THE ENGA WOMAN

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Edited By:

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In order to teach the Enga woman to observe all that Jesus has commanded, we must know who they are, what they are like, and the role they play in their society. To carry out the Lord's command, we must become all things to all Enga women. Therefore it is the object of this paper to investigate the Enga woman so that in some small way we may better become all things to them for the purpose of carrying out Jesus' command more effectively.

It is no sad event when a female child is born to the Enga parent. There may be some disappointment if a male child is wanted and expected, however there seems to be no preference for either sex as far as the child itself is concerned. It does appear fitting to them that they have a boy first. The underlying reason for this is that in case the parents were to die before another child is born, they would have an heir for the family land, and their family line within the tribe would be perpetuated. One compensation for having girls is that when they marry and leave, their sons will be friendly toward the grandparents and will come to their aid most of the time. It is prophesied by the natives that social misfits and stingy people, known as naoe rege, will give birth to a girl as their first child.

Parents who give birth to girls only suffer no special loss of face before their fellow tribesmen, but the thought of who will be heir to the land and save the family name haunts the parents. If only sons are born, it is considered good, for they will inherit the land, stand guard over it, fight and be the progenitors of a large and powerful family clan. Having both sexes of children is looked upon with favor also because this brings with it the advantages of both sons and daughters.

Parental affection, in general, does not lean towards either son or daughter. Care is taken to see that both receive equal shares of food, goods, etc., lest one be offended and later take revenge. Parents seem to have genuine love for their children. At times they spoil their children, but chastisement for disobedience is known among these Enga families. Perhaps such chastisement will take the form of assigning home chores (i.e. looking after the pigs, fetching water and firewood, and weeding the garden). It may mean hitting with the hands or a stick, burning with a firebrand, cutting the lobe of the ear, or cutting off fingers.

Those who murder one of the twins at birth do not save only the male or female. The rule seems to be that the first to be born is taken and the other killed. Reasons given for murdering one of the twins are the following: 1) It is abnormal to have twins, 2) the spirits of the dead have interfered, 3) there will not be enough milk for both babies, and 4) the wife has committed adultery.
Should the mother die at the birth of either a male or female child and the child is still alive, both mother and child are buried together, the child buried alive. No one will take the child to care for it. However, if the mother dies after the child is four or five months old, the child is given to another woman to care for it.

Upon the birth of either daughter or son, a gift or gifts are given to the grandparents and other relatives on the mother's side, partly because of joy, partly because the mother suffered pain and they attempt to repay her labor, and also because the favor of the grandparents for the grandchild is thereby obtained.

A new bride can harm the husband through intercourse since all his seed goes to her and therefore all his strength goes unless he makes a magic spell. For this magic the man wears a special kind of leaf covering over his buttocks, puts oil on his hair and skin, and sits facing the sorcerer. He plants a taro between them and while reciting the magic words meets the fingers and toes of the sorcerer with the tips of his fingers and toes.

There are medications for abortions and contraceptives. The women sorcerers know these, the men do not. The root of an aromatic plant which is also used for curing illnesses in both man and beast is sometimes used to cause an abortion. Sometimes the husband will beat the wife to cause her to abort.

During pregnancy there are no special foods and very little restriction of activity. The expectant parents have intercourse approximately once a month believing that the husband builds the baby.

Formerly it was customary merely to go into the bush to have their babies, but now they sometimes do have a little house prepared ahead of time, although they do not always make it in time. In some areas the woman's sister, mother, or another woman will assist her at this time. During labor and at delivery the mother squats with her head down. If there is a lot of bleeding at the time of delivery some do nothing; others get up and walk about quickly. They do nothing if the child does not breathe immediately except perhaps try to give it the breast.

In some areas the father is not supposed to see the baby for two to three months. Some wash the baby and some leave the vernix on it. Some hang the loosened cord on a tree. Usually the placenta and membranes (afterbirth) is buried. They shave the heads of their little ones so that the father will be able to see it when the hair grows back and then, too, at that time it is alright for the mother to again cook food for the father. Before they had razor blades they would singe the hair off the heads. They smear mud on the head to keep down the sores and also to prevent the baby's spirit from going out the soft spot.

Sexual relations during lactation are feared and unwanted as it is
believed should conception take place the wastes of the unborn fetus will contaminate the milk supply. It is said that after the birth of a child, husband and wife refrain from intercourse for a year or more, depending on the wife.

In some areas the father and his colleagues name the baby and the mother cannot object to whatever name is chosen. In other areas both parents name the child. When the baby looks at the parents, or when he laughs, that is the time to name it.

One never holds a baby's head down or its brain may be damaged and one never moves a child too quickly for fear the spirit will take flight!

A certain moral code is taught the young girls. Stealing is frowned upon. For a woman to kill another is almost unheard of with the exception of using poison. Some sort of respect, care, and honor to parents is expected. Although the girls are taught to obey and show some respect to their parents, they become very independent and disobedient at an early age. Sometimes the mother will resort to suicide by jumping into a raging river if her sons or daughters beat her. She will not avenge herself by fighting back but will commit suicide so that she will become a spirit and thus be able to avenge herself by harming her son or daughter and killing their children.

Parents urge their daughters not to lie, to be chaste, to obey their husbands, etc. As for seeking aid from the departed spirits through prayer and pig sacrifices, the Enga children are not so much taught these things as they are learned by example.

Up to puberty both mother and father take part in teaching and training their daughters, however, after puberty only the mother teaches them. Also after puberty no physical punishment is administered by either parent lest the young girl be disgraced and become angry. A girl angry with her parents is not likely to give them a large part of her dowry which is given her by her husband to divide among her relatives.

During early childhood, girls go to the courtship parties only to observe, but in their teens they go for the purpose of finding a mate.

When necessary it is customary for the wife to use magic or love charms to keep the affection of her husband. The woman often becomes angry with her husband if he is adulterous, but will not necessarily leave him on that account.

Many wives have real love for their husbands. At times it appears that love is largely on the side of the woman. Their love is shown in a way different from ours, such as sharing a sweet potato, talking things over with one another, or if the husband is ill she may hold his head on her lap, or hold his hand and lay her head down on his chest if he is deathly ill. There is little or no show of
affection in public for that would be a shameful and disgraceful thing to do. However, once in a while a young man may be seen putting his arm around his girl friend or holding her hand in public.

The women have little or no say in the public discussions of the men. They must accept the decisions of the men in these matters.

THE DAILY WORK ROUTINE OF THE ENGA WOMAN

The Engas are very much motivated by their physical needs in so far as their work routine is concerned. A house is not built with the intention of making it outstanding or beautiful, but to serve as a physical shelter, a place of rest and a warm bed. Gardening, cooking, the making of net bags, grass skirts, loin coverings, hair nets, and rain mats, the caring for children, husbands, pigs and chickens, are not considered as special skills but rather as necessities for survival. This does not mean to imply that they are not skilled. On the contrary, the Enga woman is a skilled worker, but because of her type of environment she must do everything for survival and cannot limit herself to becoming skilled in only one field. Therefore her daily tasks are taken for granted and when questioned concerning her work schedule she is amused.

She does not have the equipment or utensils to enable her to vary her work much. If she wants a new type of food she must plant it. She can on occasion trade for some item she wants. We ought to remember while discussing the Enga woman's work routine that the availability of varieties of foods, reeds for skirts, fiber for cordage, and leaves for rain mats is limited by her locale. Therefore her work as defined by her culture is pretty much routine and humdrum. Sickness, death, family squabbles, children, weather, soil and climatic conditions are some things which may interrupt her work routine. Likes and dislikes play little part in the daily round of chores as she has little choice. It is not a question of like or dislike, but do or die with our Enga sister. She is bound to her work as a prisoner is chained. We tend to look upon her life as dull and drab, yet she often seems happy with what she is doing and follows the pattern set for her by her culture. The Enga woman's whole life is adapted to meet her family's physical needs.

With those living in her house -- mother-in-law, sisters-in-law, daughters, and perhaps her husband's second wife, she shares the load of work. Of course she shares with them the results of her hard work, too.

**Daily Routine**

Rise early before daybreak.
One woman makes the fire.
Begin or continue work on a net bag, grass skirt, etc.
One woman tends to the cooking -- usually in the hot ashes. While food is cooking, the young women busy themselves with their net bags; the old women and very young talk or amuse themselves while taking care of the babies. At daybreak they open their door and venture out for a bit of fresh air; the pigs soon follow them outside to graze on the grass nearby.

By now the food is cooked; the woman who cooks the food distributes to each mother who gives her children portions. Later the wives will take food to the husband's house. Pigs and chickens living in the house with the women get the scraps.

Weather permitting, they go to the gardens after breakfast. Most of their time is spent in the garden; a lesser amount of time is spent raising reeds in little marsh areas which later are made into their grass skirts. The older child goes along to help make the garden or to take care of the baby. If it is a rainy day, they stay near their houses, sitting around the fire. Some do hand work, others sleep.

They may quit work in the garden early, but more frequently work continues throughout the afternoon. During this time they do not eat unless someone is hungry and then they build a fire in the garden or in their little rain shelter and cook a few sweet potatoes.

In the afternoon the women return to their communal house each bringing food from her own garden to be cooked in the evening. One woman cooks the food and it is distributed as in the morning.

After the food is eaten they retire -- some talk, tell stories, or do hand work.

Everyone goes to sleep, but one woman is responsible for the fire.

Gardening

The Enga woman is extremely skilled in her method of gardening. She has many other tasks equally as important, but gardening takes up about three fourths of her time. The Enga woman bending over her garden mound is one of the most common scenes in the Highlands.

The Enga woman's method of gardening, primitive as it may seem, is necessary due to her environment -- climatic conditions, topography, soil, altitude, and local practice. The method used in planting native foods seems quite perfected. However, if a new variety is introduced, then the method of planting and harvesting must be taught.

In most areas the men help where new ground is to be broken. They clear away tall grass, trees and brush. When this is all cleared, then the women take up the remaining work. If the man has one wife, the task is simple. The whole garden is her responsibility. If she has children, or if her mother-in-law or mother is living with her, they too will share the responsibility.
of planting the garden. If her sister or sister-in-law are living with her, they will have their own garden. The women do share their spoils when necessary, but only within the tribe.

If the man has two or more wives, then gardening becomes a bit more complicated. The garden is marked off in sections and each wife gets a portion.

Previously, women broke the ground with their digging sticks. Since spades have been introduced, it is a rare thing to see a woman doing this except in remote areas.

She prepares the area by first skimming off the grass and weeds and piling them in a heap. Then she proceeds to shave off the black soil and pile it over the weeds and grass. This she claims will enrich the soil. When sufficient black ground is put on the mound, she proceeds to break up each clump of ground powder fine. With her spade she scrapes all the black ground from the surrounding area and throws it on the mound. She finishes the mound by smoothing it, taking great care to break each clump into minute particles. The mounds made by a given woman will be symmetrical and of uniform size and height. This process of building mounds continues until the garden is finished. If she has a daughter or her mother-in-law to help her one continues making mounds while the other gathers sweet potatoe vines from their old garden. She makes a small hole in the mound with her digging stick, and after poking the vine into it, packs the ground around it. A similar method is used in planting potatoes. A hole is made in the mound with the digging stick and the whole potatoe is planted. This procedure may vary where they have been taught to cut the potatoe up before planting.

Locally, the New Guineans make round mounds, but some do make oblong or rectangular mounds. In each case, they use a similar method in building it. Grass and sod are sometimes burned to furnish potash. In the reddish ash heap they often plant native spinach or cabbage. Burning the garden area prior to making the mounds is another common method. The New Guineans here do not use fertilizer.

Since the introduction of European type vegetables, our Enga friend plants more than just native vegetables. Some of these she and her family eat, although she plants these mainly for the European market. In raising these cash crops, she plays an important part in providing money for the family.

Even though the woman is taught the European method of planting various vegetables, she will not necessarily follow these methods. Since her garden is planted in mounds she will not go to the bother of making rows. She pokes small holes in the mound with her finger or digging stick planting each seed one by one. No thinning or waste. She may build a special little garden near the woods where the soil is rich and the shade protects sensitive plants. Once her garden has been planted, she does very little more to it,
except for an occasional weeding. The sweet potatoe, white potatoe, corn, and taro do not require much care.

As the food in her garden matures she begins to gather it for her family's consumption or to bring to the market to sell. Shortly after she has begun taking vegetables from her garden, she begins to rebuild it. Once again she uses the old vines and weeds to form the base for each mound. The process is a bit different this time as the weeds are thrown between two mounds and then covered as the mound is shaped. It is much easier to rebuild an old garden where the ground is still loose.

Care of husband and the children.

Aside from peculiar customs, the Enga mother's duties are much the same as ours in caring for her family. The fact that she does not wash often or wear the clothing that we wear does not make her basically different from us. The Enga family's basic needs are the same -- food, drink, clothing, shelter, and love. Their physical, mental, and spiritual drives are similar to ours. The Enga mother seeks to fulfill the needs of her family. The role she plays in caring for her husband and children is often harder, the responsibility and challenge greater than ours. First of all one has to consider her environment. In spite of the fact that the Enga way of life is simpler and less involved with material things, we must remember that everything that she does for her family's welfare must be done by hand, back, and feet. We have to admire and encourage effort such as hers. By Western standards she may be negligent in carrying out her domestic responsibilities, but as we look at the way in which she cares for her family let us be sympathetic in our criticism considering her environment and the materials with which she has to work.

Judged by our way of life it would appear that the Enga wife is bound and has very little freedom to do or think what she likes. If she does not accomplish the society prescribed amount of work, or fails to please her husband in the ways she does it, she is subjected to discipline and censure. The only married women who are allowed to be lazy and weak are the wives of the elite -- those who can afford to have helpers. Many of these wives of police constables, native medical orderlies, teachers, and domestic servants do practically nothing more than breast feed their children. The pristine Enga woman works hard and is seldom fat.

When a woman is married she must take on the numerous tasks of being a wife and prospective mother. She begins by making gardens for her husband and herself. Her husband has a garden which she takes over. She also takes on the responsibility of caring for his pigs and chickens. This is a tremendous task and woe to her if one of these should die or get lost through her negligence. There is also the task of caring for and cooking her husband's food --morning, night and sometimes at noon she does this. The only time when she is not expected to cook his food is during her
menses, after she has had a baby (for at least a month) or when she excuses herself because she is angry with him. She also must crochet her husbands clothing -- hair net, net bags, and net apron. Occasionally she does special things for him, but it is more common that gifts are given to him before they are married as an indication of her interest in him or of her desire to marry him.

We might consider the Enga mother extremely negligent and careless in her care of the children if we failed to appreciate their form of discipline and her lack of health or child welfare training. In their culture, she is not held responsible for being careless and allowing the child to get sick and die. This allows her a bit of carelessness.

Before the child is born, the mother makes a net bag and the rain mat that will support the child's back when she is carrying it in the net bag. She has learned to know the tricks in soothing a fussy baby from her mother and older married sisters. After the baby is born during its first month, the father is not allowed to see the child for fear his spirit would destroy it. The mother literally gives her all to the nursing infant -- she soon loses her pretty figure, but the baby gets fat. Nursing it and carrying the baby wherever she goes, mother and infant become closely attached. Often the child is not weaned until it is three or four years old. When the baby cries it is quickly given the breast. If there is another child, they go to the garden together, and while the older child or grandmother looks after the baby, the mother will work in the garden. Sometimes the sons live with the mother until they are about six, then they go to the father's house. Daughters live with their mother until they are married. The mother makes net bags, rain mats, and grass skirts for her daughters. The girls are also taught at an early age to do some of these things. Mothers crochet a net bag and net apron for her sons, too. The training of the son is mostly assumed by the father and those living with him. The girls generally are trained and disciplined by the mother and her house companions.

Care of pigs and chickens

The pigs live or sleep in special stalls inside the women's house. In the morning the woman unties them and they come squealing out to feed on grass around the house. She may leave them in the pig enclosure or she may shepherd them to a marsh where they can dig for worms and soft roots. In the evening the pigs are again corralled and tied in their stalls. The women cook rubbish for the pigs and feed them in the morning and evening. The slaughtering of the pig is strictly a man's affair, but the wife very often has the chore of washing out the pig intestines in a nearby stream. The woman is only responsible for the raising of the pig. When the sow has piglets the husband often helps his wife take care of the young pigs, but soon she has the whole job to herself again.

The chickens, unlike the pigs, often sleep in a separate, small
house. They receive very little care, finding most of their food in the gardens or around the houses. The wife does not gather the eggs, but usually knows where the hen is setting. The eggs are generally left to hatch. If there is no setting hen or if the hen does not set well, the woman may bring the eggs in for cash.

Care of house and surroundings.

The wife and children help in the building of the house by carrying grass for the roof. Housekeeping as we know it is unfamiliar to the Enga woman. Sugar cane fiber or broken pandanus leaves are used on the floor for bedding. When these are dirty, they are not swept or cleaned, merely covered with fresh fibers. Generally she has no dishes to wash, no clothes to scrub or mend. Those husbands who can afford to buy cooking utensils often keep them to themselves except when they have to be washed. Those husbands who live in a "European" type house may expect their wives to sweep the woven floor matting and keep the fire place clean.

The surroundings outside the house are reasonably clean. Although it is not uncommon to find pig manure inside the pig corral. With branch brooms the tidy wife can quickly clean the area around her house. Flowers and grass are appreciated by some housewives. A few shade trees and a fence border most houses. Some houses have tobacco borders around the outside wall.

THE ENGA WOMAN'S SKILLS

Net Bags

Among Enga women, making net bags is considered the most essential skill. The muu or madi is a very necessary part of the Enga woman's costume. She needs it to carry her baby around and to rock him to sleep at night. She needs it to bring her sweet potatoes and other vegetables home from the gardens. It is her all-purpose carrying bag. Without it she cannot carry out her duties as wife and mother, or as a female member of a family or community.

The making of net bags is the first skill that is taught young girls. As soon as their fingers are able to manipulate the fibers firmly (about the age of 5 or 6) little girls learn to twist the fibers into string. Soon thereafter, with the help of their mothers, they learn to make the first knots and turn out a little net bag for their own use. This first net bag is often full of mistakes and not a very good one, but it is a start. Apparently it takes quite a lot of practice to make a really good one. Generally speaking, older women make better net bags than young girls.

There are a number of plants in the bush from which fibers for
making net bags can be obtained. But the fibers of the hemp plant which was introduced to the Wabag sub-district during the past 10 years are so superior in quality that many women feel that it is the only one worth using. The fibers are much longer and very much stronger. A net bag in daily use for carrying sweet potatoes or a baby, made from ordinary fibers, may last only about three months. It is claimed that a net bag made of hemp fibers will last two years, at least. The Enga women refer to the hemp as "aga elyoko".

Those who do not have hemp plants of their own will try to get leaves from their friends or neighbors. Around Birip, a medium sized leaf (about 2 ft. long) is worth three pence in native trade circles; a really large leaf is worth six pence. From a very large leaf enough fibers can be obtained to make a net bag about 12 or 15 inches square. To make a big one like the native women use to carry their babies around requires about 3 long hemp leaves, such as you would get from a plant at least 4 years old.

To get at the fibers, Enga women lay the cut leaves in the sun for about a day to wilt. Then they lay the leaf on a block of wood and beat it with a smooth round piece of wood until the pulp of the leaf is well mashed up. Then long, narrow strips of the leaf are drawn between the thumb and the blade of a knife to remove all the green pulp from the fibers. The long white strings (somewhat like coarse hair) are then tied in a loose knot at one end and laid on the grass to dry while the next lot is prepared. Later the fibers are twisted into string by rolling them firmly between the hand and the thigh.

The next step is the actual knotting of the net bag. This is a slow process, as a very long string is used and the entire length is drawn through each knot. Even with swift, skilled movements of the hand and forearm, each knot takes many seconds to complete. It takes an Enga woman about two weeks to complete a small to medium sized net bag; about a month or more to make a very big one.

The Enga woman makes most of her net bags from plain, natural colored string, especially the ones used for every day. A favorite and somewhat prized decoration in net articles, especially in the long aprons men wear for sing-sings, is white opposum fur, the hairs of which are knotted with the string in a straight line across the net bag, or vertically in a man's apron.

There are a number of plants in the bush from which the local people obtain colors — chiefly dark blues and reds. Two that are used in net bags are elyamuni (blue-purple) and yaku (red). Ipariyaka is a red dye obtained from the bark of tree, and is traditionally used to color men's hair nets. It is not used in women's net bags partly because of custom — it is only for men — and partly because the color tends to run when it gets wet, thereby spoiling the appearance of the net bag.
Because commercial dye is now easily obtained and there is such a variety of colors, many women use it to dye strings for their net bags. Some combine the colors any old way, an inch of this, a couple inches of that, some natural string, until the net bag is completed. Others take pains to make lovely designs. Usually if a woman adopts a certain design, it is hers, and she sticks to it. It is her mark. Incidentally, another source of dye, which can be found in some missionaries' waste baskets occasionally, is hectograph carbon paper. Boiled in water it produces an excellent, color-fast, purple dye.

In addition to the woman's utilitarian net bag which we have discussed, women also make: 1) the small net bags men wear on their forearms or shoulders to carry tobacco and other small possessions (nokama); 2) the net aprons men wear (yaba); 3) hair nets for men (kapa); 4) small net bags for children to play with.

In response to an inquiry about who makes the men's articles of net, the replies were not unusual: married women make them for their husbands and their sons; girls make them for their brothers and as gifts for their boy friends.

In addition, any kind of string making, outside of the rope for pigs, is women's work. Men make their own wigs for sing-sings, but rely on women to supply the thin, fine string that is used to tie the wig together. The scope of string making goes all the way from very fine thread-like stuff on which tiny beads are strung, to the coarse rope that is used in some of the net bags in which sweet potatoes are carried.

Rain Mats

The rain mat or turi is made from the leaves of the pandanus (aga) tree. It serves the dual purpose of umbrella, as protection from rain, and sleeping mat. Making the turi is also considered an essential skill for women.

Pandanus leaves about 6 feet long and 6 to 8 inches wide are cut off the tree by the husband or some other male member of the family. Then the women go to work immediately, as these leaves must not dry out -- they are somewhat brittle and split easily. To make them pliable, they are heated over a small fire, then one end of each of two leaves is clamped between a pair of wooden tongs and the entire length of leaf is wrapped around the tongs. This has the effect of completely flattening the leaves, which normally have quite a deep groove in them. They are then removed from the tongs, but left in rolls, until they are sewn together to make the mat. One notices a nice bit of efficiency here: 1) Leaves are rolled onto the tongs in a direction that allows the spiny edges to flow smoothly through the palm of the hand that guides them -- rolled in the opposite direction the hand would be pricked with every turn; 2) Leaves are wrapped around the tongs in pairs, and left in rolls. When the sewing
is done, a pair of leaves is taken up and two edges are sewn together lengthwise. Then these leaves are folded up to hide the seam, and another pair of leaves is attached. This is repeated again and again. They make their stitches rather far apart, as close sewing would tend to split the leaf. For thread, fine strips of wilted pandanus leaf are used. When the turi reaches the desired length, the edges of the last two leaves are simply tacked together. Next the turi is folded lengthwise and creased by clamping it between the teeth, in effect, chewing all along the folded edge. Then it is sewn with string all along the crease to lend permanence to the direction of the fold. After that the side edges are sewn in a running stitch, twice over, and the turi is completed. It takes only a few hours to do one, and the cost of materials is almost nil.

Grass Skirts

The Enga woman's grass skirt is called a kuta. It is really not made of grass at all, but of reeds. The cultivation of these reeds is discussed in another section of this paper. Those who do not have reed beds of their own, buy bundles of fresh reeds through native trade channels. Common practice is to trade a very small baby pig for enough reeds for 3 or 4 skirts. A very large net bag will buy reeds for 10 skirts. Or if one wants to pay cash, the price ranges from 5 shillings for one skirt to 8 shillings for enough reeds to make 3 skirts. By this we mean the full, flowing skirts that are worn for festive occasions.

After a bundle of fresh reeds has been purchased, the reeds are flattened and scraped with a bamboo knife, then dried in the sun. Then they are rolled into a ball to keep them straight and smooth. Next the women make a few yards of string for a belt. Then long, thin, fringe-like bundles of reeds are skillfully fastened to the string belt. The finished kuta has long fringes, often reaching to the heels in back. The apron part of it ends just above the knees. Hips are left bare. A new kuta usually wears out in about two months' time.

Cooking

Enga native cooking is very plain. For every day cooking most things are baked in ashes. They have to be carefully watched to be baked just right. Bananas, corn, sweet potatoes, potatoes, onions, and mina (a vegetable similar to bamboo shoots) are commonly baked in ashes. The mina and onions are merely heated until they are limp, and then eaten at once. With the addition of salt they are quite delicious.

In many homes an iron saucepan is becoming standard equipment. This is used to cook soup, which is more like a thick stew. Included in soup is meat, if possible, and vegetables such as cabbage, onions, tomatoes, soya beans, potatoes, and occasionally carrots, and various greens. Sweet potatoes are not mixed into the soup, but are cooked separately.
Mau yaoege, or steaming food in a covered pit out doors is a method of cooking that is used when cooking for large crowds or for a feast, or when there is a big piece of pork or a whole pig to be cooked. It is not used for every day cooking.

For this outdoor cooking, women only get the food ready -- the men prepare the pit, gather the types of leaves used to line the pit, heat the stones, and do the actual packing of food and hot stones into the pit and cover it up. The men again supervise the opening of the pit and the distribution of the food. Besides meat and bananas, almost every vegetable available is cooked this way, including pumpkin and young pumpkin leaves and many different kinds of native greens. Wild ginger root and salt are used for seasoning. When cooking pork, the head, the legs, the backbone, and the ribs are commonly cooked in a pit. The innards are used for making soup.

Here are just a few local recipes:

1. Take peeled, sliced bananas, add a bit of fat and salt to taste. Mash and roll into a banana leaf. Steam in a pit.

2. Take freshly picked, nearly mature soya beans. Toast with a bit of fat in a saucepan or tin can until slightly browned. Salt to taste.

3. Take a mouthful of ginger root and some salt; masticate thoroughly and spray over cooked pork. Serve.

ENGA WOMAN'S RECREATION

Recreation for the Enga woman is chiefly of the community type. A favorite one is a house-raising party.

Usually the men of the community will get together and help each other when a house is to be built. But the big day for fun is the day the roof is put up.

Early in the morning the host will make the rounds of the community and invite everyone to come and help put the roof on his house. All his friends and neighbors, men, women, and children come carrying bundles of grass for thatching. Many of the women also bring food from their gardens.

While the men put the thatch on the roof, the women cook the food using the outdoor pit method of cooking for feasts. The old men chop wood and assist with the cooking of food. The old women sit around and laugh and tell jokes. Young boys and girls dance and play, and very little children run around and play where they please. Everyone has a very good time.

A more formal and organized type of recreation is the Christmas
sing-sing. Young and old dress up in feathers, beads, fancy head dresses, extra long, full reed skirts, new looking and extra long net aprons; faces are blackened with soot; drums and wigs, shiny spears and walking sticks are brought out; bodies are decorated with very expensive tree oil, and faces are decorated with touches of blue and red grease paint.

This sing-sing usually lasts for several days and members of a family take turns dancing in it. Usually there is only enough finery in a family for one person to get dressed up at any one time. Also the helping hands of other members of the family are needed to adjust the many parts of the costume so that it is worn in precisely the right way. Members of the family not dancing on a particular day will take their turn at the cooking and other chores that need to be done.

Then there is the whole series of tae pigi, involving death settlements. A child dies and the mother's relatives get paid in pigs, money, cloth, and axes. A mother or father dies, and the married daughters get a pig each while the sons get the remaining pigs, the gardens, the pandanus trees, the father's house, and any other possessions. A young wife dies, having only very small children or none at all. This can be settled by having the former wife's younger sister marry the widowed husband. If this is not possible, then the brothers of the deceased must pay the husband in pigs, axes, money, and other goods. A man dies in a fight between two tribes. Two or three years later, when things have cooled down, the opposing tribes get together and a settlement is made in pigs.

All these occasions provide a time for feasting and gossiping and a community get-together, and for the Enga woman it is recreation.

Another form of recreation is story telling. This is usually done in the evening around the fire, or late in the afternoon after the work is finished, rain is pouring down outdoors, and there is nothing much to do except sit around the fire. Sometimes story-telling is also done very early in the morning.

The type of recreation that most nearly approaches our idea of fun, is sitting around and playing cats cradle. Not everyone knows how to do it, but those who do are very skilled. As the string is manipulated a story is told; sometimes it is sung in ditties. People roll all over the grass laughing, even though they may have heard a particular tale many times before.

Here are a few samples:

1. The string is loosely knotted to make a picture representing an old woman in possession of fire. At the other end of the frame are knots representing a man who is coming to ask her for some fire to light his smoke. Instead of complying,
she puts out her fire. (At this point the string is quickly pulled and the picture that represented fire is now a tight knot).

2. Some men are walking on a bridge. The bridge breaks. They all fall into the water.

3. Two tribes are fighting. In this case the string is fastened to the big toe of one foot, in addition to the thumbs and fingers of both hands. The battle ground is the two foot length of string extending from the toe to the thumbs. Two distinct tribes are attached to the thumbs and fingers. By skilful manipulation they come together and retreat, then come together again and retreat. It is very fascinating to watch them slide up and down along the string attached to the toe.

4. Someone plants a garden; the weeds come up; everything is removed and a new garden is planted.

There are many others.

Women as well as men will entertain themselves by strumming and blowing on the rinu, a sort of jews harp made of a piece of bamboo and string.

These are the most common forms of recreation. No doubt there are others.

THE ENGA WOMAN -- THE CARE OF HER PERSON

Good grooming habits, as we know them, are virtually unknown to the Enga woman. Whatever she has picked up along this line has resulted from the teachings of the white woman.

Take, for example, the daily bath. Even the Christian Enga woman does not wash every day. When she does wash, she does not wash all parts of her body. She leaves a lap-lap around her waist and washes only the parts of her body that remain visible. Some of the young girls who attend main station schools or who work in the white woman's kitchen, of course, have learned to wash thoroughly; therefore, the method of washing should improve in years to come. Some of the native Christian women, especially on Sunday mornings, will heat water for baths. Then the whole family lines up near the house or a clump of bamboo and papa, mama, and kiddies have a wash.

Their shower system is quite simple: First they dip a small tin into the warmed water, pour it over their heads, then suds thoroughly with soap. Afterwards they rinse off with water and rub themselves dry with a towel or lap-lap. Next they put on clean clothes, then comb their hair with a native-type bamboo comb. To comb, they use upward and forward strokes all around the head. Next they might sprinkle a streak or two of powder in their
hair around the temples for decoration. They also use a little sweet smelling grease or hair oil bought from the trade store on their skin. They do not attempt to clean their teeth.

Many non-Christian Enga women have rarely, if ever, had a bath or even washed their hands. But, actually, their living conditions are not conducive to encouraging them to keep clean. In the first place, their native society accepts filth and does not regard cleanliness as a virtue. In the second place, they have no conveniences such as basins or tubs or buckets for washing, no soap, no towels. (Some are buying these articles from trade stores). Usually they would have to go to a cold mountain stream to wash and the water is ice cold! In the third place their homes are very filthy. The floors are covered with chewed sugar cane pulp as insulation from the cold, flies are numerous, and smoke from the open fire fills every corner of the house making everything black and sooty. Even if a person washes one day, the smoke from the fire in her house during one night makes her look grumpy and dirty. It is a constant battle to look clean and many times it is just not important enough to bother about when there are numerous daily chores to do.

The hair of a Christian woman (or the more advanced nationals) is usually cut quite short, so that when she combs it, it forms a neat symmetrical frame around her face. The hair of the less advanced woman is usually very unkempt and may be quite long. She does not bother to wash or comb it. It becomes a breeding ground for lice. Often a young girl will twist ringlets all over her head and let it grow long. Then the hair is smeared with pig's grease to make it even more attractive! Some of the more sophisticated women and girls blacken their hair with store bought dye, or bleach it with peroxide.

Lice in the hair is an ever present plague. It is quite common to see two people seated on the ground; one busily searching for and squeezing these pests. When they get to be too bothersome the natives look for ways to rid themselves of lice. The extreme method of eradication is to shave the hair completely off. Another way is to wash the hair, then go to the white man for a good spray of D. D. T. Sometimes the person gathers leaves (the same kind as are used for baby "diapers" in net bags.) During the hottest time of the day she applies these leaves to her hair, all over, tying them tightly and securely. She leaves the leaves on for a time, the lice smother and die! She then goes to the river to wash her hair and the water carries the dead lice away.

For a manicure, the Enga woman usually bites her nails. However, long nails are considered an asset to her for gardening.

When voiding, the native is modest and usually finds a place to conceal herself. Some use a small house built for this purpose. Others find a secluded place in tall bushes or bamboos. At times one notices a native glance around, then squat down (apart from other people) for a convenient length of time, then get up
and walk away. After defecation, in order to clean themselves, they sit on the grass and rub themselves.

During menstruation the native woman in our area does not protect herself in any way. She wears her oldest kuta (grass skirt). She rises early in the morning to go to her garden and works all day. During this time they work very hard because they think if they work hard they will not bleed so long nor so freely. She returns home after sunset and sleeps in a separate small house. Even small children know about the cycle of menstruation and know what it is called. It has several names: waka nao, kamaka parelyomo, and yagupae.

Sometimes a young girl adorns her face with tattoo marks. To do this she takes a sharp stick and pricks the skin, then rubs ashes into the place. Often a young girl will also fasten the pig's genitals around her wrist at the time of butchering. These get black and harden, forming bracelets. Other adornments are beads worn around the neck or arm bands woven of certain grasses.

THE ENGA WOMAN: HER RELATIONSHIPS WITH FAMILY MEMBERS

Courtship and marriage customs have been written up elsewhere (see "Enga Courtship and Marriage Customs", a conference paper by Rev. J. Larson, N.G.L.M., January 1962.) However, since the family begins with marriage it seems a good place to start.

Sometimes the parents of the bride and bridegroom arrange the marriage without too much consultation with the young couple involved. Sometimes the young people themselves decide who they would like to marry. Some girls marry in their early teens. This is not always because of the girl's wishes; but she is firmly persuaded to marry by her parents since it is at a convenient time in connection with the Tee or some other reason and the parents see the opportunity to get a good bridal price. This bride price is not to pay for the person of the bride, as that of a slave; but it is to compensate for that girl's leaving the tribe thus decreasing the number of people who work in the gardens, care for the pigs, bear children, etc. If a young man has always been helpful to his tribal members with garden work and all other phases of work in the native life, he will have many friends. These friends, in turn, will help the groom to pay the price for his wife. Friends, here, include brothers, uncles, etc.

The Christian bridegroom still pays the bride price for his wife. For one thing it makes it more difficult for the wife to run away. The Christian husband now regards his wife more as a person than a possession. Of course, the Christian couple still has troubles, but it seems not as much in comparison to the unconverted couple. The Gospel has its effect.

A wife shows affection to her husband by the way in which she
speaks to him and how she treats him. If she is faithful in
gardening and caring for her children and pigs and other possess-
ions, she commands her husband's respect and admiration. The
wife who regularly digs sweet potatoe and cooks it for her hus-
band, or makes a new yabare (net apron), or nokaina (small net
shoulder bag), or waina (wig covering), or turi (rain mat), for
her husband shows her love for him in this way.

The husband and wife call each other by name. They are ashamed
to say "my husband" or "my wife". When the husband and wife go
someplace, the husband walks in front and the wife follows. It
is seldom necessary for him to help her, but he does help her
at times. There is no public show of affection.

The less-advanced native women still follow the practice of living
in a long house together with the children and the pigs. (The men
and boys live in round huts.) There are no windows in these houses;
but there is a secret opening that can be used in case of fire or
attack by an enemy.

The floor plan of the women's house looks like this:

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>stalls for pigs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fire place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sleep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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There may be one or several women living in this house -- together
with several young children. The women might include the wife
along with her mother, a sister, etc. Usually boys after they are
weaned sleep in the men's house with their fathers.

If a man has more than one wife he often has to build a special
house for each wife because they cannot get along very well under
the same roof since there is often too much jealousy, quarrelling
and fighting. Then the husband has to visit each of his wives and
perhaps eat some food at each place.

Also, in the less-advanced native way of life the woman has to
retire to a tiny little hut during the five days or so of her
period of menstruation each month. At this time she is not
allowed to cook food for her husband. He is very much afraid of the menstrual blood.

During the menstrual period many of the Christian women are no longer required to live in the special small hut since the Christian husband is no longer afraid of the blood.

The Christians and more advanced natives have changed their ways in respect to housing. Usually they live together as a family unit under one roof. Perhaps the parents of the husband or wife (or both) also live with them. Some try to pattern their houses after the European fashion in that they line the floor and walls with woven blind and have different rooms for bedrooms, study, store room, etc. Some put in windows in their homes and often a separate cook house is built.

Formerly, and even now, the less-advanced native women received little help during labor and childbirth. During labor she would be in a house together with two or three older women, who sometimes did more harm than good. Then as the actual birth drew near the mother-to-be would crawl outside into the bush or tall grass to be in privacy to bear the child. Many women have bled to death in this way. The husband very much fears the process of childbirth and the placenta. He keeps away from it all.

The Christian and other more advanced native couples have come a long way in this respect. Often the husband stays right with his wife during the whole time of labor and childbirth, even cutting the cord and burying the placenta afterwards.

When the baby is born, the mother in bygone days would singe the hair off the scalp because of the blood and secretions left on it from being in the womb. Now, they shave the hair off with a razor. The father will not hold the baby for several weeks because he fears the blood on it will do him harm.

Pigs are killed when a baby is born and part is given to the new mother as compensation for childbirth. Also, gifts of pig are given by the grandparents. Sometimes one sees a child with the hair shaven except for a small tuft right on the top of the head. This is to signify that the gift of pork has never been received from the paternal grandparents although it may be two or three years since the birth of the child.

Mothers are very affectionate toward their babies. They proudly hold them to feed them as soon as the infant begins to cry. They love to hold the baby in a standing position after he has been fed, and jump him up and down on their laps. They cover the baby's body with kisses -- even kissing the genitals and buttocks.

When a native woman shows admiration for another child she will hold her breast, perhaps to signify that she would like to feed it. A mother has no aversion to cleaning her baby after defecation, or cleaning with leaves the mess he leaves on the ground, but she
does have an aversion if the child belongs to someone else. It does not faze the mother to have her baby urinate on her. She merely wipes it off with her hand and blithely goes on with what she had been doing.

There is rarely such a thing as an unwanted child. Even an illegitimate child is accepted and loved and cared for by the different members of the tribe. However, sometimes when a mother has died, the baby is left to starve to death. This is because of fear of the spirit of the deceased mother. This kind of action is never found in the Christian family. Also, in former years, when twins were born, one was left to die because of fear of the spirits. This practice has been denounced by both the government and the mission. It is probably not practiced anymore. The government has helped in this respect by giving gifts to the parents when twins are born in order to help them to raise both of the children.

If the child is very ill, the mother holds him constantly trying over and over to get him to drink milk from her breast. If the child dies she continues to hold him tight with tears streaming down her face until the child is taken away for burial.

Parents are afraid they will estrange their children if they punish them. The less-advanced native seldom disciplines his child. Some of the Christian parents are trying hard to teach their children right and wrong and they discipline when necessary.

Older children, especially girls, take care of their smaller brothers and sisters while their mothers are working. They also help their parents in different ways such as carrying water in long bamboo tubes, gathering brush for firewood, helping to dig and carry sweet potatoe and other foods home from the garden, rounding up the pigs or chickens in the evening, etc. In days gone by the children probably helped their parents more than they do now. Now, the children are in school several hours out of each day. When they are not in school they are very often just sitting around or playing instead of going home to help their parents.

The mother teaches her daughter to weave net bags and to make rain shields and grass skirts. The father teaches the son different things. Men do the heavy work such as building houses, building bridges, clearing new land for gardens, etc. The boys learn to help with these projects.

Terms of endearment for members of the family are:

girl to sister -- (kakigi) -- papee, kakia
girl to brother -- (pimarege) -- pakae
to father -- (apane) -- apane
to mother -- mamea
to grandfather -- kauane, uane
to grandmother -- aputi
Little children love and highly respect their grandparents and vice versa.

Parents of the husband and wife are not called by name. They are called Asa or Ani. (These are terms of endearment for any older person also.) Many refer to their parents as akari wabake (old man) or eda wabake (old woman). These terms are not meant to be belittling as they would be in our society.

The parents-in-law are not called by name because of shame. They also exercise great influence on the wife in that they can demand more pay for the bride price in urging the bride to run away from her husband. The father of the child gives his in-laws a gift when a baby is born or when his wife dies.

A person often has several names. Sometimes they do this to escape the spirits. Should a person die of an illness, and another person has the same name as the deceased, he will change his name so that he will not die of the same thing. Other times they will try to conceal their real identity from an enemy by changing their names. Or they will try to win prestige in the Teo (Pig exchange ceremony) with a special name. There are many different reasons for having several names.

When natives share food with one another they call each other by a pet name from that time on.

If they share:
- pork (mona) they call each other Narita
- sweet potatoe (mapu) " Kojee
- banana (sae) " Rakyoro, Kode
- sugar cane (lya) " Yokopyaro
- native bean (alyogo) " Alyogo
- yam (amu) " Amu
- edible cane shoots (mina) " Mina
- corn (kanona) " Kanona
- potatoes (samuu) " Samuu
- taro (ko komea) " Maa, Ripano
- cane cone (kuni) " Kuni
- pandanus nuts (aga) " Pisikyoro, roo raroo
- a double pandanus nut " Pakae, Tabwee

There is no family name, only the tribal name plus the individual names of course. Sometimes there are clans within a tribe. Close relatives are considered as members of the family. Tribal members help each other in different ways.

When there is a house to be built for someone, the tribal members gather the materials and build it. The women cut and carry the long grass for thatching the roof and cook food in a ground oven for everyone. The men cut and haul the timbers and do the actual building.

The same communal help is often given with a new garden. Several
men combine their efforts to cut the trees, clear the area, and break the ground. Then the women help to plant the garden.

Before the white man came into this area tribal relations were not always the best. Certain tribes were always at war with one another; the people were afraid to go very far away from home. Now, because of government control and mission teachings, most of this fighting has stopped. Tribes are more friendly to each other, although when tribal members are not Christian the feeling of animosity still exists.

Family relationships play a very important part in the lives of these people. Because of blood ties they are bound to do certain things and are kept from doing other things. Their lives seem to be governed more by family ties than are ours.

In comparing the Christian family with the non-Christian family it seems that the Christian relationship is warmer, that it has taken very definite steps forward. May God help us to do our part in setting a good example to these Enga women so that they may in turn be blessings to their own families.

THE TRAINING OF YOUTH

It is difficult to ascertain just what an Enga child is formally taught about how to live in his society or when this takes place. Much as in our own society the child grows up surrounded by the every day affairs of the family. Many of the questions asked the informants received rather vague answers because the women seemed to take much of child training for granted. The child acquires knowledge of doing family tasks and performing certain skills by watching his elders. At first these efforts are crude and the parents pay little attention to the results, unless the child specifically asks for instruction. As the child becomes older training is more definite, becoming more concentrated around 12 to 15 years of age. What the child learns depends upon the place in Enga-land in which he lives. Some regions own tribal ground which produces trees and contains swamp land which is absent in other areas.

Enga parents permit their children of up to about six years of age to play and otherwise enjoy themselves. Even up until the age approaching twelve they feel that the child does not learn well, for she does not remember what she is taught. Thus, formal teaching seems to be withheld until about ten to twelve years of age. The Engas, too, realize that boys do not grow physically as quickly as the girls do.

In Enga society the small child goes with its mother wherever she goes. When it is weaned from the breast at about three years of age the boy goes to sleep in the man's house and the man takes a more active interest in and responsibility for the
training of his son. However, there is assistance given by both parents at times, regardless of the sex of the child, especially if the child is rebellious and refuses to do as the parent says. If the girls refuse to obey the mother, often the father goes to the garden also, spanks the child and "puts her hands in the dirt". Both boys and girls work in the garden, sometimes taught by mother and father. The only training mothers give boys is that of gathering firewood and maybe getting water, since the boys eat, along with the men, in the woman's house.

Mr. Gary Cooke, in his paper presented to the Pastors' and Teachers' Conference in August 1962, says: "From the ages of 6 to 8 we find that the work for the boys and the girls is much the same. They may carry a little water or it is not unusual for two of them to spend the day looking after the family pigs. Work in the garden is much the same for both sexes. The two youngsters may pull weeds out of the garden or keep the unwanted grass out. They do, of course, spend much time looking after younger brothers and sisters. It seems that the closer to 8 or 9 that we come, the more contrasting becomes the boy's and the girl's work. The boy and girl still do many of the same tasks but the boy has less to do with the garden, other than helping the father do the rough work, and he begins to carry firewood for the family more regularly. The girl on the other hand becomes more specialized in the garden and learns to make and use her net bag. Already at this stage the boy is falling more into the pattern of adult male life and the girl is learning to assume her role in society as an adult female."

Women's work is centered around the training of the girls. The father teaches the boys how to plant sugar cane, bananas and yams. It also seems that boys do very little work at all outside of carrying firewood and water in comparison to the girls until they are young men. According to one informant, "They play until they are ready to be married." Girls, however, begin their training much earlier and seem to carry the heavier load of work.

When the women were asked what they teach their children they responded in three ways: 1) Teach the girls to work in the garden, 2) Teach them to make a net bag, 3) Teach them to make the grass skirt. Anything else the questioner really has to grope for and most of the time comes up with very little.

Mothers begin teaching the planting of sweet potatoes to their girls of about six years of age. First the girl is taught how to carry it, using a small net bag filled with sweet potato and hung from her head. Small girls of about six or seven often come to "market" with 20 pound net bags of sweet potatoes on their heads. Next the child is taught how to take out the weeds in the garden and finally is shown how to plant the sweet potato. The mothers always reiterated that small things were taught the girls first and then when they became older the more important things.

A girl anywhere from six to eight will make a little net bag and
as she grows older she will make larger and larger ones. At this age she is first taught how to make the rope. At first the girl learns from her mother by observation or, if she asks, "Is this how you do it?" the mother will show her. But the actual teaching of the making of a net bag requires several years and a thirteen year old girl probably will have made several small ones and perhaps only one larger one, and from what the girls themselves say these are rather crude. Before, if a girl made a mistake in the fashioning of the rope the mother would hit her anywhere her hand fell, on the head, arms, etc. The head seemed to be the easiest to reach. Now, since the missionary has come they spank the child on the buttocks much of the time. If the rope is not satisfactory the mother may throw it into the fire, and then show the girl how to do it correctly.

At times the women and sometimes the men go to the bush to get the bark for rope making. The following trees are the source of bark for the rope: Wanepa, matopa, enabu, kugi, lyadepai, kotari, and lyakati. These are all non-evergreen, leaf-bearing trees. Young girls often go in a group and carry the bark home, fastened with rope, on their heads. During the last few years more and more of the women are making rope from the hemp plant, introduced from the coast. This is much preferred because the resulting net bag is finer in workmanship and the fiber is much stronger.

In the making of the grass skirt the first thing dwelled upon is the twisting of the rope for the belt. At Raiakama the mothers would later take their girls of about six or seven years of age down to the reed paddies. Here the child was taught to plant her own reed plants in her own little paddy, to keep the water clean and to harvest the reeds. The mother's paddy was a large one and the daughter's somewhat smaller. The gathering of the reeds, the flattening, rolling into balls, and final attaching to the belt are the steps involved.

At Mambisanda there are no reed paddies. The Yakumans do not grow their own reeds because of the lack of suitable swamp in their tribal grounds, they say. As a result the women barter for reeds with the Itokons or the Yabatans or Yakumans at Kubasakama or some other tribe where paddies are available, for bananas, sweet potatoes, yam, or taro. At Raiakama, school girls from the age of seven to about thirteen could be seen sitting out on the grass rolling their reed strands, or fibers into rope. Women and girls alike carried their rolls of reed strands and loose fibers for rope-making around in net bags much like European women carry their knitting or crocheting in small bags to work on when they visit in another home.

The Yakumans also do not have rain shields. They buy them with salt since the Europeans have come. Before they used to purchase them with yams. The Yakuman ground is all grass land, no bush, so they cannot teach their girls how to make the rain shields. This explains the absence of people in church at night.
when it rains; why, when you call for a carrier and tell him to get his rain mat he will say, "I don't have one". He hasn't. The making of a rain shield in other places is taught when a girl is older. In many places, even though the material is available, not all of the women learn how to make them and, consequently, their daughters do not know either unless they happen to learn from someone else. One informant said that after the daughter is taught how to make a rain shield it is up to her to make her own, whether she is young or old. If she fails to make her own, then she just gets wet. Those women who have to buy their rain shields from another tribe can buy either the finished product or else go up into the forest area with a woman from that tribe and procure her own leaves from the trees.

Woman's work in regard to the pigs is as follows: She must see that other pigs do not bite her pigs, she must bring food to the pigs, she must bring the pigs into the house at night and tie them with rope, she must send them out in the morning and clean up after them. Little girls of six or seven look for pigs and bring them into the house. They are taught that wherever the pig goes, the child or woman goes, too. If another pig comes along they are to frighten it away. Children, say the mothers, are not afraid of their own pigs. They, and adults, too, are afraid of other people's pigs. Little girls also help care for new pigs during the first several weeks.

Girls are also taught how to cook the sweet potatoe and how to make a fire. Small ones just watch, but the older ones learn how to put the sweet potatoe by the fire. When the fire burns down the sweet potatoe is put into the ashes and when the ashes are dead it is taken out.

In response to the question of whether they toilet train their children like we do, the mothers said that the place for the baby's bowel movement is on the mother's thigh, which thigh she wipes off afterward with leaves. When they are older they are told to go away into the grass. Then the mother is supposed to pick up the feces and throw it in a toilet hole. Since the government has ordered that the natives dig outdoor toilets with holes twenty feet deep, the question was asked whether they warn their children, the little ones especially, about staying away from them. They said "no", they just watch the child so he does not go near the hole.

What are the people afraid of and what do they warn their children against? The answer was snakes, dogs because they bite people, and lizards because these are like snakes and the people do not like them even though they do not bite. Children are told not to go near the fire. Adults watch them and at times will deliberately put the child's hand close to the fire so the child will be afraid of it and not touch it. But even so, burns among children are very frequent and extensive.

Before the white man came all children were taught not to go to
places where their enemies lived. The women said that this has been stopped since the Europeans came. A girl of about twelve years old or older, within her own tribe, can go wherever she wants to go. When she goes somewhere else then she must be cautious and does not travel alone. If a man harms a girl, the family takes his pigs and everything he owns and burns his houses. Now, payment is made in pigs. In general they are told to be careful of things that could harm them. These women felt that they like it better since the government is here, for much of their fear is gone concerning fighting, the burning of houses, etc.

Children are also taught not to steal or the owner of the things will burn their houses.

The subject of discipline of the Enga children has been covered in Mr. Cooke's paper. However, another interesting comment was made by the women at Mambisanda. For temper tantrums, the child throwing himself on the ground, kicking, etc., the mother wipes the child's tears and tells him not to cry. They may whisper, "We shall go to our aunt's house and kill some pigs", as an encouragement to make him stop.

As a child, the girl learns to make a net bag, but it is not until after the girl is married that she is taught how to make the men's net apron. This frontal piece is made for the girl's husband, her son, or for a friend. It is also made to exchange for a pig. It, as well as the finer net bags take about three months to make, whereas the courser net bags take about a month. Much as our mothers give gifts to their daughters as wedding presents the Enga mother makes a much finer woven net bag for her child to carry when she is married.

According to the Yakuman women, young girls about to be married are not instructed concerning the physical aspect of marriage. They are told that they must make the fire, take care of their husbands, and work in the garden of their husbands. When they do not work and just play then the husband will beat them. Now husbands do not use physical punishment as readily in order to avoid being involved in court cases.

At about six or seven years of age the child is told that she will menstruate, but since the women do not understand the physiology of it, the factual part of the training stops there. Most know that menstruation stops when a woman is pregnant.

It seems also that a girl enters childbirth with no education about the process of labor. In the vast majority of cases the woman has her baby by herself, either out in the grass or at times in a little house her husband has built for her. In true native society it is very seldom that anyone is with her. When the baby has been born, the mother calls out and someone brings her leaves, food, etc. If she is in trouble she calls for someone to come and help her. In some areas, instead of helping, they run away leaving the mother to struggle on alone and perhaps die.
At Raiakama one notices among the catechumen and Christian women that they are more likely to help each other during labor. Young girls were permitted in the house which was built for women in childbirth after the baby was born. Sometimes several women are present at the time of birth.

Most teaching done by the women is a gradual process, with the small child making crude replicas of the mother's art in the beginning and through the years improving her craftsmanship. There is truly much to be admired in their society, both as regards moral standard and as regards to craftsmanship in daily tasks. The woman is taught from a child to work and work she does. The man is her superior. With the coming of the European, such standards seem to be changing, more freedom being given to the woman. The Engas themselves are concerned for they foresee a breakdown in their society.

The more one delves into the fears and superstitions of the Enga people, the more one realizes this is not a research which can be done justice to in a matter of weeks or months. We have merely scratched the surface here. On some subjects information flowed freely while on other topics people hesitated to discuss the matter. Often only after bringing up a given subject for the third or fourth time were we able to finally have them "open up" to actual discussion.

As you hear of the assorted fears and superstitions of the Enga woman, keep in mind that this is a definite part of heathenism and for the most part is put away (actually renounced) as these people accept Christianity.

Superstitions are Learned in Childhood

The heathen Enga children are steeped in assorted superstitions from the time they can understand what is going on about them. In some areas small children are taught to be afraid of old people -- a child cries and the mother hushes her by saying, "Shh! an old woman is coming!" Another favorite is, "Hush, a white person is coming!"

Heavy thunder and lightening are a sign that a man will die. A strong earthquake in the afternoon is a sign of impending famine. However, if the earthquake is in the morning it is a sign of abundant food.

If a person hears a small brown bird (kwiawana) calling, very often important work or a trip will be delayed. It is believed that a spirit stopped in the bird and put words in its mouth.
Some restrictions and superstitions are held in regard to the big clump of bamboo at the place for the yainada ceremony (sacrificing to spirits of the departed using sacred stones) at Wapena-mada. Dry bamboo were never cut with an axe but broken with stones. Only the old men or the initiated could drink water from these. Women, children, and the uninitiated young men were forbidden to drink from them. If children drank from them it was believed they would not develop properly.

In some areas, babies are not named immediately for fear a spirit might call the name and the child would die.

A stone or a piece of wood divides all homes. Women sit on the left as they enter a house and men sit on the right. This practice dare not be violated for fear something might happen to the man to make him wither away. Even in Christian homes this practice is sometimes followed.

Both women and children fear the witch doctors.

Landslides, or a tree falling down without being cut, causes great fear.

Yuumi nege is a fear of the ground in the forest consuming them (men, women, or children). Something in the ground will do this. When a person drops dead in the forest the ground is blamed for the death.

Before Marriage

When a young woman has been interested in a man who has many young women friends she may decide to get revenge in the following manner. She finds a long green worm, cuts it in two and smokes it in the rafters of her house over the fire. She also finds a sagai leaf, the right side of which is green, the left side yellow, and dries this. When both are dried she crumbles them over cooked greens or sweet potatoes. She then gives this to a friend who takes it to the young man with whom the girl has been interested and sits down with him until he has eaten it. This makes the young man sick to his stomach, he has pain, and throws up. Often his stomach will become swollen and when he mingles with other people they will see his swollen stomach and make fun of him. Then he is ashamed.

Young women are afraid of magic if they speak ill of another man or woman.

If a woman laughs at a man, even with her eyes only, she is afraid of revenge.

On the other hand, men have their ways of taking revenge on girls. A man may take a bit of waiape (a kind of tree) and put a little on one of his fingernails and hit the woman on the back with a closed fist. They believe if this is done, after she is married any children she bears will die.
Another charm is worked by catching a frog, tying a rope around its body just above the back legs, and throwing it into water. The name of the woman is called while this is being done. When the frog dies, the woman will also die. If the frog dies quickly, the woman will die quickly. If death comes slowly to the frog, this will also happen to the woman.

Or a man may put a small snake in a gourd of water above the fireplace. If the snake dies, the woman will also die. If, however, after four days the snake doesn't die, the woman will not die. The women are very afraid of this type of magic.

Some men call the name of a woman while they make a very small bow and arrow. The bow and arrow are then placed above the door of her house so that as she goes in and out of her house she will become emaciated.

When a girl is to be married she speaks a magic formula before putting the red and yellow paint on her face. This is to insure a good bride price.

Some girls buy a certain type of cocoon which is available in the Maramuni and Tarua. This is dried, folded, and worn in their arm band for as long as they are considered a "bride". This, too, is to insure a good bride price. The pay for the cocoon is very high -- perhaps an axe, a packet of native salt, or the agara tege (the beaded forehead decoration the men wear). This cocoon is called rakada. This practice is followed in the Pawari area with a slight variation. Here the Taki (a kind of insect that weaves a cocoon) is used and a woman witch doctor puts a magic spell on it to insure a good bride price. However, they do not pay for the service of the witch doctor and the cocoon is theirs for the finding.

Sometimes arepa (a kind of bamboo) is put in the woman's arm band to insure a good bride price.

In some areas, when part of the bride price has been paid, but the man seems in no hurry to complete the transaction, she makes a magic spell by cooking some thorny branches and some branches of the stinging nettle called nakau. She stirs them slowly in the ashes of the fire and the man hurries to her to complete the plans for the marriage.

When a young girl is about to be married, her mother teaches her how to make a magic spell so that she will not soon have a baby. The thought behind this is that should she have a baby quickly she will become old quite soon.

The girl makes a rope from the poto or tatari bush. She need not do this in secret or even alone. She then says:

"Poto puu, tatari puu, aekena puu,
    Pima rao rao, pato pelyo".
It is interesting to note that when we asked to have this bit of talk translated into English we were refused on the grounds that these are strictly words of the witch doctors.

After saying the words mentioned, the girl spits on her hands and beginning from the back rubs the flats of her palms around her waist toward the front. Then she ties the rope she has made from either the poto or the tatari bush securely around her waist. It has been said that some women having made this particular nemago (magic spell) have reached old age and died never having borne a child.

If later a woman changed her mind and wished to bear children she did not have to make another form of magic to eradicate the first spell.

Marriage

In the Kandep, when a couple are newly married they do not have intercourse until the pig killing which marks the final gift exchange in the wedding arrangements. This may take from five days to a month or more. During this time the woman is not allowed to sleep. She is watched by the other women living in that particular women's house that she does not close her eyes. If she falls asleep they hit her with sticks and put coals from the fire against her skin to awaken her quickly because they fear that should the bride sleep before the marriage is consummated her husband will become sick and die.

She is watched particularly well during her menstrual periods that she never closes her eyes during those five days because that is the most dangerous time for her husband. Should the bride become ill during this time, then she is allowed to sleep until her illness is over.

She is allowed to keep a fire going in her house during this time, however she may not blow it with her mouth. When the fire needs blowing she must only wave her hand at it. It may sometimes take as long as three or four hours to get the fire going in this manner.

She is not allowed outside at night. Near dawn she may go right outside her door to await first light. At this time she makes nemago (magic spell) calling names of the good bride price she hopes for. She may go outside during the day but is always accompanied.

Pregnancy

When a woman is pregnant, she has many fears and superstitions. There is fear of miscarriage, of a hand or leg presentation, of giving birth to an abnormal child, of pain at birth, and of the chance that she might bear twins. (It is believed "one belongs to me and one belongs to someone else." The second born is
killed as it is believed to have been given by a spirit. It is also feared that the mother's milk supply will not be sufficient for two children.)

When a woman is pregnant she does not want to hear accounts of miscarriage or the birth of an abnormal child.

Pregnant women are counseled not to sit close to the fire or cut in the sun for long periods of time. It is believed the heat may make the unborn child darker.

A pregnant woman must sleep only on her side -- either right or left.

It is interesting to note that the women are counseled to be careful in the early months of pregnancy -- not to do heavy lifting or hard work, or walk or run quickly, or take part in sing-sings. Close to the time of birth they are counseled to keep busy, to work hard, not to sit down a lot, to do strenuous things at times in order to induce labor, especially if the child is overdue.

**Childbirth**

When labor begins, a woman fills a sanima (gourd) with water. A topori akari (male witch doctor) or a topori eda (female witch doctor) then blows on the water, spits on the ground and says a nemago to assure a well child at the time of delivery. A flower called yariyari is put into the water as a cork for the gourd. The seed pod of this flower breaks easily and the seeds scatter. This is a kind of omen that the child will be born well. Only a small gourd is used or a larger gourd is only partly filled with water. The woman must drink all the water.

After the delivery of a baby, a woman quickly ties a rope tightly around her own body so that her navel doesn't swell out. In the Pawari area this is also done but with the thought that the flabby abdominal muscles are supported a bit.

During a woman's pregnancy, if she has a threatened abortion, then at the time of the birth she immediately cuts or bites off a joint or two of the baby's little finger. In the Kandep area the ear lobe sometimes is cut off instead of a finger. This is done to ward off the possibility of a child growing up mentally deficient or insane due to the threatened abortion experienced by the mother.

In the Pawari area it is a common practice for a mother to bite off one or two joints of a little finger of a newborn child to let any birth blood that the child may have swallowed flow out.

Also, if an unusually large child is born, it is thought that surely the child swallowed a large quantity of the mother's
blood and so a joint or two of the little finger is cut or bitten off to let the blood flow out. If this is not done they feel the large child will surely die.

After the birth the woman makes a nemago by calling the names of the mountains around and the name of the month wabu. She then spits on her hands and rubs her stomach. This is done so that she will not have another menstrual period for a year or more. In some areas they eat ginger root, native salt, and a leaf that is red on the under side. This, too, assures no period for another year or more.

In the Kandep, when a woman gives birth to a male child she takes the placenta, climbs a tree, and sets it securely in the branches. This is done so that the child will grow up unafraid to climb trees after pandanus nuts, opposum, etc. The placenta of a girl child is thrown away.

The above practice is unknown in the Pawari area, however, the dried cord of either a boy or a girl is fastened to a branch of a tree for a bird to carry away. If it is carried away the child will grow strong and healthy. If it is not carried away the child will be sickly.

It is a common practice for a woman to go to the bush to deliver her child. Often she hides there for as long as a month. She and her newborn child must remain out of sight of a man for fear the man might be looked down upon by his fellows.

Superstitions and Fears of Married Women

Most men and women live in separate houses. A man is afraid of becoming emaciated should he sleep with his wife. The pigs and the dirt also make the house untenable in the eyes of the man.

During the time of a woman's period she is very much afraid to let her husband see her. She covers up her head with pandanus leaves and leaves her house very early in the morning to go into the bush or to go to one of her gardens to work and does not return to her house until night fall. She must never handle the food for her husband during this time. Should she do so he will become sick and age quickly. She can handle food for infants and other women, but once a boy is weaned she can no longer handle his food during this time of the month. Those who have had little or no contact with the white man believe so utterly in this that they will nearly kill a woman if they find she has broken this taboo. Men have been known to throw their spears at a woman for breaking this rule. Also a woman must give a pig or special gift to the man to smooth his hurt feelings if she has disobeyed in this matter.

This is one superstition that to some extent remains with our baptized Christians. The women no longer hide, but for at least two or three days they do not serve their husbands food. Also
they are not to sit too near the fire or put their hands toward the fire. During the woman's period she is not permitted to use the same soap and towel that her husband uses and is not to speak to her husband.

A young unmarried girl is not afraid to be seen during this time, but she will not handle food for a man.

Women are afraid to have intercourse while they have a nursing child for fear they might become pregnant and the urine of the unborn child will contaminate the milk supply of the nursing child.

Women have a fear of ridicule from other women for not working a waina (net cover for the hair) for her husband or son.

Women are afraid of their husbands when his food is not ready after he comes in at night.

Women fear a husband that does not talk a lot but just fights.

**Pigs.**

So that a couple's young and thin pigs will become strong and fat they go through the following ritual which is done with small pigs only. Each pig for which they have these good wishes is tied with its front feet elevated and its hind legs touching the ground. The mouth of the pig is tied shut. Then a torch is held to singe off the hair of the pig. After this treatment, the pig is rubbed with tree ferns soaked in white clay -- all the while this is being done the woman is adding her spit to the clay. When the pig is completely covered with the clay it is taken back to the house and kept in its separate stall in the woman's house.

On each of the next four days the woman makes nemago by visiting the stall of each pig and calling the name of something large -- for instance a huge well-known mountain or a large river. During all of these days while the woman is making nemago no one may walk behind her. Also it is forbidden for anyone to say such words as "stone", "axe", or "snake" within her hearing. (The word "snake" is included lest the pig become as thin as a snake.)

At the end of the fifth day the man kills one pig and gives the wife such choice pieces as the throat, a part of the back, kidneys, ribs, and a part of the stomach. She eats part of it and gives part of it to her sisters. This magic spell is guaranteed to develop big fat hogs if properly done.

The pigs are singed only once in their lifetime. However, later in the pig's life as the time for butchering draws near it is again given the clay treatment every two months. Magic spells are made at this time also. After a mother pig has piglets in the bush, the house built for this purpose is destroyed and the piglets are brought to the woman's house. A magic spell is placed on them without the use of white clay.
The Gardens

The Yainada stones were believed to have male and female spirits residing in them. Sacrifices of pig were made to these stones to have healthy children, big fat pigs, and good gardens. Women were not allowed to eat of the pig of these feasts lest the female spirit in the stone be angry and kill the woman who had eaten of the pig.

Before a man or a woman planted a yam or taro garden they killed rats, birds, and opposums and cooked other food to make a big feast and ate this so that the garden could bear well.

When the women planted a taro garden for the first time on new ground they went to the garden very early in the morning. They did not eat or talk or take their children for fear they would talk. After planting a stick which had a magic spell on it they ate native salt and ginger root (which was part of the magic) to make the garden bear well. When the women took the taro out of the net bag to plant it the women themselves, not a witch doctor, put a spell on the taro.

The women were careful not to step on pig dung, banana, or old wood near their garden for fear of carrying insects to the garden and thus harming the growth of the garden.

A woman is afraid to dig up, cut, or harvest food planted by a man. These foods include banana, sugar cane, yam, types of edible cane shoots, and greens. The reason for this is that the men would be very angry with them for taking the food.

Sickness

When a man, woman, or child is ill a male witch doctor is called in to discuss who caused the sickness to come upon the person. Then the witch doctor talks to the spirit and asks which pig the spirit wishes to have cooked as a sacrifice. Only the men call out. The women are not permitted to do this.

A woman witch doctor claims to be able to communicate with the spirits of the departed. She pretends sleep to accomplish this and appears to be talking to the spirits in her sleep.

An old woman, to ward off sickness and death, will make a magic spell with the sagai leaf. At the time of the new moon she takes this leaf and rubs her skin all over as she says words of magic.

A branch of the akaipu (tree) is also used to rub the skin and is worn around the neck to keep spirits from causing sickness. Babies are rubbed in this way also and a branch is placed in the net bag in which the baby is carried. No magic is spoken with this. A man's axe kept in his belt is also believed to keep the spirits of sickness away.
For a sore muscle or similar pain one strikes the area with nakau (the stinging nettle). Also for sore muscles one sleeps where there are plenty of fleas so the fleas can eat the blood and make the soreness go away.

If a person is very sick, so ill that he cannot eat sweet potatoe, he is given the seed of the yakati or tokopati (bread fruit tree) salted. Or they eat kuni (a type of cane) and salt.

For headaches and colds they eat ginger root and a type of green which has a good smell. For a very bad cold a type of green with a strong smell is tied in a bundle and cooked in the ashes and then smelled. Also for headaches they sometimes cut a small gash in the forehead with a bamboo knife to let a bit of the blood out.

When joints ache, a white sap of a tree is rubbed on the joint, or the toe nail of a pig is cooked. When the smell is strong the toe nail is rubbed on the affected area so that it does not become worse.

Another cure is rubbing a sore joint after touching a dead man. The feeling being that the spirit of the departed will lend aid.

When a man's stomach was swollen a male witch doctor puts a magic spell on some water and makes the sick man drink plenty of this.

When a man was covered with terrible sores he went to live by himself in a house in the bush or away from the rest of the people. This was done either voluntarily or at the insistence of the group. Sometimes the people built a house for the sick person and designated a garden where he could get food, or sometimes brought food and put it at a designated spot without seeing the person. They called to ask if he was getting better, but would not talk to him face to face.

Death

Pigs are killed to satisfy the spirit of the dead. As each pig is killed the spirit to whom it is sacrificed is called by name -- "I give this to you."

In some areas when a person died from a terrible disease such as leprosy, a swollen stomach, or from a body covered with terrible sores (yaws?), men, women, and children in the immediate clan of the dead person would change their names so as not to attract the spirit of the departed.

When a dead man was being carried to his burial place if a person met them on the road that person or one of his tribe was sure to die.

A man is afraid if his wife dies that she might come back to get him. However, only when a widow married again did she make a spell so that her departed husband would not harm her.
If a person hears a flying fox flap its wings it is believed a woman will die.

Additional Fears and Superstitions

When the natives were getting ready to fight they asked their deceased parents to help them in battle.

When the white man first came to the Highlands the natives built houses in the bush and hid from them for fear the white men would eat them. The men cooked pigs to the spirit of a strong man asking him to chase the white men away.

Women are greatly afraid of pututuri. The pututuri are men who are thin as ropes and live under the stones. In the Neneme Gorge, a thirty to forty minute hike from the Pawari station, are hundreds of immense boulders. It is believed that this area is the home of the pututuri since they live under stones. When an echo is heard in the mountains it is the cry of the pututuri.

Women are careful not to leave their babies out of their sight as it is believed that the pututuri sometimes come and exchange babies. When a child grew up a disappointment to his parents it was believed that it was actually the child of a pututuri exchanged for their own child at a moment when they were not looking.

These men were also accused of slapping and abusing women, even having intercourse with them. Natives are careful to walk softly and be quiet while walking near large stones so as not to attract the attention of these men.

It is said that years and years ago a man of a certain tribe (the Inapins) killed a pututuri and a great cry came from the stones, so the people gave pigs to the pututuri and since that time the Inapins and the pututuri have been friends.

In all our discussions about fears and superstitions in the Pawari area the subject of the pututuri is the only one that struck a note of fear and concern. Since they had actually never seen one of these creatures they insisted that it was impossible to really describe them. All they knew was that they were thin as ropes.

After hearing only some of the fears and superstitions of these people we can better realize how comforting Christianity is to them.
In a cave on the mountain overlooking Raiakama in the Saka Valley sits a grizzled old warrior. He has been sitting there for around fifty years. He is a mummy. It seems he was killed in battle, the wound and bandages are still visible. Time has dimmed the memories of these people because no one quite remembers just how or why he was put in this place. Some think he was put in the cave to protect the tribe from their enemies.

Although in some parts of New Guinea it is the custom to preserve the dead by drying them by fire and sun, it is not the usual Enga custom. There are a few of these mummified bodies in caves here and there, but for the most part they prefer to bury their dead in the ground.

Heathen Customs

In the Saka Valley, the body is wrapped in the leaves of a reed-like plant and in leaves of the banana tree and tied with rope, then strung up between two vertical poles. The deceased's tribe then sits down on the ground to weep and wail a mournful cry all day around the body. Late in the afternoon the body is taken down and hung up in the house for the night. The next morning the tribe buries the body, then all the friends and relatives gather in the house to cry for a week or more. This period of mourning can extend to as long as two months or more if the man was very important.

The wife of the deceased remains confined to her house all of this time. The other women bring her food. In one instance, the ten year old son of the bereaved family fell, breaking his arm, during this period of mourning after the burial of his father. His mother was unable to leave her house to care for him or to accompany him to the hospital. A local Christian did this for the mother.

This practice seems to vary, the period of confinement being determined by the widow in accordance with the position held by the deceased in the eyes of his family and other tribal members.

At the end of this mourning period, pigs are killed to appease the spirit of the dead one. A poor man might have four pigs killed for him, a rich man would have many, given by his relatives and friends. The pigs are cooked with sweet potatoes, bananas, and vegetables in ground ovens. The pig is trussed in a special way. The head, tail, entrails, etc. are removed. The pig is cut in half lengthwise and the front foot fastened to the back foot. This choice part of the pig is given to the deceased's mother and relatives. The deceased's tribe eats the head, tail, and entrails. Sometimes the mother's tribe receives live pigs. In this case they return cooked pig to the relatives of the bereaved. If they receive four pigs, three are killed and returned.
Men and old women are buried with honors, but young married women are greatly feared. The men are afraid the spirit of the young married woman will come back for them. When she dies, her body is taken as far away into the bush as possible so that she cannot get back to haunt them. With a rope they truss up her body in a crouched position, legs drawn up to her chest, arms tied together on her chest, hands near the face. Then sticks are placed pointing into the eyes so that if her spirit tries to get up from the grave, the sticks will jab out her eyes and she won't be able to see her prey.

Men, children, and old women fare better. The body may be laid down in the grave or in the crouched position aforementioned, depending on how much the family thinks of the particular person. They are buried in the relative's burial plot near their home.

It is the custom of the heathen to cut off a joint of their fingers as a sign of mourning for a dead loved one. A mother might cut off her finger for a dead child, a man for a brother, or perhaps they might cut off the ear lobe instead. There are some unfortunate individuals who have cut off all their fingers.

Burial Alive

Before the advent of medical care for leprosy patients, their fate was as bad or worse than that of Biblical times. As long as he was able to care for himself, everything went on normally, but when the disease reached advanced stages and his family was forced to care for him, the attitude changed. The family could see this was no ordinary sickness, and fear crept in that a black spirit was devouring him. Not wanting to meet the same fate, they decided to take drastic steps. As the poor fellow lay on his filthy bed, his relatives would inform him or her that they were going to move him to another house. They would obligingly help him onto a stretcher, then quickly encase him in it, fasten it securely, and carry the dying person to some swamp and bury him there alive. The ground was thought to be too soft for the spirit to walk back to the place to harm the family. Others were thrown into the river. This was special treatment only given to lepers.

Although emphatically denied by most informants, there is plenty of evidence showing that burial alive of other patients was and still is done. One informant said that one of his relatives, an old man, was wrapped in burial leaves and smothered by them. A man was carried into the Raiakama clinic with rope burns on his arms. The native medical orderly said these were marks showing that he had been tied up for burial. One old woman's relatives tried to dispose of her quickly by wrapping a blanket around her face. She was found by a missionary who took her to the hospital where she lived two weeks longer. In another case a man whose relatives felt it useless to carry him to the hospital since he was already in coma took him home from the outstation clinic to
bury. During the usual mourning period he was seen by Christians thrashing around. They had him cut down from the mourning posts and carried to hospital.

**Christian Customs**

When the Christian dies, in contrast to the fear, superstition, and despair of the heathen, there is a certain joy. Rather than fearing the dead person, the Christians can rejoice that their fellow has joined their Savior in his heavenly home.

The European fashion of a coffin is popular with the people. If they can obtain the materials they build a box for the deceased. Otherwise they fasten tree bark around the body with rope.

The friends and relatives gather at the deceased's home in the morning to mourn. Many times the Christian close relatives will speak words of comfort to those gathered. Towards afternoon they go to the cemetery. Christian and heathen are both buried together in the tribe's burial ground. They sing a hymn, the head man gives a sermon, there is a prayer, burying of the body, then a final hymn. The relatives and friends return to the family's home for a dinner of sweet potatoes, corn, bananas, and vegetables which they have cooked in the earth oven. There are usually no pigs killed for Christians, although occasionally some are killed in order to show respect to the departed rather than to appease the spirits. Then all return to their homes. Mourning is finished with the funeral.