bache, D. Cullingford went out of their way to help. Mr. and Mrs. Taylor of Mogubo Plantation provided warm and generous hospitality. It gives me pleasure to acknowledge my debt to all of them.

My greatest debt is to the Mailu people who made me feel welcome and put up with me when I pried too much in what were essentially their private affairs. In particular I am grateful to Mr. Nuaa Omaga and his family for taking me into their home, Mr. Cliff Ianamu, Mr. Punch Cowley, Miss M. Cowley, Mr. Mark Bonio and other Mailu leaders for taking interest in my work.

I am also thankful to Professor R. Firth for kindly providing me with some Mailu photographs, Mr. E. Ford for drawing the maps of the area, Mr. Criper for helping with the proof reading, and Mrs. Harrison for kindly undertaking to do the typing at short notice.
INTRODUCTION

This study is concerned with the description and analysis of the social structure of the Mailu people of Papua who have been under the political and administrative control of Europeans (at first British and later Australian) since about 1890. It seeks in particular to describe the changing structure of Mailu local groups since their incorporation into what is now the Territory of Papua and New Guinea, politically controlled and administered by the Commonwealth of Australia. Though focused on the structure of local groups, the study has two general aims: first, to gain insight into the nature of the interdependence between different parts of contemporary Mailu social structure; secondly, to assess continuity and change in that structure as a social process moving through time.

In selecting the Mailu for this study I had in mind the advantage to be gained by utilising as sources of historical information two book-length studies of their traditional culture, one by Malinowski, and the other by Saville — a missionary who received some training in anthropology from Malinowski:

1. Malinowski, B. 1915. The Natives of Mailu, Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia. (Based on information collected during six months of stay in Papua from September 1914 to February 1915.)

2. Saville, W.J.V. 1926. In Unknown New Guinea, London, Seeley Service. (Based on twenty-five years mission work among the Mailu from 1901 and a good knowledge of their language and culture. Richer in concrete details and, in general, a better source of information than the first one.)
To deal with the historical and contemporary data I employ two different but complementary modes of analysis: through synchronic analysis I relate the "traditional" (Pre-European, about 1885) and "contemporary" (1960-62) local groups to their respective social settings; and by means of historical reconstruction I link them to each other in a developmental sequence.

For the synchronic analysis of the traditional structure I rely mainly on the accounts already cited of Malinowski and Saville. Since their main concern is general ethnographic description rather than analysis of the social system, the information which they provide about the latter is deficient in some respects. Therefore, in order to remedy these deficiencies, I have found it necessary to reanalyse in the light of my own field experience and the statements of my informants about their past, the material which these books provide.

For the synchronic analysis of contemporary social structure I draw on my own fieldwork which was carried out at two successive periods: March 1960 to March 1961, and February 1962 to November 1962, the interval being spent at the Australian National University, Canberra.

For the purpose of the historical reconstruction of intervening events I make use of the usual anthropological methods which include tapping the memory of individual informants, collecting their life histories and genealogies, and consulting government files, patrol reports, mission records, personal accounts of missionaries and travellers and any other relevant documentary sources available.
Methodologically there is nothing new in my approach to the analysis of data; others (Firth 1958; Mead 1956; Powell 1956, Maher 1961) have tried it before with some individual variations. Its main limitation is that it produces "a dual-synchronic, not a strictly diachronic study" (Firth 1958: P. 22).

But when the circumstances don't permit a diachronic study and some useful historical information is available, this approach enables us to make the most of that information for giving historical depth to the study. Ultimately it is the data which dictates the method and sets limits to its achievements.

The term local group, as I use it, refers to socially recognised bonds of spatial (or territorial) contiguity between persons or groups of persons that set them apart as an identifiable group from other similar groups, or a larger group of which they are a part. The ties of common residence in a house may, for example, set apart a household as a local group from other households in the village and the village as a whole. Similarly, living together at a particular site may result in social ties which separate a village from other villages in the neighbourhood and the neighbourhood as a whole, and so on. That which constitutes a local group is not then a fixed entity but changes from one context to another and is in part a function of what is non-local in that context. The emphasis in studying local groups is on the investigation of ties between spatially contiguous like units and their members and relationships of superordination and subordination between such unlike units as a whole and its parts. Since spatial contiguity is in part a matter of location, in part of ease
of travel and in part of social and personal definition, the bonds that it creates cannot be postulated in advance; they are to be verified in the context in which they occur and from which they derive their content, form and social meaning.

A study of this kind has no special virtue that others lack, although a case could be made that a systematic examination of the territorial aspects of a people's life deserves our first attention, as it constitutes a primary requirement for understanding other aspects of social life. My main reason for paying greater attention to the structure of local groups is that, with the establishment of local government councils and co-operatives, this particular aspect of Mailu social life has recently undergone some marked changes, providing a good opportunity for studying social change.

The first four months in the field were spent in developing rapport, gaining some knowledge of the language and making general enquiries at the Mailu village where Malinowski and Saville collected most of their data. The next three months were spent in touring most of the villages in the area noting details of settlement pattern, names of clan-sectors, beliefs about origin, population (in some cases household composition) and other more easily ascertainable features of the social structure.

After this I established a base at Loupom from where I paid occasional visits, lasting from a few hours to one week, to other villages, the mission station at Iruna and the patrol post and Magarida.
Loupom was selected as a base because of its central location and because a Loupom family kindly allowed me to share their house with them. In addition Loupom, being the headquarters of the Abau Native Societies Association, is frequently visited by the people of most villages in the area. The data I use was for the most part collected from Loupom and to a lesser extent from the Mailu village, but to ascertain the representativeness and the extent of variations, enquiries were made from other villages to check main points.

I divide the study into three parts each consisting of a number of chapters. The first deals with the structure of local groups as it was in the past, the second describes the historical changes that have occurred since the beginning of contact with Europeans, and the third provides an analysis of the contemporary social system. Before dealing with these, however, I discuss briefly the people and their general socio-geographical environment.

Geographical Location.

The Mailu live on the south-east coast of Papua between the towns of Port Moresby and Samarai. They occupy about a hundred miles of the coast from Gadaisu in the east to Cape Rodney in the west; their territory does not extend beyond eight miles inland and averages much less. When they first came in contact with the Europeans (in the last quarter of the nineteenth century) most of their villages were on the hill-tops either near the coast or slightly inland, but now they are all on the coast.
Topography and Soil

The Mailu area is alternately hilly and flat. From Cape Rodney to Amazon Bay it consists of mainly alluvial plains interspersed with sago and mangrove swamps.* The plains extend inland up to 12 miles as broad river flats along the valleys of the Bonua, Bailebo and Ulumanu rivers. Steep hill-ranges up to 1000 feet high separate these river valleys from each other.

Between Mogubo Point and Baibara Island the coast and the surrounding area is generally hilly, but the hills give way to plains about four miles inland; on the coast too plains occur in narrow patches. Extensive areas of tidal creeks and swamps are found near Kureri, Woworo, Selai and Oraro. To the east of the Baibara, the hills again retire to the background, giving place to alluvial plains.

From Cape Rodney to Table Point barrier reefs protect the shore from the pacific swell, but between Table Point and Mogubo Point, where there is no reef, huge breakers pound the shore, making it hazardous to land. To the east of Mogubo up to Baibara the coast is very broken and well protected by reefs. Many good anchorages are, therefore, found in Amazon Bay, Mairi Bay, Millport Harbour and Port Glasgow. Most of the Mailu population was, as now, concentrated in this area. To the east of Baibara again there is no reef and no good anchorages.

There are also a few islands close to the Mailu coast. Some of these are either inhabited, or put to economic uses; others being

* I am indebted to Mr. Heath, Agriculture Officer, Samarai, for most of my information on the soil.
little barren rocks, are not used at all. About 20 miles west of Table Point is the island of Abau, approximately 25 acres in size. In the past it was used as a common stone-quarry by a number of Mailu villages. (Malinowski 1915, p. 594.) Just opposite Mogubo Point, about three-quarters of a mile from the mainland, is Loupom; and less than a mile south-east of it is Laruoro. Both are flat coral islands about 25 acres in size. In the past Loupom had two villages on it, Loupom and Gagaisana (now forming a single village); but Laruoro has always had only one village (Laruoro). The soil of these islands is not very suitable for gardening and only coconuts and a few pawpaws are grown there. Both are, however, surrounded by extensive reefs, rich in fish and other sea food.

About four miles south of Laruoro is another island, Mailu, with a single village on it also called Mailu. In order to distinguish the Mailu people as a whole from the people of that island I have altered the name of the island and the village to Mailupom by adding the suffix 'pom' (island) to their original name; and from now on I use
the term Mailu to refer to the people as a whole and Mailupom to refer to the people of the island. Unlike Loupom and Laruoro, Mailupom is not made of coral but of sandstone and mixed conglomerations, rising at places up to 500 feet above sea level. Its soil, though used intensively for gardening, is not very fertile. Since its population is large and land small, a piece of land on it is cultivated for three to five years before allowing it to go fallow; on the mainland, where land is plentiful, a new plot is cleared and planted every year.

Mailupom is surrounded by a coral reef not as extensive and rich in fish as that at Laruoro. The people do their major fishing at Arieu reef, a barrier formation about four miles south of the island. Clay, suitable for pottery, is also found on the island, and the islanders have the monopoly of pot-making in the area as everyone believes that the Mailupom alone have the "suitable" clay.

East of Mailupom and about three miles south of Millport Harbour is another island, Eunoro, with a village on it, bearing the same name. The soil of the island is suitable for both gardening and planting coconuts.

**Rainfall and Climate**

As the Mailu country is near the border of both the south-east season and north-west season wet zones, the rainfall distribution, as the following table shows, is very uneven.
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<td>130</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>131</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table indicates wide variations in rainfall not only from month to month and year to year, but also in the same month in different years. September and October are usually the driest months, but a little disturbance in atmospheric conditions may make any month the driest or wettest. Occasionally long periods of drought also occur which lead to crop failure and scarcity of garden food. To tide over these lean periods the people traditionally relied on sago, but these days, though that traditional stand-by is still there, rice, flour and other foods may also be bought from trade stores.

Malinowski (1915: pp. 554 — 557) and Saville (1926: pp. 66 — 70) give a detailed account of the manner in which the Mailu traditionally classified seasons and the way their social life changed from one season to another. I mention below what I consider to be the main points to be noted both in respect of the past and the present.

The mode of classifying seasons is the same now as it was in the past. Two main seasons are recognised: the north-west (awara), from late December to early April, and the south-east (bodea), from April to late December; the names indicate the direction of the prevailing wind. Those two are further divided into several subdivisions each named after either "budding, flowering, fruiting, leaf-shedding times" of one or two deciduous trees — vinhu, or lioro — or blossoming or "seed-dispersing" times of lalang grass, silowo. A good many Mailu are now also familiar with the European calendar and can tell approximately during which month a particular traditional season begins or ends. These
two modes of calculating provide the Mailu a rough but fairly reliable calendar of seasonal change.

From late June or early July to late September the south-east wind blowing with great force ushers in cold, rainy, windy weather and rough seas. The Mailu who still lack suitable clothing feel cold and miserable. They detest the weather and, on days it actually rains, prefer to stay indoor near the fires which they keep burning day and night to warm themselves. Little sailing or fishing, except that in protected waters or in motorboats, is done during this period. Gardening and mending garden fences, and armshell making were the main economic pursuits in the past. Nowadays those working for the missions, co-operatives, the government and the local non-official Europeans have to attend to their jobs regardless of the weather, but others generally follow the traditional pursuits appropriate to the season.

From October to December wind and rain decrease and cold weather gives way to spring which brings a touch of gaiety, laughter and song. A marked change occurs in the general atmosphere of the villages. The pace of economic and social life suddenly quickens. Hunting, fishing, gardening, repairing old or making new canoes, mending sails or making other preparations for sailing and trading, singing and dancing at night — the weather becomes suitable for all these and more. It is not then surprising that the Mailu call this season lioro (the year).

Towards the end of November those who want to collect cone shell from the reefs, or have armshells ready for buying pigs sail to Aroma;
those who want to exchange armshells for money visit Port Moresby. The remainder stay behind, fishing, gardening, sago making and processing copra. In accordance with tradition the major mourning feasts (now decreasing in number and scale) are held in December or January, providing a fitting climax to spring — a period of intense trading, sailing and other economic activities. The feasting usually comes to an end before the onset of the rains in February.

During February and March the north-west wind blows intermittently in short but sudden and violent gusts that are often accompanied by heavy rain. The weather alternates between hot, humid and stuffy, and cool, rainy and stormy. The seas become rough and dangerous for sailing. In the intense heat and humidity people feel lazy, enervated and disinclined to work; and on the whole it is a period of very slack economic activity.

By the end of March the north-west wind loses its vigour, and the weather again becomes suitable for fishing, gardening, copra making, sago making and sailing. Traditionally those who wanted to trade loaded on their canoes their pots, piglets, string bags and threaded shell discs and sailed to the Southern Massim villages near Suau and Mullens Harbour where they exchanged these things for ordinary stone axes and adzes, carved ceremonial stone adzes and armshells (Saville, 1926: pp. 161 — 164). The sailors usually returned home before the beginning of the rain and rough weather in June. These days stone axes and adzes are rarely, if ever, bought; and the distance travelled and groups
visited also vary considerably: the decision to return may be made at Mullins Harbour, or places as far as Tubriand Islands may be visited for collecting cone shells from the reefs or buying armshells. In addition to traditional goods traded, sticks of tobacco, shirts, trousers, shorts and money may be used for buying armshells and food.

Tools.

Traditionally the Mailu used simple tools: wooden knives, spears and digging sticks, stone axes and adzes (usually imported from Southern Massim) paddling and sailing canoes with sails of matting, and hunting and fishing nets made from bush fibres. Wooden knives and spears, stone axes and most stone adzes were replaced by steel tools at the very beginning of the contact with Europeans. The digging sticks are, however, still used for planting and a stone adze, called Ota, for pounding sago. Hunting nets are hardly made any more and traditional big fishing nets are beginning to be replaced by nylon nets; old sails of matting have given way to canvas. The Mailu carpenters and mechanics generally use the same hand tools as their European counterparts.

Diet.

Taro is the staple food; others in rough order of importance are banana, sago, and sweet potato (introduced). Yam, bread fruit, and recently introduced pumpkin, pawpaw, pineapple, and sugar cane are also eaten. Domestic pig, domestic chicken (introduced); and bush pig, birds and other game when available provide a welcome addition to
regular diet. Coconut forms an essential part of most cooked food and is also eaten raw. In addition to locally produced foods, the Mailu these days also buy substantial quantities of wheat flour, rice, tinned fish, tinned meat, dripping, sugar, tea, biscuits and other goods available from the stores. Most villages now have easy access to either a co-operative store or a private trade store.

**Natural Resources.**

The area as a whole receives enough rainfall to grow several varieties of forest covering including savanna, low virgin jungle, and tropical rain forests. These provide the Mailu many things: firewood for cooking and keeping warm, timber for making house posts, floor boards, paddles, poles and rudders, palm-leaves for thatching the roof and canes for making the walls, fibres for making ropes and nets, reeds for making mats, betelnut, ginger, betel leaves, mangoes and many kinds of wild fruits for eating raw, and sago for several culinary dishes. Game, such as bush pigs, wallabies, cuscus, scrub hens and pigeons of various sorts are also found in the forests and constitute a source of meat, though not a very significant one: the Mailu are not very keen on hunting.

Although the area as a whole is well provided with animal and plant life, not all villages have equal access to everything. The Mailupom are short of gardening land, but have locational advantage in fishing and collecting shell and other sea foods. In addition, they are the sole producers of pottery in exchange for which they are able to obtain food from the mainlanders. The Laruoro and Loupom, though
not short of gardening land, have to travel long distances on the mainland to reach it. Since it is convenient for them to fish on the nearby reefs, they tend to take more interest in fishing than in gardening. The islanders also take a more prominent part in traditional trading than most mainlanders.

Most mainlanders have easy access to forests and plenty of gardening land; and their economic life tends to be centred on these. Some mainland villages are, however, exceptionally well off: Magaubo and Boru are not only rich in garden and forest produce, but also in fish and shell. In addition they have extensive coconut groves, which too vary in size from village to village. These differences tend to produce not only some specialisation in economic production and trade, but also variations in economic routines.

Some recent changes have further accentuated the differences between villages. With the establishment near Kureri of the Magarida patrol post, the Kureri now have many opportunities of earning a little cash by doing various casual jobs locally. The Abau Native Societies Association at Loupom, which requires wharf labour virtually every week, provides similar opportunities to the people there.

**Animal Husbandry.**

The Mailu have only four domesticated animals: the pig, the dog, the chicken and the cat. As elsewhere in Melanesia, among the Mailu the pig is the more prized animal and a most valued possession for any man. It is not reared for domestic consumption, but for trade,
exchange and gift giving. As a food it is highly valued, but it is considered improper for a person to eat the pig which he himself reared or gave as a gift; he may only eat of one given to him by others. A most important function of the pig is, therefore, to express and emphasise the social interdependence of human beings, both persons and groups. In this respect, the prohibition on eating one's own pig resembles rules of incest and exogamy.

Most mainland Mailu rear their own pigs while most islanders either buy them from the mainland or from Aroma in exchange for armshells. The dogs too are used for trade, exchange and gift giving. On the mainland they are also used for hunting. They are neither eaten nor so highly prized as pigs. In the past they used to constitute an important export to the Southern Massim who used to eat them (Saville 1926: p.162). Only a few people have chicken, and they keep them for domestic consumption. The cat is merely a household pet.

Means of Travel.

Canoes are the principal means of travel and transport both between the islands and the mainland villages accessible by water. Footpaths connect most mainland villages to each other, but some pass through precipitous hills and are not easily passable, particularly after the rains. The Amazon Bay Local Government Council has now undertaken a "road" building programme to improve these footpaths. The coastal vessels sailing between Samarai and Port Moresby connect the area to these centres of administration, trade and commerce. The Abau
Native Societies Association boat, Magi, carrying passengers, copra and trade goods, connects various coastal villages to each other and to towns of Samarai and Port Moresby.

**Ethnic Identity and Neighbours.**

When they first came in contact with Europeans, the people were known by two different names, Magi and Mailu. Magi was the term that was occasionally used for naming them and their language by the people themselves and their close neighbours, while Mailu was the name by which they were generally known abroad (Malinowski 1915, pp. 498-499; Saville 1926, p.18). How they acquired the name Magi is not known, but they came to be known as Mailu perhaps because that was the name of their biggest, best known and most active village in trading (Malinowski 1914, pp. 498-499; Saville 1926, p.18). Called by whatever name, they (the people as a whole) had no political and social solidarity; all that gave them a semblance of unity was a common habitat (though shared with others), and a common language and culture (with some local variations). What kind of changes have occurred since contact and how the present differs from the past will be discussed later.

Culturally the people occupy an intermediate position between what Seligman (1910, pp. 2-7) calls Western Papuo-Melanesians and the Southern Massim; they have important similarities in social structure and culture with their western neighbours, the Aroma (Western Papuo-Melanesians), and eastern neighbours, the Bonabona and the Davi (Southern Massim). Their physical appearance, dress (Saville 1926, p.27)
style of houses, system of agnatic descent and compact village communities are similar to those of the Aroma, and their concepts of sorcery, magic, resting place of the dead (biula), spirits (Armstrong 1921, pp. 33-40), mode of arranging mourning feasts (Armstrong 1921, pp.41-44; Malinowski 1915, p.677) tattooing, dances and decorative designs on pottery were similar to those of the Southern Massim (Malinowski 1915, p.507). The latter, however, differ from the Mailu in that they live in scattered hamlets and practise matrilineal descent.

The Mailu carried out in the past, as now, a considerable amount of trade with the people of these areas. Some of the things traded they kept for their own use, the remainder they passed on from one to the other. Malinowski (1915, pp.620-629) and Saville (1926, pp.161-167) discuss these in detail, and I give below a brief statement based on their accounts, of the main items exchanged. In exchange for pots, piglets, dogs, string bags and shell discs the Mailu brought from the Southern Massim ordinary stone axes and adzes, carved ceremonial adzes and armshells. With these and locally manufactured armshells, shell ornaments and sago they bought from Aroma grown-up pigs and feather head-dresses for their own use, and piglets, dogs, string bags and shell discs for trade with the Southern Massim. Now the main items bought from the Southern Massim are armshells in exchange for piglets, dogs, money, tobacco, shirts and other trade goods; and those from Aroma are piglets and pigs, for armshells, money and trade goods. Some of the armshells may now be taken direct to Port Moresby to sell them for money.
From the few casual enquiries which I made from the Dimuga visiting Loupom it appears that they too are similar to the Mailu in settlement pattern, system of agnatic descent and mode of holding mourning feasts. Also there was, as now, some intermarriage and trade between the neighbouring Dimuga and Mailu villages. Through this trade, in the past, the Dimuga obtained from the Mailu "shell ornaments, pottery, and salt-waterlogged wood" in exchange for "feathers, food and netted bags" (Saville 1926, p.28). Nowadays that trade for the most part consists of exchange of pottery for vegetable food. The Dimuga now share with the Mailu the membership of the Amazon Bay Local Government Council and the Mailu District Church Council.

Apart from the above large block of neighbours, there are certain scattered non-Mailu villages to the west, north-west and north-east of Amazon Bay in what I have arbitrarily called the Mailu area. They are all identical in social structure and culture to their Mailu neighbours and have various social ties with them. Most of their inhabitants can speak the Mailu language in addition to their own. West of Amazon Bay, Magori and Deba are the first two such villages having a common language. Next is Laua, about ten miles north of Derara. Another is Siini, west of Boru on the coast. Further west are Badubadu, Duramu and Domu - all on the coast. Malinowski wrongly included the last two in his list of Mailu-speaking villages.

Politically, however, the most important feature the Mailu had in common with their neighbours in the past was that among them, as
among the Mailu, the linguistic and cultural similarity of local groups did not have much bearing on their political and social solidarity. The ties of political friendship and enmity tended to cut across the boundaries of language and culture in such a way that one acquired both friends and enemies not only from one's own linguistic and cultural group, but also from some others as well. Politically then there were no such groups as the Mailu, the Dimuga, the Southern Massim and the Aroma. Instead there were a number of autonomous villages occupying the same general area. Most of them spoke the same language and virtually all of them had the same general culture. It is this predominance of one language habitually spoken by the majority and understood by all, regardless of their natal language, which gave a particular area an appearance of linguistic uniformity. Each village socially centred in that area formed part of a much wider social field within which its members intermarried, formed political alliances and carried out trading and raiding expeditions. Spatially contiguous villages tended to have overlapping social fields. In the succeeding pages it will be my principal task to analyse the structure of the constituent units of this socio-geographical setting as they functioned prior to contact with Europeans and came to be modified when the establishment of European supremacy changed this setting.
PART ONE

Traditional Structure
In this part I am primarily concerned with the description of the local groups as they were before the beginning of European rule in Papua. To the extent that historical information is available, I discuss their size, their mutual interrelations, how they recruited their members, how they delimited their boundaries, how ties of descent, filiation and marriage affected their structure.

While describing these I argue that Mailu local groups within a village (household, lineage and clan sector) were linked to each other not only by cross-cutting ties of kinship and marriage, but also by "multiple" and overlapping membership. These potentially divisive ties, while weakening the autonomy and internal unity of the above groups, tended to make the village a strongly united local and kinship unit.

Social relations between villages varied with size, spatial distance and intensity of cross-cutting ties and multiple and overlapping affiliation or allegiance of members. Closely located villages tended to cluster into political alliances whose membership overlapped and changed over time preventing the development of strongly cohesive village confederacies.

The term "cross-cutting ties" refers to those bonds that link individuals or groups in one group to those in another, creating a potential conflict of loyalties between personal or sectional ties and those of group membership. The ties of kinship and marriage linking individuals and families in different clan sectors and villages to each other provide an example of these.
I have borrowed the terms "multiple affiliation" and "multiple allegiance" from Barnes (1962, p.4) who uses the first to refer to an individual's membership of different groups for the same purpose, and the second to an individual's "allegiances, of the same kind if varying in degree, to several groups which may be either at enmity or amity with each other."

The point which I would like to stress about all these ties is that they break the insularity and weaken the solidarity of groups by creating diverse external attachments and interests that produce divided loyalties.

I divide this part into three chapters. The first gives a brief description of settlement patterns and introduces certain terms necessary for the understanding of the structure of local groups; the second describes the local kinship groups; the third deals with the village and inter-village relations.

The analysis that follows is in part based on my own data and in part on that available in Malinowski (1915) and Saville (1926). I indicate the sources except when I draw on my own data.
CHAPTER I.
SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND INTRODUCTION OF TERMS

I. Settlement Pattern

The Mailu lived in compact villages on mainland hill-tops and beaches and on offshore islands. Each village had a fairly well defined territory with its boundaries usually marked by hills, rocks, streams or other natural features. The distance between one settlement and another ranged from 300 yards to several miles.

Governor MacGregor visited some Mailu villages in 1890 and counted the number of houses in each. It was, however, a rough count and probably only approximately correct for some villages. The following table gives the figures noted by him. (Annual Reports 1889-90: p.93, 1890-91: pp. 58-59.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the village</th>
<th>No. of houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Magaubo</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loupom</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gagaaisana (Now part of Loupom)</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laruoro</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailupom</td>
<td>about 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kureri</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woworo</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derebai</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taioro (Dagobo)</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maisioro (Unevi)</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borebo</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pediri</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dara (now extinct)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauoro (Now at Onioni)</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vere Vere (joined Onioni)</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gema (now extinct)</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barosomari (now Geagea)</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
This gives a range of variations in the number of houses from six to 80, average 23, and mode 20.

The houses in a Mailu village were ranged in two parallel rows forming a street about thirty feet wide. The fronts of the houses opened onto the street and the backs were either turned to the beach or to gardens (Malinowski 1915, p. 573). The street provided a place for carrying out many social, economic and ceremonial activities: pegging and sewing of sails, rope making, ceremonial cooking, dancing, distribution of food during feasts, and special funeral rites were mentioned by Saville (1926, p. 30). The beach, where present, was used for repairing and parking canoes and making preparations for fishing and sailing. Armshells too were made on the beach side of the houses but under the verandahs. In the evening, the people often lit fires on the beach and sat around them, in little circles, roasting and nibbling bits of food and exchanging gossip.

The houses were two storeyed structures erected on piles six to eight feet high. The lower storey consisted of a verandah open on four sides, and the upper one was a room, thatched and closed from all sides, except for a small opening in the floor which provided entry to it. Both of them were used for the general purposes of eating, sleeping and living, but as the room was rather dark, the verandah was generally used for work (Malinowski 1915, p. 522). When necessary, it was temporarily screened by mats against wind and rain.

Significantly different in construction and use from these were men's clubhouses (dubu), which were built in the centre of the
village street. Saville, who arrived in Mailu when these buildings were just beginning to disappear, described them as follows:

They consisted of two platforms raised on high carved posts, but the ridge pole was made to sag in the centre so that the two ends rose; each of these projected a long way beyond the building and was decorated with skulls, Cassowary feathers and white cowrie shells .......In the dubu were kept all the spears and shields and regalia of war. On each platform there were two fireplaces, one towards either end, and from the ridge pole down to the fireplace hung long ropes, on which were threaded skulls and the ......bones of more recently killed victims. At one end of the dark interior was a permanently raised seat or platform for the Sirisiriugi; the man whose duty it was to lead the Moragobu, the night long dirge chanted after a successful massacre (Saville 1926,p.105)

And he further adds:

The signs over the fronts of these houses were the same as decorated the war canoes of the different clans, or their ordinary sailing canoes. The tools of warfare were kept in the dubu. Discussions on projected raids were held there.... Boys went through their initiation ceremonies within the dubu, and from initiation to the time of marriage had to sleep in the club-house. Other members of the clan could do so at will....

I have been informed by natives that on being built new these houses were always dedicated with human blood. (Saville 1926, p.36)

The villages on the mainland also had another type of building: high tree platforms built as watch towers to prevent a surprise attack by the enemies. These were reached by long vine and cane ladders, and were well provided with spears and stones (Saville 1926, p.32). The islanders relied on the sea to protect them from surprise attacks; but neither the tree platform nor the sea always proved effective.
Population

Precise information regarding the population of each settlement in the past is not available; but certain sources make it possible to provide a rough estimate: MacGregor (Annual Report 1890-91, p.93) estimated the population of Mailupom at 700 on the basis of eight to ten persons per house. Saville (1926, p.144) took a census of Mailupom in 1901, 1909 and 1920 and noted the population at 547, 567 and 541 respectively. This meant a total decrease of 26 and average decrease per year of two between 1909 - 1920. In 1920 the number of houses in Mailupom was 69, an average of eight persons per household; the corresponding average for eight other villages was seven. Since it appears that there were no significant changes in population, house-type and family structure between 1889 and 1920, the average for the latter period should provide a rough idea of that for the former. This yields a range of 42 to 680, and average 168 for the villages listed in table II.

I realise the limitations of calculating averages this way, but one has to make do with what is available.

II. Terms and Their Referents.

The Mailu terms necessary for an understanding of the structure of local groups are as follows: mari, dubu or aura, lugu, aiabuai, emegi-goina, lara and uru. The meanings of these terms shifted according to context and in some contexts one term could be easily substituted for another. This did not worry the Mailu; they were no
sticklers for precision. For whatever degree of accuracy they needed for communicating with their fellows, they relied on their mutual understanding of the context. As an anthropologist trying to describe the structure of their society I am not in such a fortunate position. So I define these terms and indicate their referents in different contexts.

**Mari**: This was perhaps the least ambiguous of Mailu terms. It referred to an individual village and the people living in it. Two closely adjacent villages were sometimes referred to as one *mari* to emphasise their solidarity. These days, if two formerly autonomous villages form a single village, they may be referred to as one *mari* or two, depending on whether the speaker wanted to emphasise their solidarity or separation. The *mari* (village) was the largest stable local group whose members were linked to each other by marital and kinship ties.

**Dubu or Aura**: Each Mailu village consisted of a number of named groups called *dubu* or *aua*, each of which, with its members living in adjacent houses, constituted a local subdivision of the village. As a local subdivision, a *dubu* usually had certain land rights in the territory of the village which included the right to build houses in a particular part of the village street. A *dubu* was either represented in a single village or in several, most frequently in several. In 1917, for example, Gobu *dubu* was represented in at least three different villages, Derebai, Loupom and Geagea (Malinowski 1915, p.519); and at present Moto *dubu* is represented in more than a dozen villages including some non-Mailu ones, while Gabina *dubu* is represented only in Mailupom.
Whether in one village or several, members of a dubu were believed to be linked by ties of descent from a common ancestor whose name was not remembered. The people's image of the descent links was primarily agnatic, though they recognised this might not always be true. Thus while in any single village a dubu was merely one of its several sub-divisions, in inter-village context it was a descent group cutting across village boundaries and creating certain inter-village ties. To distinguish these two meanings from each other I use the term "clan" to refer to the dubu as a whole and "clan sector" to its segments forming local sub-divisions of different villages. Neither the clans nor the clan sectors were exogamous units. The clan as a whole did not own any land or other property; it all belonged to constituent clan sectors. Since the places of origin of different clans were not remembered, the clan sectors, except those recently migrated, claimed original residence in the villages they then lived in.

It is not known what the size of each clan was but when Saville (1926, p.31) recorded them, the number of houses in each clan sector at Mailupom was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No. of houses per clan sector</th>
<th>No. of clan sectors</th>
<th>Total no. of houses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This shows a range of variation from 1 to 7 houses per clan sector, average 3.3 and median 1.

* I have borrowed the term "sector" from Hogbin, I.H., "Local Grouping in Melanesia", Oceania, June 1953, Vol.23, No.4, p.274.
In Mailupom, the structure of the local subdivisions of the village differed from that of other villages. The main difference was that, while in all other villages individual clan sectors formed distinct local subdivisions of the village, those in Mailupom were not so distinct, as they were linked together to form a few named units, that performed some of the same functions as clan sectors did in other villages. The Mailu called these units, as they did the clan sectors, dubu or aura; but when they wanted to distinguish one from the other they used the term dubu for the smaller and aura for the larger, the meaning of the latter being "side, spot, direction" (Malinowski 1915, p.519). At the suggestion of Dr. Hogbin I propose to use the term phratry to refer to it. Malinowski (1915, p.520) lists the number of clan sectors in the four phratries at Mailupom as follows: Morau two, Maradubu five, Urumoga six, and Bodeabo four. But Saville (1926, p.31) adds three more to the list, at least one of which is known to have joined through non-agnatic connections.

Each clan sector was composed of one or more lineages ideally consisting of (i) three generations of male agnates (adult married males, their aged fathers if alive, their sons and grandsons, if any, and other combinations), (ii) single, or widowed, or divorced female agnates, (iii) wives or widowed mothers; the rights of (ii) and (iii) were slightly less than those of (i) and also varied from each other. Deviating from this ideal one or more non-agnatic were also occasionally found living with this group.
Whether living in one house or more, a lineage constituted an autonomous grouping with the senior most living brother as its head. It was a closer economic, social and ceremonial unit than the clan sector. Trees, coconut palms, sago, mangoes etc. inherited from agnatic ancestors were usually jointly owned and exploited by this group. It also enjoyed certain rights of ownership to land on which these trees were planted. And it could, under certain circumstances, transfer these rights, including membership of the clan sector, to close cognates. In feasts it was the head of this group who acted as the master of the feast. The Mailu used the terms dubu or lugu interchangeably for this group.

The term dubu had two other meanings: men's clubhouse and feast-share. The latter had certain special connotations which I discuss later. Since the introduction of Christianity a church is also called dubu.

Uru: The Mailu used this term to refer to a dwelling as well as the people who lived in it. I use the term house for the former and household for the latter. Kinship structure of a Mailu household varied from one family to several.

Lugu: The term lugu was loosely used to refer to any kind of cognatic relationship between persons and groups. Members of a nuclear family, lineage, clan sector, phratry, and distant and near cognates of various sorts could all be described as each other's lugu. Nowadays all Christians — anywhere — are said to be one lugu, with God the father
and Christ the elder brother providing the kinship link.

A more precise use of the term was to refer to all of a person's cognates descended from all of his or her great, great, great grandparents (isibau). The lugu, which I translate as kindred in this context, was an ego oriented category within which marriage was prohibited. In agnatic terms it meant that each generation of agnates had a different lugu from the one above or below them; and in cognatic terms, each group of siblings had a different lugu from every other. Sometimes in the past, I don't quite know when, the restrictions on cognates marrying each other were somewhat relaxed and a new limit was set at the descendants of a common great, great, grandfather or mother (esere). At the moment, the ideal still remains the same but the Mailu feel that their practice is increasingly diverging from it.

This raises the question: to what extent did their marital practice conform to their rule of kindred exogamy? To answer this question satisfactorily, one needs the kind of numerical data which is neither possible to get for the past, nor for the present. The reason for this is: Mailu genealogies have always been too short to enable one to determine with accuracy the boundaries of each kindred. Hence the impossibility of collecting numerical data about breaches of kindred exogamy.

How did the Mailu then distinguish between those cognates whom they were allowed to marry and those whom they were not?
At present a Mailu can, with some difficulty, trace his
genealogical connections with those cognates who are descended from
any one of his four grandparents. Among these, he is likely to err
more in placing those related to him on the mother's side or father's
mother's side than those related to him from the father's father's side.
But when he tries to trace more distant connections than these he gets
very confused. All he can remember with certainty is that a, b, or c
are his classificatory brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers, etc., and
are related to him from father's side or mother's side. He has, if
anything, a rather dim recollection of any intervening genealogical
links between them and himself. Thus his ability to trace genealogical
connections falls far short of what he needs to know to identify
accurately who among these relations are his kindred and who are not.
So in a general sort of way he recognises all of them as his kindred
until he actually decides to marry one of them. Then he is quick to
point out that the relationship is really a distant one. The other
members of the community may and do have different views on the subject.
But their reaction to his marriage is nothing more than a bit of
unfavourable gossip which soon dies down. In this way some intra-
kindred marriages go on all the time. Occasionally, however, more
blatant disregard of kindred exogamy involving marriages of really
close kin occurs. In either case, when two cognates marry, the persons
immediately concerned redefine their relationship in affinal terms.
Others not so immediately concerned merely add the affinal relationship
to the one already existing and behave to each other affinally or
cognatically as the occasion demands.
Therefore, though marriage and kindred ties are ideally conceived of as mutually exclusive, they in fact tend to merge with each other at various genealogically uncertain points. Consequently, limits of cognatic exogamy, though ideally set at fixed points, tend to shift from one genealogically uncertain point to another. As local ties of common residence and mutual assistance in a clan-sector and a "we-group" feeling reinforce agnatic exogamy, it is seldom breached, and the shifts discussed above are minimal.* Since the span of genealogical memory was the same in the past as it is today (Malinowski 1915, p.518), I believe the present situation is not radically different from the past.

**Aiabuai and emegi-goina:** The terms aiabuai and emegi-goina were also blanket terms referring to one's siblings or anybody agnatically or cognatically related. The latter term was also extended to trade partners in other villages (Saville 1926, p.162). Although these two terms were often used interchangeably, the term aiabuai had stronger agnatic, especially fraternal, connotations than emegi-goina. If a man wanted to say he had no close agnates in the village, he invariably used the term aiabuai. I therefore translate the term aiabuai as brothers and emegi-goina as relatives or friends. It was the general dogma that aiabuai, emegi-goina and, for that matter, even affines, should help each other; although the bond between agnates, being one of the "we-group", was culturally defined as closer than that between others. But the obligation to help decreased with the increase in distance of relationship. And help was not always forthcoming even from close relatives.

* I discuss this problem more fully on page 63.
Another term relevant for the understanding of agnatic and nacognatic bonds is **lara**. It meant blood as well as names of ancestral lands, reefs, hills, rocks, swamps, etc. Whoever used or was given these names was supposed to receive strength, physical growth, vigour and certain qualities of temperament, such as anger or gentleness, from them.

Explaining what sort of power **lara** names gave, one of my informants said, "They did not give odaoda (magical power, influence authority, heat) or life, they gave strength and growth." The right to use or give a **lara** name was believed to be inherited through blood both from the mother and the father, who transmitted that right in respect of places owned by their respective agnatic ancestors. This meant that all the members of a clan sector or lineage had a set of common **lara** names. In addition, each group of siblings had a separate set of **lara** names of their own — those derived from their mother.

These names were given to pigs, dogs, spears, big sailing canoes, big fishing nets, and occasionally even to children. Also during warfare and fighting each man, while attacking his opponent, shouted his appropriate **lara** name to derive strength from it.

Though the procedure followed in using these names varied somewhat with the occasion, in general either a **lara** name was used alone or together with the name of a particular bird or animal which was supposed to have strength, temperament or other qualities desired by the user. The following examples, I hope, will make clear how this was done. In naming a fishing net a man added the name of a

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*I have coined this term to refer to non-agnatic cognates.*
fish-hawk (*amua*) to his *lara* name. Thus Gailele *amua;* Gailele being the *lara* name. For naming a canoe a man similarly added the name of some small but very strong birds which can fly long distances against wind and rain; he wanted his canoe to be as strong as these birds.

Alligator (*uaea*) and shark (*baea*) were considered strong in fighting qualities. Therefore, for gaining strength in fighting a man added either of these names to his *lara* name depending on which of these two was likely to be found in the locality whose name he was using. For example, a man, owning a river-bend, Lubi, where alligators abounded, usually attacked his opponent by shouting "*naukaina Lubi uaea*". The term "*nau kaina" had lost its meaning even in Saville's days (Saville 1926, p.202). If a man were living in his mother's clan sector, it was usual for him to shout the *lara* names used by members of her clan sector unless he was having a quarrel with one of them. In the latter case he used the *lara* name of his own clan sector. However, if he wished to do so, nothing prevented him from using the *lara* names of his mother's clan sector whether he lived there or not. Thus the concept of the *lara* defined the ties established through blood between a man and the land of his own agnatic ancestors and that of his mother's. Both of these ties were similar in that they conferred on him rights to receive help, protection, and care from the above lands for himself, his livestock and other important possessions. But they also differed in an important respect. The ties between a man and the land of his agnatic ancestors were inherited from him by his children, but the ties between him and his mother's agnatic ancestors usually ended with him.
This concept is also significant in that it reveals how the Mailu, while attaching greater weight to their agnatic than to nacognatic ties, managed to underline at the same time how much importance they attached to the latter.

This concludes my introduction of terms; the analysis of the structure of local groups follows.
CHAPTER II
LOCAL KINSHIP GROUPS

I : Household

Kinship composition

The Mailu had agnatic descent and patri-virilocal residence. To what extent their practice in the past conformed to their rules of residence it is difficult to say with certainty as full details of kinship composition of the households are not available. But Malinowski, who carried out a "genealogical census" of each household in Mailupom came to the following conclusions:

Every house is habited by people related by blood on the agnatic side and women married to members of the family....The children always live with their parents. Nowadays they continue to live in the paternal house, the girls till marriage, the boys indefinitely. In the olden days the boys moved to the dubu, or club-house, after puberty, and remained there until their marriage.

Thus.....three generations, comprising several families may form a Mailu household. In a few cases only a house is occupied by a single family — a married couple and their children. Usually two or three, sometimes as many as four or five, families live in one house. (Malinowski 1915, p.521).

Malinowski makes no reference to the presence or absence of non-agnates other than wives of the male agnates. Saville (1926, p.36) too says much the same things. But he happens to give in detail the social composition of one household which indicates that the traditional Mailu household by no means consisted of agnates and their wives only:

Bunava's younger brother, only recently married, has gone with his wife to live in her father's house. Bunava says this is "quite wrong, and he must be brought back". Probably the sister-in-law did not feel like helping with so much cooking and food getting. (Saville 1926, p.49)
In addition to this I have evidence that some people from Mailupom migrated to Loupom and Kureri just before the end of the 19th century.

There are also numerous accounts, both from the recent and the distant past, of widowed or divorced mothers returning to live with their agnates and bringing their children with them. These children, having grown up, sometimes went back to live with their own agnates; but sometimes they continued to stay on with their mother's agnates. It is, therefore, clear that non-agnates have always been present in at least some Mailu households.

Case histories of individual migrations and changes of residence indicate that the kinship composition of households was materially affected by such factors as rights of children of married or unmarried daughters or sisters; obligations to take care of needy cognates, affines, orphans, aged and sick; considerations of economic advantage; and the state of mutual feelings between members of the household. In the absence of numerical data, it is not possible to say anything about the range of relatives recruited to each household and the incidence of individual factors making for change in the kinship composition of each household.

This recruitment of cognates and affines — whether singly or in family groups — enabled the individual to exercise some choice of residence and household to gain new members. It also emphasised the interdependence of close cognates and affines at the expense of clan-sector solidarity.

Membership of the household was gained or lost by the usual processes of birth or death, marrying in or out, moving in or out by
invitation and adoption, and moving out to a new house of one's own. Jural rights and obligations of members varied and so did what they lost by loss of membership. These matters are intimately related to rules of descent and inheritance, which I discuss fully when I deal with the lineage. Here I would like to make just a brief comment about the general status of nacognates and affines in the household: so long as they lived in the household they had virtually the same status as other members of the household. However, they were there not by jural right but by courtesy and affection, and could be told to leave. They could not succeed to the status of the head of the household except in special circumstances; for example, when a dying man invited a cognate to come and look after his young children.

**Running the Household**

Running the household was considered to be the job of a man–woman partnership; each partner being economically incomplete without the other to do his or her share of the work. Certain tasks were considered proper for men to do, others for women, and still others for anyone with time to spare and will to do them.

In General, a woman's work required less physical vigour, but was more time-consuming than that of a man. Saville (1926, p. 72) gives a good account of how specific tasks were divided between the sexes. I therefore give only a brief summary.

Fighting, fishing, hunting, cutting trees, fence-making, canoe-making, sail-making, processing timber for house building, manning
sailing and war canoes, and major trade and exchange activities were carried out by men. Sweeping and cleaning the house, cooking and feeding the household, weeding the garden and bringing food from it, collecting and chopping firewood, making pots, baskets, skirts, and mats, and collecting shell-fish and other sea foods from the reef were supposed to be women's jobs. Planting crops, feeding the pigs, looking after the children, smoking fish, padding a canoe, and scraping coconuts for making coconut cream were supposed to be the kind of activities which could be performed by either men or women. While making sago, cutting the logs and pounding the pith was done by men, the lighter job of washing the pith was done by women.

Children of both sexes were expected to contribute labour for the household by doing odd jobs according to their capacity: carrying messages or gifts of food from one household to another, poling a canoe, climbing coconut trees and collecting nuts for feeding the pigs and looking after their juniors were some of the tasks assigned to children. Girls were introduced early to their household duties and encouraged to help their "mothers and aunts", but the small boys were under "no such compulsion to help" (Saville 1926, p.99).

A man was supposed to be the head of his family and was entitled to receive some respect and obedience from his wife and children. He was considered within his rights if he beat them, but not too often and not too severely.

One would expect the structure of multiple-section households — those containing families of agnates of the same or different
generations alone, or mixed with those of cognates and affines — to be more complicated than those of single section households. Malinowski and Saville did not pay much attention to this and provided little information on such complicating factors as: divisions of common household tasks between men and men, and women and women; rights to property and regulation of use and care of it; structure of authority and degree of interdependence or relative autonomy of individual families living in the same house.

The Mailu, however, feel that their practice in these matters has changed little from that of their forefathers, and there is enough evidence in Malinowski and Saville — particularly in Saville — to confirm this. This evidence largely consists of asides and stray remarks, not enough by themselves to construct an analysis but enough to help build a reasonable picture of the past when supplemented with detailed knowledge of the present day social structure and the statements of informants about the past.

Cooking and eating arrangements about which some detailed information is available provide the best starting point for this analysis as they reveal certain crucial features of the structure of Mailu households in the past.

Whatever the number of families in the house, they cooked their food at one hearth and ate it together. Only one meal was cooked each day in the evening. The food left over from this was consumed in the morning as breakfast. However, not everyone in the household ate there all the time. People often visited their relatives and friends in the
village and ate with them. (Malinowski 1915, p.545). Some people lived in one house and ate regularly in another. Saville gives one example of this:

Bunava has adopted as "evening food" children two orphans of his father's eldest cousin — a grown man and a young woman, both unmarried! His father's next cousin died leaving a widow and four children; the widow lives with the youngest of the paternal cousins, but the four children are adopted by Bunava as "evening food" children. The eldest only of these sleeps in Bunava's house. Under normal circumstances, Bunava, with his brothers married, and supposing their wives to be alive, would be responsible for the feeding of his five children, his wife and himself. (Saville 1926, p.49)

Notwithstanding these variations, the household as a rule cooked and ate their food together, and this sharing of daily food constituted an affirmation of their unity.

According to Hogbin (1953, p. 243 and pp. 274-75) in Melanesia when two or more families live in one house, they cook and eat their meals separately: "Each married woman has her own hearth, her own part of the house, and is the centre of her own hearth group" — that is, the group for which "she habitually cooks food". A possible exception to this may be those people "who use pit ovens" and have households "of which the core is always an extended family". (Hogbin 1953, p.275). The Mailu were somewhat exceptional in this respect. Among them each woman had neither her own hearth, nor necessarily her own part of the house, nor her own distinct hearth group. Each woman in co-operation with others, cooked on a single hearth for the whole household.
Yet they too had something resembling hearth groups: each woman, though cooking for the whole household, was the centre of a group consisting of those in the household for whom she had the primary feeding responsibility. This group usually consisted of persons more closely related to her than to other women in the household. Her husband and unmarried children, if any, invariably formed part of her group.

The composition of a similar group centred on a widowed or divorced woman varied considerably and included her children, a widowed father, or brother, or any other close relative in need of a woman to cook for him. Whatever its composition, if it had an adult male member, he was supposed to assist the woman in food production and other activities by doing his share of work as a man. After fishing or hunting he was supposed to bring his catch to her for cooking.

If there were no adult males in her group, she had to depend on other men in the household and close male relatives in other households in the village. They, individually or in co-operation with each other, helped her when moved by pity, sympathy, affection or sense of kinship, obligation.

She supplemented the contributions of her male helpers by bringing food from her own garden and from the reef. And taking turns with other women in the household, she cooked this food for the whole household.

In this way she acted as an intermediary through whom the food produced by her and her helpers was shared with the rest of the household. She owned her own pot, her own dishes and her own food. The day she
cooked, she was **gubina** (owner, boss, master, leader in charge, etc.) for distributing food to members of the household, as well as to certain kin and affines in other households to be discussed presently.

To distinguish such women-centred groups from hearth groups as described by Hogbin, I call them sections. The minimum requirement for a section was an adult woman who had a garden of her own and who carried out food exchange both with members of her own household and kin and affines in other households. Mailu women valued this role highly and did not relinquish it till they were physically unable to carry it out.

The distinctness of the section became particularly manifest in the day to day inter-household distribution of cooked food between kin and affines. This was called **veveni**. Both Malinowski (1915 pp. 545-546) and Saville (1926, pp. 48-50) describe it and Saville (1926, pp.49-50) gives one example of how the system worked in practice:

But kin communism demands that Bunava shall send out five shares every other evening to his kin, and four shares of food on the alternate evening to his wife's kin. In Bunava's case the five includes a share each to his younger brother, at present living with his father-in-law; to his stepsister, a married woman; to his father's cousins next door, and actually to the grandchild of his mother's paternal uncle!

Bunava's parents are both dead, but supposing they were alive, the first share would be sent to them; next would come his own brothers; paternal uncles come next and maternal uncles follow, etc. On his wife's side the parents are dead, and the Veveni food is sent to her two sisters, married; also to her only living paternal and maternal cousins, four bowls altogether. On each occasion the bowls are laid in the same order on the verandah and the food put into them one bit at a time, that there may be no inequality in the shares.
The amount of food sent and the range of relatives served varied with the amount of food available and other circumstances. The recipients sent a return gift of food, approximately equal in amount to what they received. The return was made as soon as possible but not necessarily on the same day.

Though the range of relatives to whom food was sent varied, the ties stressed in this exchange of food were those between close agnates, nacognates and affines as against membership of a clan sector or kindred. Bunava's household consisted of a single section. If it had more than one section, those receiving food from each section would have been somewhat different notwithstanding considerable overlap in kinship. It was this act of sending food to different people which emphasised the distinctness of the section. Each woman when she prepared food and took charge of its distribution also fulfilled her veveni obligations.

When enough food was available, it was also sent to one's isigoina. Saville describes the isigoina relationship as follows:

.....There is a custom as sacred as blood bond. It exists between two families entirely unrelated by blood. It starts in the village community between two men or women, who swear to lasting friendship.....There is name avoidance on the part of the contracting parties. Each shields the other when desired. Each makes intrigues for the other and helps in good or bad undertakings. One speaks to, or of, the other as "my isigoina". The sons of one party are isigoina to the sons of the other in order of age. So also with the girls. Besides name-avoidance there is also sexual avoidance and no intermarriage. When food is abundant, a veveni share goes to the isigoina as to blood relatives. The isigoina is the best man at the wedding of the other party. We shall meet with this system again in trade agencies. The functions of the bond grow weaker after marriage, and as the parties grow older.
Thus, through the exchange of food, ties not only of kinship but also of personal friendship between members of different households were expressed.

Uncooked food was also distributed between the same people, but its distribution was not so regular and formalised.

A woman's selfishness or laziness in not doing her share of the household chores, her meanness in surreptitiously feeding her children to the neglect of others, and her boastfulness and slighting remarks about others, occasionally led to quarrels, and very often relations between those quarrelling returned to normal after grievances had been aired in public. Sometimes, however, a section or an individual left in a huff and joined some other closely-related household in the village.

How far men of the household co-operated with each other in food production was very uncertain and unformalised. There were activities in which men were regularly required to co-operate. If a man wanted another man in his household to assist him, or to participate with him in a joint activity, he consulted him about it; and if the other man agreed, they went ahead and did what was needed to be done. The same applied to kin and affines in other households, and even to fellow villagers.

What applied to food production also applied to other activities. Although they were not expected to participate in any joint daily activity, they did rely on each other's willingness to help in repairing the house or a canoe, fishing, sago-making, and other jobs requiring two or three people. According to Malinowski:
Brothers living together, or a paternal uncle and nephews living in the same house were... on much closer terms with each other than relatives of similar degrees living apart. This was evident whenever there was a question of borrowing things, of getting help, of accepting an obligation, or of assuming responsibilities for each other.

Whatever the extent of this willingness to help, it is clear the amount of regular co-operation required between men of the household was minimal and less than that between women.

Thus, for the purpose of production, consumption and distribution of food, and many other economic activities, a Mailu household often consisted of discrete autonomous sections. But as the whole household cooked and ate together, the autonomy of each section was not as pronounced as those of hearth groups found elsewhere in Melanesia. In addition, its unity was formally recognised from the outside. Whenever there was a feast in the village, a household — regardless of its size or number of sections — was treated as a unit in relation to other households and given an equal share of the food distributed. This share was distinguished from any other that individual members received by virtue of their kinship ties to the persons giving the feast.

With few exceptions, everything in the house was individually owned, and there was little doubt about who owned what. However, not everything so owned was used by the owner alone. Different conventions governed the use of different items:

The smaller fishing-nets, water-bottles, cooking-pots and mats are used indiscriminately by the members of the household. A brother helps himself to his own brother's property — "trusting" one another, as they say — and children would do the same with parents' goods. Such things
as tobacco, areca nut, betel leaves and bark, lime gourds, and food left over, are very often classed together as things "to be asked for". Should one member help himself to any of these things in the absence of the others, it is understood that he will say what he has done, and nothing more will be said. (Saville 1926, p.46)

Saville is idealising a bit here. Quarrels sometimes did take place over the use of these things without prior permission.

In addition to the above items, there were armshells, strings of New Guinea beads, plaited fibre waist-bands, stone axes, and neck and ear ornaments — all used for trade (Saville 1926, p.169). These an owner had a right to dispose of as he pleased. If other members of the household took them without his permission, they laid themselves open to the charge of stealing.

The ownership of the house itself was inherited in the male line, from the father to the eldest son. If the father died before the son became a grown-up man, the father's younger brother took charge, till the son was old enough to do so (Malinowski 1915, p.636; Saville 1926, p.169). If a man died childless his house was usually pulled down to show grief. This was sometimes done even if he had children, but not if several families were living in the house. In the mainland villages the house was usually burnt (Saville 1926, p.169). Being rich in timber, they could better afford to do so.

**Structure of Authority**

Though each adult male was supposed to be the head of his own section, the owner of the house as the head of the household was
considered entitled to receive respect from the members. This was particularly true of households where the owner was the father or elder brother of other section heads. But even a father's authority over his grown-up sons was rather weak (Saville 1926, p.47; Malinowski 1915, p.532). Therefore, the authority of an elder brother over his younger brothers was probably weaker still. And when a houseowner had his father's younger brother living with him, one could hardly expect him to exercise authority over his own classificatory father. It is clear, then, that the structure of household authority was ill-defined. Each section was fairly autonomous, and the household was run more by consultation than by authority.

We have seen that each section in a multi-section household was fairly autonomous in respect of production and consumption of food, ownership and use of property, and exercise of authority. A feeling of interdependence arising from living in the same house, ties of kinship and personal affection, and a certain amount of respect and obedience to a common head knit the household in a loose sense of unity.

II : Lineage, Clan Sector, and Phratry

Membership

As a member of a household a person was associated with the lineage of the owner, and as a result enjoyed certain rights and privileges which membership of that lineage conferred. But not all those associated with a lineage were of it, and even those who were
of it did not have the same rights and obligations. These varied with the mode of recruitment and the sex of the member. Since the mode of recruitment to lineage and clan sector were identical, I discuss the two together.

Membership of a lineage or clan sector was acquired primarily but not exclusively by patrilineal descent. A daughter's illegitimate child was also considered to be a member of her father's lineage. He was often adopted by one of his mother's brothers, but he could not succeed to the status of head of the household in the presence of his uncle's own sons. Childless men tried to adopt their sisters' children, and one way of doing this was not to accept payment for that child from his father. The Mailu believed that a child belonged to his mother's lineage and clan sector till they received payment for him from his father. After that he became a member of his father's lineage and clan sector.

In addition to their sisters' sons, childless men also adopted children of other relatives. The adopted children, however, had one disability. A son of a man's brother or agnatic classificatory brother with a common grandfather (obai) had a superior right to his land and permanent trees over the man's adopted son. The former could tell the latter to leave and go, where he really belonged, to his agnates. But this was not the thing to do. It was particularly inappropriate to treat in this way an adopted sister's son, who was supposed to be sacred (va tabuai); that is, one who should be treated with special respect and consideration at all times. This is not to say that he was always treated that way, but that was the ideal.
Sometimes a man acquired membership of a lineage or a clan sector through sponsorship by a relative. This commonly took the form of someone — usually the head of the lineage — inviting a relative to live in his house, or to build a separate house close to his own. He showed him where to build the house and also helped him construct it. He also pointed out to him a piece of land where he could plant coconuts, sago and other trees. This was usually the land in which his lineage had special ownership rights. Over a period of time the newcomer came to be identified with the lineage and clan sector of his host, and started referring to himself as belonging to them. There was usually no objection to this from other members of the lineage of the host, and it was bad form for other members of the clan sector to object. In fact they were usually the first to encourage him to identify with their group by referring to him frequently as one of them.

However, so long as his foreign origin was remembered, he was not quite one of them, and he and his offspring could be told to leave. But with the passage of time this sort of expulsion was reduced to an increasingly remote theoretical possibility — a possibility nevertheless. While he remained, he exercised virtually the same rights as other members. And, depending on his initiative and ability, he played sometimes a leading role in his adopted clan sector and village. Occasionally such newcomers even acted as sponsors for others.
With the possible exception of a man who completely lost touch with his father's lineage, a man never lost claim to membership of his father's clan sector, although he might adopt another. He could, of course, refer to himself as belonging to more than one clan sector.

The newcomers, when they became sufficiently numerous, sometimes set up an autonomous clan sector of their own and the new clan sector bears the same name as the clan sector of its origin. For example, a man of Magera clan sector moved to Mailupom, and in due course a new clan sector, Magera, came to be established in Moram phratry. Similarly, two men of Bani clan sector moved to Loupom and established Bani clan sector there. Such clan sectors maintain for a long time close relationships with their lineage mates and other members of their parent or natal clan sectors.

Until marriage a girl belonged to her father's lineage and clan sector. After marriage she usually moved to her husband's house and became a member of his household. As his wife and the mother of his children, she was considered entitled to receive protection, economic support and care from him, his lineage and clan sector. And, together with her husband, she exercised rights to use land and property owned by his lineage and clan sector. She was said to be a member of her husband's lineage and clan sector, but only what Groves (1953, p.20) calls a "contingent" member, which meant something less than a full member. The Mailu today rather contemptuously refer to such people as "passengers"; that is, those who are on a canoe for a ride as against those who own it.
During her marriage a woman retained her membership rights in her own lineage and clan sector, but so long as her marriage endured, her position in her natal home remained that of a guest or temporary visitor. However, after the dissolution of marriage by death or divorce, if she chose to come back to her lineage, she could do so as a full member. Then she enjoyed the same sort of property rights in her father's estate as her brothers did, but unlike them she could not transfer these rights to her own children.

A widow was free to marry anyone she liked, but her future husband had to compensate her husband's people for the bride-price they had paid for her. In addition, he had to pay bride-price to her parents. Even a man marrying his brother's widow had to pay, though a little less.

An old widow with grown-up children usually continued to stay with them in her husband's house. A young widow, with or without children, either married a younger brother of her husband, or went back to her own lineage and in due course married someone else. She invariably took small children with her; older ones sometimes went with her and sometimes remained with their close agnates.

A few men lived with the natal lineage of their wives. In Mailu eyes this was not quite a manly thing to do, and a man doing so suffered some loss of self-respect and prestige. Jurally, however, his position as an affinal member of his wife's lineage was essentially similar to her's as a contingent member of his lineage. He felt free to use the house, land and other items of property but could not ideally own, inherit, or transfer these to others.
Since husband and wife often belonged to the same village, this uxorilocal residence did not necessarily mean the husband was cut off from his own lineage, clan sector, land and property. Living with his wife's family, therefore, often amounted to little more than sharing a house with them. If he wished to do so, he could easily fish and "make garden" with his agnates, and sleep and eat with his affines.

**Land Rights**

In the territory of a village, the members of a clan sector jointly owned one or more tracts of land, though immigrant clan sectors might not own any. Each of these was usually a named unit with its boundaries marked by certain trees, rocks, rivers, streams and hills. Each member had a right to "make garden" in this jointly-owned land. He also had a right to plant coconut, sago, mango or other trees. If he cleared a particular piece of land and planted trees, he was said to be the *gubina* (owner) of that piece of land. (Saville 1926, p. 70)

Ownership in this sense did not mean that he could sell the land without the consent of other members; it merely meant that other members could not use the land without his permission. This ownership was particularly marked in Mailupom, where the available land was rather small. (Saville 1926, p. 170)

After the owner's death these rights were inherited by his sons, or other male members of his lineage who had in common with him an agnatic ancestor up to great grandfather (*goina*). If he had no such heirs, his daughter's children and other close cognates had a right
to inherit. In their absence his distant agnates — members of other lineages in his clan sector — had that right. Whoever became his heir was supposed to mourn for him formally by giving mourning feasts.

In this way lineages not only acquired for themselves special ownership rights in the land jointly owned by their clan sector, but also transferred those rights to their close nacognates. Like daily exchanges of cooked food, this way of transferring land rights to nacognates emphasised the strength of ties between close agnates and nacognates as against distant agnates.

In Mailupom, according to Saville (1926, p.171), land was also given as a gift to nacognates:

On the island also not only is land inherited, but it is given away. For example, a Maradubu boy marries a Morau girl; a male child is born to them. The girl's father points out to her husband a certain piece of land: it may have permanent trees on it or not. He tells him to plant this for the new grandchild, whose property it is to be. The son-in-law plants it but can claim no ownership. That land is recognised as the gift of the grandfather to his grandchild.

What Saville failed to mention was that only certain rights were transferred to the daughter's child. Certain other rights still remained vested in the clan sector of the grandfather. Even continued enjoyment of the rights given away depended on the goodwill of the male agnatic heirs of the grandfather, who were continued to be regarded as true owners of the land. It was not considered proper for the heirs to resume the rights once given away, but they could do so at will. Non-resumption, however, gave them a feeling of moral superiority and a handy weapon in an argument.
Most clan sectors had a men's clubhouse of their own. A small clan sector sometimes joined another to make a clubhouse together. Occasionally, a single large clan sector owned two clubhouses. In Selai village, for example, Banaga dubu and Goile dubu together owned one clubhouse, and Orimu dubu owned two.

A clubhouse was put to the following uses:

The tools of warfare were kept in the dubu. Discussions upon projected raids were held there. The master's duties consisted of announcing when fighting was to take place, and of telling the clan when to make spears or shields and preparations for war. Boys went through their initiation ceremonies within the dubu, and from initiation to the time of marriage had to sleep in the clubhouse. Other male members of the clan could do so at will .... (Saville 1926, p. 36)

Whenever men were required to be secluded from women, as they frequently were, they slept in the clubhouse (Malinowski 1915, p. 598; Saville 1926, p. 277)

Since the clubhouse formed the centre of men's most important social and ceremonial activities, the social units involved in these activities were likely to vary, among other things, according to whether a clan sector had one clubhouse or two, or one jointly with another. Concrete details are not, however, available.

In general, members of a clan sector were supposed to assist each other in fighting against outsiders. The main burden of organising and providing for a war party to avenge a homicide fell on the close agnates who, as in any other major undertaking, called upon their close nacognates and affines to help. The expenses included
feeding the warriors and paying the man, or men, who succeeded in taking revenge by killing an enemy. In view of this intimate involvement of nacognates and affines, a clan sector was unlikely to emerge as a separate unit in fighting.

Members of a clan sector were supposed to join together in doing the hardest work in gardening — the clearing of land by cutting the big trees. Afterwards the land was divided into plots, and each section of each household looked after its own plot. In canoe-making, house-building, and other jobs requiring a large number of people, the men of a clan sector often assisted each other. The social units involved in this kind of co-operation often depended on the volume of work to be done and the number of people required to do it. In making a big canoe, for instance, a whole village might be called upon to help. While fellow villagers and members of the clan sector provided only physical labour, the close agnates, nacognates and affines of the owner were supposed to give food, and other material help, in addition. Their women usually brought the food and cooked it in co-operation with the women of the owner's household.

In mourning feasts, particularly in big feasts called Govi and Oio, members of a clan sector were supposed to assist each other by providing vegetable food and doing necessary chores. The main burden of providing food and pigs, however, fell on the master of the feast, who was usually the head of the lineage of the deceased. He, his close agnates, nacognates, and affines, particularly daughter's and sister's husbands, provided the pigs and the bulk of the other food.
The feast was, however, spoken of as given by the clan sector of the master, and if it were a success, it enhanced his and their reputation. Even his village received a share of the glory as, in inter-village contexts, the feast was often said to be given by the village.

Each clan sector was autonomous in certain contexts and so was each lineage within it. The head of the seniormost lineage was considered to be the head of the clan sector, but in relation to other heads of lineages he was nothing more than first among equals. He had no authority to interfere with the internal affairs of any lineage other than his own. Even there, as previously indicated, his authority was rather limited.

He was supposed to be the master of the clubhouse, and in that capacity he supervised various activities connected with warfare, and initiation centred on the clubhouse. As a possessor of hereditary war magic and supervisor of magical performances, he was called cinnamon man (gobu egi); gobu being the cinnamon bark which he chewed while uttering his magical spells. He was also sometimes called the medicine man (the mura egi). According to my informants, not all masters of the clubhouses possessed war magic; only one or two did in each village. And they provided necessary magical services for the whole village.

Big fishing nets (gauma), hunting nets (loa and eu — for pigs and wallaby respectively), war canoes, big sailing canoes, and their spells, if any, were all said to be owned by the clan sector as a whole.
In fact they were owned and controlled by the head of the seniormost lineage in the clan sector. All members of the clan sector had some right to use them, but not without the prior permission of the owner, who had the right to refuse. Ownership of these things passed by inheritance from the father to the eldest son. In the absence of a son or other close agnate, a daughter's son had a right to inherit.

Malinowski (1915, pp. 656-657) recorded one such case:

.....Pikana, the owner (or, more correctly Gubina, master) of the only dugong net in the village, is also the possessor of a dugong magic which he has inherited from his mother. His maternal grandfather had no male progeny, so he gave it to his daughter, the mother of Pikana, who afterwards transmitted it to her sons, Pikana and his younger and less energetic brother, Maru. The dugong net and the dugong charm are inseparable and, from the manner in which the natives looked at things, I felt convinced that the charm was by far the most (sic) important element of the two. Another net could have been easily made, but what would be the good of it — if the charm was to be kept secret? And so Pikana has the monopoly of the net ....

Thus, on the inheritance of important items of property, close nacognates were given priority over distant agnates. This conformed with the minimal aid and assistance expected from distant agnates in major social, economic and ceremonial activities. These, together with yeveni — the daily exchange of cooked food between kin and affines — underlined the extent of mutual interdependence of close kin and affines, and showed how weak were the ties of agnatic descent beyond the limits of the lineage.

Within a phratry, each clan sector formed a distinct local unit, with the houses of its members located closely together.
(Saville 1926, p.36; Malinowski 1915, p.519) But the houses of the clan sectors within a phratry were not so distinctly separated as those of different phratries.

While a clan sector and a phratry had — as local subdivisions of the village — some similarities in structure and function, they also had important differences.

Firstly, the members of a clan sector believed that they were descended from a common "agnatic" ancestor and as such they were brothers (aiabuai). The members of a phratry had no such belief in common descent, although they had a vague feeling of kinship denoted by the same term aiabuai.

Secondly, as part of a named descent "group" (clan) a clan sector was usually connected by fraternal ties to other clan-sectors of the same name in different villages. But a phratry, being a local grouping of different clans, was nothing more than a subdivision of a single village.

The clan sectors of a phratry jointly performed certain tasks connected with warfare, initiation and feasting. But the nature and extent of joint activities varied from one phratry to another, and at different times within the same phratry. The size of the group, personal rivalry of the leaders, and quarrels over women and property seem to have affected these variations. Out of the four phratries in Mailupom, three owned one clubhouse each, and the fourth owned three (Saville 1926, p.34). The fourth (Urumoga), it is believed, was
then relatively large, but not three times as large as others. Similarly, Morau and Maradubu phratries had one war canoe each, and Bodeabo two; but Banaga clan sector of Urumoga phratry alone had two (Saville 1926, p.119)

In feasting, particularly in govi maduna and oio, the members of a phratry were supposed to help the master of the feast by providing garden food and doing general chores. But this kind of help from the members of one's phratry was neither as substantial nor as extensive as that from the members of one's clan sector. Besides, not all helped, even within the same clan sector, although they were supposed to.

Each phratry is believed to have had a headman. How he came to occupy that position is not clear either from the statements of Malinowski and Saville or from those of my informants; but I get the impression that the headman of the phratry was the head of the most influential clan sector in it. He was the hereditary owner of a clubhouse, a war canoe, a big fishing or hunting net, and related magical spells. He was also often in hereditary possession of war magic. In some phratries he alone owned these things; in others, one or two other headmen of clan sectors also owned some of these things.

Among the headmen of the clan sectors in his phratry, he was nothing more than first among equals. He might have had more influence, but certainly little more authority (Malinowski 1915, p.519; Saville 1926, pp. 34 - 35, 105, 204).
A part of the present uncertainty about how a phratry headman was recruited is the uncertainty about how such groups came to be formed. Saville makes no comments about it. Malinowski seems to have thought — though he did not clearly say so — that the phratries developed from the division of large clans into subclans:

The native name for a clan is Aura, or Dubu. The first name is as a rule used with reference to the rather large clans of Mailu village, where the term Dubu is usually applied to the small subclans. On the mainland, where the clans are smaller than in Mailu, the term Dubu is universally applied to clan, subclan, and clubhouse, which last is the original meaning of the word (Malinowski 1915, p. 517).

Again:

I believe there were no subdivisions of the small clans in the mainland villages (Malinowski 1915, p. 520).

Thus, to Malinowski, a phratry was an agnatic descent group, a clan split up into a few subclans. This view is contrary to my contention that a phratry was not a clan at all but rather a local grouping of clan sectors of different clans. I maintain this view for the following reasons:

1. The clan sectors of a phratry did not have a tradition of common agnatic descent. Malinowski himself noted this fact but he dismissed it by saying:

   As genealogies are seldom remembered beyond the third generation back, it is of course impossible to ascertain how far the clansmen are really related by blood (Malinowski 1915, p. 518).

2. Most of the clan sectors of a phratry had ties of agnatic descent with fraternal clan sectors, bearing the same name, located in
other villages. For example, the members of Boila clan sector of Urumog phratry in Mailupom acknowledged ties of agnatic descent with the members of Boila clan sector in any other village, but they did not acknowledge any such ties with Dia and Banaga clan sectors of their own phratry.

3. My informants emphatically asserted that an agnatic descent group bearing a particular name cannot be split up into lesser units bearing different names. Size has nothing to do with it; it just cannot be done.

This leaves little room for doubt that a phratry was a local grouping of different clan sectors and not a single clan divided into subclans.

But how did this grouping come into being? Of that I am not certain. Most of my informants are ignorant about it, but an old man provided an explanation. According to him, the members of different clan sectors went to settle in Mailu Island at different times. Bodeabo, Urumoga, Maradubu and Morau went there first, and, being first, they became principal clan sectors (gubina duba). They later invited their relatives of other clan sectors who came and settled with one or other of them. While settling there, they retained their own clan sector names, but at the same time became part of their respective principal clan sector. This process was called dubu daga, the meaning of daga being a branch.

I am not very satisfied with this explanation: clan sector daga occurred in the past and still occurs in all Mailu villages.
A man goes to settle in the clan sector of a relative in another village, and sets up a house there. His clan sector is then considered a *daga* or *laguai dubu* (helper) of the clan sector of the host. But during the course of time, with increase in its size, the new clan sector comes to have an independent status of its own. Nothing like the phratry in Mailupom comes into being. Therefore, I am reluctant to accept this explanation as fully satisfactory. However, there is a difference between what happens when a single individual or family joins a settled village and when a number of related people join together to form a new village. Therefore, the suggestion that a number of related clan sectors joined to form a common phratry at the time of the establishment of Mailupom village cannot be entirely dismissed. It has at least two merits: firstly, it suggests an explanation of why, within a phratry, the headman of one clan sector was considered senior to all others; secondly, it provides not only a basis for understanding the nature of kinship and local ties between members of a phratry but also a reason why the members considered themselves *aiabuai* (brothers) to each other.

Although at this stage it is not possible to find out how exactly a phratry came to be formed, one thing seems reasonably certain: it came into being, not as a result of the division of a large clan into subclans, but through the opposite process of members of different clans joining together to form a local grouping of linked clan sectors. It follows from this that the social structure of all Mailu villages was similar at the level of clan sectors and not at the level of phratries as Malinowski asserted.
Since my view of the relationship between a clan sector and a phratry and one clan sector and another differs from that of Malinowski, my use of the terms also differs from his. It is difficult to state this difference without ambiguity, but it is something like this:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village and Social Unit</th>
<th>Malinowski</th>
<th>Verma</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mailupom Village:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aura</td>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>Phratry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubu</td>
<td>Subclan</td>
<td>Clan Sector</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other Villages:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dubu or Aura</td>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>Clan Sector</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Saville used these terms in much the same way as Malinowski, but he seemed to be more aware of the different meanings of the term *dubu* (Malinowski 1915, pp. 517-521; Saville 1926, pp. 33-34, 238).

Another difference I have with Malinowski and Saville is about the nature of the exogamous units. They maintained that both the clan sector and phratry were exogamous units (Malinowski 1915, p.518; Saville 1926, p.35), but my information indicates that there was no formal rule of clan sector exogamy, though most clan sectors were in fact exogamous. Ten years ago Firth (1952, p.65) noted that clan sectors were not exogamous. These days there is no rule prescribing either clan sector or phratry exogamy, and 27% of the current marriages in good standing are intra-phratry, though intra-clan sector marriages are rare; there are some in Domara, but none in Loupom, Mailupom, Kureri, Laruoro, and Sabiribo. How did this state of affairs come about?

My impression is that the clan sector, as a small local group consisting of an average of three houses, is usually, though not
always, viewed by the people as the agnatic core of the personal
kindred, and they avoid marrying inside it out of respect for kindred
exogamy which is slightly more pronounced in the case of agnates as a
"we group". The uncertainty about genealogies that I referred to while
discussing kindred exogamy (pp. 29-30) works in favour of clan sector
exogamy. This is not a mere conjecture: my enquiries about the
differences between the clan sector and the kindred were often met with
a stock first reply from informants, "clan sector and kindred are one";
and indeed they are so in certain contexts (p. 28).

I suspect this was the case in the past too, though
it is possible there has been a change. Some of Malinowski's own
statements indicate that he was not too sure of his own interpretation:

.... clan exogamy regulates both marriage and extraconubial
intercourse, though not with strict rigidity (Malinowski 1915,
p.560).

As evidence of that lack of rigidity he quoted two cases of intra-clan
sector marriage that apparently occurred in pre-European days; and he
points out that these two were "stamped by the natives as instances of
wrong marriage", and that such cases provoked "indignation and derision"
(Malinowski 1915, p.560). It is not clear whether these cases involved
breaches of kindred or just clan sector exogamy; in the absence of
this information it is difficult to tell what the rules were and why
the people treated those cases as instances of wrong marriage.
This concludes my analysis of the local kinship groups. The picture that emerges of Mailu local units, household, lineage, clan sector and phratry, is that of units strongly interlinked, not only by cross cutting ties of marriage, kinship, and friendship, but also by multiple and overlapping affiliations and allegiances.
CHAPTER III

Village and Inter-Village Relations

I: VILLAGE

Village Unity

It is clear from the preceding chapter that a village was a more closely knit unit than that described in the following statement by Malinowski:

Thus the clan was a local unit with the Dubu as a symbol, so to say, of its individuality and independence, and it is not merely a figure of speech to say that the village was not a texture of Dubus (clans and subclans) but a juxtaposition of these. The clans were really fairly independent, and the forces of social cohesion in a village community which bound the different clans together were much weaker than those holding together the members of a clan. Thus, whenever there were emigration, colonisation, or gregarious shifting of people it was either a clan (or clans), or else a subclan (or subclans) that move. (1915: pp. 517-518.)

The last statement was only partially true. Close cognates and affines were more often involved in any kind of migration than clan sectors. Since 1915 not a single clan sector as a whole has moved out of Mailupom. The migration of a whole side was an exceptionally rare event indeed, and Malinowski (1915, p.518) recorded the only case that is ever known to have occurred. I doubt very much whether even in that case the group moving out was composed of members of a single side only. The same was also true of clan sector migration, except when the clan sector moving out was composed of a single agnatic household.
Village unity was also strengthened by another factor: due to generally high rate of intra-village marriage (Table No. III) the village membership, both male and female, was highly stable and consisted mostly of people who had lived there virtually the whole of their lives. This tended to create among the individual members ties of friendship born of long-standing common participation in work and play groups of all sorts. An institutionalised expression of these ties was found in the isigoina relationship already discussed (p.43).

Ownership of Land.

Within its own territory each village owned certain land rights in common. These included the rights to hunt, fish, make sago from wild palms, use water-holes, roads and clay-pits (Malinowski 1915, p.593; Saville 1926, p.169). Though individual clan sectors were said to be the owners of different parts of the reef adjoining a village, the owners could not stop any fellow-villagers from using them. However, when fish became scarce in a particular part of the reef, the owner, in consultation with other elders in the community, exercised his rights of ownership by declaring a tabu (gora) on fishing on that site (Malinowski 1915, p.586). This he did by erecting a tabu sign and uttering appropriate spells. After a period he lifted the tabu, and usually the whole village fished there jointly on the opening day. Although clan sectors, with some exceptions, had their own gardening land, in certain villages this ownership was ignored for the purpose of gardening (Malinowski 1915, p.595). Each year a particular site was
selected and the whole village planted gardens there. Similarly, without paying attention to ownership, certain parts of the bush near the village were used for excretory purposes, men using one place and women another.

There is some difference of opinion between Malinowski and Saville about the nature of land rights enjoyed by clan sectors. Saville (1926, p.270) asserts that garden land was owned by the village community as a whole and not by individual clan sectors. Only the land on which permanent trees were planted came to be regarded as individually owned. Malinowski (1915, p.595), on the other hand, maintains that garden land was owned by individual clan sectors, except in Loupom, where the two clan sectors jointly owned and used it. My evidence favours Malinowski and I have given above my view of the land ownership.

The case of Loupom certainly differed from others, but it merely represented a special application of the principles of land ownership discussed above. It is believed that Loupom village was destroyed in warfare with Mailupom, who killed all its inhabitants, except a child or two of Gobu clan sector, related to Mailupom warriors. These children were brought up in Barai clan sector Mailupom; and they, together with their Barai relatives, came to live in Loupom and tried to re-establish the village. All the Loupom land was treated as jointly owned by these two clan sectors. Whatever the truth of the story, the village was in fact re-established; and the manner in which different clan sectors recruited by it came to have land rights throws some light on Mailu land ownership. I will discuss this when I discuss land ownership in present day Loupom.
Common Activities

The members of a village performed many activities together, even when they were not performing them jointly. Fellow-villagers travelled together — usually by separate canoes — for trading, fishing and sago-making. All the people holding major mourning feasts — oio, govı, etc. — to honour their dead relatives, did so on the same day, although their food, pigs, arrangements for feeding the guests, and dancing platforms were all separate. The members of the clan sector, kin and affines of each "master" of the feast were drawn into the feast as helpers of various sorts. In this way virtually the whole village participated in the feast, giving the impression of a joint village affair.

But there were occasions when the village acted as a unit. When under attack from an enemy it defended itself as a unit. Sometimes all the men of one village together raided another; but participation in this was optional, being influenced by considerations of kinship reciprocity, sense of local loyalty, and personal interests of various sorts.

Men of the whole village occasionally participated jointly in hunting and fishing, using all the nets available in the village. All the catch was brought to the village and distributed to all the houses equally; but the owners of the nets or canoes received an additional share which was called the share of the canoe or the net. The frequency with which a village acted as a unit in house-building, canoe-making and other economic enterprises depended on its size and the number of people required for the job.
The whole village combined together to mourn the death of a member (Saville 1926, p.33). All work and play, except preparations for the funeral and minor household chores, were stopped until such time as the lineage of the deceased gave a small feast to mark the resumption of work and play (Saville 1926, pp. 238 - 239). This feast merely involved distribution of coconuts or uncooked vegetable food to all houses in the village.

Social Control and Leadership

I now discuss how the village enterprises were organised; how disputes over persons and property were settled; who provided the leadership for what activity; and how an individual became a leader.

There was no village headman or any other person with authority to settle disputes and maintain law and order in the village (Malinowski 1915, p.579). A man, therefore, relied on the force of his own arms, or those of his kin and affines, to redress any wrongs to his person or property. People closely related to both sides in a dispute could be relied upon to intervene and mediate. Failing this, there was either an open fight or resort to sorcery. A killing could only be avenged by killing, and the people mainly interested in obtaining this kind of revenge were:

....Not...the clan so much as the family in the narrower sense of the word — the brothers, in the first place, the father, and the first cousins. If those were not strong enough, they could "hire" a man or men by payment of pigs, armahells, and food, to do the business in their place. I gathered that in such a case matters would be considered as squared, and that it would not be followed by an everlasting vendetta within the village. (Malinowski 1915, p.580.)
If a man caught his wife committing adultery, he was considered within his rights to kill her, but more often he gave her a sound beating; and, with the support of his close kin, he challenged the lover and his supporters to a fight. Sometimes the matter was amicably settled: the husband received back the bride price paid by him plus an atonement gift, and the lover took over the woman as wife (Malinowski 1915, p.580).

There was no redress against theft of food and other minor items of property (Malinowski 1915, p.580). But the owner might protect them by means of a magic called Onaga that was supposed to inflict upon the thief a serious disease.

Breaches of taboos, including the infringement of kindred exogamy, were supposed to be followed by automatic supernatural sanctions. A man might have bad luck in fishing or hunting; his pigs might not flourish, or they might get lost in the bush or die; his garden might be ravaged by bush pigs.

An individual acquired positions of leadership in particular activities through inherited or personally acquired property and magic, through specialist competence of various sorts, and through possession of personal qualities and knowledge that the Mailu valued highly. I now discuss in detail what these were and what part they played in what context.

I have already discussed how seniority of descent conferred on a man certain property rights denied to his juniors. Here I recapitulate them in brief and show their social significance. The clubhouses, big
sailing canoes, big fishing nets, big hunting nets, and magic spells connected with them were all supposed to be inherited from the father by the eldest son in the seniormost lineage of each clan sector. Although others in the clan sector had some right to use these things, the head alone was the owner (*gubina*), and he had the final say where, when, and by whom these things were to be used. These property rights were real economic assets, not mere titles. Whenever a canoe or a net was used for productive purposes, the owner received an additional share of the produce as the share of the canoe or the net. The owner also supervised the work and took charge of the distribution of the produce among the participants. But the initiative in going to fish or hunt did not always rest with the owner. Other people could ask him if he would bring his net along, and if he agreed, they went together. Sometimes all the fishing nets of the village were used collectively by the village. Initiative for this usually came from one or other of the owners.

Some of these men, by virtue of their seniority, inherited war magic, called *gobu*, from their fathers. They were, therefore, called war magician (*gobu egi*) and as such they supervised most of the activities connected with warfare, head hunting and initiation. According to Saville, a war magician supervised the preparation of shields, spears and other weapons, fixed the day for attack, and magically blessed the warriors and their weapons before they left the village for a raid. After setting the date of the attack, he stayed in the clubhouse and abstained from sexual intercourse to ensure the success of the raid (Saville, pp. 204 - 205).
But starting the war was not necessarily left to the initiation of the war magician. A man whose close kin had been killed collected his fellows — kin and affines, members of the clan sector, fellow villagers, and even men from other friendly villages. Having done so, he acquired the services of a war magician to ensure success. The man organising the war party was supposed to meet the cost of feeding the warriors and paying the war magician.

Another position of some importance in connection with head-hunting and initiation was that of dirge leader (*sirisiri egi*). He led a dirge that was chanted by the warriors at night after returning to their clubhouse from a successful head-hunting raid. The chanting continued throughout the night except for short intervals of rest allowed by the leader, who led the dirge from a permanent raised platform specially built for him in the clubhouse. (Saville 1926, p.105.) It is not clear whether competence to lead the dirge was the only criterion for appointment to this position, or whether some hereditary element was also involved.

A specialist called *arava–oro egi* (feast magician) played a prominent part in mourning feasts. As already stated, mourning feasts were initiated and carried out by the lineage of the deceased with the help of their close cognates and affines. The head of the lineage was considered to be the master of the feast. It was his responsibility to make sure that enough vegetable food and pigs were available. His younger brothers, who also contributed pigs, were considered junior masters. They had a definite say in the distribution of pigs contributed by them. The pride and prestige of the whole family,
and particularly of the mother, was at stake in the feast and they did not want to leave anything to chance. They therefore acquired the services of a feast magician who, through the potency of the odaoda (power, heat, influence, authority) of his magic, was supposed to attract a large number of guests, and an abundance of pigs and vegetable foods. The greater the number and the quality of the pigs exchanged or killed, the number of govi dances held, the amount of food distributed, and the number of people who attended the feast, the more successful it was deemed. The more successful the feast, the greater the reputation of the feast magician as a man of power. The services of such a man were in great demand and well rewarded.

Similarly, magical skill in divination, sorcery and healing enhanced the prestige of a man and gave him a position of leadership in those activities. Sorcerers were feared and envied and they were also well paid for successful performances. Although a sorcerer (barau) and a healer (wara egi) were terminologically distinguished from each other, the power to kill, cure, or do harm was thought to be basically the same. He was a poor healer indeed who did not have the power to kill. Therefore, to call a man sorcerer was to praise him as a man of power with considerable capacity for both good and evil.

A successful warrior, gardener, and fisherman, and, above all, a man highly successful in the exchange of such wealth as pigs, dogs, armshells and beads gained prestige and influence in the community. Whether nominally a leader or not, the voice of such a man was likely to
carry weight in village affairs, particularly in those related to his speciality.

Why success in exchange activities was highly valued is not difficult to understand. It meant that a man had influence over his fellows. He could command wealth and resources for giving big feasts, paying bride-price, meeting debt obligations, or dealing with any other occasions of need. This he could not do if he were not an extremely gifted, hard-working and socially skilful individual.

But the Mailu had their own way of explaining success in this or any other activity; they attributed it neither to hard work nor to skill — though they considered them important — but to magical power. Certain people and objects possessed it by themselves, or by virtue of their contact with, or manipulation of, other beings or objects charged with it. It could be acquired or lost by certain activities, including uttering spells, eating or touching certain foods, roots, spices or leaves. It was beneficial to have it, if you could make it work for you; otherwise it was a nuisance to be got rid of.

A man exceptionally gifted with magical power was called in extreme praise a sosora. The usual way of praising him in this respect was to say, "Oh, you are a sosora, not a man". Next so sosora, as a term of praise, was noano. This term was used in praise of someone who was hard-working, able and skilful, of good intelligence, but not so well endowed with magical power. It was praiseworthy to be a noano, but the sosora was the coveted ideal.
It is clear from the above that those who had inherited material wealth and magical spells were in a better position to attain social influence and leadership than those who had not. But the latter were not necessarily greatly handicapped. An ambitious, hard-working man could, without great difficulty, make a canoe or a net. And if he showed sufficient generosity in sharing food and property, he could build up a following. Since inheritance was not the only source of magic, such a man could quietly drop a hint that he had obtained powerful magic from the bush, water, or hill sprites who constituted a never-ending source of new magic to those who were lucky enough to make friends with them.

Senior men, whether heads of households, lineages or clan sectors, carried some respect and influence, but they could not always rely on being obeyed. Skilful use of tongue-lashing, with gentleness, consultation and generosity, were keys to being a successful leader. A leader must know when to give in and how to do it gracefully, leaving the followers feeling guilty and slightly ashamed.

Somewhere around their fifties most men gradually relinquished the conduct of affairs to their heirs, whether sons or younger brothers; the tasks requiring physical vigour being relinquished first, and magical activities last.

It is not clear how much old men were respected in the past for their wisdom and knowledge of tradition. To judge this from the present generation would be misleading — for today old men are considered ignorant of modern ways and in need of advice from their
juniors, who now occupy positions of leadership. If need arises they are consulted about genealogical matters and traditional customs, but such occasions are rare. Usually the younger men know all that is necessary about these matters.

It seems women did not take any active part in public life. Whatever influence they had was exercised behind the scenes. A hard-working woman who tended her garden well, looked after her children and guests properly, and was submissive and faithful was thought to be an ideal wife. Skill in midwifery, tattooing, and knowledge of magic for curing people gave her prestige and social influence.

Women sorcerers were feared as being the most deadly and unscrupulous of all sorcerers. This, however, did not give them any leading position in public life. Although not playing a leading role, a woman was not unduly quiet or submissive. When she had a grievance, she could stand in the street and shout to let everyone know what she thought; and in a shouting contest with a woman, I have never seen a Mailu man have the last word.

II : INTER-VILLAGE RELATIONS

Village Clusters or "Confederacies".

Having described the internal structure of the village, I now discuss what sort of relations one village had with another. According to Malinowski and Saville, the Mailu villages were grouped into a number of "village confederacies" whose members maintained friendly relations with each other, "and were, broadly speaking, on terms of
enmity with the others". (Malinowski 1915, p. 510; Saville 1926, p. 23.)

Before examining what kind of units these confederacies were I will first record the names of members of each confederacy as listed by Malinowski and Saville respectively:

Malinowski
1. Maiupom, Oradio, Kuriri.
2. Darava, Magaubo, Durom, Domara and Domu. All these villages were friendly with the villages in group 1.
3. Lupom and Laruoro.
4. Woworo, Selai, Derebai. They were permanently friendly with Maiupom Village.
5. Dagobo, Unevi, Borebo, Pediri, Sabiribo, Geagea, Banaro, Gema. The bonds between the first five and the last three were specially close.
6. Oibada, Nabai, Ori, Gogosiba.

(Saville 1915, pp. 510 - 511.)

Saville
A Maiupom, Domu, Domara, Burumai — now joined up with Domara, Boru or Oraido, Kureri.
B Lopum, Laruoro, with unnamed closely-related communities in the middle of Table Bay.
C Woworo and Derebai. They were friendly with Maiupom.
D Maisioro Hill Group: Dagobo and Unevi.
E Borebo and Millport Harbour Group. Names not mentioned — possibly Sabiribo and Pediri.
F Banaro confederacy: Banaro, Geagea, Boraea, Gema.
G Oibada, Nabai, Ori and Gogosiba.

(Saville 1926, pp. 24 - 25.)

The above lists indicate some disagreement between Malinowski and Saville about who belonged to which confederacy. In
addition they cast doubt on whether a confederacy acted as a unit in relation to villages in other confederacies. One is, therefore, compelled to seek further information about the nature of these so-called confederacies. What were the ties which united the members? How were they recruited and lost? In what sort of activities did they participate together? If there were any disputes, how were they resolved? The information available on these points is rather scanty and particularly lacking in concrete details about disputes. However, whatever information there is indicates that political friendship and enmity were not unitary ties but the resultants of several sets of cross-cutting ties which I discuss below.

Ties of Geographical Contiguity.

Neighbours can be the best of friends or the bitterest of enemies — they usually have much to share and much to fight over. Geographical proximity, therefore, does not by itself lead to friendship. But neither friendship nor enmity can be expressed or developed without some sort of contact, and geographical proximity provides this. In traditional Mailu society the nearest neighbours were usually connected by ties of kinship and marriage, political friendship, common feast-group affiliation, common exploitation of natural resources: a reef (Arieu Reef — Loupom, Mailupom, Laruoro), or a sago swamp (Dagobo, Unevi, Borebo, Pediri shared a sago swamp — Malinowski 1915, p.589), or a hunting ground (Oibada, Ori, Nabai, Gogo). Also they were often connected by ties of common origin and common clanship. The presence or absence
of any of these ties had a bearing on the quality and intensity of their social relations.

Spatial distance and ease of travel were two particularly important factors affecting the intensity of neighbourly relations. Some villages, like Mailupom, Derava, Boru, Magaumbo, Ilai, Tanobada, were several miles away from their nearest neighbours, while others, like Loupom, Gagaisana, Laruoro, Dagobo, Unevi, Geagea, Banaro, Gema, were less than a mile away. Ori, Nabi, Gogo, though located about two to three miles apart, were easily accessible to each other being connected by a level track along the beach.

**Feast-Group Ties.**

The villages connected by feast-group ties were called *dubu odimini mari*, i.e., the villages for whom, at the time of food distribution at a feast, the feast shares called *dubu* were provided by the host village, as against those for whom the feast shares, called *ausoisoi*, were provided. The *dubu* shares contained larger amounts of food and better portions of meat than the *ausoisoi* shares. Besides, every village receiving the *dubu* shares received as many shares as there were clan sectors in it. The main point of this was that each clan sector in the feast-group villages was treated in the same way as the clan sectors in the host village. The *ausoisoi* shares, on the other hand, were only one or two in number, allotted equally to each village. Though allotted on a village basis, they were meant to be consumed only by the few individuals who happened to be attending the feast from that village.
These were usually the people who had affinal or kinship ties with some members of the host village.

The feast-group villages were always close neighbours, and they usually exhibited most of the ties common between close neighbours, discussed above. The following example indicates that geographical contiguity was a necessary condition for the establishment of feast-group ties. In about 1870 some people from Mailupom migrated to Table Bay and established a new village called Boru or Oraido. A few years later another group from the same village went across to Amazon Bay and established a new village called Kureri. Both of these villages, being off-shoots of Mailupom, were friendly to each other and to Mailupom. However, the Kureri, who were geographically close to the people of Mailupom, established feast-group ties with them, but the Boru people, being too far distant, i.e. about 30 miles off, did not.

Feast-group ties, though reciprocal in character, did not necessarily lead to the formation of closed groups — for in some cases two villages had feast-group ties with a third but not with each other. This meant that each village was the centre of its own feast-group which tended to overlap with those of other villages. There is much disagreement at present between informants from each village as to what their feast-group affiliations were in the past. This is due, in part, to the differences in knowledge between one informant and another, and in part to the shifts in feast-group affiliations that occurred from time to time in the past over quarrels.
The Mailu believed that feast-group villages were true friends of each other, and this is understandable in view of the concentration of interlinking ties between them. Yet the feast — the very occasion on which the solidarity of the feast-group, as against all others, friends or foes, was ceremonially demonstrated by exclusive distribution of dubu shares — was also an occasion for much quarrelling and fighting. These fights, I suspect, more often took place between the members of the same feast-group than others — for they were the principal participants in the feast. Some of these fights were minor quarrels, quickly settled and easily forgotten, but some led to killing, war and suspension of feast-group ties till peace was restored. The following quotations from Malinowski and Saville indicate how frequently quarrels and fights occurred during feasts:

Another general feature of the feast was the fighting, which seems to have been very frequent, though perhaps not usually resulting in much bloodshed. Fights were almost on the point of taking place at the feasts I witnessed, though the district was fairly quiet and civilised.... I was told by Mr. Greenaway, who has been present at many Madunas, that fighting was a regular feature of the feast.... (Malinowski 1915, p.680.)

War, in the Mailu language, is spoken of as gara. A stand-up fight, the result of a quarrel, when some private individual is generally the cause, is known as leko.

The leko might become so serious, and often did in the old days, as to lead to gara. These lekos, or brawls, very often take place nowadays; the commonest occasion is a feast, when some individual is not satisfied, and his village or clan takes the matter up as a slight to themselves. (Saville 1926, p.199.)
The above quotation from Saville also indicates how personal fights between individuals were transformed into inter-village wars. Some of these fights arose spontaneously during the feast itself, because of disputes over pigs, women, outstanding debts, improper joking and taunts; some, however, were planned and deliberately instigated by men with a long-standing grudge or a score to settle.

In 1961 I attended two feasts, one at Sabiribo and the other at Borebo. The impression which I had of quarrelling and the state of "nervous excitement" of the participants was similar to that of Malinowski 45 years ago. (Malinowski 1915, p.680 — printing error, should be 681.) At Sabiribo a quarrel occurred between some men from Sabiribo and some from their feast-group village Geagea over the distribution of food. However, a timely intervention by the local government councillors of the two villages stopped it from developing into a fight. An interesting feature of this quarrel was that the protagonists obtained considerable support from fellow villagers on the basis of village solidarity. Even those who were reluctant to be actively involved, when consulted later, blamed the members of the other village for starting the quarrel. At Borebo, though no quarrels or fights occurred, some people were rather worried that one might start. An old man repeatedly went around shouting appeals to people to keep calm and to not disgrace the name of Borebo village by fighting. Thus quarrelling and fighting at the feasts brought to the surface the weakness of feast-group solidarity and the strength of the concern which the Mailu felt for the honour, glory, and unity of their village.
Ties of Common Origin.

A village which was an off-shoot of another village usually retained ties of friendship with its parent village and other sister villages, if any. Kureri, Magaubo and Boru, being offshoots of Mailupom, were all mutually friendly. (Malinowski 1915, p.510; Saville 1926, p.24.)

To appreciate the strength of these ties it is necessary to take into account the fact that new villages were often formed as the result of a serious quarrel in the old village. The disgruntled portion of the population, a clan sector, a part of a clan sector or, more often, closely related people from two or more clan sectors, moved out to a new site. These ties of common origin derived their strength from recent historical connections, continuing ties of kinship and marriage, and the rights to land and property retained by the migrants in their natal village.

Clan Ties.

It is believed that people who have a common clan sector name had a common agnatic ancestor in their distant past. They are therefore "brothers". They can expect hospitality and protection from one another while visiting the other's village. In the case of a quarrel between their respective villages, they could act as mediators. However, if the fight did break out, as it often did, each fought on the side of his own village.

Much stronger than these clan ties were those between a parent and a daughter clan sector. These came into being when some members of a clan sector moved to another village to settle there.
In this case the people concerned not only had a common clan, but also certain common *lara* names and property rights in land. These ties maintained their strength while the memory of the migration lasted. The emigrated part of the clan sector had a right to come back to their parent village and clan sector. In inter-village context the function of both the above clan ties was the same, namely to provide a channel for the settlement of inter-village disputes.

**Ties of Kinship and Marriage.**

As already stated, the members of each village tended to be related to each other by ties of kinship and marriage. Similar ties linked also members of different villages. The Mailu preferred to marry in their own village if they could find a suitable mate there; but considerations of lugu exogamy, age and other qualities desired in a spouse compelled them to seek mates in other villages. Genealogical evidence indicates that, generally, spouses were sought in either one's own village or in neighbouring villages. However, a few marriages also occurred between members of distantly located friendly or enemy villages. The ties between members of enemy villages were established through existing kinship channels or through forcible abduction of women in sneak raids. In the latter case, after some initial fighting, the union was regularised and marital ties established through exchange of gifts.

The proportion of intra-village marriages to inter-village marriages presumably varied from village to village. The size of the
village was perhaps the most important factor affecting this — for in small villages the probability of all suitable mates being closely related was much greater than in large villages. Therefore, out of regard for lugu exogamy, those who lived in small villages were more likely to be compelled to seek mates in neighbouring villages than those who lived in large villages. If so, the small villages were presumably more closely interlinked with their neighbours than large villages — particularly if they were also closely adjacent.

Relevant statistics for the past are not available, but the following table giving current rates of intra-village and inter-village marriages in eight Mailu villages bears out this analysis. The table includes only those marriages of males belonging to each village which are currently in good standing. Marriages of males living uxorilocally and of females are not included:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
<th>Married Males</th>
<th>No. in own Village Marriages</th>
<th>No. in Three Nearest Villages</th>
<th>No. in other Mallu Villages</th>
<th>No. with Mallu Villages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Derechi</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabireho</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mallupom</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larirobo</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borebo</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Navoro</td>
<td>299</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

TABLE III: NO. OF INTRA-VILLAGE AND INTER-VILLAGE MARriages
The establishment of law and order and the development of friendly intercourse between those who were enemies in olden days has possibly increased the lateral spread of marital ties and lowered the rate of intra-village marriage. Notwithstanding this, the current rate of intra-village marriage is impressively high and cannot be ascribed to social change.

At inter-village level the function of ties of kinship and marriage was similar to that of clan ties. They enabled individuals and families to migrate from one village to another, and the villages to recruit new members. They also made possible visiting, hospitality, and the exchange of goods between related members of both friendly and enemy villages. After inter-village fights, they provided a channel for settlement of disputes and restoration of amicable relations. The following account of a war between Pediri and Gauoro illustrates the manner in which these ties were utilised for the recruitment of help in war and for the settlement of disputes.

Kekuamari, a man from Pediri, was the war-magician of his village. Aria Budu, a war-magician from Gauoro committed adultery with his wife. Pediri people and their helpers from Borebo and Udama (a Diguma village) came to fight with Gauoro and their helpers from Banaro and Geagea. As two women from Mailupom were married at Geagea, some people from Mailupom also came to help Geagea and Gauoro. The fighting took place five times over a period of a few years. (The informant was confused about the duration of war and the recruitment of helpers.) After the first two fights, a war-magician from Udama
was killed. They (the Udama people) kept on coming to take revenge, but were defeated every time. About five months after the last fight, the Udama made a move for peace, and sent a man named Unari Peueu for this purpose. He was the mother's brother of a Borebo woman married at Banaro. He came to Banaro with two unarmed boys and said, "I have come for my sister's child's sake. Let us make peace and not fight any more afterwards." The woman's husband's father, Batu Baea, then stood up and said to Banaro people, "For my daughter-in-law's sake, don't kill these men." They all agreed. Later he killed a pig and gave it to Unari Peueu as bride-price for his daughter-in-law. Afterwards that woman's child and Batu Baea went to Udama with Unari Peueu. There Unari Peueu gave Batu Baea a pig in return. Later all the fighters from Udama came and brought mats, string bags, armshells, dogs, head-bands etc. to give to Banarao, Geagea, and Gauoro people. They put the gifts on the ground and stood some distance away from them. The Banara, Geagea, and Gauoro did the same with their wealth. When each side accepted the other's gifts, the war ended; and for the part he played in bringing about peace, the above woman's son was given the name Biga (Peace).

The above story, which was obtained from an old woman from Geagea, is of little use for understanding such details as: what social groups participated in fighting at different times? exactly who came to help whom and why? how peace was negotiated and on what terms? But it does make clear how kinship links were utilised for starting negotiations for peace.
Thus Mailu villages were linked to each other by ties of geographical contiguity, feast-group membership, common origin, clanship, and kinship and marriage. But these ties failed to produce strongly cohesive, stable units containing several villages. Although the villages located on the same or neighbouring bays, hills, beaches or islands tended to form politically allied clusters, the ties between members of the cluster were neither uniform nor exclusive: within a cluster some villages were more friendly to each other than others, and each village had its own friends and enemies outside the cluster which were not necessarily the same as those of its neighbours. Thus ties of friendship and enmity, overlapping as they did, produced a political structure in which who were your friends depended on who were you fighting against; for, on the one hand, a good many fights occurred between friends and, on the other, even enemies "on occasion united against a common foe". (Saville 1926, p.23.)

The following story of a fight between members of the same feast-group provides evidence in support of this analysis. Although several slightly different versions of this story are current now, I quote in full the one recorded by Saville, as it is the oldest and of interest from several points of view. Saville writes:

Papari, my old native friend and informant on all matters dealing with earlier days, gave me the following account of what he regards as the beginning of the fighting between Mailu and Laruoro.
A man called Apora, grandfather of the youth Gabura, now living, went to Delebai to get food. Coming back he and his mates called at Laruoro, stole a lot of nuts, and saw an old man lying on the beach alone and very ill. He was covered with sores.... They killed the old man and then set off for Mailu. A Laruoro man, standing hidden, had watched them, and called out when he saw the canoe going off: "Come back and take the man you have killed!" Papari's father went to Laruoro and was asked which clan on Mailu had done this. He replied that it was Maradubu, and told them to come to Mailu the following morning for redress. They came, and also brought men from Loupomu.

They quarrelled, and ten Laruoro men retired secretly during the quarrel, and, taking three small Mailu boys with them into the bush behind the village, murdered them and went off in their canoe. The mothers took the bodies, held them up, and called out: "Take away those you have killed!"

To pay them out Mailu men went en masse to Laruoro and anchored their canoes in the passage through the reef. When the reef became dry both parties donned their ornaments. Mailu went into the Laruoro bush and, when they emerged, found Laruoro, Loupomu and Dalava ready, defying them to throw the first spear. Mailu said they had come only for a fight (verua), as they were relatives. Four Mailu men were killed. The others came back and prepared for reprisals. After making plenty of sago, they arranged a Damorea dance, and invited Laruoro to come. They came and watched the dancing all night. In the morning one of the chief men on Mailu got a bunch of betel-nut and called out the name of the chief man of Loupomu: "Here's your betel-nut!" With one hand offering the betel-nut Gaiwo ran forward, and with the other hand thrust Ueri through with a spear. Before the visitors could clear off three others were killed. Next morning Mailu got all their canoes ready, pulled up sail and cleared out for Aroma. Loupomu and Laruoro chased them in their canoes but could not catch them. Mailu got to Table Point and the others returned to Onibu Rocks. The next morning these collected all their confederates of Ouma, Dalava, Laua, Magori, to go overland and catch and kill the Kailu men, who were on their canoes moored in the two rivers, Oibo and Magaubo. Oraedo, Batu (Domara), in those days living at Dedele (Batu), and Gorume all came to help Mailu, also one man from Ouma, who came and reported that the gara was coming, and told them not to sleep. Mailu replied by saying: "Gadosae" ("That's a good thing"). They covered their fires, stuck up their shields in the sand in rows, and waited behind them in the moonlight. The others approached with the usual throaty yell and their particular war-cries of
defiance. A rapid exchange of spears followed. A Loupomu sorcerer was killed and the yelling, ferocious Mailu savages made an awful rush on the others, chased them back to Dalava, burned the village down, and massacred men, women and children. Then, pretending to go farther west, they returned home during the night, and next morning sailed across to Loupomu, encircled it, made a great massacre there and burned the village down. That night the whole Laruoro population cleared out to Gadaisu, in Orangerie Bay. There they lived for many years, and some of them married there and remain to this day, half the village speaking Mailu and the other half Daui.

From Gadaisu the Laruoro men came along the beach to Ori to attack the Mailu warriors visiting there and lost eight of their old influential men. Thus ended Papari's story of the biggest war in Mailu history. His father was correct when he said that the Laruoro and Mailu people were relatives; the whole affair was a calamitous business within a certain part of the tribe formerly friendly. When peace was restored half of Laruoro came back.

The true Gara villages of the Mailu people — that is their traditional bitter enemies — were the Maisi villages — Dagobo, Unevi, and Borebo — the villages in Millport Harbour and Port Glasgow, and Magori, a hill-top village ..... It was among these people that the Mailu did their head-hunting.

.....I have never heard that in such a case of warfare as that against Laruoro and their confederate villages the heads of the slain were brought back as trophies. Probably that accounts for the taunt: "Carry off those you have killed".

(Saville 1926, pp. 206 - 208, 213.)

This rather lengthy story provides a few glimpses of the Mailu society as a functioning system moving through time. The picture which emerges is that of a fluid system of shifting alliances between individual villages within which some alliances proved more lasting than others. This view is considerably at variance with that of Malinowski and Saville, who saw the Mailu "Tribe" as divided into a number of village "confederacies" having definite boundaries. The main difference is that I
de-emphasise the unity of the village cluster or "confederacy" and emphasise the autonomy of the village more than they do.

This completes my analysis of the structure of social relations within the village and between villages. I have argued that ties of kinship and marriage, personal friendship, multiple and overlapping affiliation and allegiance, by weakening the internal unity of households, lineages, clan-sectors and phratries, tended to knit the village into a strongly cohesive local and kinship unit. At the inter-village level the same ties of kinship and marriage, and similarly divisive ties of geographical contiguity, feast-group membership, common origin and clanship, though weakening to some extent the internal unity of the village, failed to produce strongly cohesive units containing several villages. Thus both the divisive and unifying effect of ties varied in intensity at these two levels.

But why this difference?

I maintain that the following factors, affecting the social interaction of individuals and groups at the above two levels, contributed to the development and maintenance of this difference:

1. Within the village, ties of kinship and marriage were thickly spread over the whole of the village, usually connecting members of its various groups in more than one way. Similar ties, at the inter-village level, were generally thinly spread over several villages and often failed to connect most groups in one village with most groups in another. This was particularly true of large villages which, as already indicated, had high rates of intra-village marriage.
2. The way in which ties of kinship and locality interlocked and reinforced each other differed significantly at the two levels. At the intra-village level, marital kinship bonds were reinforced by the day-to-day exchange of food, hospitality, reciprocal aid, and joint participation by kin and affines in various economic, social and ceremonial routines of life; individual clan sectors and lineages rarely appeared as separate units in these activities. At the inter-village level such aid between kin and affines, though varying in frequency according to spatial distance, degree of kinship and state of personal feelings between the individuals concerned, was much less frequent and generally confined to special occasions. That is so now; it could not have been more frequent in the past, when inter-village fights occurred often.

3. The third point is closely related to the second but emphasises a different aspect: the occasions on which all groups in a village — if not the whole village — participated in common activities were many times more numerous than those on which all, or most, groups in two or more villages participated: if a man died, the whole of his village refrained from work till after the burial; if a feast was held, all the houses in the village received a share of the food distributed; if the village was attacked, all of its inhabitants combined in its defence; if a task — hunting, fishing, canoe-making or house-building — required a large number of people, most of the village joined together to do it. In comparison, the occasions on which two or more villages participated in common tasks were rare indeed; fighting a common enemy, a certain type
of hunting on the mainland, and major feasts like govi and oio were the
only such occasions. Among these the feasts in particular were the
occasions on which much inter-village fighting occurred, which led to
the disruption of social relations between the villages concerned.

It is not suggested that intra-village quarrels or
fights did not occur, or that the ties between the members of the same
village were so strong that they effectively prevented them from quarrelling.
No ties are that strong, not even those of love or personal affection, as
the ethnographic evidence from all over the world shows. Therefore, as
elsewhere, among the Mailu too quarrels did occur in the family, in the
clan sector, in the village, in the village cluster; and they occurred
over women, over injury to person and property, over insults, over mere
trifles in a fit of pique. All that is contended is that the social
consequences of the quarrels at the two levels differed in an important
respect: when two persons quarrelled in their own village, either they
alone, or their close kin only, got involved in the resulting fight.
And there were usually a good many people related to both sides available
at hand to separate the combatants and to put pressure on them to settle
their differences peacefully. So, in general, the character of the
fight remained individual and the ties which it activated were those of
interpersonal kinship as against those of membership of groups, such as
clan sectors. On the other hand, when a fight occurred between individual
members of two different villages, it tended to activate the ties of village
solidarity and become transformed into an inter-village fight. In such a
situation the combatants were likely far to outnumber the mediators, if any, and all the latter were likely to do was to bide their time till tempers cooled.

Thus the degree of intensity of divisive and unifying ties, the way in which they were spread and the manner in which they were reinforced by local ties were significantly different at the intra-village and inter-village levels. Therefore, though their ideological form was the same at both levels, their substantive contents differed significantly as they became manifest in the differences in the degree of frequency, regularity and informality with which kin and affines entered into exchange of goods and services and personal contacts in social, economic and ceremonial activities of various sorts.

4. In addition, certain cultural beliefs tended to express, as well as reinforce, the bonds of village solidarity: jealousy and discord in the village leads to bad luck in hunting and fishing. Fellow villagers are friends; they do not kill each other by sorcery. Both these beliefs, though factually incorrect, asserted norms of conduct which ought to prevail among fellow villagers. No such beliefs backed by similar sanctions affirmed the ties of solidarity at inter-village level.

Thus at the intra-village level, the cross-cutting and multiple ties were reinforced, not only by local ties, but also by cultural beliefs stressing village unity. All these factors, interlinked as they were in a dynamic way, tended to reinforce village unity and reduce the divisive effect of inter-village ties. Hence the difference between the divisive and unifying effect of ties at the two levels.
I think it would be appropriate to conclude this analysis with the following quotation from Saville who had, when he wrote his book, already spent more than twenty years among the Mailu:

It has always been a wonder to me how these village communities, whose members live constantly in closest contact with one another, seeing one another continually, having practically no individual privacy, knowing everything about one another — for there are no secrets — discussing and unmercifully criticising anything out of the ordinary in word or action, yet manage to maintain their unity, decorum and general freedom from strife. In warfare the community unites as one man against an outside common foe, whether for offence or defence.

(Saville 1926, p.33.)

The above quotation is significant in that it indicates that Saville came to the same conclusion about ethnological facts as I, although he did not have the necessary conceptual framework to analyse his material.
MAP SHOWING THE LOCATION OF VILLAGES IN 1960-62

**KEY**
- **Obada** -Molu village.
- **Nora** - Non-Molu village.
- **Gadapu** - Partly Molu village.
- **Swamp**
- **Mission station.**
- **Patrol post.**
- **Plantation.**
Part II

Historical Development
In this part I give an account of the events that led to the development of Mailu social structure from what it was prior to European contact to what it is now, 1960-62. The aim is to record the chronological development and to provide a broad profile of change rather than detailed analysis of particular events except insofar as the latter contribute to the former.

The historical information I have is, unfortunately, fragmentary and, being compiled from patrol reports, mission records and other European documents not specifically devoted to ethnographic description, it tells more about European activities in general than about the Mailu-European relations and the adaptive responses of the Mailu. Nevertheless, it does provide enough to draw a satisfactory outline of Mailu history and indicate broad trends.

For convenience of presentation I divide this narrative into four sections: the first covers the period of preliminary contact up to the establishment of British Protectorate in 1884, the second from 1885 to 1915 when the pacification of Mailu hinterland was completed, the third from 1916 to 1945-46 when the second world war ended and the Mailu men conscripted by ANGAU (Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit) returned home, the fourth from 1946 to the present. To reduce unevenness in chapter length, I have grouped these sections, two each, into two chapters.
CHAPTER I

Historical Development up to 1915

I: The Beginning of European Contact

Early Traders and Missionaries.

The Mailu came in contact with Europeans in the second half of the nineteenth century when bêche de mer traders and labour recruiters were carrying on their ruthless trade along the south-east coast of Papua. What kind of relations they had with the Mailu is not certain, but if the following quotation from Macfarlane, an L.M.S. missionary, is an indication, they must have been charged with much conflict:

I learn from our captain (to whom they had spoken freely) that they had shot a great number of natives on the coast of the Peninsular between Kerepunu and South Cape.

(Macfarlane 1875, p.8.)

However, these relations could not have been uniformly hostile as a certain amount of trade between the European vessels and the Papuans seemed to have occurred. The Papuans, though suspicious of the traders, approached the ships when assured of their safety, as the following quotation from Lawes, an L.M.S. missionary, indicates:

We steamed along as far as Amazon Island in Amazon Bay.... The natives seemed friendly but rather shy. We got some to come alongside. They were eager for trade, beads and hoop iron being in great request. They had only coconuts and ornaments for sale but gave us to understand they would bring Taro for sale if we would wait till tomorrow.

(Lawes 1875, p.11.)
The above quotation also indicates that the Mailu had come to appreciate the value of iron as early as 1875 and tried to obtain it if they could. Therefore, they were not exactly a "stone age" people even then.

**Protectorate.**

Between 1875 and 1884, when the Australian colonies were clamouring for the annexation of Papua by the British Crown, trading and sailing by Europeans had considerably increased. A few of the traders and their Malay servants were killed by the Mailu people. The villages responsible for the killings were shelled in reprisal by Australian men-of-war. Since the villagers had already fled after seeing the vessels approaching, nobody was killed, only the houses were destroyed.

On November 6, 1884, the area was declared a British protectorate and named British New Guinea. Flag-raising ceremonies were held at several places on the coast to announce formally the establishment of the protectorate and to explain its meaning to the people. In the third week of November, an armed party, headed by Captain Bridge and accompanied by James Chalmers, the missionary, landed on Mailupom island to hold a similar ceremony there. The Mailu, who had by then come to realise the difference between their crude weapons and the rifles of the Europeans, did not offer any resistance, and the ceremony took place in a peaceful atmosphere. (Lyne 1885, pp. 137-139.)

With the help of an interpreter, the captain explained to the Mailu how they were to conduct themselves as subjects of Queen Victoria,
who was to protect them in future from injury to person and property. He told them they were not to wage war, to buy arms, gunpowder or liquor, or to sell land to Europeans or injure them; they were to treat the Queen's officers as friends and to bring all complaints to them. If they followed these rules, they would be well treated by the Queen's officers; if they did not, they would be punished. (Lyne 1885, pp. 143-146.) Thus a fundamental change occurred in the Mailu political structure; a formerly autonomous and stateless people became subject to foreign rule by being incorporated into British New Guinea — a protectorate of a foreign state.

II: From 1885 to 1915

The Government

Though formally a part of British New Guinea, the Mailu did not come fully under the control of its government till a few years later. In 1886 the Mailupom looted "Marion", a European trading ship, which had drifted ashore there. The Government did not take any action as the officers concerned felt that Mailupom was "too far from Moresby to attempt any punishment." (A.R. 1886, p.30.) In 1887, according to Commissioner Douglas, government influence did not extend beyond Aroma in the Central Division, and between Aroma and Mailupom, the Government had seldom any communications with the natives." (A.R. 1887, p.6.)

This state of affairs, however, did not last long. The Government was compelled to pay more attention to this area when, in 1889, the Merani people, living a few miles inland from Domara in
Cloudy Bay killed and robbed two European miners. An armed party led by Governor MacGregor visited Domara, Merani and other neighbouring villages to arrest the persons responsible for the killing. The Governor succeeded in doing so only after a clash in which a few Merani and their helpers were killed and wounded. (A.R. 1889, p.35.)

While patrolling in this area, MacGregor also took the opportunity of visiting Dedele, Burumai and Boru villages, where he was cordially received. Commenting on his reception in Boru he wrote:

Keno, the chief of Boru, a man of cool calculating disposition .... was absent, but soon returned to welcome me. I was offered food — an exceptional occurrence in these villages — and my reception altogether was entirely satisfactory. Keno said he understood times were changed, and that natives would be punished if they committed murder. He accompanied me back to Burumai, leading me by the hand in a brotherly manner all the way: a mark of regard....." (A.R. 1889-90, pp. 33-34.)

Within the next two years the Governor visited most of the remaining Mailu villages. He was generally received in a cordial manner.

(A.R. 1890-91, p.58.)

Subsequent to MacGregor's visit, patrolling by Government officials became more frequent than before. The coastal people, both Mailu and non-Mailu, came to acknowledge, more and more, the authority of the Government and, in general, stopped waging war against each other and the Europeans. But the people from the neighbouring inland villages, assisted often by recruits from several villages further inland, continued to attack them. As the Government was unable to protect them, the
coastal people were compelled to remain well-armed. When the attacks persisted, the Government was compelled to take steps to pacify the hinterland. In April 1894, the Baili people, supported by warriors from several inland villages, attacked Magaubo and killed about thirty people, mostly women, as men were attending a feast at Derava, a neighbouring village. This happened when MacGregor was patrolling the area, and was camped at Derava for the night. (A.R. 1893-4, p.70.) The armed constabulary pursued the raiders continuously for three months, killing some and arresting others.

Despite repeated patrols, occasional fighting continued between inland villages and between inland and coastal villages. A number of Asiaro, Woworo, and Derebai people were killed, in 1908, by some people from Laua village. (A.R. 1908, p.136.) In the same year the Woworo, afraid of attack, built a new, fifteen feet high stockade. (A.R. 1908, p.136.) In 1912, four Magori were killed by Baisabaga. In the same year, due to attacks by the Lise, the Deba moved to the coast from inland. (A.R. 1912, p.107.) Probably the last major fight occurred in 1915, when Darava and Baisabaga attacked and killed four policemen from Abau. One of the culprits was the village constable of Darava. When they were apprehended and punished the pacification of the Mailu hinterland was completed.

MacGregor's tenure of office ended in 1898. After him there was a quick turnover of Governors and Administrators till 1907, when Barton was replaced by Hubert Murray who continued in office — first as
Administrator, later as Governor — till 1940. In the meantime, by
the Papua Act of 1905-6, the administrative control of British New Guinea
was transferred to the Commonwealth of Australia.

From the very beginning the administrative structure
underwent changes. New territorial and administrative units, called
districts or divisions, and sub-districts, were carved out of the old
ones whose boundaries were changed. Each new district was provided with
a Government station, a resident magistrate in charge, one or more junior
officers, if available, and a few members of the Armed Constabulary as
police. The Government stations were usually set up, at least during the
period under discussion, where there was a concentration of European
planters, traders, or miners, to maintain order among them and to prevent
clashes between them and the Papuans. (Mair 1948, pp. 25-26.)

The Mailu too were involved in some of these changes in
district boundaries. Till 1890, the whole of Mailu area was part of the
Eastern District. Later some Mailu villages were transferred to the
Central District and Table Point became the boundary of the two
districts. In 1911, when some European plantations came to be established
near Cape Rodney and a minor gold rush occurred in the Keveri Valley,
about forty miles inland from Abau, a new district, East Central District,
with its station at Abau, was set up. The new district covered the
coastal area extending from fifty miles west of Abau to fifty miles east.
As a result Dagobo village became the boundary of the Eastern District
and all the Mailu villages west of Dagobo became part of the East Central
District. These changes did not have much effect on the Mailu except that the eastern Mailu villages, being on the border of their district, were visited by the Government officials even less often than the western ones.

A major problem facing the Government was how to link the individual villages with the administration at the district level. Two different methods were tried to deal with it: The first one — tried from the very beginning and never abandoned — was that of occasional patrols through the villages by Government officials accompanied by armed police. The officers were urged to familiarise themselves with local customs during their patrols, so that they may be able to govern justly. (A.R. 1892-93, p. XXIV.) The second one — adopted after gaining some knowledge of the Territory and later modified — was that which sought to develop effective links with the villages by appointing Government chiefs and village constables.

Ever since their arrival, wherever the Europeans went, they were received by the so-called "chiefs" who acted as intermediaries between them and their fellows. When MacGregor visited the Mailu villages, as already stated, he was also received in the same way. Who those chiefs were and how they came to have that position is not clear; traditionally there were no chiefs. Perhaps they were senior men — heads of clan sectors — who either came forward by themselves, or were appointed by their fellows to meet the European visitors who, on entering a village, demanded to see "the Chief" first. Whether they were self-recruited or appointed by others, the chiefs had, as yet, no legally recognised position.
Soon, however, MacGregor "recognised and singled out" some of them for employment as Government chiefs and, as a mark of formal recognition, presented them with "a truncheon of office and a suit of clothes... consisting of a jacket and knickerbockers of dungaree". (A.R. 1892-93, p. 2; Miles 1959, p. 63.) As pay they were given up to two pounds a year in trade goods. But they were neither given statutory powers nor assigned a clearly defined role; they were usually asked to persuade their people to maintain peace and observe Native Regulations, to assist the Government and the missions in their tasks, to periodically report to the Government station, and to generally serve as a link between their people and the Government. (Miles 1959, p. 64.) The area which a Government chief was supposed to serve varied from one village to several.

To save his administration from the financial burden of maintaining a large police force, MacGregor also started appointing village constables. After an initial period of trial, he found them an effective substitute for regular police and made statutory provisions for their regular appointment. (A.R. 1892-3, p. VII.) They were given a uniform, a pair of handcuffs, and one pound a year as pay. Unlike the regular police force, called Armed Constabulary, they were supposed to live in their own villages and act, when necessary, as local police. However, like them, but unlike the Government chiefs, they had the power to arrest for breach of native regulations.

It seems that a Government chief was meant to be a semi-official link between the Government and the indigenous people while a village constable was supposed to be the lowest member of the administrative hierarchy. In actual fact, except for the power to arrest offenders, they
both performed the same functions. Therefore, the subtle distinction
between them tended to be ignored by everyone including the Government
officials who, when necessary, used them interchangeably.

Gradually a practice developed of appointing the same person
as the Government chief and the village constable. (Miles 1959, p. 64.)
Later the position of the chief, being more ambiguous, was completely
abolished and the village constable, having taken over the responsibilities
of the chief as well, became a kind of maid-of-all-work for the Government.
His responsibilities increased as the native regulations proliferated,
giving the Government officials powers to order the indigenous people to
do or not to do, "in their own interest", a large number of things which
the Government or the official concerned thought necessary for their
economic and social well being. (Mair 1948, pp. 46-49.) Thus the village
constable came to have any or all of the following responsibilities:
arresting offenders against the native regulations, ensuring the building
and maintenance of roads, bridges, and resthouses for visiting Europeans,
keeping records of births and deaths, making sure villages were kept clean
and houses in good repair, supervising the planting of coconuts and other
cash crops, assisting visiting Europeans by providing carriers and canoe
crews, reporting periodically at the nearest Government station and
carrying mail and other errands for the Government.

In the Mailu area, as elsewhere in the Territory, for a while
the Government chiefs and the village constables were selected for
appointment in consultation with the people of their village. (Miles 1959,
p. 63.) When a vacancy was caused by death, the village people were again
consulted and often a relative of the deceased was appointed to succeed him; for example, when the Government chief of Boru village died, the people of his village were consulted and his brother Baura was appointed as his successor. (A.R. 1898-99, p.67.) Later, when the two offices merged into one, that of a village constable, he came to be appointed solely at the discretion of the European officials, in order to make sure that the "right" person was selected. (Miles 1959, p.65.) Those selected in this way were not necessarily men of influence in their villages; they were perhaps as often selected on the basis of their forceful appearance, their ability to speak Police Motu, their familiarity with European ways and police procedure, as on their personal standing in their villages. (Mair 1949, p.49.)

During the period under discussion the distribution of Government chiefs and village constables in the Mailu area seems to have been rather uneven. Some villages had both a Government chief and a village constable, some had either one or the other, some shared a village constable with several others, and some had none at all. Domara had a Government chief but no village constable; Boru had both. Gagaisana, Laruro, Loupom and a few others between them had only one village constable, Bua. Between 1911 and 1914 the number of village constables was slightly increased and some new men were appointed: Godana at Laruro, Goviri at Derebai, Odiu at Wovoro and Asiaro, and Omaga and Pouana at Mailupom. The last two were appointed to replace village constable Dagaea who was dismissed for inefficiency and taking part in the arrest of a European.
With handcuffs and a uniform as visible symbols of their newly acquired power and authority, some village constables — those with ability, ambition and forceful personalities — managed to gain considerable influence over the people of the villages under their supervision. A few unscrupulous ones abused their power to extort bribes, gain sexual favours and other illegitimate personal ends. Charlie, the village constable for the Port Glasgow villages, seems to have been one of these few. Saville (1902) with characteristic missionary zeal, described him as "the most dishonest and altogether a bad man" who procured women for European traders for ten shillings each, did not report to the Government a murder committed by a friend of his, ordered people to stop going to church on Sundays and working for Saville, sent boys to steal cloth from the mission, and received occasionally a bottle of whisky from the resident magistrate. Saville wanted to report him to the Government but he could not find evidence, "for every man for miles" was "afraid to say anything against Charlie." It was not wise of Charlie to antagonise a European missionary, but he probably felt encouraged to do so because of his special relationship to the resident magistrate. Bua, another influential constable at Gagaisana, took over another man's wife and refused to return her to her husband. The husband complained to the resident magistrate, who sentenced Bua to six months' imprisonment. The severity of the sentence probably reflected the magistrate's concern over Bua's abuse of his power as a village constable.

A few other cases of abuse of power by village constables which came to light were of less serious nature. In 1894 Tuari, the
Government chief of Domara (who was then acting as a semi-official constable) allowed a Boru prisoner to escape after receiving as bribe a stone adze, a red stone, and a black stone. On being found out, he was made to return them to the owner. The resident magistrate of Central Division noted that in a few cases village constables demanded food from people of "small adjacent villages" by threatening them with handcuffs. (A.R. 1893-94, p.30.) It is not clear from his account whether any such cases occurred among the Mailu or not. In 1914, three Mailu village constables, Bua, Godana and Dagaea, arrested a European who wanted to marry a Mailu woman. As they had no authority to do so, the European brought a charge against them, but later, when permitted by the magistrate to take away the woman to marry her in Samarai, he withdrew the charge. In the same year, the village constable of Derebai was dismissed for wrongful arrest of an old man. In spite of these abuses, it was felt that the village constables were doing a good job. No attempt was made to utilise their potential for leadership by giving them formal training and extending their authority.

The foundations of the judicial system of the Territory were also laid in MacGregor's time. In 1888 two Courts of Petty Sessions, one at Port Moresby and the other at Samarai, were established to deal with minor criminal cases and civil suits. They were presided over by a resident magistrate who also conducted the Court for Native Matters which had the jurisdiction to try indigenous people for breaches of native regulations not amounting to serious crime. The Court of Petty
Sessions was also supposed to act as a court of appeal for cases decided in the Court for Native Matters, which in due course came to be presided over by junior officers as well. In 1889 a Central Court was established to try cases of serious crime and to serve as a court of appeal for cases from the Court of Petty Sessions. Later the Central Court came to be known as the Supreme Court. This system of courts has remained essentially unchanged to the present.

The Mission.

In about 1889–90, the London Missionary Society, having already established stations among the Hula, Aroma and the Southern Massim, decided to extend its activities to the Mailu. Albert Pearce, a European missionary at Kerepunu, sent two teachers and their wives to Mailu to establish stations there. Each teacher started work in a separate village: Mairi, a Tahitian, in Mailupom, and Laka, a Papuan, in Laruoro (A.R. 1890–91: p.58.) Two years later, another Papuan teacher started work at Kureri. (A.R. 1891–92: p.23.)

It seems the teachers were, at first, well received, particularly Laka, who got the village people to help him build two substantial houses for the mission within six months of his arrival. But the initial enthusiasm for them soon cooled for some unknown reasons, and the teachers began to experience difficulties in getting co-operation from the people. Laka later left because of what Saville called his "moral collapse", and the station remained vacant for years, as the people refused to assist anyone who came to replace him. (Saville, December 1907.)
The teacher at Kureri was eaten by an alligator; only Mairi at Mailupom remained, but he too died in a canoe mishap in 1907. Immediately after his death some Mailupom broke into his house and looted his belongings. Thus ended the story of the first mission teachers in Mailu. None of them had any success other than teaching a few Mailu to read and write the alphabet and sing a few hymns and "God Save the Queen". Mairi is reported to have said to Saville: "If an angel of God were to come down from heaven, he would never be able to save a Mailuan."

Up to 1900 there was no European missionary resident among the Mailu. Till 1895 F. G. Walker and C. W. Abel paid occasional visits to supervise the work of the teachers. During one of his visits a girl named Boru for some reason sought refuge with Abel, who took her with him to Kwato. Later she became his children's nurse and visited England with them, making speeches to congregations there to solicit funds for the mission. It seems she never came back to Mailu and died at Kwato without affecting in any way the lives of her people. In 1894 Walker stayed at Mailupom for four weeks and bought a site for the mission station at the north western end of the island called Ogodada. During this period he also completed a 2000 word vocabulary of the Mailu language.

In 1896 another European missionary, Schlenkar, arrived to take charge of Suau and Mailu mission districts. He too stayed for some time at Mailupom and nearly died of blackwater fever. In 1899 a new missionary, Cribb, was given the charge of Mailu district. But he fell ill and resigned in 1900, Saville took charge of the district and remained there for the next 34 years.
At the time of Saville's arrival the mission head station was located at Mailupom. Saville, Schlenkar and Walker together surveyed the area and decided to move the head station to Emerbi at Millport Harbour, as they felt Mailupom was too far from the mainland to serve as an effective base. The Mailupom resented this rejection and loss of an important source of tobacco and other European goods. And they became all the more hostile to the mission.

When Saville arrived the Mailu had not yet become fully accustomed to being subservient to Europeans and, like his teachers earlier, he found them difficult to handle. The Mailupom people, in particular, he considered "proud, ungrateful, selfish, owning none black and white superior to themselves" (Saville, September 1902); and in another context he described them as: "...sailing parasites or outrageous cadgers". (Saville, December 1907.) The mainland people, he found, were a shade better but, like the Mailupom, much given to lying:

It is generally admitted by now by those who know the district that a Mailu speaking man will never speak the truth if there is the faintest chance of telling a lie. (Saville, September 1902.)

There was a vast difference between Saville's conception of himself, as a missionary come to rescue the Mailu heathens from sin, sloth and evil ways, and to teach them the way to God, and the Mailu conception of him, as a useful source of tobacco and other European goods:

I am simply wanted for my tobacco and were it not for this I should never see the heathen again. (Saville, 1902.)

He resented being treated merely as a source of tobacco and tried desperately to wriggle out of this role. But when he stopped giving them
tobacco, the Mailu stopped coming to see him. They did not mind working for him for the tobacco but they did not want his Christianity. They tried ways of getting around him by yielding to him as little as possible: they forbade their children, attending Saville’s school, to work for him, so that he may be forced to employ them and pay them in tobacco; they came to visit him in large numbers in order to shame him into giving away tobacco and, having obtained it, they disappeared, returning only when they wanted some more.

Saville wanted to establish a Christian settlement for young people where they could grow up in the Christian faith, free from the temptations of village life, and learn industrious habits. He did not see much chance of converting Papuans to Christianity in any other way, and saw little hope for a boy who attended school during the day and slept in the village at night. (Saville, August 1906.)

Whether or not forming a settlement was the best way of propagating Christianity in Papua was then a subject of much controversy in L.M.S. circles. Abel was all for the settlement, and Lawes against it:

_We do not want gardens walled around in this great heathen land, but rather a stream of trained, educated Christian men and women who may influence and change their native villages._

(Lawes, April 1905.)

However, what Saville actually managed to establish was merely a boarding school at his head station where boys and girls lived, prayed, worked, played, ate and slept. He had much difficulty in keeping them there. The parents did not want them to stay and often took them back by some pretext; the children themselves often ran away.
But some did stay and their number gradually increased. In 1902 Saville had seven boys and three girls as boarders; next year their number fluctuated between 4 and 12 and, in 1906, it rose to 50, but the only one who wanted to be a teacher was a new youth who had just divorced his wife because of adultery. (Saville, 1902, 1903, 1906.) In 1907 Saville sensed a change for the better and felt quite optimistic:

We are very much encouraged just now by our boys, there is a splendid spirit among them, they are not only ready and willing to help in every way, and not only loyal to their mistress and master but they are publicly taking a stand on the side of Christ. Seven of them were baptised a fortnight ago and one joined the church, a true follower of the Lord Jesus Christ, we have just married four couples in our family, a great event. And we are hoping a heart change will soon take place in the girls. (Saville, December 1907.)

In addition to teaching school children, Saville was also evangelising the adults by holding services on Sundays. He was rather depressed by the lack of progress in this direction:

A few people come regularly to church, old people more especially, but no change in custom and thought. (Saville, September 1903.)

and

Fanny and I have good cause to be downhearted. Things seem to be getting worse rather than better - the Sunday observance is very bad indeed." (Saville, August 1906.)

Saville was also unhappy with his South Sea teachers with the possible exception of Mairi whom he praised highly as a "saintly" person. The teachers, he thought, were prejudicing the "natives" against him and undermining his work; besides they had "great notions" and did not fail to tell him that they too were missionaries, the same as he. (Saville, April 1907.) Saville was not alone — most of his European
colleagues were voicing similar complaints against South Sea Island teachers. One suspects these were more than mere complaints about personal defects of individuals; they were also social stereotypes that in part reflected a struggle for social status between the teachers and the missionaries and in part a missionary attempt to place on others the blame for the organisational failure of the mission to convert the Papuans. In fact, while going through the letters and reports of L.M.S. missionaries available in microfilm, one finds it difficult to escape the impression that virtually everyone — Papuans, teachers, traders, Government, even God (he is testing our faith) — came in for this blame, but merely, if ever, the missionary.

Because of his dissatisfaction with the teachers, and because many of them died of blackwater fever, Seville decided to restrict the scale of mission activities till his own students were trained enough to become teachers. Therefore, although he occasionally visited many inland and coastal villages, he established stations in only a few coastal villages.

In 1907 all the houses in Mailupom were reduced to ashes by fire, and Saville did what he could to help the villagers. This helped to create good relations between the people and the mission. When Mairi’s successor died Saville decided to move to Mailupom himself, as he thought that these seafaring people might, if converted, help to spread the Gospel along their numerous trade routes. Thus in 1909 the head station was again moved to Mailupom.
At Mailupom Saville started paying special attention to
giving technical training to both boys and girls in addition to teaching
them English, arithmetic and reading and writing Mailu: the boys were
taught how to handle tools, build boats and repair them. The older boys were
also put to work at the L.M.S. plantation at Oraro to educate themselves
and to earn their keep at the mission. The girls were taught cleanliness,
"useful" household knowledge, mat making, sewing and crotchet lace work.
(A.R. 1914-15, p.64.) But Saville felt there was little carry over of
knowledge from the mission to the village: the student unlearned
everything in the village and descended to the level of his fellows:
the skills learned by youths during employment with Europeans were
similarly unlearned. (A.R. 1914-15, p.65.)

By 1915, in addition to the school at the head station,
the mission had a school each at Kureri, Derebai and Borebo under the
charge of South Sea Island teachers who taught the children some arithmetic
and English. The school at the head station had 123 day students and 50
boarders each, and the one at Kureri 25 students. The attendance was poor
at Borebo and from other schools too parents often took away their
children. (A.R. 1914-15, pp. 64-65.)

The mission also tried to make available some religious
literature in Mailu. Mairi had compiled a hymn book of sorts as early
as 1900. Saville, after learning the language, compiled another book
containing hymns, catechism, passages of Genesis, and got it published
in 1907 in Sydney. He also published a translation of St. Mark in Mailu.
By 1915, then, the mission had acquired a few members and adherents, baptised a few lads, gained partial control of the education of the young in some Mailu villages, and introduced literacy and literature. On the social structure of the people it had as yet little marked effect. 

The Non-official Europeans.

Among the non-official Europeans (other than Government or mission employees) those who came to the Mailu area included both itinerant traders and recruiters, and permanent settlers. The itinerant ones, sailing in their vessels, called at various Mailu villages — buying copra and bêche-de-mer for tobacco, beads, steel tools and money, recruiting men to work for themselves or other European employers, and occasionally obtaining the sexual services of women. Thus they had some effect on the technology, trade and sexual life of the people they had dealings with. And they also helped to develop a pattern of Mailu European social and business relations, characterised by mutual mistrust and double-dealing, which Saville, on his arrival in the Mailu area, found offensive to his moral sensibilities:

Immorality is appalling and traders' influence is present in every deed. (Saville, October 1901.)

As early as 1890 two foreign traders were settled in the Mailu area: John Thomas, a Swahili speaking East African employee of a Polynesian trader, and Anderson, a Norwegeian trader and planter. (A.R. 1888-89; 1890-91: pp. 57-58.) Thomas managed a small trade store at Domara while Anderson owned a trade store and a plantation at Dedile. Both of them were married to local women.
It seems John Thomas had fairly cordial relations with his Domara neighbours and once even used his gun, though rather ineffectually, to help them defend themselves against an enemy attack. (A.R. 1889–90, p.30.) Anderson had "domestic trouble" and his relations with the Dedile people were far from harmonious: he threatened to shoot them, forced them to work for him, paid them by "paper orders" and, to cap it all, lodged a false complaint against them of robbing his store and assaulting his wife. When a Government officer investigating this charge found out what was going on Anderson committed suicide, leaving his entire property to another trader, Greenaway, without making any provision for his wife. (A.R., 1899, p.4.)

All the other non-official Europeans about whom I have information were also either married to or living with Mailu women. Greenaway had a small plantation and a store near Kureri and carried out substantial trade in copra and rubber with the Mailu. (A.R. 1908, p.143.) According to Malinowski (1915, pp. 685–686, 562, 647), he had considerable influence over the Mailu and some knowledge of their customs. Ferese, a manager of Mogubo Plantation, was very unpopular with the Mailu. In an unsuccessful attempt to stop him from marrying a Mailu woman, three village constables exceeded their authority to arrest him. Cowley, the owner of the above plantation, and married to a Laruoro woman, had a son by her. He later committed suicide, leaving the son with the mother. The son, Punch Campbell Cowley, who was brought up as a Mailu, later played a leading role in the development of a co-operative movement among the Mailu.

Of the five plantations in the area, three — Dedile, Mogubo and Mamai — were owned by non-official Europeans, and the remaining two —
Oraro and Baibara — by L.M.S. and Government respectively. All the plantations together covered about five thousand acres. All except Mogubo were located in a sparsely populated area and did not cause a shortage of land for the Mailu. But the land for them was acquired at nominal prices. Therefore, the owners of land suffered a loss though not actual hardship.

The Mailu.

As Government control and mission influence increased, inter-village warfare gradually came to an end, hostility between formerly enemy villages lessened and peaceful social intercourse began to develop. The native regulations prohibiting murder, adultery, burial of the dead under houses, sorcery and theft came to be enforced with varying degree of success depending on the zeal of government officials, village constables and occasionally the mission staff.

These were important changes affecting directly or indirectly several aspects of Mailu economic and social life. Unfortunately, the information I have about these changes is rather thin and permits only a rough assessment of their social consequences.

When warfare and headhunting stopped the rituals and ceremonies connected with them ceased to be performed. There was no longer any necessity to bless warriors and their weapons before a headhunting raid and sing a dirge after it. War magic and military knowledge and skill became superfluous. Initiation ceremonies, as rites of passage linked to headhunting and warfare, gradually ceased to be performed.

(Malinowski 1915, p.573; Saville 1926, p.109.)
With the end of warfare, headhunting and initiation, the social centres of these activities, the clubhouses, lost their main social function. And the Mailu lost interest in building and maintaining them. When Malinowski visited Mailu hardly any of these buildings were left standing. (Malinowski 1915, p.514.)

Since men, women and children were no longer being killed or wounded in war as they were before, they all had, to that extent, increased their chances to remain alive and free from injuries. In this respect, I suspect, the men gained the most, as they were the ones who probably suffered most when fighting had to be done; it was their job to fight, attack enemy villages and defend their own, while women and children stayed at home and suffered casualties only when their men folks were unable to protect them. If so, it is most likely that the proportion of men in the total population became greater than before.

While the numerical proportion of men increased their share of work decreased. They no longer had to fight, make military preparations for attack or defence, and replace houses and other material possessions destroyed in war. The introduction of steel tools further reduced the men's burden of labour by making easier and quicker what were once their most strenuous and time consuming tasks: clearing bush to make gardens, cutting trees to make fences, felling and processing of logs to make house posts, floor boards, canoes and rudders. Thus not only more men became available to do less work, but output per man also increased. Therefore a surplus of manpower, as against womanpower, developed in relation to the subsistence needs of the people.
What did the Mailu men then do with this surplus?

A part of it they undoubtedly consumed in the form of increased leisure, thus helping to perpetuate — from their end — the stereotype of a lazy Papuan common among Europeans throughout Papua. Malinowski (1914, p.631), while anxious to point out that the Mailu were quite capable of hard work and some even liked it, also noted that they had "a great deal of artistic feeling for the beauty of the dolce far niente." Saville (1926, p.43) felt that Mailu men needed "long breathing spaces" during work and a lot of inspiration "to get going".

Nevertheless they did use a good deal of that surplus to increase their economic production and to win recognition from their fellows by giving bigger and more elaborate feasts. More men than ever before went on sailing and trading trips, covered longer distances and spent longer time on voyages. (Saville 1926, p.146.) As early as 1894 they extended the limits of their trading from Aroma to Port Moresby. (A.R. 1893, p.53.) They greatly increased the number of canoes they owned (Malinowski 1914, p.619), and the steel tools enabled them to use more durable hardwood for building houses and canoes. (Malinowski 1926, p.601.)

Men also started to work for Europeans in order to buy tools, clothes, tobacco and other European goods. As early as 1891 many Mailu men were working as wage labourers at Kwato (A.R. 1891-92, p.88.) The number of those going to work continued to increase and in 1912 a Government officer on patrol noted that most of the men from Kureri village were away working at plantations in the Ilai valley and west
of Port Moresby. The Annual Report (1912, pp. 107-108) indicates that the Mailu men — not only from Kureri, but also from other villages — went in large numbers to do a wide variety of jobs in practically all parts of Papua except the goldfields. They were, however, greatly in demand as boat crews.

Their pay was low, only five to ten shillings a month, and rations; but, since the rations took care of most of their day to day needs, they usually managed to save most of their pay. When they returned home they usually brought with them some money, tobacco, clothes and other European goods. Their return became an occasion for a new feast involving, among other things, distribution of newly acquired prestige goods.

Though the Mailu increased their economic production and to some extent their capital, their main purpose was not to accumulate capital for further production but to collect pigs, tobacco and a lot of vegetable foods for spectacular consumption at feasts. They could not, of course, do this without hard work, careful husbanding of resources, thrift, and cultivating social influence by the right kind of generosity. But their hard work, their savings, their economic enterprise, their manipulation of their social relations, still remained geared to a stable economy characterised by emphasis on spectacular consumption of savings as distinct from an expanding economy characterised by emphasis on saving for further production.

The elaboration of feasting and the intensification of struggle for social prestige among the Mailu bears some resemblance to the

* I have coined this term to distinguish their form of consumption from conspicuous consumption which is expressed not only through spectacular consumption but also through a conspicuously higher standard of living, both practised and believed as a desirable goal.
expansion under similar circumstances of the Potlatch system among
the North West Coast Indians of America. (Codere, 1961, pp.454-455.)
However, Mailu feasts were not elaborate, nor was the wealth of the
Mailu as great as that of the Indians; and, unlike the Indians, the Mailu
did not have an elaborate system of social ranking, nor did it develop
among them, despite increased competition for prestige.

On the contrary, increased competition tended to have a slightly
levelling effect: the head men of clan sectors, who by virtue of their
genealogical seniority inherited clubhouses, war magic, war canoes,
big sailing canoes and big fishing and hunting nets, lost the material
basis of their social superiority, which was not a great deal even at
the best of times. The clubhouses, war canoes and war magic were no
longer social assets of much significance. Canoes and nets could now
be easily made by virtually anyone, and any able-bodied man could go
to work for Europeans and earn enough to buy some coveted European
goods. The appointment of village constables also tended to reduce
the prestige and political influence of the head men of the clan
sectors. It is no wonder that their position gradually faded out of
existence. All adult men became near equals, except the village
constables, who derived their authority and power from the Government.
CHAPTER II
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT FROM 1916 to 1960-62

I: From 1916 to 1945-46

The Government.

With the pacification of the Mailu hinterland the district as a whole became fairly law abiding and, among the Mailu in particular, inter-village fighting, murder or other serious crimes became rare. Thus freed from major police duties, the Government officers were now able to pay more attention to such things as improving village sanitation, ensuring building and repairing of houses and planting of cash crops — mostly coconuts. If on entering a village an officer found it dirty, he reprimanded the villagers and ordered the village to be cleaned. If he found some houses in bad shape, he ordered the owners to repair them, or, in extreme cases, to pull down and rebuild them. Although the villagers invariably promised to do what they were told, if they did not like it they often procrastinated a long time with the hope that the officer concerned would be transferred and that would be the end of the matter. As transfers were frequent this strategy often succeeded; but there were occasions when it failed, and an officer, in exasperation, gaol ed a few villagers for failure to comply with his orders. In the early twenties the officers took special pains to ensure planting of coconuts and, as a result, a large number were planted.

In 1920 a tax at the rate of one pound a year each was imposed on all Mailu males who were either between the ages of 16 and 36, or
working as labourers, regardless of age. Exemption was, however, granted to the members of the armed constabulary, village constables, mission teachers, and fathers of four children by one wife. This was undoubtedly a heavy burden as men in European employment were then earning about ten shillings a month. There were, however, no defections; most paid willy-nilly, but it became a matter of personal pride to be able to pay tax — it showed they were strong men. This continues to be the case up to the present. In 1935, however, when jobs were difficult to get and copra prices were exceptionally low (2d. a pound at the local plantation store), the Mailu sought exemption from tax but were refused on the ground that they were "too lazy". The tax probably compelled a few more men to work for Europeans but, as stated earlier, a good many were doing that already.

In 1925 the Government took a further step to integrate villages with its administration at the district or sub-district levels. In each village, depending on the number of persons and recognised groups within it, one or more village councillors were appointed after informally consulting the villagers. They were not given any executive powers, and their main function, as the Government saw it, was to create mutual understanding between the Government and the people. They were to explain to the people why they should, in their own interest, pay tax, plant cash crops, work on the roads, keep the villages clean and assist and obey the Government officers. They were also expected to explain to the officers details of local customs and to act, generally, as spokesmen of their people. Thus what they were instructed to do for the Government was relatively more clear and precise than that for their people.
Understandably the subtle distinction — that between the village constable, as a Government official, and the village councillor, as a kind of representative of both the Government and the people — was soon lost on the people and the councillors themselves; even the Government officers frequently ignored it to suit their convenience.

As a result, the councillors and the constables both performed similar duties. Whatever division of work occurred between them came about by informal arrangement between individuals concerned and varied from time to time and village to village. The following statement by ex-councillor Gima of Loupora illustrates the image that he and many others had of their job:

Because I took back my money from my daughter-in-law's father, the women of this village were very angry with me. They were just talking nonsense. I told them, money is something you get by hard work. You go and work for Europeans, sweat in the sun all day, then you get money; it is not something you can just have. Anyway it was my money, I took it back. If you don't stop talking, I will take you all to court and all the village women will go to jail. I am an old councillor; I have worked for the Government for 12 years. I know all the rules. If I take anyone, he does not come back quickly, he goes to jail.

Take the man who spoiled your (ethnographer's) things — if I were councillor now, I would have put iron on his hands and feet and taken him to jail. The new councillors, the local government councillors, are weak. They are afraid of people. When I was councillor I was not afraid. You should not be afraid for doing Government work.

We need not take this boastful statement too literally. The man had made a serious faux pas and was trying desperately to retrieve his self-respect by bragging to a sympathetic outsider. But it clearly indicates that whatever image the councillors had of themselves, it was not that of the representative of the people.
For a while the Government encouraged the magistrates trying minor court cases to appoint a few more sophisticated councillors as assessors, in order to train them eventually to take judicial responsibility for trying such cases. The assessors deliberated on the guilt or innocence of the accused and suitable punishment for him if they found him guilty. The magistrate, who alone had the authority to pass the sentence, then, as he thought fit, either accepted, or modified, or completely ignored their decision. For some unknown reason, however, this experiment was soon given up.

Thus, during this period, the judicial and administrative power remained completely concentrated in European hands, and the links that the people had with the Administration continued to be of a direct nature, with village constables and village councillors acting as what Mair (1948, p. xvi) calls "local auxiliaries to the police organisation". Murray's rule as Governor ended with his death in 1940, and the Second World War brought military rule and administrative union of the two Territories of Papua and New Guinea under Australia New Guinea Administrative Unit (ANGAU), but the pattern of relationship between the Government and the people remained essentially unchanged.

If anything, the executive authority of the ANGAU officers was greater than that of their civil counterparts: they were permitted forcibly to conscript labour, not only for the army, but also for the plantations, trade stores and other commercial enterprises, which were at first under direct control of ANGAU but later placed under Production Control Board, an organisation newly set up for this purpose under the chairmanship of an ANGAU officer.
The Mission

The number of Mailu converts to Christianity continued to increase, though a bit too slowly for Saville, the missionary. By 1917 he had started receiving greater co-operation from the people but what he called their "grasping" nature, their "hardheadedness (in more sense than one)" continued to worry him.

In 1919 a new church, costing about £325, was built at Ogobada (Mailupom). The money for this was contributed by many villages both Mailu and Dimuga. This was, as Saville pointed out with justifiable pride, the first occasion when such a large number of villages co-operated in a joint venture. Even the traditional enemies of Mailupom village contributed willingly.

From 1920 onwards the Mission was able to meet some of its requirements for teachers and pastors from the ranks of its own students. Gradually the number of students volunteering to be trained as teachers or pastors increased in spite of opposition from some parents. Indoctrination at school and personal influence of the teachers were possibly factors contributing to this increase.

Saville retired in November 1933 after about 34 years of service among the Mailu. During this period, apart from establishing five schools and a number of churches, he translated the New Testament in Mailu, compiled a hymn book and a Mailu–English dictionary, wrote an ethnographic account of the Mailu and a grammar of their language. He also introduced them to cricket and football which they took to far more readily than to Christianity, though by the time of his retirement the latter was
also fully entrenched. The majority in most villages were at least nominal adherents but those seeking actual Church membership were still a minority.

For the next five years there was no European missionary resident in Mailu. Ianamu, a local pastor, part Mailu, part Dimuga, managed the affairs of the mission, with occasional supervision from Parry of Lawes College, Fife Bay, the principal L.M.S. institution for training teachers and pastors. Ianamu was highly praised for his efficiency and integrity by Parry and others in the L.M.S. Later in 1939 Gilkinson — a young missionary from New Zealand — was appointed to take charge of the district. He and Ianamu, according to the latter, soon fell into disagreement about the running of the mission, and Ianamu resigned.

In the meantime the L.M.S. decided to shift the head station from Mailupom to Iruna, on the mainland. This was done, in part, to establish the station at a central place easily accessible to all in the district and, in part, due to the dissatisfaction of the mission with the Mailupom, who — though happy to have the station there — were reluctant to help the mission materially and to show any marked enthusiasm for its teachings.

The station buildings were dismantled and re-erected on the mainland despite strong opposition from the Mailupom who felt the buildings belonged to them. The land on which the new station was built, though owned by a European company, had some gardens on it which belonged to some people from Kureri village. They were highly displeased when the missionary told them to garden elsewhere. Thus the moving of the station antagonised a good many Mailu. While the new station was being
built (1940), Gilkinson died of blackwater fever, and some sorcerers from Mailupom and Kureri claimed credit for his death.

After Gilkinson's death, due to shortage of staff, Parry was again given the job of supervising the district, in addition to his work at Lawes College. This meant the evangelical and educational work of the district suffered for want of a resident missionary.

The Church members were not, as yet, organised into bodies with definite functions. Each village had a number of deacons appointed by the local pastor, or district missionary, to help the pastor in his work. In selecting these care was taken to give representation to all major clan sectors in the village. The whole district constituted a single congregation under the charge of the missionary who alone had the authority to decide on all matters affecting the mission. Although he was generally accountable to the L.M.S. and dependent on its financial support, he enjoyed a great deal of local autonomy. Thus controlled by the missionary, the Church still was, for the mass of the people, an alien institution, beyond their control but touching their lives intimately.

Saville, with his intelligent grasp of Mailu customs, such as mourning feasts and related rites and taboos, refrained from interfering with the people drastically. His emphasis seems to have been on educating the young and old, teaching them about Christ and Christianity, denouncing the heathen "wickedness" but showing tolerance for those who refused to be weaned from it. He allowed his catechumens to collect pigs for participating in the mourning feasts on the ground that they were
"bound in honour to pay their debts". From his retirement to the end of the period under discussion, no other missionary was in sufficiently intimate contact with the people to do even that what Saville did. Hence, whatever influence the mission had on Mailu customs was an indirect one, that through the mission-trained Mailu.

Non-official Europeans.

All the old timers either left or died. There is little information available about those who replaced them. After Cowley's death in about 1920, the control of Mogubo plantation passed into the hands of Buntings. Their manager, Mr. Irwin, and his wife seemed to have been on very good terms with both the missionaries and the Mailu. They received a good deal of praise from Saville and Parry for fair dealings with the Papuans and generosity to Europeans. When Mrs. Irwin died a large number of Mailu attended the funeral and, to show their special respect, took charge of carrying the coffin to the grave. A Mailu pastor conducted the prayer before the burial.

Except perhaps on the periphery of the Mailu area, near Cape Rodney, no new plantations seemed to have been established. Some of the existing plantations did extend their area, but only a small amount of new land was acquired.

There is no record of any new cases of intermarriage between the Mailu and the resident Europeans, whose number hardly exceeded two dozen. The Mailu men came in contact with non-official Europeans mostly outside their own area, in towns, ships, plantations and other centres of employment.
One Mailu, Mark Bonio, was employed, on the recommendation of the local missionary, as clerk by the Steamship Trading Co. where he gained some insight into business methods. This enabled him first to start his own trade store and later (in 1948) to play a leading role in organising co-operatives among his people.

The Mailu.

With the establishment of law and order friendly contacts between members of different villages increased. Children from several villages, mostly Mailu but some Dimuga and others, studying and living together at mission boarding schools, came to develop personal friendships and new identities as Mailu, Dimuga, Papuans and Christians. Similarly, adults working together for the Church, meeting each other in towns, government stations, plantations and other distant places full of strangers, came to seek each other for friendship and help on the basis of common language, common culture and common neighbourhood (now covering a much wider area and varying from one situation to another). Typical of this is a story told to me by an old man who in his youth worked as boat's crew and visited many ports, including Sydney (once). In Samarai a stranger from Suau (40 miles from Mailu) invited him home for a meal saying, "We Suau and Mailu are one people". When he visited Sydney he was warmly received as a fellow Papuan by other Papuans visiting there.

The first world war began and ended without affecting Mailu life in any direct way. Similarly the fall of rubber prices after the war had little effect, for only a few Mailu were employed in rubber plantations.
and hardly any were producing the crop on their own account. But the slump in copra prices in the thirties hit the Mailu like everyone else in Papua. The prices dropped to halfpenny a pound for sun-dried copra just when hundreds of palms planted under pressure from the government started bearing.

In 1920-21 a cargo cult started in Magori, a neighbouring non-Mailu village. The leader was a local man, Mama, who learned about cargo beliefs while working the Motumotu area, the centre of the famous Vailala Madness. (Saville 1926, p.288.) He first claimed to be Mr. English (A.D.O.), but later promoted himself to King George. One of his principal followers, Dabai, he appointed as his orderly, and the local village constable, Lo'o', as his sergeant. He asked the people to discard all signs of mourning, clean themselves and their villages, and put on their festive attire to meet their ancestors who were bringing cargo for them. In the meantime they were to eat up all their pigs and stop making gardens. Also they were to pay tax to Mama instead of the Government and to refuse to provide carriers for Government officials.

Mama and his Magori followers also visited some Mailu villages to tell them about the cargo and to collect tax. In one village, Asiaro, 17 men paid them one shilling each; in another, Woworo, 18 men paid from one to two shillings, or three to four cooking pots. The majority, though attracted by the promise of the cargo, adopted a wait and see attitude for fear of the Government and uncertainty about receiving the cargo. Before the Mailu could make up their minds to
follow Mama, the Government arrested him and his orderly and sentenced them to gaol for six and five months respectively. With their arrest the cult died out.

As they did in the previous period, a large number of Mailu men continued to seek employment with Europeans, a few locally, but most in other areas. The employers preferred to have workers from distant places as they feared that the rate of absenteeism and desertion would be higher among the locals. The locals themselves preferred to work in distant localities, for pleasure and adventure and to avoid being constantly importuned by relatives for money. Besides, the jobs available locally were lacking in variety and consisted largely of plantation labour. The Mailu, thus continued to seek jobs outside their own area, and they worked in various capacities, as boat's crew, mechanics, carpenters, cooks, house-boys, divers, wharf labourers, waiters and plantation hands. As all the jobs were low paid, the occupational diversity neither led to any marked increase in general prosperity, nor to any sharp disparity in individual incomes.

Reliable figures on labour migration are not available. The few I have indicate that about one-quarter of the total Mailu adult males were generally away at work, although individual villages, at any one time, varied from zero to 58%. Often a batch of men from the same village left and came back together, making it convenient to hold a welcome-home feast for all on the same day.
Such a high rate of labour migration must have necessitated rather complicated adjustments in the household composition, in the division of tasks within the household, clan sector and the village. Unfortunately, this kind of information is not available, but I expect my discussion of the present-day social structure would throw some light on these adjustments.

It is likely also that the labour migration affected adversely the rate of population growth, but what part it played by itself is difficult to assess, as other factors, such as disease, abortion, birth control methods alleged to be used by women operated simultaneously with similar effect.

The following table gives variations in population from 1920 to 1947 in respect of 12 villages for which I was able to obtain, from Government records, reasonably accurate figures.
TABLE IV

POPULATION CHANGES FROM 1920 TO 1947

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Increase/ Decrease</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Increase/ Decrease</th>
<th>Total Increase/ Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domara</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>1936-1937</td>
<td>450</td>
<td>+120</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>+50</td>
<td>+170</td>
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<tr>
<td>Boru</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>194</td>
<td></td>
<td>188</td>
<td>-6</td>
<td></td>
<td>168</td>
<td>-20</td>
<td>-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magaubo</td>
<td></td>
<td>39</td>
<td></td>
<td>81</td>
<td>+42</td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>+6</td>
<td>+48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darava</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>135</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-35</td>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
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<td>Loupom</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailupom</td>
<td></td>
<td>541</td>
<td></td>
<td>522</td>
<td>-19</td>
<td></td>
<td>515</td>
<td>-7</td>
<td>-26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurere &amp; Asiaro</td>
<td>237</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>236</td>
<td>-1</td>
<td></td>
<td>239</td>
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<td>+2</td>
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<td>Woworo</td>
<td></td>
<td>92</td>
<td></td>
<td>109</td>
<td>+17</td>
<td></td>
<td>142</td>
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<td>Selai</td>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
<td>-9</td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
<td>-4</td>
<td>-13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aroana</td>
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<td>56</td>
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<td>81</td>
<td>+25</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td>-16</td>
<td>+9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Derebai</td>
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<td>223</td>
<td></td>
<td>138</td>
<td>-85</td>
<td></td>
<td>127</td>
<td>-11</td>
<td>-96</td>
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<td>2354</td>
<td>+51</td>
<td></td>
<td>2437</td>
<td>+83</td>
<td>+134</td>
</tr>
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</table>
The figures indicate that the total population remained relatively stable, though individual villages showed considerable variations. There is evidence that Domara and Magaubo received a number of immigrants from other villages and that Derebai suffered severely from tuberculosis. Information is not available to assess the differential effects of migration, disease and birth rates. All that these meagre figures indicate is that the population as a factor affecting social change remained relatively constant.

A major event of this period was the second world war and the Japanese invasion of the Territories of Papua and New Guinea. The Mailu area did not come under direct attack and consequently escaped the worst consequences of war. But like the rest of Papua, they too had to face hardships and suffer some loss of lives. Store goods, which by now had become necessities, became scarce and beyond their means to buy. A large number of men were conscripted by ANGAU (a few died there) and those left behind resorted to hiding from Government officials for fear of being conscripted. The conscripts mostly worked as carriers for the army, but some were also employed as plantation hands and boat's crew. A few, those with working knowledge of English, were used as storekeepers, interpreters and boss-boys. They were all paid at a flat rate of ten shillings a month plus rations. This meant a considerable loss of earnings for skilled workers who were earning a pound or more a month before the war.

By 1945 most of the Papuan and New Guinea labourers forcibly conscripted during the war were getting sick and tired of their jobs, and the Government felt that, since the war was already over, it had little
justification for compelling them to keep on working. On October 15, 1945, it, therefore, cancelled all existing labour contracts and gave the labourers an option either to return home or to sign on for a further period. An overwhelming majority, including most of the Mailu, chose to return home, leaving the economy of the two Territories at a virtual standstill.

The returning men brought with them many stories of their wartime experience, some of which were undoubtedly forgotten in due course, but others were remembered long enough to be recounted to me fifteen years later. One man, who described his job as that of "burning things", told me, in a tone of sadness and envy, how much food, clothes, sheets, blankets and other wealth the army had, and how many things, good ones too, he was ordered to burn. He came back from war with a prejudice against Australians (ANGAU officers took away the "gifts" he received from Americans) and a favourable impression of American soldiers, particularly negroes about whom he said, "They used to get mad at us if we asked for things from whites. They used to say, 'Why do you go to them; come to us, our skin is like yours, we will help you'. Negro soldiers were good fighters and knew a lot of things." A few others expressed similarly favourable opinions about Negroes. Another said, "They told us we were mugs for working for such low wages." A few others expressed disgust with Japanese soldiers: "They are bad men; they raped women and then ripped open their bellies with bayonets."

Thus through their participation in war, the Mailu knowledge and awareness of the world increased. They came to know of a few more categories of people, such as Negroes and Japanese, and they developed some stereotyped
notions about their behaviour. Their image of black men as stupid, inferior in wealth, knowledge and power to whites, developed as a result of 60 years' subjection to whites, came to be somewhat blurred by their friendly acquaintanceship with black men as clever and wealthy as whites yet better fighters and more generous. For the first time in their lives they experienced a vague sense of identity with men from distant lands on the basis of skin colour.

II. FROM 1946 TO 1960

The Government.

With the end of war there was an important change in the attitude of the Australian Government to the indigenous people of the two territories. In July 1945 the Minister of External Territories in the Labour Government, Mr. Ward, made a statement pointing out the strategic importance of the territories to Australia, acknowledging the debt of gratitude which Australia owed to the natives for their help during the war, and stressing the duty of the Government of Australia "to further to the utmost the advancement of the natives.....by providing better facilities for better health, better education, and for a greater participation by the natives in the wealth of their country and eventually in its Government." Thus promotion of economic and social welfare and political advancement became the declared goals of the Government. In 1950, although the Labour Party relinquished control of the Government to the Liberal Party, the ministers in charge continued to reiterate essentially the same aims. In the sphere of political representation the emphasis still remained on the "long slow development." But within the next ten years that too ceased to be the official dogma.
In this atmosphere of reform many administrative changes occurred. Old departments were reorganised and new ones created; planning committees, executive committees, and advisory and legislative bodies were set up. New Acts and Ordinances were passed to provide for education, health, labour welfare, economic development and some political representation. As a full discussion of them would be out of place here I will provide only a few details relevant to this study.

In 1946 the Civil Administration, with Col. J. K. Murray as Administrator, gradually replaced ANGAU. In the meantime the Commonwealth of Australia signed an agreement with the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, by virtue of which New Guinea became a trust territory to be administered by Australia in administrative union with Papua without prejudice to the status and identity of either territory.

In accordance with that agreement, the Papua and New Guinea Act 1949-50 provided the legal framework for a unified administration consisting of a Joint Administrator, Executive Council (Administrator's Council), Legislative Council, Supreme Court and Public Service. The Act also provided the basis for the setting up of native village councils by means of an ordinance.

The functions of the Executive Council were to "advise and assist" the Administrator, and it consisted of the Administrator and the Government officials appointed for this purpose by the Governor-General.

The Legislative Council (established in 1951) was essentially another advisory body with limited powers of legislation subject to Administrator's veto. It had 29 members, 16 official, three elected (European), and 12 non-official nominated, including three native and three representing Christian Missions.
In 1960 both of these bodies were reconstituted to give greater representation to natives and non-official Europeans. The Administrator's Council consisted of the Administrator and six members of the Legislative Council of whom three were to be official and three non-official, including at least two elected. Thus for the first time a native elected member, John Guise (representing East Papua including the Mailu), became a member of the Administrator's Council. The membership of the Legislative Council was increased to 37 of whom 15, including the Administrator, were official members, 10 non-official nominated members including at least five natives, and 12 elected members: six Europeans elected directly and six natives elected indirectly through secret ballot.

For the purpose of indirect election the territory was divided into six electorates each consisting of a number of electoral groups having the right to nominate a fixed number of representatives to vote in the election. In electoral groups under Local Government Councils, the councils exercised the right to appoint representatives, but in those without councils the procedure for nomination was prescribed by the Administrator.

For administrative purpose the territory continued to be divided into a number of district, sub-district and patrol posts, but from time to time changes were made in boundaries, as well as in organisation. The former District Officers (Resident Magistrates) were given the title of District Commissioner and were made chief executive officers responsible for general administration, as well as for co-ordination of the work of all departments in the district. Meanwhile new positions
of District Officers — responsible both to the Director of Native Affairs and the District Commissioner — were created to deal specifically with native affairs at the district level. Below them Assistant District Officers (in charge of sub-districts) and Patrol Officers remained, as before, responsible for general administration and native affairs including police and magisterial duties.

To advise the Deputy Commissioner in each district, District Advisory Committees were appointed. These were non-statutory bodies consisting of both Europeans and natives nominated by the District Commissioner. However, recently Local Government Councils (to be discussed presently) have been given the right to elect representatives for appointment by the District Commissioner.

The Native Village Councils Ordinance 1949 empowered the Administrator to establish by proclamation Native Village Councils, or local government councils (as named since 1954), consisting wholly of native members and performing certain functions for the natives of a defined area. Before deciding to do so, however, the Administrator was expected to take into account such local conditions as the level of education of the people, their productive resources, population, settlement pattern, means of communication, taxable capacity and willingness to support a council.

Each council was a body corporate with powers to enter into contracts, to hold property, to defend legal proceedings, to levy rates and taxes, to charge for services rendered and generally "to do all things necessary for the purposes of its functions". These powers were, however, exercised subject to the approval of the District Officer.
The functions which the Ordinance required or permitted the councils to perform included:

(a) To assist the Government in maintaining law and order,
(b) To engage in business for "the good of the community",
(c) To provide public services, or to carry out works for the benefit of the community,
(d) To make rules concerning "peace, order and welfare" of the natives, which had, when approved by the District Officer, full force of law.

These functions were carried out subject to the approval of the District Officer and under close direct supervision of his representatives.

The general constitution of the council, including such details as its area, the number of members and constituencies, the mode of recruitment of members, their tenure and order of precedence, any special limitations of the powers and functions of the council, were matters that were stated in the proclamation constituting the council.

Although provisions existed for the nomination of members by the District Officer, they, in general, were elected (by means of open, semi-secret, or secret ballot) initially by all adults, but in later elections by only those paying tax or exempted from paying for special reasons. They held office, barring resignation or dismissal, initially for one year, but later for two years at a time. They were, however, free to stand for re-election.

The members elected by secret ballot their own president, vice-president, members of the executive and of any other committee. They
voted on their own remuneration and that of council employees such as clerk (to maintain records) and constables (to arrest offenders).

As soon as the councils started functioning the old village constables and councillors were asked to resign — for in setting up the councils the Government had in mind the replacement of the old system of single village administration by a system of area administration covering several villages.

The Government felt that the new system would enable it to secure greater co-operation from the people in implementing its economic and welfare policies and, at the same time, give the people a limited say in the affairs of their own area. Also that it would help its officers to co-ordinate more effectively the work at the local level of their respective departments and provide the natives an opportunity to learn, under supervision, the management of local affairs. A close look at the control retained in the hands of the Administration, however, indicates that the establishment of local government councils, despite their grandiose title, was not meant to effect a change from direct to indirect administration. The emphasis of the system was on teaching under close supervision rather than encouraging self-learning.

These changes, for a while, had little direct effect on the administration of the Mailu area. The people, as before, remained divided into two separate districts, Derebai and all villages west of it forming part of the Central District (Abau Sub-district) and those east of Derebai of Milne Bay District. As they were on the periphery of
both districts, as well as law abiding, the Mailu did not receive, for
good or bad, much administrative attention; patrols by officers were
infrequent, particularly in the area under Milne Bay. In about 1956,
during one of his patrols, the Assistant District Officer Abau advised
the people to form village clubs to assist the members in doing heavy
work and to collect funds for making a clubhouse or recreation centre.
As a result some village clubs were formed with their own elected
presidents and secretaries. Only two or three of these are now active.

In 1959 the boundary of the Central District was extended to
include all Mailu villages in it and a new patrol post was established
at Magarida in the heart of the Mailu area. At the same time the
Administration decided to explore the possibility of setting up a
native Local Government Council. The A.D.O. Abau patrolled the area
to explain to the people the purpose of the Council and to elicit
their opinion about it. Most of the villages expressed their willingness
to join, but the people of Domara and Baramata were unwilling to
do so, their argument being: "It is a good life as it is; why change
it?" Apparently they saw in the Council a threat to the status quo
rather than an opportunity for economic and political advancement. As
they were a minority, the Government decided to ignore their opposition.

In deciding about establishing the Council the Government was in a
dilemma: because of the difficulties of travel, the Mailu area was too
big to be properly controlled by one council and, at the same time, it
was too poor and too thinly populated to yield sufficient revenue to
support two. The Government finally decided to set up two Councils, but on a regional rather than an ethnic and linguistic basis as it would have liked to. This, it was hoped, would ease a little the difficulties of both travel and finance. As a result all the Mailu and non-Mailu villages in the Abau Sub-district between Magaubo and Cloudy Bay were placed under the Cloudy Bay Native Local Government Council with its headquarters at Abau. Similarly, all the Mailu and non-Mailu villages east of Magaubo up to Gogo were brought under the Amazon Bay Native Local Government Council at Magarida.

Each village, according to its population, elected one representative to the Council, either singly or jointly with other villages nearby. But one elected two; this was Domara, the largest village in the area with a population of 692. The following table gives detail of area and social composition of each council.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>3209</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>39</th>
<th>61</th>
<th>968</th>
<th>844</th>
<th>1822</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5527</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>1850</td>
<td>1494</td>
<td>3345</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Council Ward</th>
<th>Area</th>
<th>415 sq. miles</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social Composition</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table shows that, although the Cloudy Bay Council was smaller in size, it was not less heterogeneous in ethnic and linguistic composition. The Mailu constituted the largest group represented in each council, but they had an absolute majority only in the Amazon Bay Council. In relation to population, however, their share of members was less than that of the non-Mailu: the Mailu villages, being located relatively close to each other, lent themselves to being grouped into three, or four-village constituencies more easily than non-Mailu villages, most of which were scattered at long distances in the hills.

My information about the non-Mailu constituencies being incomplete, I give, in the following table, the details about the formation of Mailu constituencies only:

**TABLE VI: FREQUENCY AND TYPES OF COUNCIL CONSTITUENCIES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Constituencies</th>
<th>Amazon Bay Council</th>
<th>Cloudy Bay Council</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No. of Constituencies</td>
<td>No. of Members</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>electing 2 members each</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>electing 1 member each</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiple Village</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 villages electing 1 member each</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 villages electing 1 member each</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 villages electing 1 member each</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At least four of the constituencies roughly correspond to the traditional, though unstable, feast group alignments, but showed no consistently marked difference in internal cohesion from the others.
The formation of councils represented a major change in the mode of territorial integration: two new corporate bodies, cutting across cultural and linguistic boundaries and emphasising shared interests between a large number of villages came to be formed. To be sure, alliances between individual villages of different linguistic groups occurred even in olden days, but the resemblance with the past ended there. What was new was not only an increase in the area covered and number of groups brought together, but also the formal nature of the ties, bounded group membership as against membership of village centred overlapping village clusters, centralisation of authority, formal machinery for making and implementing group decisions, political dependence and lack of power to opt out of the group.

While the duties of the council were clearly stated, those of the councillors (council members) remained vague, largely because the Administration could not make up its mind whether to treat them as representatives of the people or as Government servants. Although they were told repeatedly that they were representatives of the people and not servants of the Government they were required to perform duties that involved both roles. They had no powers of arrest, but a duty (quite vague) of maintaining law and order and intervening in disputes. They were told to encourage the people to plant cash crops, keep the villages clean, build roads, send the sick to the hospital and take interest in the work of the council. They were also expected to enquire into the needs and grievances of the people and report to the council. The work done by former village constables and councillors (such as assisting the visiting officials in their work, catering to their needs for carriers and transport, and
accompanying the litigants to Court) also fell to the lot of the councillors. In addition, the treatment meted out to them by some officers left them guessing when to play what role. In this atmosphere of uncertainty the actual role played by the councillors became a matter of local adjustments between them and other leaders in the community. How these adjustments have been made in different villages will be dealt with later when I discuss the contemporary village structure.

Along with the patrol post the Government established an area school to cater for the growing demand for education which the Mission schools were finding increasingly difficult to meet. The school now provides education up to fifth standard and has two European and two Papuan teachers and about 80 students from both near and distant villages. The latter receive board and lodging at the Mission.

The Agricultural Department decided to station at the patrol post an officer who, in addition to supervising the area, now runs a small training centre which provides employment and elementary instruction to a few local young men. Also the Education Department and the Amazon Bay Council, in collaboration, established a Technical Training School to teach young men house building, carpentry, plumbing and allied crafts. The council provided the building and the Department a European instructor.

To improve communications with Port Moresby the Government built a fair weather aerodrome for small aircraft. Now there is a regular weekly passenger and mail service from Port Moresby.
While I was there the aerodrome was being extended and new buildings were being erected to provide residence for the staff and their families. There was much coming and going: visitors for business and pleasure and labourers from inland villages working at the aerodrome. I counted 81 people temporarily or permanently present at the patrol post, representing 21 local villages (Mailu and non-Mailu), 17 villages from other parts of Papua and two from New Guinea. In addition there were five Europeans, three from Australia and one each from England and Canada. Thus the establishment of the patrol post not only provided the villages with an easy access to the Government and a central meeting place, but also contributed to the growing heterogeneity of the area and increasing contact of the Mailu with outsiders in their own homeland.

The Mission

In 1949 the Papua District Committee, the governing body of the L.M.S. in Papua, decided to give the Papuans a greater say in church affairs and established a body, called the Papua Church Assembly, consisting of 24 Papuan representatives (one pastor and one deacon from each of the 12 L.M.S. districts), a Papuan chairman and executive committee and a European adviser. The Assembly was given the powers to set the salaries of the pastors, to appoint, transfer, discipline and dismiss them, and to make rules about church affairs, subject to ratification by the Papuan District Committee.

Similarly, a body, called the District Church Council, consisting of two deacons from each village congregation and all pastors, was set
up in each district. This too appointed its own chairman and executive committee and had powers in district matters roughly similar to those the Papua Church Assembly had for the whole of Papua. As far as possible the Church Council was to be a self-supporting body financing its educational and religious activities through collections.

In Mailu district the Church Council came into being in June 1953 when nine pastors and 20 deacons met under the chairmanship of Rev. Perry and elected an executive committee. The district for this purpose consisted of all village congregations, Mailu and non-Mailu, from Gogo in the east to Boru in the west. Thus the Mailu District Church Council included virtually all the villages in Amazon Bay Native Local Government Council plus a few from Cloudy Bay Native Local Government Council. The Church Council met twice a year, each time in a separate village whose congregation undertook to provide the delegates free board and lodging.

A village congregation was composed of from one to several villages, depending on the distance of villages from each other, the number of church members, their willingness to build a church and support a pastor, and the availability of pastors or experienced deacons to supervise the work of the church. With the building of new churches and appointment of pastors the congregations were reconstituted from time to time. At present (1961), the district consists of 18 congregations, four of whom are composed of one village each, eight of two to three villages each, and the remaining six of four to seven villages each. The congregations collect funds from their members for the Church Council and contribute agenda and send
delegates to its meetings. The number of delegates to be sent by each congregation is now fixed by taking into account the number of members it has and the number of villages it is composed of.

After the establishment of the Church Council the L.M.S. decided to fill the post at Mailu left vacant thirteen years earlier by the death of the previous missionary, and in August 1953 Rev. W. G. Bache arrived to take charge of the District. By 1960, when my fieldwork began, he had gained fluency in speaking Mailu and was revising an earlier translation of the New Testament by Saville. He was, however, transferred to Port Moresby in 1962 and Rev. Cullingford was appointed in his place.

In 1954 the missionary brought to the attention of the Church Council the fact that the work of the Church was not proceeding well in the Dimuga area: congregations lacked strong Christian leaders, the people were indifferent to Christianity, some villages were under the influence of Cargo Cult leaders, and the Church Council did not have enough pastors to fill the existing vacancies. The Church Council finally decided to appoint some Mailu deacons to tour Dimuga villages and hold prayer meetings there. Later on it was decided to cover Mailu villages too and every year four deacons were appointed, two of whom were to patrol all eastern villages and two all western. In addition, when a village had no pastor, the deacons of the neighbouring villages were encouraged to visit it and hold prayer meetings there. These activities of the Church Council tended to knit the villages in the area into a Christian neighbourhood.
Under instruction from the Church Assembly, the Council also passed a resolution that deacons be elected every four years in the presence of the missionary. The latter pointed out the importance of the work of the deacons and urged the members to elect people who were able to read and write, conduct prayers and preach.

The Council, on its own initiative, according to the missionary, decided that mourning feasts, because of their bad economic effects and implied belief in spirits, should be discontinued. Immediately after death a small feast should be held and none thereafter. It particularly frowned upon keeping relics of the dead and made a rule that no member of the Church should do so. About thirty people were removed from membership for breaking this rule. Keeping of relics generally stopped but traditional mourning feasts continued in most villages. To persuade them to stop doing this and to explain to them the Christian method of holding mourning feasts, the Council, in December 1961, decided to send to these villages a delegation consisting of two pastors and two deacons. It is too early to say how much success they had.

In 1960 the Mission decided to transfer its hospital and training school for nurses from Fife Bay to Mailu. A hospital and nurses' residence was erected at Iruna, and one European nurse and her eight students (some Mailu, most from other parts of Papua) came to take up residence there. In addition to treating inpatients, the nurses paid monthly visits to all neighbouring villages to carry out medical examination of children. The hospital received free drugs and other subsidies from the Government.
In addition to the hospital, the mission had by 1960 established 11 schools, of which one (at Iruna) provided education up to fifth standard and all others up to standard two or less. All except three of the teachers were, however, untrained. All Mailu, with few exceptions, had become at least nominal adherents to Christianity. The number of adherents among the non-Mailu too was increasing. The total membership for the whole District was 1001, including 60 deacons.

In 1962 the L.M.S. revised its constitution to give the Papuans a still greater say in the Church administration. As the result of these changes, the Church in Papua has been given the name of Papua Ekalesia and the Papua District Committee and Papua Church Assembly have been merged into a single body called the Papua Church Assembly.

The new Church Assembly now has a majority of Papuan members and full control of the administration and property of the Papua Ekalesia. It meets once a year to elect a five man executive committee, including a chairman, vice-chairman and secretary; at least two members of the executive are required to be Papuans.

To emphasise their status equality, the ordained Europeans and Papuans are both referred to as ministers (formerly missionary and pastor respectively). Those appointed in charge of a district are called district ministers and those holding probationary appointments as candidates for ordination, probationary ministers. The lay persons doing full time work are called lay pastors.
The members of the Assembly include two Papuans (one minister, one layman) from each Church Council, all district ministers, principals of Lawes College and Chalmers College, four "educationists" including two Papuans, four members of the medical staff, two South Sea ministers, four co-opted members and any others determined by the Assembly.

Special meetings were held in Mailu churches to celebrate the coming into force of the new constitution. The Mailu leaders made speeches explaining the significance of the event: "We will control our own Church now, not the Europeans. They will still help us out of sympathy, but their power is finished. It is our Church now; it is up to us to work hard and make it strong."

Thus a Church organisation, democratically controlled (in theory at least) at all levels, has now come to be established. European missionaries have surrendered control to Papuan majority, but they still determine Church policy by prestige, persuasion, superior knowledge and skilful manipulation rather than authority. For the mass of the Mailu the Church is no longer an alien institution impinging on their lives, but something belonging to them, although they might neglect it badly as they do to some other things of their own.

The Mailu.

In 1946, when copra and shell were in great demand and selling at high prices, a movement started which led to the establishment of co-operative societies (Native Societies as they were named officially), not only in the Mailu area, but also in parts of Aroma, Hula and
Southern Massim. Led by two Mailu men, Mark Bonio and his sister's husband, Punch Cowley, the movement took the form of a drive to increase copra and shell production and build trade stores, indicating the discontent of the people over their poverty and inability to buy European goods and the conviction of the leaders that participation in trade provided the key to material well-being.

Mark's father was an L.M.S. pastor and Punch's a Scottish planter who committed suicide, leaving his son to be brought up by his Mailu mother. Both Mark and Punch received their early education at Mailupom under Saville, but Punch received some additional schooling at Hula and Lawes College, Fife Bay, an L.M.S. teachers' training institution. When they started the movement, Punch was about 30 and Mark about 35 years old.

After leaving school, in about 1933, Mark became a store clerk in the Steamship Trading Company at Port Moresby. While employed there it occurred to him, as he told me, that the European boss paid him a small sum and made him work hard for him. Why should not he (Mark) work for himself? So he went to see the District Officer to ask him if there was a law against Papuans doing business. The District Officer told him there was none, and that if he wanted to do business he could do it without a permit. Mark then consulted his boss who promised to help him and showed him how to order goods. He then took leave and opened a store at Mailupom where his "father" (mother's sister's husband) was in charge of the local Church. Later, when the L.M.S. objected to the using of their premises for private business, Mark
moved his store to Selai. Then, after placing it under the charge of his "brother" (Mother's sister's son), he returned to his job at Port Moresby.

After finishing his studies, Punch at first worked at a plantation, but later joined Burns Philip Company as a boat mechanic. The company sent him to Sydney to bring a new boat from there. After returning to Papua he married Mark's sister and continued to work on the boat sailing from Port Moresby to Daru. In Port Moresby he saw a good deal of Mark, and they had long talks about "how to improve the life of their people". They decided to open trade stores and started saving money for them. But before they could put their plans into action they had to return to their villages because of the Japanese attack on New Guinea and disruption of civil life in Port Moresby.

Soon after they were conscripted by ANGAU, and Punch was put to work on a plantation as foreman and mechanic, and Mark was at first appointed supervisor of a labour gang constructing airfields but later given the job of a clerk in a Government ration store. When the war ended both men returned home and again planned to establish trade stores.

At that time (1946) the Papuan trading companies had not yet fully re-established themselves and in the country areas there were hardly any stores to buy goods. The only store in the Mailu area was that run by the Production Control Board at Abau. Both men bought
merchandise from that store and started trading. As Punch had no place to keep his goods, Mark allowed him to use half of his store. Thus two trade stores came to be established in a small, rudely constructed hut in Selai. Mark informed me that they opened the stores so that the people could see for themselves what could be achieved.

As a next step, in 1947, they (Mark and Punch) held a meeting at Sabiribo (Mark's father's natal village) to explain to the people how they could "improve their life". They advised the villagers to form a group to make copra and elect a leader. The members of the group should pool their coconut trees and, regardless of ownership, collect nuts and make copra jointly. When ready, the copra should be bagged and sent to the Production Control Board for sale. The payment when received should be divided between the members according to the number of days each of them worked. To establish eventually their own trade stores, they should collect a fund to which each person should contribute as much as he could from his copra income. Mark and Punch, as their contribution, undertook to provide copra bags on credit, arrange with the shipping companies to transport their copra, maintain their accounts and collect payment from the Production Control Board and distribute it. The Sabiribo agreed to follow their advice, and a group of 61 started making copra. In March 1948, when Mark started collecting group funds, the members contributed £54. 3. 0., with contributions ranging from three shillings to one pound.

The news reached Mailupom who asked Mark — whose mother was from there — to help them too; and a group of 59 was formed under the
leadership of Dagi Kapu and Wagana Wari who had studied in the local mission school and were in their thirties. It seems only about forty per cent of adult males allowed themselves to be persuaded to join. In April 1948 this group deposited £288 to the group fund.

Meanwhile Punch moved his store to Laruoro, his mother's natal village, and started a similar group there. Soon after requests for advice and assistance started coming from other villages anxious to form groups. Mark visited Eunoro, Selai, Geagea, ori and Kureri, and Punch accepted invitations from Derebai, Dagobo, and Gadaisu (Southern Massim); and copra and shell production started in earnest in these villages.

By this time the trade store at the Mogubo Plantation had started functioning again, and the manager did not like that the copra, which was his to buy at the prices he chose to pay, should be shipped direct to the Production Control Board. He started using obstructionist tactics: telling the captain of the boat not to transport Mailu copra, and picking quarrels with the Mailu loading copra at Mogubo Point and threatening to beat them. The missionary too, according to Punch, did not like the new movement and threatened to get Punch deported to Scotland (his father's country) if he did not stop "mischief making". Punch told him that the Mailu were his own people who had nobody to help them, and he was not going to stop unless he was told to do so by the Government.

In Kureri village a number of persons called Bunting's men (a reference to the owner of Mogubo Plantation) by their fellow villagers
continued to sell their copra at Mogubo Plantation. The whole of Woworo and Loupom did the same. Meanwhile some Laruoro men accused Punch of stealing out of their money a sum of £500 and giving it to Mark. The Assistant District Officer Abau enquired into the matter and examined the accounts maintained by both Mark and Punch. He was impressed by their integrity and unselfishness in working without pay, and he upbraided the people who had accused them.

Punch then left Laruoro for Boru, his maternal grandfather's village, where again he opened a store and started a copra production group. This group, consisting of 35 men and women, shipped in four months 190 bags of copra worth £588. Soon after this group was formed, another group of 31 persons, from Boru and its neighbour Burumai, also started producing copra, under the leadership of Sepa Benau of Boru, who formerly owned a trade store which failed because he sold goods to his friends at less than the cost price. Unlike Punch, Sepa did not maintain any accounts; the aim of the members of his group was to produce enough copra so that after a year they may be able to divide £24 each. After examining his methods a government officer advised his group to join Punch Cowley who agreed to supervise them too, in addition to a group formed at Magaubo.

In early 1950 Punch opened a store and helped the people to form a copra production group at Loupom. The members of this group worked together, but for a while each produced his own copra and sold it to Mogubo Plantation. Soon, however, they realised the advantage of shipping it direct to the Production Control Board, and they decided to follow the example of other groups.
Meanwhile Punch was invited by the people of Derava, Domara, Siini (non-Mailu), Taboina (Southern Massim), and a number of Aroma and Hula villages to assist them to form similar groups. Thus about 23 groups came to be established on the coast between Marshall Lagoon and Taboina, a distance of about 150 miles.

The division of work between the group leaders in each village and Mark and Punch was roughly as follows. The group leaders, in consultation with the members, fixed a day for cleaning the plantation, collecting nuts, making and drying copra and bagging it. They also kept record of the number of days put in by each member. As soon as copra was ready, they sent word to either Mark or Punch who then visited them and noted the number and weight of bags. He arranged with the shipping companies to pick up the copra at a convenient shipping point and passed word to the group leaders to be there with their copra in time for the boat. Later he visited Port Moresby to collect payment from the Production Control Board and made another round of the villages to distribute the money and to collect group funds, noting down the amount contributed by each member.

At first both Mark and Punch kept the group money but later, to remove suspicion of embezzlement, they decided, on the advice of Assistant District Officer Abau, to open a bank account at Abau in the name of each group. From then on, as soon as they finished collecting, they handed back the money to the group leaders for depositing it in the bank.
Not all groups did equally well. Some had already built copra driers and were planning to build stores, others had difficulties in maintaining the group together and keeping copra production going. The group leaders varied a good deal in industry and ability to lead, and Mark and Punch, travelling as they did by sailing canoes, were unable to pay adequate attention to the more distant groups.

As the volume of work grew, Mark and Punch became increasingly conscious of their inability to handle it alone and sought help from the Assistant District Officer Abau who passed their request to the Registrar of Co-operative Societies at Port Moresby. Soon after a co-operative officer, accompanied by Mark and Punch, patrolled the area examining group accounts, holding meetings and explaining to the people how they could establish their own trade stores by forming co-operative societies (native societies) under Government supervision. Pending further action from the Registrar, Mark and Punch continued to supervise the groups, but now they also encouraged them to start erecting buildings for trade stores.

In 1951 a co-operative officer was posted to the area, and gradually all the existing copra production groups were transformed into co-operative societies with elected chairmen and directors. Each member who had formerly contributed money to the group fund was asked to convert that money into one or more five pound shares by contributing the amount required to make up the difference.

Punch and Mark were relieved of the duties of maintaining accounts, but the procedure remained roughly the same: copra was
produced jointly as before, and the new chairmen performed roughly the same tasks as old group leaders. At a later stage some societies divided their members into a number of work groups led by one or more directors each, and the chairman took over the task of general co-ordination of their work.

In all 23 such societies were formed. I give below a table indicating the distribution of Mailu and non-Mailu villages among them:

**TABLE VII : DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGES AMONG CO-OPERATIVE SOCIETIES.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linguistic affiliation</th>
<th>No. of Societies Recruiting Members from</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>Total Societies</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Village Villages</td>
<td>2 to 4 Villages</td>
<td>More than 4 Villages</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Mailu</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>12</strong></td>
<td><strong>7</strong></td>
<td><strong>3</strong></td>
<td><strong>1</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table shows that while all non-Mailu societies recruited members from a single village, most Mailu did so from more than one. In all but three cases the villages jointly forming a society were close neighbours. Two of the apparent exceptions also followed basically the same pattern: in one case an inland Mailu village joined its nearest coastal neighbour about six miles away; in the other, about a
dozen Dimuga villages spontaneously expressed their desire to join co-operatives, and to accommodate them Mark and Cliff Ianamu (Chairman of Selai Woworo Society) decided to let them join that society, being perhaps the closest to them. The only real exception was the formation of a joint society by Mailupom and its daughter village Magaibo despite 24 miles of open sea separating them. This society was, however, later split up into two — one in each village.

Gradually the societies erected stores and started selling consumer goods. Plans were made to buy a boat jointly and £900 were collected. At this stage the Registrar suggested that a new society should be formed for co-ordinating buying and selling, and all existing societies should become its members by buying shares. That society would buy a boat and build a store where trade goods bought from European firms would be stocked. The member societies (not individuals) would then be required to buy trade goods and sell copra and shell through that society.

Preparatory to the formation of the new society a store and offices and houses for the staff were built at Loupom, which was chosen because of its central location and excellent anchorage. Mark was sent to the Co-operative Training Centre, Port Moresby, to be trained to take up the job of secretary. Similarly, a number of other men from various villages were sent for training as storemen. A captain was selected for the boat and given necessary instruction. Finally, in 1954, the Abau Native Societies Association (Mailu Wholesale Society as it was then called) started functioning.
The Association had its own board of directors — consisting of chairmen of the member societies or their representatives — who elected an honorary president (Punch Cowley) and a paid, full-time secretary (Mark Bonio). The secretary was the executive head of the Association who had under him an assistant secretary, a store manager, a number of clerks and other staff. He managed the day-to-day affairs of the society under the supervision of a co-operative officer and inspectors who were responsible to the Registrar for the general supervision of the Association and its member societies.

Mark, whose education was good enough to maintain simple accounts and ordinary correspondence in English, found it difficult to cope with elaborate accounts and voluminous correspondence which he had to do as a secretary. The co-operative officer and the member societies began to voice dissatisfaction. In 1957 he resigned to make room for Cliff Ianamu who was then working as store manager and had already completed his training for the job.

Cliff, a close relative of Mark (mother's sister's son), was about forty then. He had been a deacon since 1948 and secretary of the District Church Council since its beginning in 1953; he became its president in 1959. In 1960 he was also elected president of the Amazon Bay Local Government Council. Later a joint meeting of the Amazon Bay Local Government Council and the Cloudy Bay Local Government Council elected him for appointment to the District Advisory Committee. He was also nominated as the local candidate for election to the Legislative
Council, but failed to get elected. Due to all these extra commitments
his work as the secretary of the Association suffered badly. In 1963
attempts were being made to find a suitable replacement for him.

In 1957, to encourage fish production and marketing, the
Fishery's Department installed a freezer at Loupom for storage of fish
pending shipment to Port Moresby. Modern fishing nets were bought and
a fishing group started as part of the Association. But the experiment
proved a failure. Through lack of adequate transport facilities, about
4000 lbs. of fish rotted on the way to Port Moresby. At least three
times the freezer went out of order and the fish had to be disposed of
locally at give-away prices. In 1962 the Association was having doubts
about carrying on with the experiment. Copra and shell (progressively
decreasing) remained the principal products marketed by the Association.

Till 1956 the Association bought trade goods from trading
companies in Port Moresby or Samarai, but later it joined other
associations in the Central District to form a federation of associations
for importing goods direct from the overseas countries. Soon the
Federation, working under the supervision of the Registrar, started
performing roughly the same functions for the Abau Association as the
latter did for its own members.

Thus the formation of co-operatives enhanced the integration
of Mailu economy with the world market, gave the Mailu some insight
into business methods, promoted new forms of capital and new ways of
utilising savings, and added to the complexity of local organisation by
creating new corporate groupings and a variety of formal elective
positions. What part these groupings and positions play in their contemporary social setting will be discussed in that context.

This was a period of unprecedented prosperity for the Mailu. Copra prices remained generally high, though there were ups and downs. Wages registered increases from time to time and are still rising. Co-operatives enabled the people to obtain better prices for their own produce than those generally paid by traders; trade goods too were generally cheaper at co-operative stores than at private trade stores. They received periodic rebates and dividends from the co-operative stores and locally manufactured armshells too were selling at high prices in Port Moresby. Offsetting these gains were, however, higher prices of trade goods, pigs, canoes, sails and wives, higher rates of personal tax voted by the Councils (£3 per adult male, an increase of 300 per cent over the last period), higher rates of subscription for the church. On balance there were gains in education, medical care, food, dress and housing. They were by no means rich (hardly a Mailu had a hundred pounds in the bank or tucked away in the box), but they were better off than before.

These gains in standard of living were also affecting the rate of population growth, as the following table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Total Increase or Decrease</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Domara</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>174 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boru</td>
<td></td>
<td>168</td>
<td></td>
<td>254</td>
<td>86 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magaubo</td>
<td></td>
<td>87</td>
<td></td>
<td>115</td>
<td>28 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darava</td>
<td></td>
<td>123</td>
<td></td>
<td>160</td>
<td>37 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loupom</td>
<td></td>
<td>212</td>
<td></td>
<td>238</td>
<td>20 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laruoro</td>
<td></td>
<td>176</td>
<td></td>
<td>269</td>
<td>93 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailupom</td>
<td></td>
<td>515</td>
<td></td>
<td>481</td>
<td>34 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kureri and Asiaro</td>
<td></td>
<td>239</td>
<td></td>
<td>295</td>
<td>46 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woworo</td>
<td></td>
<td>142</td>
<td></td>
<td>143</td>
<td>1 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selai</td>
<td></td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
<td>121</td>
<td>38 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aroava</td>
<td></td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>5 +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derebai</td>
<td></td>
<td>127</td>
<td></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>31 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2437</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>2916</strong></td>
<td><strong>479</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Not only the total population increased faster than before, but also, unlike that in the previous periods, all the villages except two registered some increase. I am unable to say what local factors affected the population in the two villages that suffered decrease; Mailupom is known to have contributed a number of migrants to Loupom, Magaubo and Kureri.

To the Mailu in their newly found affluence, the past appeared very gloomy indeed. Their leaders were never tired of presenting it to them as a period of darkness, selfishness, poverty and strife in sharp contrast to the new way — which they were advocating — of Christianity, enlightenment, sympathy and mutual help. They repeatedly urged them to give up old ways and work hard for the co-operatives, local government councils, churches and schools — all part of the new Christian way which was going to lead them to a life of plenty like that of the Europeans. They felt they and their people had much to learn and a long way to go, but they were also confident they were moving forward.

It is clear that the changes that occurred contributed considerably to the complexity of local organisation. To the traditionally existing ties between local and kinship groups were added a multiplicity of new ties arising from the membership of co-operatives, local government councils, church organisations and village clubs. Though the individual and cumulative effect of these formal associations on village life varied from village to village and from one association to another, they all had features in common producing similar effects. They created new corporate property and numerous elected positions at both intra-village and inter-village levels, and for the purpose of recruitment of members and office bearers, they emphasised local (membership of a village or constituency)
and universalistic (education and ability) criteria rather than ties of kinship. The interplay of the new and the old in the present-day social structure forms the subject matter of the next part.
PART III

CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL STRUCTURE
In this part I discuss the structure of local groups as it is now. My aim is not only to describe this structure and the interplay of traditional and modern elements in it, but also to provide supplementary information to clarify, confirm or amend the conclusions arrived at in the previous parts on the basis of, at times, thin historical evidence.

While doing this I follow, with some modifications, the same mode of presentation as that adopted in describing the traditional structure. I divide the account into three chapters: the first deals with the settlement patterns and population, the second with local kinship groups, and the third with the village and extra-village relations.
CHAPTER I

SETTLEMENT PATTERN AND POPULATION

I : Settlement Pattern

Settlements other than Villages

The area is no longer homogeneous in settlement pattern: in addition to villages, there are about six plantations, two government stations (sub-district station at Abau, and the patrol post at Magarida), a mission head-station (at Iruna) and a co-operative head-station (at Loupom), each with its own arrangement of houses and other buildings and highly heterogeneous population consisting of locals and non-locals including one or more Europeans. The nature of the relations they have with the villages depends on the nature of the settlement, its proximity to the villages and the character of its personnel. Here we need only note their spatial location which affects the extra-village relations of some villages more than others.

The mission station and the patrol post are located about 200 yards from Kureri village; the co-operative station is about 50 yards from Loupom village, and the Mogubo plantation about three quarters of a mile across the sea from Loupom and a mile along the beach from Kureri. The Baibara Plantation, east of Mogubo, is about a mile each from Nabai and Oibada villages. Five miles north-west of Baibara the Mamai Plantation is about four miles each from Ilai and Tanobada villages. To the west of Mogubo there is another plantation, about a mile from Magaubo village.
Further west, about two miles from Baibara, is Dedile plantation, one of the oldest in the area. The next is the sub-district station at Abau, miles away from any village.

**Villages**

In the villages, though most of the houses are still built in parallel rows forming one or more streets, the linear arrangement is not fully adhered to, and one often finds one or more houses standing out of line. Similarly, as Firth (1952, p.65) noted, the houses belonging to some clan sectors do not form a homogeneous block; possibly this occurs more often now than it did in the past.

The style of houses too has changed. The traditional double-storey structures have given way to a variety of single storey buildings ranging from rudely constructed single-room shacks to well-built houses with two to four compartments and a verandah and a kitchen. In Loupom and Mailupom, where I noted the number of compartments, most houses have two to three each; only about one-fifth have one each. Most houses are still made of traditional materials, but the Mailu dream now is to have a house roofed with corrugated iron. Most of their stores and four houses (at Boru) are already roofed that way; and a number of Mailupom have started collecting money for buying the iron.

Out of a total of 30 Mailu villages, 21, in respect of which I collected figures, have at present 417 houses, giving an average of 20 per village, ranging from four to 70, and mode 8. Since none of the remaining villages have more than 15 houses, the average for the area as a whole is likely to be lower, about 17. The figures for each village are given in Appendix A.
Traditionally there were only two types of public buildings, the clubhouses and the tree platforms, but they, as already stated, ceased to be built long ago; there are now, instead, churches, schools, copra driers, stores, aid posts, rest houses and police barracks. Some villages have all or some of these, others have none at all but share (the manner of sharing will be dealt with later) those in neighbouring villages. In general the larger the village and the more distant from its nearest neighbours, the more likely it is for it to have all or most of these buildings. Mailupom, the largest village in Amazon Bay and four miles from its nearest neighbour, Laruoro, has, for instance, a medical post, recently established by the Amazon Bay Council; a rest house for the visiting European officials; a police barracks for the Papuan police and other Papuan visitors; a co-operative store for buying locally produced copra and shell and selling trade goods; a copra drier; and a mission school and a church. Loupom has a co-operative store, a private trade store, a copra drier, and a church. Till recently it also had a medical aid post and a rest house. The aid post was removed after the mission hospital at Iruna was established and its staff started paying monthly visits of inspection to Loupom. A rest house is now unnecessary as the European visitors can stay with the Co-operative Officer resident on the island, or with the Patrol Officer at the Magarida patrol post. In contrast, four small villages, Oibada, Nabai, Ori and Gogo share a co-operative store, a copra drier, a church and a school. They also have a tumble-down rest house which they are planning to rebuild. Their
representative is pressing the Amazon Bay Council to establish an aid post, which is likely to be established in the near future. The maps no. indicate the settlement pattern of Mailupom and Loupom, the two villages I discuss in greater detail than others.

II: POPULATION

While discussing the rates of population growth I stated the total population of several villages for the year 1958 (p. ); the figures for the remaining villages may be consulted from the table in Appendix A. The following table shows the relative distribution of adults and children in Loupom and Mailupom and indicates how many of them were resident in their respective village when, in 1960, I carried out the census.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Absent</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Males</th>
<th>Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>494</td>
<td>326</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>425</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>401</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>139</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>404</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>354</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>350</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>206</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>153</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>167</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27 (31%)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>186</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>182</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>122</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TABLE IX** DISTRIBUTION OF ADULTS AND CHILDREN
Most of those away are male adults (working locally or in other districts) and their wives and children living with them. Of the male adults away from Loupom 13 are married, but only three (two working locally at Iruna and Tanobada) have their wives with them; the wives of the rest, excepting one (at Pediri, her father's village) are at Loupom. Of the male adults away from Mailupom 26 are married, 12 (including two working locally and seven who contracted marriages with women of other districts while working there) have their wives with them. Thus the number of wives actually leaving the village to join their husbands is very small; and this has a bearing on the social composition of the household to be discussed presently.
CHAPTER II  
LOCAL KINSHIP GROUPS  

I: Household  

While describing the structure of the contemporary Mailu household I assume that the reader is familiar with my earlier description of the traditional household and is, in particular, aware of the distinction between a household section and a hearth group, on the one hand, and a nuclear family or an extended family, on the other.  

Size  

The following table gives the size of the households in Loupom and Mailupom:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table X: SIZE OF THE HOUSEHOLD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loupom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailupom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The average for each village is seven, the range from one to 15, and the mode for Loupom four, for Mailupom five. In each village the average number of adults per household is four and the children three. In Loupom the adults per household range from two to eight, the children from zero to nine; and in Mailupom the adults range from one to ten, and children from zero to eight.
Each household consists of one or more sections (an adult woman cooking food for herself, or others as well, and carrying out food exchanges), or quasi-sections composed of one or more males without a woman to cook for them regularly. Of the latter I have only one case, that of an old man in Mailupom who is temporarily living alone and cooking for himself; occasionally, however, his women relatives from other houses either send him cooked food, or come and cook for him. Since there is only one quasi-section, I do not from now on list it separately from other sections.

An important index of structural differentiation between households is the variations in the number of sections; and the following table (in respect of Loupom and Mailupom) shows the relative frequency of the different types of households and the distribution of male and female adults in them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>No. of households</th>
<th>No. of adult males</th>
<th>No. of adult females</th>
<th>Total adults</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>18</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>103</td>
<td></td>
<td>148</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The mode in Loupom is a single-section household, and that in Mailupom, a two-section; of the total 54% are two-section and 34% single-section. In both villages the single-section households constitute less than 40% of the total.

The distribution of male and female adults indicates that, as the number of sections increases, the proportion of females to males in the household also increases; the extra females are either widows, or wives whose husbands are away at work. This brings to light a problem for investigation: who provides male assistance to these women by doing heavy work?

Size of the Section

I give below a table which shows the variations in the size of the sections and the manner in which male and female adults are distributed in them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adults and Children</th>
<th>Adult Females</th>
<th>Adult Males</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>No. of Sections containing:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Household Sections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table XII: Variations in the Size of Sections
In both villages the average size of the section is four, and the range, from one to nine; the mode in Loupom is five, and in Mailupom 4. 80% of the sections in each village have at least one male and female adult each, thus fulfilling the traditional Mailu ideal of a man–woman partnership for performing household tasks (p. 37). The remaining 20%, with one exception, are all sections without adult men. These demographic facts again draw attention to the complex pattern of economic interdependence between men and women who are not husbands and wives of each other.

**Kinship Composition of the Household**

While discussing the kinship structure of the traditional household, I argued that, despite an ideology of agnatic descent and patri-virilocal residence, nacognates and affines had always formed part of the household; and I stressed the role of certain subsidiary factors affecting residence (p.36). Both the ideology and the practice seem to have remained essentially unchanged in this respect. Since nacognates and affines, as all members, form part of the kinship structure of the household in two different ways: (i) as individual members of the sections, and (ii) as separate sections within the household, their numerical proportion and its significance needs to be assessed in both contexts. I give below a table which shows not only the distribution of man–woman partnerships and dependent kin accretions that constitute different types of sections, but also the numerical proportion of sections that
have one or more members whose mode of residence deviates from the patri-virilocal norm. If the head of the section is a man, the ties shown are those that the members have to him; if the head is a woman, those to her current or late husband. In man–woman partnerships it is the man who is shown as the head of the section. Women who are shown as heads of sections are those who have no male partners and are either widows, or wives whose husbands are absent for work.

**TABLE XIII: KINSHIP COMPOSITION OF SECTIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kinship Type</th>
<th>No. of sections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loupom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Sections consisting of a woman without children but with or without other dependents:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Woman without children</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 1(a) + husband's agnates</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) 1(a) + others*</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Sections consisting of a woman with children but with or without other dependents:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Woman with children</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) Woman with children + husband's agnates</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Sections consisting of married couples without children but with or without other dependents:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Married couples without children</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 3(a) + husband's agnates</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) 3(a) + others*</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Sections consisting of married couples with children but with or without other dependents:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Married couples + children of either or both spouses</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 4(a) + husband's agnates</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) 4(a) + others*</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Sections consisting of a man and woman who are not spouses of each other:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a) Man + wife or widow of an agnate plus children of either or both</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(b) 5(a) + others</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(c) Man + a female agnate and man's children, if any</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(d) Man + female agnate + others*</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Man only</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* indicates deviance.
42 out of the 53 sections (80%) in Loupom and 91 out of 110 (83%) in Mailupom are composed of either a woman and her children, if any, or her and her partner and children, if any, of either or both. The agnatic accretions, other than children, compose two sections (five per cent of the total) in Loupom and 13 sections (12%) in Mailupom. Nine sections (16%) in Loupom, and six (five per cent) in Mailupom. Nine sections (16%) in Loupom, and six (five per cent) in Mailupom have members that deviate from the patri-virilocal norm, the number of persons concerned being seven nacognates and six affines in Loupom, and two nacognates and five affines in Mailupom.

In Mailupom, the relatives recruited do not go beyond those linked to ego by three intervening connections, for example, FBSS, but in Loupom the range is a bit wider, the most distant genealogical connection recorded being MFBSS (Mother's father's brother's son's son). There are, however, four persons in Loupom and one in Mailupom whose genealogical connection to the head of the section is not known, though the relationship category is.

At the level of the sections the strongest ties are those between the members of the nuclear family (husband, wife and their children). Ordinarily they either constitute a household or a separate section within the household, with husband as the head. By virtue of the kinship ties that members of this group have with those of others, it acquires two types of dependent accretions, children and male adults. To illustrate the life situation of the children who constitute such accretions, I give below a table in respect of all Loupom children who are not living with their parents.
**TABLE XIV : CHILDREN 0 - 14 NOT LIVING WITH PARENT**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>With whom living</th>
<th>Circumstances</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mother's father</td>
<td>Daughter's illegitimate child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>Adopted from Dimuga. Mother, father dead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Mother's father</td>
<td>Daughter's illegitimate child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Father's mother</td>
<td>Father dead. Mother remarried in another village.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mother's mother</td>
<td>Father dead. Mother (widow) living with mother's brother's son. Often eats with mother.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Father's mother</td>
<td>ditto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Mother's father</td>
<td>Mother murdered by father.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All the children concerned lack one or both parents and need parental care; and all, but one, have obtained it from the parents of their parents, demonstrating the strength of the parent-child bond.

All the dependent male adults are single, or divorced, or widowed men in need of a woman to cook for them. They are, of course, not dependent in the same sense as the children are: they contribute their labour and income to the section and the household, though in the case of the very old the contribution may be minimal. Their life situations are rather varied: one old widower lives with his father's brother's son while his own sons, one single and one divorced, are working in Port Moresby; a second, a house owner without children, has staying with him his deceased wife's brother and his wife who look after...
him and his house; a third is living at his daughter's as his married son has no house of his own and is himself living at his mother's brother's house. A young divorced man of quarrelsome nature moves every now and then between three sections, his father's, his father's brother's, and his deceased mother's sister's, all in different houses. An unmarried young man too moves in the same way, but for different reasons; he is industrious and obedient and well liked by close relatives in four households. On the whole, the adults show a tendency to attach themselves to a member of their nuclear family, and failing that they seek others.

The partnerships for housekeeping purposes between a man and the wife or widow of one of his agnates, or a female agnate need comment. These occasionally occur when a husband goes away for labour, or a man or woman loses his or her spouse through death or divorce. Whether or not a partnership eventuates, or, if it does, what form it takes, depends on the circumstances. A partnership occurs, for example, when a man goes away leaving his wife and children under the care of a widowed father, or a single brother forming part of his section. If no such adult male is available, the husband may have to depend on other adult males in the household, or those closely related to him in other households to look after his wife and children in addition to their own. In these circumstances no partnership is formed, and the wife and children become a common responsibility of closely related adult males in the household and the village. The partnership between a man and one of his female
agnates may occur when a widowed or divorced daughter or sister comes back to her natal home to keep house for a brother. Or the death of the wife/mother may change the form of a husband-wife section into father-daughter partnership, if there is a grown up, or near grown up, single daughter in the house.

To understand how the sections within the household are related to each other, it is necessary to grasp the distinction between what I call the household heads and the junior section heads. A household head is the head of his or her section and either the owner of the house, or the husband of the owner of the house, or the head of the section on which the owner primarily depends for food and care. Other section heads who lack these qualities are junior section heads.

I place below a table which shows how junior section heads are related to household heads and how frequently the residence pattern of the former deviates from the patri-virilocal norm:
TABLE XV: INTRA-HOUSEHOLD RELATIONS BETWEEN SECTION HEADS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Relationships</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loupom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Between male household heads and junior section heads:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Primary male agnates*</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Wives** or widows of 1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Other male agnates</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Wives** or widows of 3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Primary female agnates (widows or wives**)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 Husbands of primary female agnates**</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 Other female agnates (widows or wives**)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 Nacognates (other than mothers)**</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 Affines, other than 2, 4 and 6 above**</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 Self (polygamous household)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B Between female household heads and junior section heads:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Wives** of husband's primary agnates</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 Husband's primary female agnates (widows or wives**)</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Husbands of husband's primary female agnates**</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL HOUSEHOLD HEADS</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Primary agnates are fathers, brothers and sisters

** Wives whose husbands are absent

*** Indicates deviance; (1*** ) one case of deviance.
In both villages categories A-6, 8 and 9 and B-3 consist of junior section heads whose mode of residence deviates from the patri-virilocal norm, but in Mailupom category B-2 also includes a case of deviance, that of a widow living with her brother's widow who herself is living in the house she inherited from her father. 13 out of 24 junior section heads (54% of the total) in Loupom, and 11 out of 54 (20% of the total) in Mailupom are deviants. This shows that households acquire deviant sections more often than sections acquire deviant members. For assessing the relative proportion of houses that have deviant sections as against others, it should be remembered that 12 households in Loupom and 17 in Mailupom are composed of a single section each, and their heads have no junior section heads. Of these five (42%) in Loupom and five (29%) in Mailupom have one or more deviant members.

To establish the cumulative effect of these deviations, I now give a table which provides figures showing the relative distribution, in different types of households, of deviants at either or both levels.
TABLE XVI: CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF DEVIANCE FROM PATRI-VIRILOCALITY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>No. of Sections in the Household</th>
<th>No. and percentage of households consisting of the Head and his agnates and their wives or mothers only</th>
<th>No. and percentage of households including at least one non-agnate (other than wives or mothers of the Head or his Agnates)</th>
<th>Total householders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Loupom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7 58</td>
<td>5 42</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4 40</td>
<td>6 60</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1 17</td>
<td>6 83</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0 0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>12 41</td>
<td>17 59</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailupom</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12 71</td>
<td>5 29</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18 69</td>
<td>8 31</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3 27</td>
<td>8 73</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1 50</td>
<td>1 50</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>34 61</td>
<td>22 39</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL FOR BOTH VILLAGES</td>
<td></td>
<td>46 54</td>
<td>39 46</td>
<td>85</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The table makes clear that the larger the number of sections in a household, the more likely it is to have one or more deviant members. 17 out of 29 households (59% of the total) in Loupom, and 22 out of 56 (39%) in Mailupom have at least one deviant member. The percentage of deviants at all levels is lower in Mailupom than in Loupom. The fact that Mailupom is short of land and attracts fewer immigrants than it sends out migrants may have a bearing on the figures; Loupom attracted a large number of migrants about 75 years ago and a few more since then.

Changes in Kinship and Demographic Composition.

To indicate the numerical proportion of the types of events that effect changes in the kinship and demographic composition of the household, I place below a table compiled from changes recorded in two censuses taken after an interval of two years. The changes noted are those derived from the comparison of the first census with the second; the intervening short term changes, such as a baby's birth after the first census and death before the second, are ignored.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Loupom</th>
<th>Mailupom</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Birth</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Death</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marriage and Divorce</td>
<td>7, 9</td>
<td>13, 12</td>
<td>16, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Migration</td>
<td>7, 10</td>
<td>32, 47</td>
<td>39, 57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarrels</td>
<td>3, 7</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>3, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>House Repair and demolition</td>
<td>2, 4</td>
<td>1, 4</td>
<td>3, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moving to Boarding School</td>
<td>1, 1</td>
<td>6, 6</td>
<td>7, 7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hospitalisation</td>
<td>8, 8</td>
<td>0, 0</td>
<td>8, 8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>12, 12</td>
<td>13, 13</td>
<td>25, 25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>55</strong></td>
<td><strong>69</strong></td>
<td><strong>105</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table gives a simplified version of events and directs attention to that which triggers off changes rather than to complex patterns of individual responses to their life situation. To illustrate these I briefly discuss a few cases.

**Case 1.** The wife of a Mailupom man, Atu, died in childbirth, but the child survived; and Atu had to find someone to suckle it. Traditionally suckling such a child is the responsibility of the father's sister, or the mother's. Atu has two married sisters, of whom one
lives close at hand in Loupom, the other in far off Domara. But the one in Loupom is childless and unable to suckle. So Atu asked the other sister to take care of the child who took it to Domara. After Atu's wife's death, her younger sister, living with the couple, had to leave; and she moved to the house of her father's brother, for whom another of her sisters was keeping house. Meanwhile Atu married again and his new wife moved into his house. Atu's wife's death thus started a chain of events which led to three changes in the household composition.

Case 2. Aro, a young widow from Loupom, had an affair with Bina, a young man from Kureri, working at the co-operative association, and became pregnant. Her father's sister's son, a deacon in whose house she was then living, put pressure on the couple to marry. Aro showed reluctance and they had an argument, during which Aro told him (her father's sister's son) that he had no right to tell her what to do, as he was a mere nobody (incorrect) in her father's village; and she told him to go back to his father's village where he belonged. Aro's mother and step-father also opposed the match on the grounds that Bina was too poor to pay bride-price and not "strong enough" to support a wife and child. After the quarrel Aro left her father's sister's son's house and moved into her mother's. The father's sister's son had another similar quarrel with Aro's brother, but he kept the pressure on and finally succeeded in bringing about the marriage. After the marriage the couple first went to live in Bina's mother's sister's son's house at Kureri, but later moved back to Loupom to Aro's mother's. These events brought three changes in the kinship composition of two Loupom households.
Case 3. Marawa and his son went to Port Moresby for work. Marawa's sister's daughter and her husband moved into the house as there was no adult male left in the house to look after it.

Case 4. Tibo, a widower, quarrelled and moved from his sister's daughter's house to that of a distant relative with whom he had a long-standing partnership. He complained that his sister's daughter did not feed him properly.

Case 5. Motura, a widow from Loupom, married in Geagea and joined her husband's household, leaving at Loupom her two teen-aged daughters and a young son. Her older sister and her husband, living at Laruoro, moved to Loupom to look after the young family.

Case 6. Konai, an elderly widow from Loupom, was living with her adult daughters and two grandsons. The daughter married in Kureri, and Konai herself married an old man from Loupom who was living in housekeeping partnership with his widowed sister. When the mother and the daughter went to live with their husbands, the grandsons joined, one each, the households of their father's sisters at Laruoro and Loupom. The vacated house, a poorly built structure, was demolished.

Despite variations between the two villages, the residence pattern and the changes in household composition show clearly the ability of the individuals to exercise a great deal of choice by utilising their nacognatic and affinal ties, and this breaks the homogeneity of the clan sector as a local descent group and reduces its autonomy and solidarity. The rules provide only a part of the answer to where to live. Personal affection, mutual compatibility, a sense of obligation to needy kin and affines, the availability of
plenty of gardening land, a spacious, or at least not too crowded, house and other considerations of personal advantage may affect the choice of residence. The present residence pattern does not appear to be qualitatively different from that in the past (pp. 36) though there may be differences in degree.

Running the Household

The general principles guiding the division of labour between men and women, men and men, women and women, and adults and children are the same now as they were in the past (pp. 37-38). But certain changes in the occupational pattern and general economic routine have led to certain adjustments in the division of tasks. Though the number varies from village to village and time to time, about a third of the men (Table No. IX) usually migrate for labour elsewhere. Most of the burden of assisting their dependants in clearing land for gardening, fence making and other heavy tasks falls on the men left in the villages. The absent men occasionally send money and clothes to compensate the latter; this makes the burden more bearable but does not diminish it. A number of those in the villages follow occupations (pastors, storemen, teachers, cooks for the resident Europeans and clerical and other employment with the co-operative association) that allows them to participate only marginally in traditional economic tasks, and they and their families need help too. Besides there are the aged and the disabled. In addition, the co-operatives, the mission, the government and the local government councils are all making increasing demands on village labour for building hospitals,
churches, stores, schools, roads, copra driers, aid posts and the like. All this has created a shortage of manpower and has led to increasing participation by women in formerly male tasks, though in mixed teams the work assigned to women is usually lighter than that to men. The Loupom, and occasionally Mailupom, women act as wharf labourers in unloading the co-operative boat, Magi. When the requisite number of men is not available, they act as carriers for visiting Europeans. I know of two occasions when they were asked to assist in making garden fences. Mixed teams of men and women from all villages hauled logs for the co-operative association when it wanted to build a wharf. Although they do the lighter work, women participate fully in copra production and planting coconuts; the task of clearing the plantation usually falls to their lot.

With the increasing emphasis on schooling, the contribution of children and adolescents (attending school) to household economy has decreased. So long as they are at school very few demands are made on them, but as soon as they leave the pressure, particularly on boys, increases. Being single they become a fair game for every close, or not so close, relative who needs assistance, and practically everyone does. This is a period of severe strain for boys who, though grown up, are unaccustomed to agriculture and other tasks demanded of them. The tension between fathers and sons increases as the fathers, who want their sons to become strong, self-reliant men, begin to drive them hard. Labour migration provides a convenient and honourable escape and a prospect for adventure and excitement; and often against the wishes of their parents they leave home in search of employment.
Most single section households consist of one adult male and female each and present no problems of intra-sex division of labour. Some, however, have more than one male, very few more than one female. Such males usually have separate gardens, though often within the same fence. They help each other in clearing the land, fencing the garden, and repairing the house or canoe. Whether or not they do other day to day tasks together depends on several factors including age, interests, temperaments and availability of other more congenial company. If one wants to go fishing and the other gardening, they often go their respective ways without bothering to consult each other.

The sections that have more than one female virtually all consist of an adult woman and one or two adolescent unmarried daughters. If the daughter is not attending school, she has a small garden of her own and takes turns with her mother in cooking and distributing food. With the encouragement of the mother, she sends, on her own account, some food to close relatives in other houses; this is part of her initiation into adult tasks. She does not as yet own her own cooking pot and dishes as married, divorced and widowed women do. The division of tasks between her and her mother is not as strict as between the mother and other women in the household.

In the multi-section households also food is cooked on the same hearth and eaten together by all members of the household. Each woman in turn provides raw food, cooks it in her own pot and distributes it to the members and close kin in other households. In other domestic
tasks the division of labour is less strict and easy informality prevails. One woman may sweep the house, a second wash the dishes and a third fetch the water. If there are young children in the house, one woman may stay in the village minding the children and others may go gardening. Sometimes a woman staying in the village cooks food and feeds herself and her children, ignoring other children in the house; this leads to much ill-feeling and I know of two cases in which this precipitated fission. I know of no cases in which a quarrel over the division of labour led to fission; this form of conflict occurs but very rarely.

Veveni, the traditional system of daily exchange of cooked food between relatives in different households (p. 42) has weakened considerably. Some households occasionally send raw food but rarely if ever cooked, others still exchange both types, but with far fewer relatives and with much less regularity. The following table shows the relative proportion of the food and other gift exchanges carried out by members of six Loupom households over a period of one month. It also points out the relative with whom each person exchanged gifts with the greatest frequency.
### TABLE XVIII: INTER-HOUSEHOLD FOOD AND OTHER EXCHANGES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>No. of persons</th>
<th>Total Exchanges</th>
<th>Food Exchanges</th>
<th>Highest Frequency Relative</th>
<th>No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head Widow</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>MZ</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HZD Married</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>MZ</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Married</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>F'Z'SW</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>HF'Z'SW</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>FF'Z'SW</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DH</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>FF'Z'SSW</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DH</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>MSW</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>MMDS</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>FZDD</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>HFZDD</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head Widow</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>HFBSW</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Engaged</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Fiance's B</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D Single</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend:  
B = Brother  
D = Daughter  
F = Father  
H = Husband  
M = Mother  
S = Son  
W = Wife  
Z = Sister  
: = Relationship not known  
Head = Head of the household.
Though food exchange is not as regular as in the past, it is still the most frequent form of gift exchange. There are considerable variations between individuals and sections within the household and between households. Some husbands leave the exchanges almost entirely to their wives, others take as much an active part themselves as their wives do; some couples take very little part in them. The woman who carried out the highest number of exchanges has no special position in the community, but the man who did so has: he is a deacon, as well as the president of the village congregation, and a director of the village co-operative society. He and his wife together carried out the largest and the most diversified exchanges of all couples.

The relatives selected for most frequent gift giving do not show any clear pattern. Sometimes they are closest relatives outside the household, sometimes the closest neighbours, sometimes distant relatives personally liked. The woman who carried out the maximum exchanges with her HFZDD has her brother living about 15 yards away, and the woman doing so with her FF'Z'SSW too has her brothers and their wives living in the village. There is no ill-will between these two women and their brothers and they too exchange gifts, though less frequently. It is clear, then, kinship distance or proximity are as inadequate for predicting frequency of gift exchanges as the ideology of agnatic descent and patri viri-local residence for forecasting residence.

It is difficult to say why food exchanges have decreased in frequency. The Mailu say they now have beautiful enamel dishes to send food in, and some women don't return the dishes; so people have
stopped sending the food. It seems the answer lies more in the food than in the dishes. The people are not producing enough garden food and use most of their income from copra and shell to buy food, some of it to satisfy the taste for variety, some to assuage hunger. The small amounts bought each time are perhaps more difficult to part with.

While in the cooking and eating of food the emphasis is on the unity of the household, in garden production greater stress is placed on section autonomy and inter-household ties. Sections of a household may clear land individually, or in partnership with other sections in their own household, or other households. The land is then divided and each section individually plants its own plot. The partners may then erect a fence jointly. This form of partnership is different from inviting relatives and fellow villagers to help; in the latter case there is a clear separation between the owners and the helpers, who are not entitled to a plot. One way of helping the widows, old couples, and wives whose husbands are away is to make them partners and do the heavy work for them.

The extra-household gardening partnerships don't show any clear pattern. The partners are usually close relatives, but not necessarily the closest. A man living with his father may join his father-in-law or vice versa. Brothers, father and daughter, brother's wife and husband's brother living in the same house may garden with others. A good many changes occur from year to year: a man may become fed up with helping a widow or a wife; one partner may be lazy, another
temperamental; a man may return home from work and another may decide to leave. The system allows a good deal of choice and the manner that choice is exercised depends on the circumstances.

If the house or canoe needs repair, a sail needs mending, pigs are to be tied and carried, all the men in the household are expected to give a hand. If food is to be collected for a feast the whole household acts as a unit of production, and there are frequent consultations between men and women about distribution of tasks and the household becomes a more organised entity. But in fishing, gardening, sago making, copra production, shell collecting, and other regular tasks, the sections of a household show a great deal of autonomy. If one examines the social composition of a fishing team or a sailing canoe, one usually finds some persons closely related to each other, some from the same clan sector or household, some distant kin or fellow villagers. In copra production the whole household may jointly process copra and divide the cash, or each section may make its own copra. If a man has plenty of coconut trees, he may ask a less fortunate relative to join him in making copra; the proceeds are then shared equally between the two. He may do this for more than one or none at all. On the other hand, brothers living in the same house may make copra separately or jointly. Usually, if there is a feast or other celebration ahead, they would do so jointly and use the money for buying food for the household.
Structure of Authority

In the single section household consisting of parents and children the structure of authority is clear. The husband/father is the head of the household and entitled to respect and obedience. In relation to the children his general manner is reserved and he speaks to them with an air of authority. He is looked up to by children for help and care. The relationship between the mother and children is less marked by constraint. Children feel free to talk back to her and even fight and wrestle with her when she tries to administer physical punishment. Even for girls, over whom she exercises greater control than boys, the mother is an indulgent figure responsible for feeding and care.

The relationship between siblings is supposed to be of mutual respect. The brother should respect the sister, and sister the brother; older brother and younger brother should also do the same. The balance of respect is, however, clearly in favour of the older brother who is supposed to take the place of the father in relation to younger siblings. These are the ideals and practice diverges from them. Quarrels and even fights may occur between parents and children and siblings. In one case a father and son quarrelled over the ownership of a pair of trousers and the son hit the father. In another, a son beat his wife; when the father intervened, he hit him too. Brothers occasionally quarrel over division of tasks, unauthorised use of personal property, adultery with wives.
In one case a woman unjustly accused her husband of committing adultery with his younger brother's wife whose husband was away for work. Both the husband and the younger brother's wife denied the charge and there was a public quarrel. Nobody supported the older brother's wife and some told her bluntly that she was being unnecessarily jealous of her husband helping his "younger sister" (nabu). The father's brother of the younger brother's wife said to the elder brother's wife, "It is the rule, all over the world, if the father is not there, the older brother takes his place to help his younger brother. But you feel jealous when your husband does that. Alright, you keep your husband; I tell him today to stop helping my daughter. I will help her, her own brothers will help her; we are not weak, we are strong." The audience dispersed, and nothing was really settled. But the right and duty of an older brother to be a "father" to his younger brothers was reaffirmed. Notwithstanding the quarrels and the conflicting pull of obligations, fathers generally command respect and older brothers take the place of fathers.

In the husband-wife relationship the balance of respect and authority is in favour of the husband, though both should respect each other and fulfil respective obligations. Men say that wives should be obedient, faithful and willing to listen to their husbands without talking back. Most wives recognise the validity of the first two demands but not the third. They feel they have a right to, and often do, criticise their husbands when they are being lazy, overbearing,
unduly attentive to other women, and neglectful of their obligations to them and their relatives. The husband, on the other hand, may complain against his wife for nagging, undue jealousy of other women, not looking after the children and the house properly, not feeding him well, making excessive demands on him for helping her kin, not respecting his kin, and being unfaithful to him.

On the whole quarrels are rare among the Mailu and are mostly between husbands and wives. Of all intra-household relationships that between husband and wife is characterised by the greatest interaction and interdependence and most frequent overt expression of conflict, which bursts out, now and then, despite mutual affection and respect. The cases that come before the courts are mostly adultery and wife-beating. It is, however, generally recognised that the husband is the head of the household, and he usually enjoys a measure of obedience and respect. What applies to the husband is also true of adult men in general; in relation to women, they occupy a position of slight superiority.

In multi-section households, the relationship between the head and the junior section heads is less formalised. It depends on kinship status, age, wealth, generosity, ability, and general standing in the community. The senior head obtains obedience more by courtesy, affection and patronage than by formal authority. If a member quarrels persistently and refuses to do his share of the household work, the head may ultimately exercise his right to ask him to leave. However,
it rarely comes to that; after a serious quarrel the junior members frequently show their anger by voluntarily leaving the household.

Property

The general principles governing the use of property are the same as in the past (p. 45), but the number and the range of hand-made or locally produced goods have decreased. The quality, variety and volume of trade goods used is increasing. To illustrate the difference in property between members of the household and the relative value of trade goods and home-made articles owned, I give below a table in respect of six Loupom households.

**TABLE XIX : VALUE OF HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Estimated cost of</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hand-made</td>
<td>Trade goods</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>articles</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>£13</td>
<td>£16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HZD</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>£14</td>
<td>£27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>£7</td>
<td>£15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£9</td>
<td>£5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£5</td>
<td>£5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DH</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£1</td>
<td>£14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£12</td>
<td>£11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>£2</td>
<td>£3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>£78</td>
<td>£11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£2</td>
<td>£9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£17</td>
<td>£15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DH</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£1</td>
<td>£24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>£2</td>
<td>£5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>£39</td>
<td>£19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£2</td>
<td>£20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Married</td>
<td>£2</td>
<td>£12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>W</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>£7</td>
<td>£18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Widow</td>
<td>£6</td>
<td>£33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Engaged</td>
<td>£12</td>
<td>£9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>Single</td>
<td>£2</td>
<td>£2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Legend: B = Brother   D = Daughter   DH = Daughter’s Husband   W = Wife
In two cases the ownership of a sailing canoe has inflated the value of the home-made goods owned by the head of the household. Some of the goods are personally bought or made, most represent gifts from a wide range of relatives. This is particularly true of goods owned by women.

As in the past a house is inherited in the male line from the father to the eldest son. If the son is not grown-up, the closest available agnate, nacognate or affine may temporarily take charge. The former practice of burning the house after the owner's death (p. 46) is no longer practised, at least in the cases I witnessed during my stay in the field.

In ten cases, five each in Loupom and Mailupom, women own houses either partly or fully. This may come about in several ways. A man may invite his daughter or sister's husband to live in his clan sector, provide a site and help him build a house. The wife is considered the houseowner, though the husband retains ownership of the building material provided by him. This came to my notice when a husband quarrelled with his wife and started demolishing a part of the house to cart off the material. His relatives helped him to take away the material, but after a few days, when he became reconciled to his wife, they had to help him to bring the material back.

If the husband of a woman dies and there are no close agnates to contest the ownership, the woman becomes the owner of the house; in one such case, the woman was planning to give the house to her brother's son. A woman may also inherit the house if her parents die and there
are no close male agnates surviving. The house sites may also come to
be owned by women this way, though the clan sector concerned would
retain a residual interest.

It is clear from the above that in certain cases the head of
the household, the owner of the house and the site may be different;
and the owner of the site may be non-agnatically affiliated with the
clan sector retaining residual interest in the site. For example, a
Loupom widow and her brother are co-owners of the house, her brother
is the head, and her husband's lineage and the clan sector own the site.
Further complications arise when one or more of these rights pass from
one non-agnate to another, or when nacognates and affines of diverse
origin assume numerical dominance in a lineage, or clan sector with
few surviving agnates. The following table shows how headship of the
household, ownership of the house and the site and the membership of
the clan sectors are distributed.
### Table XX: Differential Distribution of Headship of the Household, Ownership of the House and the Site and the Clan Sector Membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relationship between the Head and the owner of the household</th>
<th>Rights held by the owner in the:</th>
<th>Frequency in</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Head</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Site</td>
<td>Clan Sector</td>
<td>Loupom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>&quot;Owner&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Member&quot;</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>X</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Z</td>
<td>&quot;Owner&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Member&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>WFB</td>
<td>Owner</td>
<td>Member</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>WMBS</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>ZH</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>WS</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>MZS</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woman</td>
<td>S (absent)</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>HFBSS</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;</td>
<td>Self</td>
<td>&quot;Owner&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;Member&quot;</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

29 | 56

Legend: B = Brother, F = Father, H = Husband, M = Mother, S = Son, W = Wife, X = Not owner, not member, Z = Sister. " " indicates contingent members and female agnates.
Of the house owners, 22 out of 29 (66\%) in Loupom and 52 out of 56 (93\%) in Mailupom are members; three (10\%) in Loupom, and two (4\%) in Mailupom are "members", i.e. either female agnates or contingent members (wives or widows of members). All these live in conformity or virtual conformity with the agnatic and patri-virilocal norms. The remainder are deviants, again a higher percentage in Loupom than in Mailupom. The implications of this deviance for the formal and actual constitution of the lineage and the clan sector I will discuss presently.

Throughout this discussion the emphasis has been on examining, on the one hand, those ties that bind the members to each other to make the household a united local group and, on the other, those bonds that cut into that unity by linking the members to diverse groups outside. The conclusion that emerges about the heterogeneity of kinship composition, the receptivity of the system to individual manipulation, the autonomy of sections, and loose sense of local unity is similar to that derived from the analysis of the traditional structure. I suspect that during the intervening period heterogeneity and flexibility has increased, but, for want of relevant data about the past, I am unable to document this.

**Lineage and Clan Sector**

General principles traditionally governing the recruitment of members and their varied rights and duties have been discussed (pp. 47-53). So far as these are concerned there has been little change. A slight change in attitude, however, seems to have occurred in relation to rights of daughters and sisters to inherit property from their fathers.
A number of men expressed dissatisfaction with the present rules of inheritance that prevent daughters from inheriting in the presence of sons. They felt that daughters and sons, being children alike of their parents, should both have the right to inherit, and not merely sons. One man gave a part of his ancestral land to his sister's husband and, in order to circumvent any attempt by agnates to reclaim that land, registered the transfer with the Administration. A few men have apportioned their coconut palms between their daughters and sons to ensure that after their death their daughters should have a share of their property. I consulted a particularly knowledgeable man about the legal status of such transfers, particularly whether these transfers can prevent the sons from taking back those trees if they wish. At first he said, "Those trees are the father's gift to the daughter and the son has no right to take them back." But later he amended his statement: "While the father is alive the daughter owns the trees, but after his death whether or not she retains ownership would depend on the son. He can take back the trees if he wishes, but he should not do so out of respect for his father and sister." Statements of other informants leave no doubt that the latter is the correct position, both in regard to trees and land.

In the absence of data on household composition, my account of the traditional structure was based on a generalised model of the lineage as a group of agnates supplemented at times by a few non-agnates. It is clear from the above discussion of the household composition that the households constituting a lineage are composed of a wide variety of
kin types, some of which bear little resemblance to the above model. One lineage in Loupom, for example, is represented by a widow, the sole surviving member of her husband's lineage. This is an extreme case, but it highlights the gap between the model and the reality and the need to bridge it. It is my contention that, though as a descriptive generalisation the above model does not fully fit the facts, it does help to explain those facts. Given the fact that agnation and patri-virilocality are not the only criteria of household and lineage membership, though these are the only ones that automatically confer it, all the variations in membership discussed above can be explained in terms of the exigencies of circumstances, which I have already described.

In order to illustrate the manner in which newcomers come to acquire varied rights of membership, I now discuss how several lineages and clan sectors came to be established in Loupom as a result of recruitment from other villages, particularly Mailupom.

It is said that all Loupom people, excepting a couple of children of Gobu clan sector, were killed by Mailupom before the establishment of European control. When these children grew up they and their relatives from Barai clan sector Mailupom came to Loupom to re-establish the village. Both clan sectors being the first to arrive became owners of Loupom island and all the land on the mainland formerly owned by Loupom people. As members of each clan sector planted coconut palms, sago and other trees on particular pieces of land, they acquired certain rights of ownership in them, but no such rights were acquired in garden land, which was exploited jointly. Since the new village was
short of people, attempts were made to recruit relatives from other villages. Moga, the senior brother in the Gobu clan sector, invited his wife's relatives from Morau clan sector Mailupom and offered them land to erect houses and plant trees. The land on which the latter planted trees and built houses came to be regarded as Morau land, though the Gobu and Barai clan sectors retained rights in it. The newcomers, however, acquired no such rights in garden land, which remained the joint property of Gobu and Barai clan sectors. Soon after Moga invited his cognates from Moto clan sector Mailupom who came and settled in Loupom as Warata clan sector. The reason for this change of name could not be ascertained; the present-day descendants say that their ancestors made a mistake. They also acquired rights in land similar to Morau people.

Soon after some men of Bani clan sector from Mailupom built houses at a separate site, called Gagaisana, about 200 yards east of Loupom village. They were invited by the Barai clan sector, though they were also related to the members of Gobu and Warata. Similarly, some members of Morisa clan sector from Derava village (sponsored by Barai) and Abi and Uda clan sectors from Mailupom (sponsored by Warata) came to settle in Gagaisana. Later a few persons died at Gagaisana; and, afraid of sorcery, the people abandoned the site and joined up with Loupom. In this way Loupom acquired eight clan sectors all having varying rights in land. The position, however, is not clear as to what extent the rights of other clan sectors are dependent on the goodwill of Gobu and Barai. At the moment there is a general agreement
that all are "a little bit owners". For this reason, in the table
No. XX, I have shown as owners and members those agnatic descendants
of these immigrants who live patri-virilocally in their respective clan
sectors.

The following two cases illustrate the manner in which this
"little bit" ownership is recognised in the case of alienation of land;
(i) The co-operative association leased a piece of land on which a Warata
man had his coconuts. The Warata man received the price of coconuts
plus a small amount for land. The remainder was taken by Genia Moga,
the eldest son of the above-mentioned Moga of the Gobu clan sector.
Whether or not Barai clan sector received any money from Genia I don't
know. Recently a man of Mailu-European descent leased land from a Warata
man who, it seems, has pocketed the price of both the coconuts and land.
The above Genia complained to me that the lessee has not yet paid for
the land, while the administration records show that the payment has
been made to the Warata man. Thus in practice this sort of ownership
operates rather erratically. So far as I am aware, there have not yet
been any cases of open conflict.

Since the establishment of these eight clan sectors, the usual
processes of recruitment and loss of membership have, of course, continued
to operate: needy cognates and affines have been accommodated by some
more than others, birth and death have affected the fortunes of different
lineages and clan sectors differently. The rights acquired by the new
recruits vary with the circumstances.
I now show how these changes have affected the structure of different clan sectors differently by giving a brief account of the present social composition of each clan sector individually. This account will, I hope, in part serve as a supplement to, and in part as an explanation of, table No. XX.

1. Morisa clan sector. This has three houses. The owner of one belongs to the clan sector by agnatic descent. He has living with him two married daughters and their husbands and children belonging to Bani clan sector. The owners of the other two live there through nacognatic connections. The mother's mother of one and the father's mother of the other belonged to Morisa clan sector. One comes from Orimu clan sector, Geagea village, and the other from Dia clan sector Mailupom; he has living with him his sister and her husband and children from Warata clan sector Geagea. In the absence of close agnates they have both inherited rights of ownership in their respective house sites. The man from Dia clan sector also occasionally refers to himself as belonging to Morau clan sector as his mother was a Morau woman.

2. Morau clan sector. This has two houses the owners of which belong to the clan sector by agnatic descent. Some other members of this clan sector are scattered in three other houses belonging to their cognates and affines.

3. Warata clan sector. Three of the six houses of this clan sector are owned by agnates and three by non-agnates. One agnatic owner has his daughter and her husband and children from Gobu clan sector living with him; and another has his mother's widowed sister, her grandchild,
and his wife's widowed mother and her widowed brother living with him. Of the non-agnatic owners, one is a widow of a Warata man who has her own agnates from Bani clan sector living with her; the second is a woman married to a man from Bani clan sector. She inherited the house and the site from her Warata mother. The third is a man from Derebai married to a Warata woman and living uxorilocally. He only owns the house; the site belongs to his wife's brother living next door.

4. Abi clan sector. This consists of four houses, two of which are owned by male agnates, the third by the widow of an agnate, and the fourth by a female agnate, the sole surviving member of her lineage and married to a Bani clan sector man who lives uxorilocally. In one case the agnatic male owner is a childless old widower being taken care of by his deceased wife's brother, a Warata man.

5. Uda clan sector. Of the two houses, one belongs to a male agnate, and the other to his sister married to a Morau man living uxorilocally. The male agnate has his wife's widowed father living with him.

6. Bani clan sector. This consists of five houses, of which two are owned by men who belong to the clan sector by agnatic descent, and the third by a man who is treated as an agnate though he is actually a nacognate; his father's mother belonged to Bani clan sector, his father (deceased) lived all his life in the clan sector, and he himself has lived there since his birth. He owns the house and the site and has living with him his wife's brother's wife (husband away for work) and children. The fourth is owned partly by the widow of a Bani clan sector
man and partly by her brother from Abi clan sector; they have living with them a widower classificatory brother-in-law and his children from Boi clan sector, Laruoro village. The fifth is owned by a man of Buma clan sector Mailupom who was a little child when his father died and his mother, a Bani woman, brought him with her to Loupom. The site belongs to his mother's brother's sons. Although he has planted some coconut trees, he has established no rights of ownership in land. Yet he plays a leading role in the clan sector and the village.

7. Gobu clan sector. It consists of four houses, three of which are owned by agnates. One agnatic owner has living with him a classificatory sister's son from Mailupom and his wife and children. The younger brother of another is living with his wife's father in Warata clan sector next door. The fourth, a little shanty, is owned by a distant nacognate from Oraido clan sector Geagea. His mother was a classificatory sister of the mother of a man from Gobu clan sector. He lives in the clan sector by courtesy and has established no land rights.

8. Barai clan sector. It has three houses, two of which are owned by agnates and the third by the widow of an agnate. All three houses have one or more nacognate living in them.

The above account makes it clear that the clan sectors are composed of a wide variety of kin groupings and that, by virtue of this diversity, they are strongly interlinked by ties of multiple and overlapping affiliation and allegiance in addition to ties of kinship and marriage and personal friendship. It also indicates that, in the
case of Loupom, with the increase in population a certain hardening of attitude towards non-agnates occurred. When the village was short of people non-agnates were offered rights of ownership in land, but when the village became fully established, though non-agnates were still welcome, they ceased to acquire ownership of land, except in the absence of close male agnatic heirs. The rule, regarding acquisition of ownership in land by planting trees, allows room for manoeuvre and has been interpreted with varying degree of strictness ranging from no ownership to partial and almost full ownership.

Table No. XX indicates that, though similar variety is present in Mailupom, the rate of deviation from the agnatic and patri-virilocal norms is lower. Neither Loupom, nor Mailupom is representative in this respect of all Mailu villages. Some, like Unevi and Sabiribo, are more like Loupom, and others, like Geagea and Borebo, are more like Mailupom. Each has its own unique social composition brought about by unique historical circumstances, but the general principles that I have discussed above are common to all.

While dealing with the division of labour between sections of the household (p. 45), I stated that in gardening, sago making, fishing, copra production and other regular tasks, sections of a household show a great deal of autonomy. The degree of autonomy that members of a lineage or clan sector enjoy is still greater. In most major undertakings: canoe-making, house building, feasting, payment of bride-price, close cognates and affines help each other by providing food, wealth and labour. Although not all may be willing or able to
help, at any particular occasion some do come forward. Closeness in this sense is not simply a matter of kinship distance; personal liking and affection and spatial proximity may also affect the relationship. Distantly related members of the clan sector sometimes behave as close relatives and actively assist each other, but sometimes they have only minimal dealings. Ordinarily they are expected to assist each other by providing physical labour for heavy tasks and contributing vegetable food for mourning feasts. For doing heavy work, depending on the magnitude of the task, help may also be sought as frequently, if not more often, from fellow-villagers, members of the village club, or congregation, (see next chapter). For mourning feasts not all members of the clan sector provide vegetable food, though nearly all assist with physical chores. At a mourning feast at Mailupom (oio, the second largest feast) four persons acted as masters, each honouring his own dead relatives. Goi of Buma clan sector (Morau phratry) received food and pigs from 20 cognates (including all members of his clan sector) and affines. Wunua of Mara clan sector (Maradubu phratry) received two pigs from his brother-in-law, but no food from anyone else except members of his own household. Gorio of Boila clan sector (Urumoga phratry) received food and pigs from 12 cognates and affines, but only a minority of his clan sector provided food. Kapu of Varata clan sector (Bodeabo phratry) received pigs and food from 10 cognates and affines, but no member of his clan sector, other than his own household, provided food. This despite the fact that, prior to the feast, everyone told me that the whole phratry was going to provide food to its respective master of the feast.
No clan sector headmen are now recognised; each man is head of his own family and the eldest brother or father, if still vigorous and active socially, is considered as the head of the household. If the ancestral coconuts, sago and other property is not yet apportioned between the brothers, the older brother is considered to be the boss. There is no rule requiring equal division of property between brothers, and if the father dies without apportioning property between his children, the older brother divides it at his discretion. Apparently this has not given rise to any serious conflict; at least I have not come across any such case.

**Phratry**

The four phratries in Mailupom consist of six, six, four and three clan sectors each. Bodeabo, the largest phratry, consists of 23 houses, the second largest, the Urumoga of 19 houses, the third, Maradubu, of nine houses, and the fourth, Morau, of five houses. The greater the size of the phratry, the greater the number of intra-phratry marriages: Bodeabo has 16 intra-phratry marriages currently in good standing, Urumoga 12, Maradubu four, and Morau none.

The Mailupom have a habit of speaking as if the phratries always act as separate units in economic and social activities. In fact this is true only in certain situations, and that too in a rather loose sense; one always finds a few members of other phratries present in activities carried out by any specific phratry. When a fleet of Mailupom canoes sails for fishing at the barrier reef, the canoes of each
phratry tend to sail together, though the people on board are more often than not a mixed collection. This is also the case when they visit their plantation on the mainland or go for trading.

Mailupom village has two mixed (men and women's) clubs, one supposedly belonging to Bodeabo, Mara and Morau phratries, the other to Urumoga. I understand that the Assistant District Officer Abau failed in an attempt to persuade them to form a single club, but I could not find out why. Despite this insistence on forming separate clubs, no attempt was made to recruit members on strictly phratry lines; each person was allowed to join the club he wished. The result was a characteristic Mailu mixture: though members of Bodeabo, Maradubu and Morau phratries predominated in Bodeabo club, and those of Urumoga in Urumoga club, the membership overlapped by about 20%. Some men joined the club of their own phratry, some their mother's. Similarly, some women joined the club of their husband's phratry, some their father's, resulting in husband and wife joining different clubs. It seems that ties of personal friendship and attachment to particular kin countered the pull of phratry membership. Each club is planning to build a separate clubhouse, for which they are collecting funds in several ways: sometimes they make copra and collect shell for the club, sometimes they fish, cut firewood, or collect betel nut and sell it to the village for coconuts, sometimes they earn money by doing garden-work for a fellow-villager.
For the use of the village copra drier, the two small phratries together and the two large ones separately, are usually allotted a day each. In the general conduct of village affairs, when necessary the phratries may be used for dividing the village into work groups, but they don't constitute a separate political faction in the village. This will, I hope, become more clear in the next chapter when I discuss the working of co-operatives, councils and church organisations and the role played by local kinship groups in them.

It is clear that lineages, clan sectors and phratries show great diversity in their internal structure, and they are strongly interlinked by ties that create divided loyalties among their members. In this respect they do not perhaps differ too radically from the past; but with their subjection to Australian administration and loss of warfare, headhunting, initiation and other major economic and social activities, their vitality and autonomy has been sapped.
CHAPTER III
Village and Extra-Village Relations

I: Village

I shall now discuss how the contemporary Mailu villages are internally constituted and how the local kinship groups and the recently introduced formal associations, such as co-operatives and church congregations function together.

Co-operative Societies

The historical development of the co-operative movement and the establishment of the co-operative societies and the Association has already been discussed (pp. 157-169). Here I describe the functioning of the societies in the villages. Table No. VII indicates that only three out of 11 Mailu co-operative societies are single-village societies. Recently, because of the distance between the villages concerned, the Mailupon and Magaubo society, and Boru and Siini society were reconstituted to form single-village societies; and the number of Mailu single-village societies now stands at six, two-village societies at four, and the total at 12. Both Loupom and Mailupom societies are now single-village societies.

Membership is acquired by buying one or more five pound shares. Regardless of the number of shares bought, each member has only one vote. In all cases the membership of the society is village-wide; most adults and some children hold shares. Each nuclear family has at least one share, either held by the husband, wife or a child. The Loupom society has 145 members and the total share capital is £1720; the corresponding
number for Mailupom is 268 and £3195 respectively. In both societies no member holds more than eight fully paid up shares.

Each society holds annually a general meeting to elect its board of directors, including a chairman, a secretary and a storeman; the last two positions are usually held by one man. The number of directors varies with the volume of work and the felt needs of the society. If the directors feel they have too much work to do they recommend to the general meeting to approve the appointment of an additional director. Within the last eight years the number of directors in the Loupom society has ranged between six and eight; at present it is six and that in the Mailupom society seven.

The secretary/storeman is a paid full-time employee of the society, receiving between five and £10 a month depending on the volume of work and the capacity of the society to pay. He is responsible for buying and selling, supervising store goods, keeping accounts and minutes of the meetings, and conducting correspondence. It is his duty to ensure that the store is well stocked with goods, and if short, place orders with the association. When members bring copra and shell for sale to the society, it is his job to check that the copra is properly dried, and the shell is of the right quality. For every sale and purchase made he must issue a receipt and, if the customer is a member, indicate his number. These receipts are kept by the customers to claim rebate, and the storeman retains the duplicate copies which, together with the stock and cash, are checked periodically by the co-operative officer, or inspectors on his staff.
The success and failure of the society depends a great deal on the honesty and efficiency of the storeman. Unfortunately, men with these qualities are difficult to find, and Mailu co-operative societies suffer often through the dishonesty and inefficiency of storemen, the generally low standard of education being an important factor affecting efficiency. Virtually all societies have had to dismiss one or more storemen for dishonesty, inefficiency, or both. A few were prosecuted for stealing large amounts and sentenced to gaol. Usually the theft takes the form of pilfering a small amount of meat, fish or other food and gradually this adds up to a sizeable quantity.

Another failing of the storemen, from which the society suffers financial loss, is the sale of goods on credit. The co-operatives have a rule prohibiting credit and the co-operative officer and his staff try their best to enforce it, but not very successfully. Though people realise that giving credit is bad for the society, nobody really believes in the fairness of a rule that prevents him from obtaining help from a friend or relative when he needs it. To a needy person it is not a matter of particular concern that the relative from whom he is seeking help is a storeman in charge of goods that do not belong to him. Relatives and friends, sometimes directors and chairmen, constantly importune storemen to give them goods on credit. Such importunities are usually accompanied by extravagant assurances to pay back quickly. Since this is the only form of patronage they can extend, the storemen may themselves find it expedient not to adhere too strictly to the no-credit rule. So virtually all storemen give credit, but some are less discriminating than others and land themselves and the society into financial difficulties by giving too much to the wrong people.
Sometimes, to obtain money in a hurry, individual members bring for sale copra that is not fully dried and the storeman buys it carelessly. Such copra is rejected by the Copra Marketing Board and shipped back to the society concerned at its expense. The society has, in addition, to foot the cost of drying and reshipping it, thus incurring loss.

Mailupom society has been more fortunate in its choice of storemen than Loupom. The storeman at Mailupom is honest and fairly efficient. Recently he was sent for a storeman's course at the co-operative training centre at Port Moresby. The man who replaced him in the interval also worked well. In Loupom several changes had to be made, each appointee proving either inefficient or dishonest, or both. In 1954 Bua was appointed storeman after receiving a year's training at the co-operative centre. In 1958 he was dismissed for inefficiency and giving credit and another man, Dona, was appointed. In 1960 Dona was dismissed for pilfering and was replaced by Daitu who was later prosecuted for stealing £150-worth of goods and gaol. In 1961, at a special meeting, the co-operative chairman nominated for reappointment Bua who had, in the meantime, become local government councillor and presumably more responsible. This suggestion was opposed by the chairman's younger brother who felt Bua should not be given another chance. The prevailing opinion was, however, in favour of Bua, and he was elected unopposed. Bua is still the storeman and, to all appearances, working satisfactorily.

Another figure on whose initiative and energy the success and failure of a society depends a great deal is the chairman. He, together
with the directors, is responsible for the general supervision of the society. He guides the work of building and repairing of stores and copra driers, encourages the people to produce more copra and shell, and assigns them tasks that need to be done periodically. He is also a director of the Association and attends its meetings as a representative of the society. He keeps the members informed about the work of the Association and the decisions made by its directors. The division of work between the chairman and the directors varies a great deal from society to society and from time to time. In some societies there is no real division of labour, the directors and the chairman do more or less the same things, though the latter is recognised as the leader. In others members are divided into groups and each director leads his own group, and the chairman provides general supervision and from time to time allots specific tasks to the directors, such as supervising the repair of a copra drier, processing of timber for the store, leading a group to provide wharf labour for the Association, or help the storeman with carrying and transport of store supplies and copra.

The chairman and the directors work in an honorary capacity. If the society makes a profit and a large sum becomes available for distribution to the members as rebate, the directors may receive an honorarium at the discretion of the general meeting of the members.

Though the directorships are generally distributed throughout the village, neither clan sectors nor phratries are given any fixed representation. A popular or capable man gets elected regardless of clan sector and phratry affiliations, and, if his performance is satisfactory, he is elected again and again. To support this generalisation I discuss
the election of directors in Mailupom and Loupom. In Mailupom the following were the directors in 1960:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Clan Sector</th>
<th>Phratry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dagi</td>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Boila</td>
<td>Urumoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papari</td>
<td>Secretary/Storeman</td>
<td>Banaga</td>
<td>Urumoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Logu</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Boila</td>
<td>Urumoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawaka</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Bani</td>
<td>Bodeabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lai</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Dibo</td>
<td>Maradubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laru</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Mara-oraido</td>
<td>Morau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moto</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Buma</td>
<td>Morau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The list shows that, though the directors were recruited from all four phratries, only one was recruited from the largest phratry, Bodeabo, while two were elected from the smallest phratry, Morau.

In 1961, when the copra production dropped, it was felt that the directors were not doing their job properly and the board of directors was reconstituted as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Clan Sector</th>
<th>Phratry</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dagi</td>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Boila</td>
<td>Urumoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papari</td>
<td>Secretary/Storeman</td>
<td>Banaga</td>
<td>Urumoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dini</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Dia</td>
<td>Urumoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kawanai</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Uda</td>
<td>Bodeabo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wunua</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Mara</td>
<td>Maradubu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Onaga</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Moto</td>
<td>Maradubu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The two most efficient men, Dagi and Papari, were retained; all others were changed. No director was elected from Morau, the smallest phratry. The changes were made unanimously by show of hands.

The Loupom society, in 1961, similarly re-elected unanimously the following:
Bua (Bani clan sector) was appointed to replace as storeman Daitu (Gobu clan sector) under trial for theft. Are (Morau clan sector), Misia (Gobu clan sector), and Gila (Barai clan sector) were dismissed and in their place Kene (Bani clan sector) and Onaga (Morisa, Dia, Morau clan sector) was appointed. Kene was elected unanimously, but Onaga by 50 votes to 14 against a man from Bani clan sector. Onaga's name was proposed by a Bani man and his opponent by an Abi woman. It is clear that clan sector and Phratry affiliation play a minimal role, if any, in the election of directors of co-operative societies.

Members contribute free labour for the work of the society. The directors have the power to dismiss any member who persistently refuses to co-operate when asked to work for the society. To my knowledge this power has not been so far exercised. If a member wishes to shirk work, he either pretends to be ill, or simply disappears from sight to avoid being asked; the Mailu do not like to refuse directly. The members' reward for their work is the periodic rebate that they receive from the profit of the society. The Loupom co-operative society paid five rebates amounting to £1560 between March 1955 and March 1961. The rebate is calculated separately for profits from copra and store goods, and recently a provision has also been made for paying dividend on share-capital. The members produce their

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Clan Sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Maru</td>
<td>Chairman</td>
<td>Gobu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naua</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Bani (Buma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilo</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Bani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Micky</td>
<td>Director</td>
<td>Gobu (Morisa, Oraido)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
receipts for copra they sold and the store goods they bought, and from these the co-operative officer or inspectors calculate their share of the rebate. If a member loses his receipt he also loses his rebate for that receipt. I made a random spot check of receipts against carbon copies kept in the Loupom society and found that 57 out of a total of 100 were retained by the customers. Of the 43 that were lost, some were for large amounts, some for small. The present system of rebate payment, therefore, discriminates against the members who lose their receipts.

Though mainly concerned with business, the society also performs welfare functions that devolve on it due to its position as a village enterprise and virtual identity of the interest of its members with the interest of the village. As the members see it, this overlap between business and welfare is as it should be; the society and the village are one.

When the societies were first formed, as already stated, all the coconut palms owned by the members were taken over by the society, and their upkeep and exploitation became the responsibility of the society. The chairmen started assigning work to the members to clear coconut plantations, collect nuts, bring firewood for the copra drier, dry and bag the copra and help transport it to the ship. When the trade goods for the society arrived, the members were asked to collect them from the boat. All this gave the chairman and the directors considerable control over the labour of the members. It was necessary
that the society work be done, it was also necessary to ensure that this work should not obstruct gardening, fishing, trading and other personal activities of the members. As a result, a system of assigning days for the society and other work developed. In some societies a particular day came to be regarded as the day for society work, but this was not strictly adhered to. It came to be generally expected that, in any one week, depending on the circumstances, the members would be asked to devote a day or more to society work. After the morning or evening prayer meeting in the village church or street, the chairman and the directors told the members what work was required to be done and urged them to do it that day or next. If the present practice is any guide, the members did not always comply; sometimes they felt they were being driven too hard, sometimes they just did not feel like working and refused to be persuaded. In these circumstances the directors usually let the matter rest and brought it up again at a more favourable time.

For a while the members of each society worked as a single group, but soon a number of work groups led by directors came to be formed in certain societies, particularly in those with larger membership. This introduced an element of competition and sport in work and enabled the society to exercise greater control on shirkers, who easily managed to dodge work when employed in a single large group. Since copra driers were too small to accommodate at any one time all the copra produced by the society, the formation of groups also
allowed the society to stagger production more rationally and make
more efficient use of the drier by allotting it to each group on
separate days. Sometimes all the groups were asked, or themselves
decided to produce copra on the same day. In that case the chairman
estimated the capacity of the drier and allotted each group a quota on
the basis of a certain number of coconuts per person. The copra was
then dried jointly and cash income distributed equally between all
members.

The basis on which the groups were formed varied from one
society to another. The societies consisting of two or more small
villages formed groups on villages basis; in Mailupom the members were
loosely grouped in terms of their phratry affiliations. In Loupom
each director was appointed group leader and the members were asked to
choose the leader they wished to work with.

The present composition of these groups can neither be fully
explained in terms of clan sector, lineage, or household affiliations,
nor in terms of closeness of kinship and personal liking. Though,
in most cases, each married couple forms part of the same group, in
a few cases the husband is a member of one group, the wife of another.
I give below the present composition of a group led by director Naua
to illustrate the manner in which members of different clan sectors
joined together to form a group:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Member</th>
<th>Clan Sector</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naua and his wife</td>
<td>Bani (Buma)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobo and his wife</td>
<td>Bani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nogi and his wife</td>
<td>Bani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daitu and his wife</td>
<td>Gobu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genia and his wife</td>
<td>Gobu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poiri and his wife</td>
<td>Barai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tibo and his sister</td>
<td>Warata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magini (single man)</td>
<td>Bani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lageau (single man)</td>
<td>Baraii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Kau (married woman)  Gobu (Warata) clan sector
Lapila (married woman)  Bani (Gobu) "
Mekena (widow)  Bani "
Owani (single woman)  Morisa "
Taeva (single woman)  Baraii "

The husbands of Kau and Lapila above are working for Europeans and do not form part of any group. The clan sectors shown above are those of the husbands; in the case of Kau and Lapila, the natal clan sectors are shown within brackets.

Some of the above persons are more closely related to each other than others, but all have some kind of kinship connection with each other; yet virtually all of them have equally, or more closely, related relatives in other groups. Magini’s, Daitu’s and Genia’s brothers are in another group. Taeva’s mother, Owani’s mother and father, Poiri’s and Lageau’s most close relatives, and Kau’s mother and father and husband’s brother are all in other groups: that is why this group is difficult to explain in terms of kinship.

It is not suggested that kinship, clanship and personal liking are not relevant for the understanding of group formation, but that, without a detailed knowledge of the unique combination of factors which operate in each case, the composition of Loupom groups cannot be understood. The people often say, it is not a good thing to form groups by mixing people of different clan sectors, yet they almost invariably do; for one thing their definition of clan sector imperceptibly shifts from an agnatic group to any collection of relatives. Naua, the above-mentioned director, discussing with me the composition of his group said, "You see this group is composed of members of many clan sectors. It is not
good to mix people this way. We should make separate groups of different clan sectors. This way you have competition and you get more work done; the clan sector which is strong will win." But in a different mood, or with a slight shift in emphasis, the same man talks about the welfare of the village, the Christian unity, the need to stand together to help each other, in these "enlightened days", regardless of clan sector affiliations. When he was given a chance to allocate people to form groups, he not only produced a similar mixture, but also, after dividing the village into so-called clan sector groups, he decided it would be a good thing if the whole village worked together to help, in turn, each clan sector to finish its work.

The groups, I understand, produced copra jointly till the Registrar of Co-operative Societies told them the coconut palms belonged to the individual who planted them, not to the society; they should let each member use his own palms to produce his own copra. Most societies immediately followed this advice but some, like Loupom and Ori and Oibada Society, continued to follow the old procedure. Maru, the chairman of Loupom society, is reported to have said:

"The people without coconut palms are not different people; they are Loupom people. It is not right that they and their children should go without copra. We will all work together and divide equally."

Even in Loupom certain concessions were made to the principle of individual enterprise. If a member wanted to make his copra by himself he was permitted to do so, provided he refrained from using
the society drier and dried his copra in the sun. During dry months the control of coconut palms was returned to individual owners and each member made his copra individually by drying it in the sun. The people who had more coconuts started complaining increasingly against the system and finally it was decided to return fully the control of palms to individual ownership, and that is the present position.

The groups in Loupom still function in a modified form; each person produces copra from his own nuts, but dries it in the society drier jointly with other members of his group. The number of nuts processed by him are noted and he receives his share of copra accordingly. After the copra is sold to the store, it is jointly bagged by the group concerned. Anyone acting as drier attendant receives five shillings out of the cash received for copra. In most other societies groups are no longer functioning. If a household, clan sector, or a number of families or individuals produce enough copra to fill a drier, they form an impromptu group to use the drier in much the same fashion as the Loupom people do.

The extent to which the society organisation is used for extra-society purposes varies from one society to another and from time to time; variations for the most part depend on the presence or absence of other formal organisations to do the work and the quality of their leadership. How the various organisations serve as an alternative to each other I will discuss later; here I will merely state for what extra-society purposes the co-operative organisation may be utilised. Loupom village has bought a fishing net which is maintained and controlled by one of the directors.
Whether fishing is done for sale to the market, or for village consumption, that director leads the group, which is formed for the occasion by recruiting anyone willing to join. In 1960, the Loupom people also used their copra production groups for gardening; each member's garden plot was cleared in turn by all members, with the owner providing food for the helpers. Whoever had enough food ready informed the society chairman who passed the request to the group leader and the members. For this purpose, however, the groups changed their composition almost daily. Close relatives of the owner, particularly sisters' or daughters' husbands, who were traditionally responsible for providing physical labour and food for helpers, changed their group affiliations for the day to help their relative. Sometimes not enough people were ready with food to provide full employment for all groups, and those unemployed were persuaded to join other groups. Members of the Ori and Oibada society, at present, use the organisation of their society to secure help for gardening. All requests for help are channelled through the chairman who consults and at times persuades the members to provide necessary assistance. The owner of the garden provides food for the helpers.

On any occasion, when the village wants to collect a fund for a particular purpose, the society may, with the consent of the people, temporarily assume control of all coconut palms and revert to the old system of joint production of copra. The proceeds of this copra go into the fund and the control of palms again reverts to the owners. Another variant of this is: the society chairman may ask each household or each person to contribute a certain number of nuts, which are used for the
joint production of copra by the village, either working as a single
group, or several groups. In Loupom this is done at Christmas to buy
pigs and food for the feast held at the mission head-station. They
also did this, when they held a feast in 1962, to welcome Hiri, the
new boat bought by the Federation of Co-operative Associations, of which
the local association is a shareholder.

The Village Clubs

These are either mixed (men and women's) clubs, or women's clubs,
often called women's guilds. The mixed clubs were formed at the
suggestion of the Assistant District Officer Abau, their main purpose
being to provide a means of organising recreational activities in the
village, as well as mutual assistance for heavy work. Each club
established a fund to which members contributed five shillings as
membership fee plus free labour for various club activities, of which
the main one was assisting the village people in heavy work (clearing
garden plots, house building, canoe making) for a fee of ten shillings
or more, depending on the amount of work. Anyone requiring such
assistance informed the club president who then asked the members to
do the work. Those doing such work had to provide their own food, for
the owner, having paid the club fee, had already recompensed them for
their labour. The members also contributed to the club fund by
occasionally catching fish, cutting firewood, collecting betlenut and
shell and selling them to the village for coconuts, from which the members
made copra for the club.
The people soon lost interest in these clubs. Though they still exist in most villages, they are no longer active, except in Mailupom and Boru. The main reason for the loss of interest was that neither the people requiring assistance liked the idea of paying a fee in cash, nor were members too enthusiastic for working without receiving food. A sympathetic owner sometimes provided food for the helpers in addition to paying the club fee. This pleased the helpers, but was too much strain on the owner. I have already discussed the two clubs in Mailupom (pp. 224). Most other villages have either a single club, or one jointly with two or more neighbouring villages.

Women's clubs were started by the wife of the missionary who called the women of the village near the mission head-station and suggested they should meet fortnightly for prayer, hymn singing, playing games, mat making and lace work. Soon the women of other villages also formed similar clubs, electing their own executive. Like the mixed clubs, these clubs also collected funds by making copra, collecting shell, making sago and mats. In most villages women's clubs are now more active than mixed clubs. They contribute to the church funds, if one of them has a baby others give small gifts to the baby, and occasionally they hold basket ball matches with the women of other villages. In 1962 Loupom women's club went to play a basket ball match with Borebo women's club who provided vegetable food and killed a pig to entertain the visitors. Similar games were also played between clubs of several other villages.
Local Government Council

The formation of local government councils and the division of the Mailu area into council constituencies have already been discussed (pp. 146-50). Here I describe how the villagers elect councillors and what role the council and councillors play in village life. I will deal with the election of councillors first. To indicate how in an intra-village context the kinship and clan sector affiliations, beliefs and values of the voters affect their voting, I analyse the voting pattern in Loupom, one of the four single-village constituencies in the Amazon Bay Council.

The election was held in 1960 when the council was first established. There were two candidates, Maru and Micky. Maru is a member of Gobu clan sector and a natal resident of Loupom; Micky comes from Oraido clan sector, Geagea village, but his mother, who was from Morisa clan sector Loupom and a nacognate of Maru's mother, brought him to Loupom many years ago. He now lives in Gobu clan sector and identifies himself more with that clan sector than his mother's, although, from time to time, he refers to himself as belonging to Oraido (through father), Gobu, Morisa and Morau clan sectors (through mother). Maru is the chairman of the village co-operative society and Micky one of its directors; both are deacons of the village congregation. A total of 92 votes were cast, out of which my sample includes 52 for Maru, 34 for Micky. I provide below an analysis of these votes in terms of nuclear family affiliations of voters.
Pairs of relationships | No. voting for the same candidate | No. voting for different candidates | Total pairs
--- | --- | --- | ---
Husband and wife | 16 | 10 | 26
Father and son | 2 | 4 | 6
Father and daughter | 6 | 6 | 12
Mother and son | 4 | 0 | 4
Mother and daughter | 5 | 5 | 10
Brother and sister | 12 | 8 | 20
Brother and brother | 4 | 5 | 9
Sister and sister | 3 | 4 | 7

Sister and sister's husband of Micky voted against him. Similarly, daughter and brother's wife of Maru voted against him. The wives of both candidates voted for their husbands while the candidates, as a courtesy, voted for each other. The results in terms of candidates' clan sector affiliations were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class of members of Gobu and Oriado Clan Sectors</th>
<th>Maru</th>
<th>Micky</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>For</td>
<td>Against</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male agnates</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female agnates</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contingent members</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clear from the above that kinship and clan sector ties may not affect voting at all; when they do, their influence is
essentially unpredictable and may be negative. In order to test the validity of this conclusion and to find out the people's views of why they acted the way they did, I consulted about a third. My aim was not to obtain statistical evidence, but to discover the range of considerations affecting choice.

More than a third of those asked were unable or unwilling to give their reasons. They usually answered with an embarrassed giggle, "Oh, I don't know, I just chose him; no reason at all." Some were unsure about what answers to give and tried to seek help from others. One woman who voted for a different candidate from her husband suddenly decided to adopt the role of helpless female and asked him to explain her choice in spite of the fact that she had beaten him on suspicion of taking interest in another woman.

Those who did answer the questions invariably emphasised such "universalistic" criteria as wisdom, experience, clear thinking, ability to read and write, and proved success in handling the work of the co-operative society. Respectfulness, gentleness, ability to make a strong speech, straightness of heart and conduct were also stressed. One voter mentioned personal liking as a criteria, but added goodness and wisdom as supplementary. Those who spoke of kinship were careful to stress ability, experience, or wisdom as well. The sister of Micky who voted to Maru explained her choice thus: "They are both alright, but I thought my distant brother would be better because he is chairman of the co-operative society and people like him."
The values stated and the voting appear to be consistent and support the conclusion that voters are more influenced by personal qualifications than by kinship and clan sector affiliations. The data I have for Mailupom indicates that what is true of kinship and clan sector ties also applies to phratry affiliations.

I have already discussed (pp. 150-51) the broad duties of the councillor and the dual role that he has to play of Government servant and representative of the people. Here I discuss how this role is being played in different villages. In some villages councillors are men of drive, ability, experience and considerable prestige; in others they lack one or more of these qualities. Mark, the former leader of the co-operative movement, is the councillor for Sabiribo, Maiva, Pediri and Eunoro villages. No other leader in these villages can match his talent, experience and organising ability, and they largely follow his lead. He has started a drive for planting coconuts. He asked the members of each village to form a group and elect a leader. He wrote down the names of all adults in the group and gave the list to the group leader. The group now works twice a week, jointly planting coconuts in turn for each member. In order to make sure that coconuts are planted only in the land owned by the members, Mark ascertained beforehand the ownership of land. If a man had no land, Mark persuaded his relatives to give him some. The group works one day for a single member and two days for a married couple. Some of the members are single girls whose fathers or brothers have given them some land, so that they may have their own palms to make their life better. Mark is
aware that disputes might arise later over such transfers of land, and he is planning to register each such transfer with the Government; he has not yet bothered to enquire into the legal feasibility of his plan.

The group starts work at about eight in the morning and stops at four. Men cut trees and clear the land, women plant coconuts. Unlike the traditional custom, the owner of the plantation is not required to provide food for the helpers. This has been done to make sure that everyone, whether he can provide food or not, receives help from the group. Each person takes with him three sweet potatoes, taro, or some other food. This food is pooled together and the leader selects two or three women to cook it. Since cooking is a lighter duty, the leader may assign it to a woman who is weak, or has a small child to look after. The morning and evening meal people eat at home. In answer to my question about discipline, Mark said, "I have made one rule; if a man stays back in the village pretending to be sick and then works in his own garden, the group leader should lead all the group to him and say, 'We have come to help you, tell us what work you want us to do'. He will then have to feed the whole group."

At present the groups work on Tuesdays and Thursdays, but sometimes Mark tells them to devote the whole week. Mark and his brother-in-law, Punch, who are members of the Sabiribo group, have employed a man each to work in their place, as they both have a trade store to run and other work to do. The councillor in the neighbouring villages, Geagea and Onioni, has also started a programme similar to Mark's. These two councillors are quoted as an example of
strong councillors by the people of other villages. Supervising road building has been the main activity of most other councillors on the mainland.

In most villages Friday is regarded as the day for Government or village work. On that day the councillor has the right to assign people to do such work as street cleaning and repairing the rest house, latrines and any other public structures. In Loupom, in addition to strictly village work, the councillor also deals on Friday with all private requests for village assistance for doing heavy work, while on other days the same work is handled by the chairman of the co-operative society, or village congregation. On one Friday, for example, the councillor asked the women to clean the village and spread sand to level the floor of the village church; to the men he gave the task of bringing timber from the bush for erecting huts to house delegates for the forthcoming meeting of the church council. On another occasion he asked some persons to process cane for the co-operative store, and some others to help a village man to fence his garden. To the latter group he said, "The owner of the garden will feed you. If his food is not good, don't feel bad; this is Friday and I have given you just this work."

When, for some reason, people do not wish to work, they are not easily persuaded; and neither the councillor, nor any other Mailu leader can always count on being obeyed, as the following example shows. A Mailupom man, Waru, is the captain of the Association boat and resident at the Association. His wife requested Bua, the
Loupom Councillor, to send some people to fence her garden. The councillor passed the request to the people, who were unwilling to go as the garden was too long. A director assured the people that all they had to do was to make a part of the fence and that the remainder would be done by the Mailupom people. But they remained unresponsive. Then Maru, the co-operative society chairman, strongly urged the audience to provide help. He said, "Waru is a very good man. Helps us when we collect church fund, when we hold a village feast and when we sail in his boat. In any way we need him, he helps us." The councillor then started asking people individually whether they would be willing to go. An old man said in reply, "I don't see any young men willing to work. We are here just to give them a helping hand; it is they who have to do the work." But the young men refused to budge. The councillor then turned to the women, saying, "I would like some of you to volunteer. It is not your job, but perhaps you would like to help. Don't work too hard, do what you can, and come back when you feel tired." A few did volunteer. Then the co-operative chairman gave a speech to reinforce the councillor's authority. He said:

"We should obey the councillors and the Church. The Church is a thing of great power. Through the Church our life will be good, also through the council. Councillor's work is not merely to ask the people to clean the village, or to arrest them and taken them to court, he must help them in everything — making gardens, making canoes, all different kind of work. If we don't obey him, how can he help us?"

But all this had little effect. People just walked away. Later, by individual persuasion, the councillor, the chairman and the director gathered a few people to do the job.
The law and order duties of the councillor are interpreted rather broadly. If there is a quarrel in the village the parties in the dispute may approach the councillor, or the councillor may himself intervene. He enquires into the case, apportions responsibility, and tells the guilty party to behave in future. If the parties are satisfied with that the matter ends, otherwise he takes them to the patrol officer who decides the case. If someone wishes to collect a debt, claim return of bride price, or get a theft or damage to property investigated, he approaches the councillor, who provides what help he can. In certain cases the councillor may be asked to find lost property as the following example shows: After a visit to Sabiribo village, my cook discovered that he had lost my axe. My landlord and his wife's brother, an ex-constable, immediately contacted the councillor from Ori village visiting Louppm and told him to ask, on his way back to his village, the Sabiribo councillor to find my axe. Later the ex-constable said to me, "I am no longer a police constable, otherwise I would have gone to Sabiribo myself. Now the Ori councillor will do that; it is his job."

The people feel that a strong councillor does not merely listen to cases brought to him, but himself takes active interest in enforcing the law, which they often conceive in terms of the moral values of the community or their own personal values. When a Louppom widow, for example, became pregnant by a married man, a village deacon said, "The councillor is weak, he should tell the man to marry her."
Similarly, when a case of adultery occurred, a man said, "The councillor is weak, that is why young men visit girls at night (a traditional practice increasingly frowned upon by elders) and sometimes fool around with married women. That is not good, single girls — that is a little bit alright."

The councillors also take a similarly broad view of their duties. When, for instance, the Loupom people were making preparations for celebrating Christmas at the mission head-station, the councillor warned the people to conduct themselves properly. Then addressing the young people, he said, "Boys and girls should not fornicate. Respect and good behaviour is our Christian way, and I would like you to celebrate Christmas with respect. I will arrest any boys and girls I see wandering around in the dark; I am warning you now."

The role of the councillor, being new, is not yet fully crystallised, and there is a considerable amount of improvisation and experimentation, both by the councillors and the people. It is clear, however, that attending council meetings as a representative of the people is only a small part of the councillor's duties.

**Congregation**

The division of the District Church into congregations has already been discussed (p.153). Here I describe how the Church organisation works at the village level. Each village, whether forming a congregation alone or with one or more other villages, has a number of church members and one or more elected deacons. If the village
builds a church and persuades the district church council to appoint a pastor, the village church becomes a separate congregation. A separate congregation may also be established in the absence of a pastor, if experienced deacons are available to conduct prayers and the number of members is sufficient to constitute an autonomous congregation. The Mailupom village, for example, has been a separate congregation for decades, and Loupom, which now has a separate church, has recently been recognised as a congregation, though it shares a pastor (stationed at mission head-station Iruna) with Kureri, Woworo and Selai villages. All the villages are jointly responsible for providing food for the pastor and maintaining his residence. His appointment, transfer, and dismissal is controlled by the district church council. His salary is also determined and paid by that body.

It is the responsibility of deacons to find candidates for membership and to recommend them for enrolment into the seekers class conducted by the pastor. After attending for a year they become eligible for membership. The pastor then recommends them to the congregation for election. They are then baptised and admitted as members. Censor, suspension and dismissal of members for breach of church rules is in the hands of the district church council and the Papuan Church Assembly. The local congregation may bring the misconduct of a member to the notice of the district church council. Sometimes members voluntarily decide to punish themselves by staying away from communion. A deacon, for instance, suspended himself from communion for six months after being convicted of theft. The members are expected to provide food for the pastor, contribute to the church fund, and provide free labour for the work of the church.
Though deacons are usually elected from various sections of the village, no special care is taken to give representation to a particular clan sector. Since the coming into force of the new church constitution (1962), in addition to deacons, a chairman and a secretary are also elected. The votes cast to elect deacons and other church officials in Loupom indicate the same pattern in terms of clan sector and kinship affiliations as that shown by those for local government councillors. Unfortunately, I do not have similar data in respect of Mailupom to be able to comment on the relationship between voting for deacons and phratry affiliations.

All the above officials, together with deacons, constitute the deacons' meeting which meets once a month to deal with local church affairs; in special circumstances it may meet more often. Its decisions are later presented to the general meeting of the members for approval.

In addition to the above, in certain villages a member is nominated every week as monitor. He makes sure that the bells for the prayer meetings are rung in time. A few minutes before the beginning of the meeting he walks up and down the village street urging the people to get ready to attend. He arranges transport for the pastor or any other person visiting the village for church work. He is occasionally given the responsibility of collecting food for the pastor from every house in the village. In Loupom he is also expected to see that the school children leave in time for the school.
Prayer meetings are held twice a day on weekdays and three to four times on Sunday, which is treated as a day of rest from work. They take place either in the village street or church and are attended by both members and non-members; most of the latter also regard themselves as Christians. After the prayer the leaders usually discuss the business of the day and deal with any requests from people requiring help for heavy work.

Food for the pastor is collected in several ways. The monitor or deacon may collect from each house a specified amount, or the amount they wish to give. Each schoolchild may be asked to take on the way to school a sweet potato, taro, yam or some other food for the pastor. School children may be asked to plant a garden for the pastor and attend to it occasionally, or adults in the village may be asked to do the same. In certain cases individuals, on their own initiative, may give some food. None of these methods seems to work to the satisfaction of pastors and there are constant complaints about not receiving enough help or food.

The executive committee of the District Church Council makes an estimate of its expenditure each year and, taking into account the economic position and the number of church members, sets a mark for each village for the collection of church funds. The village church accordingly sets a mark for each individual member, who is constantly reminded by the deacons and others to work hard to fulfil it and uphold the village honour. The village that beats all others is given the
church flag as a trophy. If a village collects more than its mark, the extra money is returned to it for use by the village church. The villages that are given a high mark are extremely dissatisfied with the assessment and feel they are being fleeced. Every year they express their dissatisfaction in the Church Council meeting. In 1962, a few months before I left the field, a uniform rate of £1.7.0. per member was fixed for all coastal villages and ten shillings for all Dimuga villages. In 1961-62, £1123 was collected, with the highest subscriber, Loupom, contributing £125 and the lowest, Sabiribo, one pound.

The amount collected varies with the energy and persistence of the collectors. In Loupom, whenever members earned some money, the chairman reminded them to contribute some for church fund, and, by collecting small amounts at a time, he fulfilled his quota. While church members are given a fixed mark, non-members are asked to contribute whatever they wish to express goodwill. Some non-members in Loupom contributed more than the members.

Apart from the church fund, the members may be asked from time to time to make special contributions of either labour or material. The mission may decide to erect an extra school building, or a teacher's residence and members may be asked to contribute free building material and labour. A request may come from Port Moresby for some special charity and members may be asked to give money or material. The deacons usually have to exploit their personal relations with the members to meet these demands: those who are reluctant to give to the church may be moved to give out of sympathy for the deacon, when properly approached.
Like the councillors and the co-operative societies, the church organisation may also be used for arranging mutual assistance. In 1962 the Loupom people, for instance, decided that people requesting assistance for heavy work should be provided that help as part of the work of the church, and the chairman of the congregation was given the responsibility of assigning people to meet these requests.

This was done to solve the same problem as that Mark faced while organising groups for planting cash crops: what should be done to help the people who don't have enough food to feed the helpers? While Mark tried to solve this problem systematically by making strict rules (p. 246), Loupom leaders tried to handle it by appeals to Christian affection and good of the community. Their attitude was that people should do the work out of affection, but food should be provided if available. Dissatisfaction developed when some people provided food, others did not, and the issues were debated several times with inconclusive results. I give below an account of two such debates to indicate the personal, kinship and other issues involved.

**Case 1.** One day men of the village were given two tasks: one to cut from the bush binding material for the canoe of a man called Wakia, the other to cut planks of wood for the canoe of Maru, the co-operative society chairman. Since at that time the village had no big canoes, the men were urged to work hard to complete the task quickly. Naua, the chairman of the congregation, distributed the men for each work. In answer to my question he said, "I did not divide people on
kinship lines. I just asked certain people to do one work, and others to do the other work. They were all doing village work, not just working for their relatives." But the composition of the work groups indicates that, despite the fact he assigned some unrelated persons to each group, he did take into account kinship, without perhaps being aware of it. Close affines and, to a lesser extent, close cognates of each owner, were assigned to his work group. Wakia's group included five affines, one distant nacognate and two unrelated people including the group leader Naua. Maru's group included five affines, three agnates, three nacognates including the group leader Micky, and two unrelated people. As traditionally it is the obligation of the affines to provide physical labour and food for such tasks, special emphasis was placed on including affines. Maru did not provide an adequate amount of food and his group left the task unfinished.

The next day, after the morning prayer, Naua said to the people, "Today we should work in our gardens and bring home food. Those who don't want to work in their gardens should help Maru to plane the planks for his canoe." A number of people stayed in the village, but nobody, except a nacognate of Maru, helped him with the canoe.

The next morning Naua said to the village people, "I give you work every day. It is not right that I should give you work that you don't like. If the leader gives work that people don't like, their heart is not in it, and they don't do it. So I ask you to tell me what work you want to do." After a long pause, a man stood up and said, "We can't think of anything, if you want us to do something, tell us."
Then Naua complained about people not helping Maru and asked them to go and finish that work. At that point, Micky, a cognate of Maru and the leader of his work group, said, "We don't want you to do this; we will do the work ourselves. Since you work only for food, we will ask you when we have food ready; otherwise we will do it ourselves."

Then Maru got up and made a long speech in anger:

"I help the people of this village in every way I can. Today my canoe, I have to make it myself. It is alright if you don't want to help me, I will make it myself. Do you think this canoe is for my use only? You are going to use it for copra work, for bringing timber, for sailing. I am not going to stop you. Alright, I will make that canoe myself, you keep on using it, I won't stop you.

I don't blame the village people. I feel ashamed to say, my younger brothers and children were making those planks; they left them unfinished because they did not get food." (He did not mention his affines, the main target of his speech) "You work for food, you don't work for affection, you don't work in the Christian way. So you need not come. I will do my work myself."

Naua then said, "Thank you, deacon Micky, and chairman and deacon Maru. I have heard and understood what you have said. Your words are true. You are teaching us the right way." Then, turning to the audience, he said, "You are mistaken if you think he (Maru) is scolding you in anger. He is just explaining to us the right way, the Christian way of doing work in the village. When your leaders explain to you the proper way of doing things, you should not think they are angry with you or scolding you. Now you tell us your views. This is discussion, not quarrel." (Naua tried to make it an academic discussion and divert attention from personal anger of which Naua's mother's brother's son, Kene, half-brother Enei, and, to a lesser extent, Naua himself were the target, being close cognates of Maru's daughter's husband.)
This subtle manipulation of Naua was either missed, or deliberately brushed aside by the above Kene, who said, "I have heard both of you, Naua and Maru, and understood what you said. In reply, I say, you get ready the food and we will make your canoe. From now on those who want help should provide food." To this Maru replied, "So far we have been working without asking for food. If we follow your way, the life of this village would become very bad. I repeat what I said before, if you want to do this work in the Christian way, come and help; if you want to do it for food, don't." At this point a number of people shouted from the floor, "That is right, we will come and make the canoe, never mind the food." So the Christian way won a battle.

Naua later remonstrated with Kene saying, "It was not for you to say what you said. He was complaining against us for not helping him and you stood up and talked about getting ready food. He is your brother's father-in-law. You should help him and not talk of payment." Then Naua thrust his shaft in: "Whenever Maru wants help I give him it, but this time I pulled myself back. I wanted to see what Gouda's (Maru's daughter's husband, working in Lae) true brothers would do. I don't belong here, I am just a "passenger" — a reference to a taunt which Kene made when he quarrelled with Naua and told him to go back to his father's village.

Case 2. When Bogeru, a non-christian man, died, he was given a Christian burial by his brother-in-law who is a deacon. Next morning, while leading the prayer meeting, Naua prayed to God to help and comfort
Bogeru's relatives. After the prayer, he asked Bogeru's agnates to tell the people if they needed any help in connection with Bogeru's mortuary feast. This was Naua's idea. Bogeru's relatives had not expected any help, as they thought the mortuary feast would be their and Bogeru's brother-in-law's responsibility. After a long pause, one of Bogeru's agnates, Loia, said, "I have one sago palm, but that won't be enough for the feast. Would anyone give me another sago?" There were no offers. Then Loia offered to give in exchange a small sago for a big one. For a while there were no takers, but later a distant agnate of Bogeru accepted the offer. Then Loia said, "Today we should all make sago and tomorrow go fishing. On Friday Bogeru's brother-in-law will go to Woworo village to bring a pig, and on Saturday we will hold the feast."

Naua then said, "Loupom people I see your behaviour every day. When a man dies you don't stand up and help. I send my clan sector (Bani clan sector) people to help when others need help, but when recently a Bani man died, we made sago ourselves; nobody came to help (not strictly true, he is using the term clan sector to include all closely related people). Bani people have been giving strong help to everyone. Other people are not doing their share. These are Christian days, we should all stand up and help." Micky got up, ostensibly to support Naua and said, "What our chairman has said is quite true. When my mother died, Naua and I, and my younger "brother" made sago ourselves; nobody came to help."

* Micky's mother died several years ago. He was merely underlining the fact that he was under no obligation to anyone except his brother-in-law, Naua, who just did his duty as a son-in-law.
Maru, whose clan sector was being taken to task among others, then made a long speech, partly I suspect to make up for the lack of practical help by his close agates and clan sector. He said:

"In our Christian way, there should be no selfishness. We should devote our body to help others, our mind to help others, our wealth, our food to help others. It is the Church's teaching, our body dies, our spirit does not die. It goes to God. He is its owner. If you give your body, your mind to God....and don't think too much of yourself, your spirit will live in God's kingdom. Those who are selfish, those who do not help others.....their spirit will die. This is the way of spirit's death. So let's get up and help. This is the dead man's feast. He is not going to eat the food. If we work hard and produce more food, we will have more to distribute. If we produce less, we will have less. So let us all go and get food to help these people."

After this speech the meeting ended and all went to make sago.

Sometimes such speeches have little effect and people just walk away.

I have quoted at length from them to indicate the values stated and the idiom of discourse.

In addition to assisting in village work, the church also takes an interest in social control and intervenes in cases involving its members. In this respect the work of the church overlaps with that of the councillor. I discuss below two cases to show how the councillors and the church officials work together.

Case 1. When Bogeru's mortuary feast was held, all the village people were invited to join in signing and dancing. Ebu, a young man under training as a pastor, and his wife also participated. After a while Ebu left the gathering to go to sleep, but his wife stayed on. Later, when she went back to the house, her husband closed the door
and refused to let her in. So she came back to the dance. After a while her husband followed her to the dance and slapped and kicked her. Her mother tried to stop him, but he pushed her away. She got angry and said to him, "When you were away working, I looked after your children and made them big. You have not paid me for that; what are you so proud of?" Other people intervened and the quarrel ended.

The next day two councillors, Bua of Loupom, and Cliff, the president of Amazon Bay Council resident at the Association, called the parties to account for their behaviour. Since Ebu was a church member and under training as a pastor, the church officials also gathered to discuss the case. The meeting took place in the church chairman's house. The councillors heard the case first while the church officials sat aside at some distance. Ebu told the councillors that he beat his wife because he suspected her of committing adultery while he was working in Rabaul. But he admitted that it was just his suspicion, nobody actually told him. His wife told the councillors that her husband beat her often and she had no idea why. Perhaps he wanted another woman. Ebu denied having any such intention. The councillors then pronounced Ebu guilty and asked his wife and his mother-in-law whether they wanted to take him to court. Both declined to do so because of the kinship tie. The mother-in-law asked the councillors to warn him not to quarrel again. The councillors, who were both classificatory mother's brothers of Ebu, told him he was very wrong. His wife was a good woman. If she had committed adultery
they would have informed him. He should not beat her again otherwise he would go to gaol. The church will not be able to get him released.

At this point the church official joined in and started scolding Ebu: "Your work this year has been good; we are happy with it. But now you beat your wife, we are not pleased with this. You should know the rules of the Church: no quarrelling, no jealousy, no hate, just peace and gentleness and helping the people. If you quarrel again, we will have to put your case before the congregation."

Case 2. Bam, wife of Nogi of Bani clan sector, one day saw Korara, Nogi's older "brother's" widow, making a pass at Nogi by pressing his thigh. Bam did not say anything then, but later quarrelled with her husband several times, accusing him of adultery. One day she beat her husband, claiming that she saw him in the dream committing adultery with Korara. Her husband's brother reported the case to the village councillor who also called in Cliff, the council chairman. Nogi admitted that Korara made a pass at him, but he asserted that he gave her no encouragement. Both he and Korara denied the charge of adultery. Bam, however, persisted in her accusations. The councillors told her that the evidence of her dream would not be admissible in court, only what she saw with her own eyes would be acceptable. They promised to take them all to court as soon as the patrol officer returned to the patrol post. In the meantime they asked them to refrain from quarrelling. Cliff, as chairman of the District Church Council, asked Nogi and Korara not to take communion for three months as a punishment for their indiscretion. Later the councillors forgot about the incident, but
Bam kept on quarrelling with her husband and Korara. The village deacons tried to persuade her to stop but failed. Finally Korara threatened to resign from the church if Bam did not give up quarrelling. So the pastor was called to attempt reconciliation. He and the deacons held a long meeting with the parties concerned, repeatedly going over the same details. Bam's conduct was praised as upright to soften her anger and she was urged to be magnanimous. Korara and Nogi were admonished to behave properly in future. Finally Bam promised to forgive and forget and, at the suggestion of the pastor, all shook hands most solemnly with each other.

Not only do the functions of the formal associations overlap, but also the same people frequently occupy executive positions in one or more associations; most co-operative leaders and councillors are active in church work and some occupy executive positions. The unity of the work of the church, the co-operatives and the council is repeatedly stressed by the leaders in their speeches. As one leader put it, "Medical orderly's work, pastor's work, school teacher's work, councillor's work, director, chairman and storeman's work — all this work is Christ's work." Another leader, a co-operative chairman and a deacon, spoke to his audience thus: "It is from this church's power your life would become better. Whatever you are doing, co-operative work, council work, or church work, it is from the church you draw your strength."
In the last chapter I stated that, with the loss of major economic and social functions, the vitality and autonomy of the lineages, clan sectors and phratries has been sapped. The above discussion of the formal associations not only confirms that statement, but also makes it clear that associations are gradually taking over functions formerly performed by those groups. The people talk of their clan sectors as if they were the same kind of units today as in the olden days, but their structure, their functions, their relation to the village, has radically changed.

Composed of such lineages, clan sectors, phratries, and formal associations, the village emerges as a more strongly knit unit than in the past, this unity being achieved at the expense of the autonomy of its constituent units.

II : EXTRA VILLAGE TIES

While discussing the traditional structure of inter-village relations (pp. 77-93), I stated that Mailu villages were linked to each other by ties of feast-group affiliation, kinship and marriage, clanship, common origin and geographical contiguity. I described how these ties gave rise to overlapping and unstable alliances between close neighbours. Now I discuss to what extent these bonds persist or have undergone change and, in particular, how the establishment of co-operatives, local government councils, and other formal associations have altered the character of neighbourhood relations. Since the
historical development of these associations has already been discussed, the emphasis here is on how they function in the contemporary social system.

Feast-Group Ties

The development and continuance of feast-group ties depend on geographical contiguity, the current state of mutual feeling, the intensity of ties of kinship and marriage, and multiple clan sector affiliations arising from inter-village migration of kin and affines. I list below the current feast-group affiliations of several villages in order to illustrate how villages are now linked.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Has feast-group links with:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mailupom</td>
<td>Loupom, Laruoro, Kureri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loupom</td>
<td>Laruoro, Kureri, Mailupom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laruoro</td>
<td>Kureri, Mailupom, Loupom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kureri</td>
<td>Woworo, Mailupom, Laruoro, Loupom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woworo</td>
<td>Selai, Oraro, Aroana, Derebai, Kureri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selai</td>
<td>Derebai, Aroana, Oraro, Woworo, Udama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derebai</td>
<td>Selai, Aroana, Dagobo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dagobo</td>
<td>Derebai, Unevi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Borebo</td>
<td>Unevi, Ubuna, Maiva, Pediri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sabiribo</td>
<td>Maiva, Pediri, Eunoro, Onioni, Geagea</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The list indicates that each village is invariably linked to its closest neighbours by feast-group bonds. However, Dagobo, the nearest neighbour of Derebai to the east, only recently established feast-group bonds with the latter because of the growing intensity of bonds of kinship and marriage. The feast-group ties that formerly existed between Dagobo and Borebo were severed because of quarrels.

Feast-group relations now differ from those of the past as follows: (i) Since there are no wars to be fought, and there are no other serious issues necessitating political alignment, the military
and most of the political significance of these ties has been lost.

(ii) In line with (i) the traditional distinction between the *dubu* shares and the *ausoiso* shares (p.80) has become blurred. Both shares are now allotted equal amounts of food of the same quality, but members of the host's feast-group still receive the larger number of shares. The people explain this change by saying, "We are all friends now; we give everyone a *dubu* share."

(iii) The number of feasts held is decreasing. The co-operative leaders, the church leaders and the councillors are trying to persuade people to give up feasting on two grounds: (a) They "ruin the life of a man and his children by making him poor"; (b) They are a "way of death", for "many people die of sorcery when they are unable to return the pigs they borrowed for the feast."

Since feasting is no longer one of the most important means of gaining prestige, and some people regard it as a sign of backwardness, the leaders' advice to give up feasting is meeting a more favourable response. But there are still a large number of people whose chief claim to fame is the number of pigs killed in the feast, and they will not be easily persuaded to give it up.

**Kinship and Marriage, and Clan Ties**

The current rates of inter-village and intra-village marriage have already been presented (Table No. III). The growing opportunities for developing friendly contacts have increased the lateral spread of marital, and possibly clan, ties. As already discussed (p.88), they facilitate visiting, hospitality, exchange of goods and, to a limited extent, migration between villages, but they are no longer a means of
recruiting allies in war, though they may occasionally serve as a supplementary channel for settlement of inter-village disputes and restoration of amicable relations. When, in 1960, the Loupom and the Kureri quarrelled over a football match, several people who had relatives on both sides tried to pacify the parties. The main part in preventing the fight was played by the local co-operative officer, who had organised the match.

Co-operatives

The co-operative organisation affects inter-village relations both through the work of the societies and the Association. There are at present four two-village and three three-to-four village societies. It is clear from the discussion of the work of the societies (pp. 226-240) that it requires regular and intense co-operation between members for the production and transport of copra, building and maintenance of driers and stores, and transport of store goods. The co-operation required may be still greater if the arrangements for mutual assistance in clearing garden plots, making fences, building houses and doing other heavy work are made through the society, as is the case in the Ori and Oibada Society. The four small villages (Ori, Oibada, Nabai and Gogo) constituting the society co-operate almost in the same way as phratries in Mailupom.

The societies jointly own the Association in the same way as the individual shareholders own their society, but the work of the Association does not entail the same intense and regular co-operation on the part of the members as the work of the societies. As already
stated, the Association is run by salaried full-time employees, with
the secretary as the executive head. The co-operative officer and his
staff of inspectors — who in theory act in an advisory capacity —
provide supervision that amounts to direction. The board of directors
of the Association (consisting of the chairmen of the member societies) was
supposed to meet four times a year. Since the member societies were
scattered over an area of about 200 miles, transport difficulties induced
them to meet twice a year. The chairman of the Association, the secretary
and the co-operative officer explain to the directors what is required
to be done and how it should be handled, and the directors stamp their
approval without much debate or dissent. The meeting, however, provides
an opportunity for the directors to meet informally.

The Association occasionally sends its chairman, secretary,
or one or more directors to various member societies to urge them to
produce more copra, or to buy more shares. In September 1962, for
example, a drive was started to encourage people to buy more shares and
Punch, the chairman of the Association, Cliff, the secretary, and Dagi,
a director, toured the area making speeches. I quote from those
speeches to indicate the values expressed and the bonds stressed between
the speaker and the audience. The first speaker, Punch, said:

"Since 1954 we haven't bought any new shares. How will our
business become strong? How will our life become better? We
say, give us rebate, then we will buy shares. This is a lie.
People take the rebate and don't buy shares. All our (Papuan)
districts have already bought shares, but we Abau, and one
other district, have not yet. Friends, I feel ashamed, we are
left behind. They are the districts who listen, obey and work
hard. They are also rich districts. We don't listen, we are too proud, we think we know everything, and we are poor. God made the wealth and distributed it to his children. It is our fault if we are poor. We don't listen to our leaders, we don't obey, we don't work hard; we are to be blamed for our poverty. Europeans make their life better because they buy a lot of shares to make their business good. We are not that rich; we cannot buy that many shares, but we should try and buy as many as we can."

Then Dagi got up and said:

"We don't wish to make you poor. Nobody is taking your money. You have already seen, the money you invested is still yours; it is there, written against your name. It will be the same with this money. From the old money you made these stores and did business. Our leaders now want us to invest more money to make our business better."

Cliff, speaking next, said:

"The Europeans first taught us co-operative work, asked us to stop working alone, work together, work hard, and make our lives better. Now they are trying to teach us business management. We cannot buy shares like the Europeans because we are poor, and we don't know the way yet; but we are gradually getting better. Some day we will be like Europeans. They are helping us to learn all this; they are not cheating us. We need more shares to make our business better. The only way we can make our life better is to listen, obey, and work hard — listen to our leaders, directors and chairmen, listen to the Europeans who are helping us."

Punch again got up and stressed the need for working hard, and listening to the leaders. He concluded his speech by saying:

"Friends, I am not angry with you, nor am I blaming you for anything. What I am saying is to help us all to make the life of our children better. We will now be collecting money for shares. Invest what you can."

The unity of the district, the need to obey the leaders who have the interest of the people at heart, and the necessity to work hard to improve one's own life and that of the children are the main points stressed.
The Association boat provides facilities for transport and travel between villages, and the Association serves as a market centre and meeting place for people of different villages. At any one time people from about half a dozen villages may be seen there. The boat and the impressive building of the Association serve as visible symbols of the unity of the area and give the people a feeling of personal ownership and pride, particularly in the fact that they built the building themselves without seeking European help.

Local Government Councils

The councils affect the relations between villages at both the constituency and council levels. In multi-village constituencies (Table VI) the villages jointly elect a councillor, though an election is held separately in each village. Since the factors affecting voting in single-village constituencies have already been analysed (pp. 19-22), I now discuss how in the same election the members of multi-village constituencies elected councillors.

The number of candidates nominated for each seat varied from two to seven, but in all constituencies only two candidates actually received votes. Pre-election meetings were held in several constituencies to reach agreement on backing a single candidate and in four out of eight constituencies such agreements were reached. Of the remaining four I have information about three. The voting pattern varied a little in each case. One was a four-village constituency consisting of one relatively large and three small villages. The people of the large
village were eager to see their candidate succeed and virtually the whole village voted for him. But the combined vote of the other three villages defeated him. Some votes were cast across the village line, but I have little information about them. The village of the defeated candidate was dissatisfied with the result and is now seeking separate representation. This is the only large village in the area which has not taken part in the co-operatives.

The other two constituencies consisted of three villages each. In one voting was on village lines. The residents of two villages located close together voted for their candidate, and those of the third, six miles away, for theirs. In the second the two main contestants were from the same village and close cognates. Both of them were well educated, able, energetic leaders, active in the co-operative movement. The voters had a difficult choice to make, and an informal pre-election meeting failed to produce agreement. Of the two main villages involved one favoured one candidate, and the other the second. The candidates urged the voters not to vote on village lines, but to make their own choice. As a result the votes from both villages were fairly well split up giving the successful candidate 58 votes as against 37 to the rival.

Thus in four out of eight multi-village constituencies the voters showed they were able to agree on a suitable candidate, regardless of their village affiliations. In others, where an electoral contest did take place, the voters tended to vote en bloc according to their village affiliations, though there were some exceptions. I don't have much information about these exceptions, but the little I have indicates
that their voting behaviour was influenced by the relative merits of the rival candidates, personal liking and kinship.

The part played by kinship considerations was rather complex. In one case at least, two men voted against their father who was a village favourite. It seems that Mailu voters are more influenced by personal qualifications of the candidates and ties of locality than by kinship; and that the ties of locality are widening to include units larger than a single village.

The role played by the councillors both in single and multi-village constituencies has already been discussed (pp.245-52). All councillors attend council meetings, intervene in village disputes and take the parties concerned to court, occasionally get their constituents to repair the rest house, clean the village, and carry for Europeans. Whether or not they do more depends on their ability, initiative and influence as in the case of Mark, the councillor for Sabiribo, Maiva, Pediri and Eunoro (pp.245-47).

Inter-village relations at the council level mainly take the form of monthly council meetings of the representatives. This council elects a president, vice-president, an executive committee, and a tax appeal tribunal responsible for granting exemptions from tax on compassionate grounds. In the Amazon Bay Council* election to these positions has been mainly on personal merit and popularity. Neither

* I discuss mainly that council as I am better acquainted with its members and their work.
the linguistic and cultural differences between the Dimuga and the Mailu, nor any other traditional alignment has so far affected voting. Four or five members, mostly Mailu, dominate the council by their experience and ability, the most outstanding among these being the president who is also the secretary of the co-operative Association, and chairman of the District Church Council. At a joint meeting of the Amazon Bay Council and Cloudy Bay Council he was elected to represent the area on the District Advisory Committee. The representatives of the Cloudy Bay Council did not nominate a candidate of their own, but voted for one or other of the Amazon Bay candidates.

There is a general agreement between the members, both Mailu and Dimuga, that the Dimuga are poor and should be asked to pay only half the rate of tax that the Mailu pay. When the council raised its tax from one pound to three pounds for the Mailu, the Dimuga rate was fixed at one and a half pounds with the full approval of the Mailu members. There were differences of opinion as to whether and how much the tax should be raised; some councillors stressed the fact that the people were poor and should not be asked to pay more, others stressed the need to raise more money to help the area by building roads, aid posts, schools and a saw mill.

In the presence of the supervising officer the councillors are usually reticent. Though the president and the supervising officer encourage the members to express their views freely, only some do so and most sit in respectful silence. Those who don't speak, however, do occasionally vote against a proposal they don't like. In general a member
brings up an issue — a request for building a school or an aid post in his own constituency, or a matter concerning the area as a whole — states his views and sits down. He does not try to defend his views if others disagree with them. Commenting on the behaviour of the councillors and the supervising officers, an experienced councillor said to me:

"Most councillors usually listen quietly and don't speak up. This is wrong. They act just like policemen; they don't understand they are different. The supervising officers are also wrong. They themselves set the time for the meeting and say, now the meeting should be closed. This is not their job. They should sit quietly and listen — not act like the boss controlling everything. If they have some difficulty, they should tell us and listen afterwards what the council has to say. This they don't do yet."

This kind of awareness and sensitivity is unusual. In general the councillors neither expect nor receive respectful treatment from the supervising officer. They recognise his status superiority; if he is rude to them in anger (as occasionally he is), they put up with him politely and submissively. They feel the officers are generally more sympathetic and polite now than in the past and express satisfaction with the improvement. With few exceptions, they do not as yet aspire to status equality with Europeans.

The council house, recently built, provides the council meeting place. Though it was also meant to serve as a social centre for the community, it is rarely, if ever, used for that purpose. In addition to the house, the council built a technical school, residences for the council clerk and the council constables, three aid posts (two in the Dimuga area), and a windmill to improve the water supply of Kureri.
village. The council is now planning to buy land to establish a settlement where landless people from all villages will be provided with land.

The Church Council

The Church Council affects relations between villages in several ways, both at the congregation and the district level. How the district is divided into congregations and how they function have already been discussed (p.153; pp. 250-263). Here I merely note the features that affect inter-village relations. Each village in the congregation is expected to provide funds and labour for the building, maintenance and repair of the church and the pastor's house, and vegetables for the pastor's family, though the village in which the church is located contributes most. The latter village usually complains, often with cause, that other villages do not contribute as much as they should. But such complaints, if made directly to the parties concerned, are phrased very circumspectly to avoid an open clash.

If the half-yearly meeting of the Church Council is held in a village within the congregation, the whole congregation acts jointly as the host, but the main burden of providing food and lodging for the delegates falls on the village in which the meeting is actually held. The other villages sometimes help substantially but sometimes make only a token contribution.

The following description of the Church Council meeting held in Loupom in 1962 indicates the manner in which the members
of a congregation co-operate, and the way the Church Council affects inter-village relations at both the congregation and the district level. As already stated, Loupom became a single-village congregation only recently. It first formed a congregation jointly with Laruoro and later with Kureri, Woworo and Selai villages; it still shares a pastor with the latter. To ease the burden of the Loupom who were building a new co-operative store, as well as a church for the Church Council meeting, it was decided that the Loupom, Kureri, Woworo and Selai should act as hosts, and the Laruoro should assist the Loupom in return for the help received in the past.

About a month before the meeting the Loupom started building their church. Their congregation chairman, Nua, visited Kureri, Woworo, and Selai and requested thedeacons to ask the people to donate building material for the Loupom church. They promised to do so. The Woworo and Selai deacons delivered the material a week later, but those from Kureri did not do so.

After completing the church, the Loupom started building temporary shelters to provide accommodation for the delegates. Women prepared thatch from the coconut palm leaves and men collected timber from the bush and erected the frame. The shelters were completed about ten days before the meeting.

Meanwhile all the adults in the village were asked to contribute a specified number of coconuts for the Church Council. To make copra from these it was decided to divide the village into six
groups, or clan sectors (sic) based on two main considerations, (i) to ensure an equitable distribution of able-bodied men so that each group may have a sufficient number to do the work; (ii) to make sure that the people grouped together are either agnates, or non-agnates resident in the same clan sector, or close non-agnates from a clan sector having too few men to form a separate group, or too many to suit the balance of distribution. The proceeds of this copra were used to buy food which was kept in a central storehouse to be issued to feed the delegates.

Each group was also asked to make copra to buy enough food to feed its own members. It was later felt that it would be easier and quicker to finish the work if the whole village helped each group in turn to make its copra. To supplement the food bought from the store, each group was asked to keep ready garden food for its own members and the delegates.

The day before the meeting the village was cleaned and decorated. A gate was erected at the beginning of the village street, and welcome signs were put on it. The next day a large number of people from Kureri, Woworo, Selai, Laruoro and several other neighbouring villages arrived to see the show or help with the work. By about 11 a.m. they were all dressed up and ready to welcome the delegates. A teacher lined up the school children to rehearse them in a song of welcome. When the delegates, about 60 in number, arrived at the village gate, the people of the village sang songs and danced. Later they all walked to the church which was ceremonially opened by the missionary.
The meeting lasted three days; the last session ended at 2 a.m., and the delegates left before noon on the fourth day. They were provided three meals a day, mostly by the Loupom. It was originally planned that the Kureri, the Selai and Woworo, and the Loupom should each provide one meal a day. Since the others did not have a sufficient amount of food, the Loupom had to help them out. The Kureri, who brought with them barely enough food for one meal, made a gesture of leaving: "We are ashamed, we should better leave," they said. But the Loupom, who did not wish to spoil their show, persuaded them to stay. The Loupom chairman said, "Don't worry about food; we have enough for everyone." So the Loupom supplied the food, and the other villages in turn cooked and served it to the delegates. While the delegates ate, a party of men and women entertained them by singing and dancing.

The Loupom chairman said to me later, "Our people are angry with the other villages. They say, 'Don't give them our food. Let them feed the delegates with what they have brought.' I told them we should not do that. It will give our village a bad name. The time to take revenge will be when the Church Council holds its meeting in their villages. You can withhold your help then." "I would be happy if they forget about the revenge by then," he added. "If they don't, it is up to them." While he was talking to me a Laruoro leader came to listen. The chairman immediately asked him, "Are all the women of your village here? I don't see them helping. The Laruoro man replied, "No, they are not all here; it is our fault. We should be helping you the way you
helped us, but we are not doing so. This is not right. I am going to speak to my people about this."

Though they did not receive much outside help and complained about it, the Loupom were actually quite happy. They had the satisfaction of demonstrating their "strength" to all and gaining a moral victory over the Kureri, Woworo, Selai and Laruoro. Their complaining was mainly a way of expressing pride in their own achievement. In the meeting, the Loupom delegate presenting the report on the work of his congregation said, "We have done everything you asked us to do. Our strength, our weakness, should be evident from that. We now ask you to tell us what have you done to help us?" These are proud words, and a Mailu would give a great deal to be able to utter them.

Most of the time was taken by the meetings of the executive and pastoral committees. While these were being held, the ordinary delegates either took a nap, or mixed informally with each other or the village people. The executive committee examined the reports and agenda submitted by each congregation and discussed what action should be recommended to the general meeting. The reports and agenda covered such matters as the general assessment of the work of the pastor and members, requests for the appointment of pastors and teachers, for financial assistance to build the village church, and for help to induce members to co-operate in the work of the church.

The pastoral committee considered complaints by the pastors and church members about each other's conduct and decided what action should be taken. It had three major cases before it. The first was
of a widower pastor who had sexual intercourse with an unmarried girl. He wanted to marry her, and she appeared to be willing, but her parents objected to the match and persuaded her to change her mind. They also lodged a complaint against the pastor for improper conduct with the girl. The second was of a pastor who had accused a member of his congregation of being a sorceress and killing his child. The third again was of a pastor who was inefficient, had antagonised his congregation, and had his sick child treated by a medicine-man. In addition, he had already been transferred once for failure to get along with the congregation.

The committee members showed a great deal of sympathy for the first pastor. They felt he was a good man who, though he had behaved badly in this case, deserved to stay as a pastor. They therefore recommended to the Church Assembly that he should be relieved from his duties but should be considered favourably for re-employment after he is married. In the second case it was decided that the pastor, being relatively young and inexperienced, should be given further training and posted to a new congregation. Since there were no extenuating circumstances in the third case, the committee recommended that the pastor be dismissed.

The decisions of both committees were made unanimously. Each person expressed his views freely; there were some minor differences of opinion which were ironed out during discussion. The chairman, with his superior ability and skill, however, dominated both committees.

Later the chairman read out to the general meeting the recommendations of the committees. The delegates approved most of them
without comment. But there was some discussion on whether the villages should build their churches by themselves, or should be helped by all members of the Church Council. Only a minority favoured mutual help.

On the fourth day, despite heavy rain, the village people lined up in the street to bid farewell to the delegates who shook hands with all of them. All were in a gay mood, laughing and joking. The women of the village playfully pushed the delegates, simulating disrespect and familiarity. The missionary was also subjected to the same treatment. Two women caught hold of him and danced with him. He and the chairman of the Church Council formally thanked the Loupom, Kureri, and other hosts. The co-operative boat and several canoes then took the delegates to the mainland.

The element of inter-village competition for prestige — in part deliberately promoted by the Church Council to make the meeting a success — lends the meeting some similarity with the traditional mourning feasts, one of the main functions of which was such competition for prestige, both between the individuals and local groups. But that is all that is similar: the purpose of the meeting, its organisational framework, the character of social relations between the participants, their values and ideals, and the manner in which they compete for prestige are all different.

Another activity of the Church Council of interest from the point of view of inter-village relations is the annual Christmas celebration at the head-station. All villages are invited to come with contributions of pigs and garden food. All the food and pigs are
presented to the missionary who formally gives permission to distribute them. Prior to the distribution, the number of people present from each village is counted and the villages are apportioned food accordingly. The villages then cook their food jointly and eat it together. In 1960, about 1008 people, representing 23 villages, attended the celebration. The contributions of pigs ranged from zero to five; 11 villages brought no pigs, the remaining 12 contributed a total of 23 pigs. The pigs contributed were conspicuously small and thin. All this indicates that the concern which the people feel for the success of the Christmas party at Iruna is not so great as they feel for the Church Council meeting held in their village and their traditional village feasts.

It is clear that the ties that now link different villages are not only more numerous and varied and spread over a wider area, but also are qualitatively different. They include political and administrative subordination to the Government of the Territory and membership of several formal hierarchical associations that, for the recruitment of members and officials, accord primacy to universalistic norms and local ties as against kinship. These associations have varying aims and cater for different needs and interests of the people, though they have most members, a good many office-holders, and some functions in common. The degree of democratic participation the associations permit and the material and spiritual stakes the people have in them varies, but they have all come to be regarded by the people as an integral part of the new way of life which is going to lead them to a better future. On the basis of this common interest the associations, as higher order
groups, demand from the village people their primary loyalty and obtain it with varying degrees of success. Thus the ties interlinking villages into a neighbourhood or district on the basis of common local interests have been strengthened though, as elsewhere, the personal or sectional, and common interests of the people may clash with or support each other in complex ways. The conclusions arrived at from the examination of historical evidence (pp. 171-172) have been fully confirmed.

In conclusion, the ties arising from the membership of the associations, together with traditionally existing (now highly modified) ties creating divided loyalties, affect the structure of local groups in complex ways. At the intra-village level they sap the autonomy and vitality of the local kinship groups — households, lineages, clan sectors and phratries — to make the village a strongly united local group, but at the inter-village level the same ties break the autonomy and solidarity of the village to link it with other villages into a united neighbourhood, though the bonds that link the people of a village to each other are still stronger than those linking them to wider groups. In the past it was the relatively greater autonomy of the local kinship groups rather than the external links that countered the structural unity of the village. Now it is the external links that cut into its unity and autonomy.
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### APPENDIX A

#### Population of Mailu and some Mixed Villages - 1958

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Village</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Baramata: No. 4</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>Dagobo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domara</td>
<td>674</td>
<td>Unevi</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Boru</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>Borebo</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magaubo</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>Ubuma</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derava</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>Eunoro</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loupom</td>
<td>238</td>
<td>Pediri</td>
<td>219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laruoro</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>Maiva</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mailupom</td>
<td>481</td>
<td>Sabiribo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kureri and Asiaro</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>Geagea</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woworo</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>Onioni</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selai</td>
<td>121</td>
<td>Tawobada</td>
<td>106</td>
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<td>Oraro</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Ilai</td>
<td>94</td>
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<td>Aroawa</td>
<td>70</td>
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<td>Oibada</td>
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