SPIRIT - MAGIC BELIEFS AND CONCEPTS
OF THE WAPE PEOPLE IN RELATION TO
THE EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION OF
THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

A paper prepared by assignment for discussion
at the Annual Conference to be held at

by

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CONTENTS

Chapter 1. Wape spirits. Page 4
Chapter 2. Other Supernatural Beliefs " 11
Chapter 3. What their spirit - magic gives them. " 13
Chapter 4. A Wape Legend " 15
Chapter 5. Commentary on the Legend " 24
Chapter 6. Culture Change " 27
Chapter 7. Christo Paganism " 30
Chapter 8. The Missionary's attitude toward Animism and his Relationship with the Animist. " 33
Chapter 9. The Necessity of Learning about Animism. " 36
Chapter 10. Some Suggestions on obtaining spirit information " 37

Some books worth reading.

Customs and Cultures
Message and Mission
Learning a Foreign Language
Bible Translating
God's Word in Man's Language
- all by Dr. Nida. These have been sent to many of the Mission Stations.

The Church and Cultures, an applied Anthropology for the Religious Worker.
- by L.J. Luzbetak. S.V.D., a Roman Catholic priest. This book was highly recommended to us by Drs. Nida and Smalley at the Translators' Institute. I have a copy for loan, or it can be purchased from:- Divine Word Missionaries, 138 Midson Road, Epping, N.S.W. Price 97/6 plus 2/8 surface mail postage.

The Outgrowth and Development of Cargo Cult
- a 200 page cyclostyled paper dealing with Cargo Cults in the Lutheran Mission area, by J.P. Wagner. I have a copy for loan. Written 1964. There appear to be many similarities with the Sepik peoples.

Practical Anthropology Magazine. 12 sets of all back numbers have been ordered and should be here soon. Let me know if you want a set.
When first asked to prepare this assignment there was no thought that it would grow to this size. The simple fact is the subject expanded as work on the project progressed. Even now there are areas not adequately covered.

I realize the advantage that has been mine in being in a position to give time to such a study, for I have not been tied down to an institutional programme as have others.

At the Lae Translators' Institute, it was evident that Missionaries generally are realizing more the importance of understanding a people's culture. Our lecturers also gave stress to the fact in the overlapping realms of translation and communication.

That some may disagree with some of the conclusions, I fully realize. This in itself can be good, for it will further stimulate thought on the subject.

The Wape speaking people are situated in the Lumi Sub-District and number nearly 10,000. Practically all the information in this paper has been obtained from people in villages immediately surrounding Lumi itself. They have only had contact with Europeans to any degree since the Second World War. Most of the men have been away to the plantations on the coast for 2 year periods.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the merits and disadvantages of the vernacular verses Pidgin as a tool for understanding a culture. It is believed that the missionary who is seeking to understand a culture can get a long way using Pidgin as the medium of communication.

Requests for any issue arising out of this paper to be discussed at Conference will be welcomed. Let me know beforehand. Come prepared to give your experiences and views so that we can intelligently discuss and profit thereby.

It is fully acknowledged there will be no success in our task, apart from prayer and the working of the Holy Spirit of God, no matter how well we know the people and their entire culture and language.

D.E. McG.
SPIRIT - MAGIC BELIEFS AND CONCEPTS OF THE WAPE PEOPLE
IN RELATION TO THE EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATION OF THE CHRISTIAN MESSAGE

"When I am with the Jews I seem as one of them so that they will listen to the Gospel and I can win them to Christ. When I am with the Gentiles who follow Jewish customs and ceremonies I don't argue, even though I don't agree, because I want to help them.

When with the heathen I agree with them as much as I can, except of course that I must always do what is right as a Christian. And so, by agreeing, I can win their confidence and help them too.

When I am with those whose consciences bother them easily, I don't act as though I know it all and say they are foolish: so they too, will let me help them.

Yes, whatever a person is like, I try to find common ground with him so that he will be willing to let me tell him of Christ. I do this to get the Gospel to them...."

Paraphrase of I Corinthians 9:20-22 in "Living Letters".

Introduction:

Probably all of us have had or are having the frustrating experience of not knowing what the people are thinking. Neither are we always able to follow their reasoning or understand why, in a given circumstance they act as they do. To our way of thinking many of their actions are irrational, unreasonable and disadvantageous to them. What are their fundamental concepts of life - their fears - their aspirations?

The answer to these and other questions are found in an understanding of their animistic beliefs, for these are central to all aspects of their culture.

All men worship something or someone. There are no true atheists. For every man there is a centre of his devotions, a final cause for his action, a central authority which evokes willing or unwilling obedience from him. Although created with a capacity for God, men have opened their hearts for other loyalties, yielded themselves to other authorities, bowed before other gods. In all of this, man's religious nature - his deep-set self, has become perverted.

Animism, which is a belief in and an allegiance to a plural- ity of spirits who govern lives is the religion of the New Guinea people. Missionaries have found that a knowledge of the heathen religion of the people among whom they are witnessing, opens the way to an understanding of them which is essential in the task of effectively communicating the Gospel.

To stimulate thought on the subject, animistic-magical beliefs of the people in the Lumi area is outlined and some conclusions drawn in connection with our Evangelistic and Teaching ministry. To a large extent the facts here given apply to the people in the Sepik District generally.

Spirit beliefs and the culture generally are described from the people's point of view. Thus when spirits are described as good, it does not mean that they really are good, but that they are thought to be good in the eyes of the people.
CHAPTER I: SPIRITS

Spirits (Pidgin - 'masalai') can be briefly defined as invisible personalities not bound by the limitation of a body which have contact with humans for good or evil. They can be put into two main classes, namely, bad and good.

1. Bad spirits: (Pidgin - 'masalai' or 'masalai nogut') These are said to be bad in that they cause sickness and death. They do nothing that is good for the people. Greatly feared and avoided entirely, their abodes are such places as water holes, pools, depressions in the ground, holes in trees, caves etc. The natives seem to know which holes and pools are inhabited by spirits and which are not. This and other information has been handed down from generation to generation, the revelation coming at some stage through a dream or a notion in someone's mind. No one wishes to come into open conflict with them, for nothing would be gained in so doing. Only when a person is harmed by the bad spirit will there be any attempt at communication with him, requesting that he leave the afflicted person.

Such a spirit is Kälfene. Known to people around Lumi by this name, he is called other names in the different language groups. He lives in all pools of water, lakes, rivers and creeks not being bound to any one particular place. Kälfene on smelling a menstruating woman as she approaches a pool of water, causes the women to have a large haemorrhage, following which, the pool of water gushes up, enveloping and killing the woman. Just nothing can be done for the hapless victim. The only safe places for menstruating women are in their villages. All women are terrified of this spirit.

Children, while in the bush must not complain of being hungry and ask to eat, for if they do, there is the probability that Kälfene will come and kill them all, especially if they are near water.

A torrential downpour is sometimes thought to be caused by Kälfene, and when this occurs an appropriate chant with kundu drum beating is made, so that the rain will cease.

There are numerous bad spirits. Every village has them. Some are known over a large area and others by only a few family groups.

There is no conflict between Christianity and the people's belief in these bad spirits, for the message that Christ is stronger than these spirits and can protect humans is gladly heard. Many probably have Christ as an extra safeguard against these harmful bad spirits.
2. Good Spirits:

The good spirits are so called because they give success in such realms as: hunting, gardening, growth of children into healthy adulthood, fighting, and protection from theft. The pidgin term is 'masalai' or 'gutpela masalai'.

Some are said to be wholly good, while others are partly good and partly bad. They are bad in that they may cause sickness - even death to their owners through an infringement of native custom, or for some other action committed knowingly or unknowingly which arouses the wrath of the spirits. The majority, but not all of these spirits cause sickness to their owners. No real distinction is made between the wholly good and the partly good and partly bad, as in all other respects they have the same characteristics and are looked on by the people in the same way.

A good spirit may be "owned" by a complete language group, a village, a hamlet, a clan or a family. Whatever the size the group may be, they "own" the spirit in that they communicate with him or her in order to have success and prosperity in various realms of life. This ownership is mutual, for the spirit has control over the group, who yield themselves, willingly or unwillingly to his authority. The term "spirit owner" or "spirit owners" will be used of a person or group in denoting this relationship with their spirit. The good spirits only help their owners. A spirit owner never says the name of his spirit in the hearing of someone outside his group.

Every good spirit has a name, is known to be either male or female, and is a living personality. Knowledge of these supernatural beings has been handed down by their ancestors, who in the first instance got to know about them in dreams.

Some Lumi people say that originally their spirits were their human ancestors. Others say that this was not the case and still others do not know. There is a lengthy story that goes with every spirit, and a remarkable fact common to most is that the spirit came from another village, in each case about five to eight airline miles away.

2. (a) Hunting Spirits:

Every village or hamlet has its own hunting spirit which is relied on for success in hunting all kinds of animals. None of these spirits belong to a whole language group, the largest group owning one spirit being a village. Some people, in addition to having their village hunting spirit, and their hamlet hunting spirit also have their own family hunting spirit.

Good things the hunting spirits do:

When a man comes upon wild pig marks in his bush, he promptly calls out to his hunting spirit who in turn will call out to the wild pig by name. The pig then turns around and retracing his steps is shot by the hunter.

In bygone days, some of the blood was put into a bamboo for the spirit by whose power the pig was shot. In some villages the bamboo was put high up in the roof of the hunter’s house as was done for spirit Youfèlê at Teloutei. At other villages the blood
was left at the spirit's abode at Wabuf village. Other spirits preferred the blood to be painted on to the posts of the men's house, and at still other places blood and meat of the pig was set aside in the hunter's house for the spirit to come and steal by night. These practices it seems, have been almost entirely dropped.

Hunting spirits also aid dogs as they follow, find and hold down wild animals.

Hunting spirits also give success in night watching - the practice of silently waiting at the base of a tree for bush rats, opossums etc. No blood has ever been set aside for the spirits in this form of hunting.

While their owners are away from their villages, the hunting spirits watch over their possessions and houses. Thieves are promptly made sick and can be cured only by the afflicted one being "blown" on by the spirit owner.

It was the hunting spirits who helped their owners in inter-village fighting. Temali village claim that their spirit is an exceptionally good one, enabling them to defeat any village that took them on. They further say that surrounding villages knows this and are very frightened.

Most, though not all of these hunting spirits give sickness of one kind or another to their spirit owners. Spirits, by going into people, give sickness. Their presence in a human constitutes the sickness, and the spirit is in the part of the body where the pain is. One spirit may give all respiratory infections. Another may give stomach ache and bowel complaints. Another gives fevers and headaches. Another may cause leg swelling. Another is the cause of skin complaints. Some give only minor sicknesses which go away by themselves in a day or two, while others give sickness which results in death. Some spirits have the power to give several kinds of sickness.

Hunting spirits give sickness to their owners for several reasons. A slight sickness after the shooting of a pig is the normal course of events with some spirits. In past days, sickness could have been given by the spirit for not putting out blood in bamboo. Some spirit owners will not venture too close to the spirit's abode through fear of invoking their spirit's wrath with resulting sickness. Some villagers, however, can go right to their spirit abode with no bad consequences.

A hunting spirit may give sickness to a person who does an injustice to another person in the same spirit group. As well as the sickness, the argument will be the cause of fruitless hunting trips. Indeed, if a pig gets away after being surrounded by a group of people, some person in the group is sure to be the cause of the failure through committing some wrong against someone else, in the group.

While eating with a family in Temali village one evening, I was told that a big meeting about their shotgun would be held later on that night. The village had possessed a shotgun for over a year, and up until that time no wild pig had been killed. Several had been hit, but each one got to its feet and fled into the brush before the hunters could get to it. Something was wrong. There must be arguments and grievances within the group. That evening all the injustices, ill feelings, theft and such things committed by people in Temali against each other had to come out in the open and put right, following which soup was drunk by everyone. Not long after this, so it was claimed, a wild pig was shot.
None of the good spirits give sickness to their owners if or when their owners steal from someone outside their group. The spirits do not mind their owners doing this at all. This fact should be noted, as it implies that animists do not understand the act of stealing to be wrong - only stealing from people in their own spirit group. However, when a man steals from someone outside his group, the spirit belonging to the man whose goods were stolen will give sickness to the thief.

All hunting spirits give sickness to people from other villages who steal from their owners, or who trespass into their owners' bush. Sickness can only be taken away by the spirit owner or owners going to the sick man's house and "blowing" on the victim on the part of his body which is painful, beseeching the spirit to go down and out of the man. Should the man get well again, he will give the spirit owners a payment of money of anything from 1/- to £1 depending on how sick he was. The worse the sickness the larger the payment.

A few of the hunting spirits are said to cause electrical storms and torrential rain.

Some male hunting spirits, it is said, are able to take on human form, deceiving a woman into thinking that he is her husband. After sex relations, the woman will die. The spirits belonging to an Eretei hamlet, Hamum village and Taute village have this ability. For this reason few women will venture out alone to chip and wash sago.

Most spirits have specific dwelling places, such as a hole in the ground, a large rock or a rocky area. Some spirits have their abode close to, or even in the village, others in the bush, and some in distant villages. Some spirits, it is claimed, go around their owners' houses in turn.

Women, it seems, have no communication with spirits for success in any realm.

It appears that a man will "try" several hunting spirits before finding the one that gives success.

2 (b) Gardening Spirits: Omoni and his wife Wau are two spirits which are owned by 20 or more villages in the Lumi area, and which promote healthy growth of food plants, causing them to bear prolifically. These two spirits live in all gardens at the same time, except when one man has two or more gardens at the one time. Then the spirits go from one garden to the other in turn. Old gardens are not inhabited by these spirits.

The gardening stick is jabbed into the ground and moved around making a hole. The yam, mani, taro or bananas as the case may be is then taken in the hand, blown upon as the name of the spirit is said quietly, then planted. If the food is planted without calling on the aid of the spirit, unhealthy yellow leaves and stunted growth will result, it is believed.

It has been said that gardening spirits take on human form, can be heard talking, splitting firewood, but are never seen. They always hide from humans.
A person trespassing on another man's garden (unless he is in the same family) will be given sickness - even though they may own the same gardening spirit. The sickness will only go when the garden owner "blows" on the sick person, beseeching the spirit to go down and out of the victim.

Sickness also seems to be the normal course of events when the food grows healthily through the aid of the gardening spirits. A Lumi man, while discussing the subject, said that Teloutei and Keipam villages have very good gardening spirits. "Their gardens are exceptionally good", he said, "They are too strong - the sickness they give is bad." The better the garden through the spirit's blessing, the worse the sickness.

At Tepali village one good spirit helps in both hunting and gardening. This is the only instance of this that has been found.

2 (c) Growth Spirits: These make children grow up into healthy strong adulthood. If this spirit does not help in this, a child will grow into a stunted weak adult.

Tepali village gave me the following information: When the child is about 6 months old, the father and mother take it one day to the river and there wash it. The father then hits it on both sides of the pelvis, at the same time calling out to the spirit and blowing on the child. This is done just once in the child's life. Some villages have special "growth spirits" and, in others, the hunting spirit is also the growth spirit.

There is no spirit anywhere who helps the person at death, or who looks after the souls of the departed. Death and after is a mystery to the animist.

On the following page is a chart listing a few spirits with some of their characteristics and qualities.
### Some Characteristics & Qualities of Spirits

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1)</th>
<th>(2)</th>
<th>(3)</th>
<th>(4)</th>
<th>(5)</th>
<th>(6)</th>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>(8)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Good.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Turns wild pigs around so they walk back to hunter.</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
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<tr>
<td>Helps in night hunting</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps dogs in hunting</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps in fighting other villages</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watches over possessions and houses</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes food in garden grow</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makes children grow into healthy adulthood</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gives sickness to people who steal from spirit owner</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bad.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causes sickness to spirit owner</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Takes on human form, having sex relations with living women, who later die.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Other Facts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>M&amp;F</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>F</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has specific dwelling place</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goes from garden to garden</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goes from house to house</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blood or meat set aside in some way after successful pig hunt</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smells blood on person, esp. men &amp; women giving sickness.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of spirit originally came in dream</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Was originally an ancestor</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has at some time taken on human form</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sickness taken away by spirit owner blowing on the sick person</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(1) Neipe spirit of Miliom village
(2) Wano spirit of Malison of Miliom village
(3) Omoni spirit and his wife Wau belonging to about 20 villages
(4) Yuwou, Wolai and Waurengke, three female gardening spirits of Teloute and Meipe villages.
(5) Niyeli spirit belonging to Wolwo of Ereitei
(6) Kati spirit belonging to Nambalan of Ereitei.
(7) Youfiele spirit of a Teloute hamlet.
(8) Waukei spirit of Tepali village.

x means yes
- means no
? uncertain.
CHAPTER II: OTHER SUPERNATURAL BELIEFS

It is often difficult to know where spirits end and such things as sorcery, magic and ghosts begin. Actually, there is no clear-cut distinction - they merge into or overlap each other, but for the purpose of analysis, they are described separately.

1. Ghosts: The pidgin term is 'tamberan' or sometimes 'dewel'. The latter term may also, depending on the context, refer to a person or animal's soul or life or shadow.

The objective of ghosts around the Lumi area is to find and eat humans. After deceiving people into thinking they are ordinary human beings, they are devoured, leaving only bones behind. Ghosts have a slightly different physical appearance from humans in that their eyes have more white in them and their skins are whiter. Gulping down large quantities of food with each swallow, ghosts get through their meal in no time, hardly chewing at all. Their blood and skin is cold - not warm like ordinary people. Although they can be killed by humans, they are brought to life again by one of their relations cutting a toe or finger off the body of the dead ghost and throwing it over the roof of a house. He promptly comes to life and laughs.

Male and female ghosts have children in the normal way. Their home is in the bush. There appear to be good and bad ghosts, the good being the people's own ancestors, and the bad the ancestors of other villages. During daylight hours ghosts may turn into various animals. The characteristics of these supernatural beings described here were noted from the scores of legends that every village has about them. The spirits that take on human form would be called ghosts when seen as such.

There is not the fear of ghosts now that there used to be. The evil power of spirits and sorcery are dreaded far more than ghosts. It is very difficult to find anyone who has ever seen a ghost, but plenty of people will tell of someone who has seen one.

2. Magic: There are certain plants called in pidgin "kewawar", whose leaves, on crushing, give a strong distinctive smell. These plants are used to do many magical acts such as cure sickness, make food grow well etc. They are not spirits for there is no personality in connection with them.

Pandanus fruit (pidgin 'aran') has a certain amount of magic and ritual connected with its eating. Only on reaching a certain age in life can the soup be drunk. The natives also talk about drinking the soup (a bright red colour) to change their blood.

3. Sorcery: Pidgin 'poison'. This is the ability of a person to kill an enemy by casting a spell over him or her. Usually something that has come into contact with the skin of the enemy (or better still, his blood) is found and with other ingredients is made into a concoction and cooked in a fire. After this the person falls dead. There are several kinds of sorcery. Feared very much, most people in the Lumi area put down the death of a relation to someone in a neighbouring village doing sorcery work. 'Sangguma' is a kind of sorcery.

All acknowledge it to be evil as it involves killing. There are not the perplexing questions that arise from sorcery as there are from the subject of spirits.
4. Singsings: These have been and are closely associated with the supernatural. During the singing the good spirits, in taking up residence in the various kinds of 'devil fishes' are made the centre of activity. They are relied on for healing and other things.

There is no doubt that singsings provide opportunity for social intercourse, a chance for the men to show off their prowess in their ability to make the 'devil fishes' and dance with agility.

Much more could be written about Magic, Sorcery and Singsings, but this will suffice for the purpose of this paper. Let it be said, however, that on investigation it is difficult to find one aspect of their lives that does not have magic brought into it. Animistic-magic is basic to all thinking and action.
CHAPTER III: WHAT THEIR SPIRIT - MAGIC GIVES THEM:

This chapter is an attempt to state what the people believe they get through their spirit-magic. This is the utopia they are seeking.

Firstly, on the lower materialistic level, spirits and magic give

(a) Success in Hunting
(b) Success in Gardening
(c) Success in Fighting against their enemies. Their hunting spirits help in fighting, and their sorcery enables them to deal with their individual enemies.
(d) Health. There are spirits which make children grow into healthy adulthood. Other spirits are directly related to health, for while the majority of the good spirits give their owners sickness, it is to these very same spirits the people turn to have their sickness taken away.

Note that this belief in and reliance on spirits for the above things is a materialistic concept of life. In other words, their spirits, their gods, their religion give material things.

Secondly, on a higher level, and as a result of obtaining the things just stated, the people get:

(a) Wealth. In their economy, meat and vegetables are used in trading to get rings (formerly) and money.
(b) Prestige. The successful hunter and gardener is looked up to in his village. He has prestige. Often the number of wild pigs shot by a man is marked up in some way in the man's house for all to see. In the same way the village successful in hunting (primarily) and gardening has prestige in the eyes of neighbouring villages. The village that can defeat another is respected. By their spirits the people have prestige and keep their identity. They are not "nobody" - they are a village, a tribe, with a long noble history full of stories of courageous and cunning warriors.
(c) Authority. By calling on spirits and manipulating magic events and circumstances are ordered. Thus they have authority and confidence in meeting the issues and forces of life.
(d) Security. Only by the aid of supernatural forces, (primarily their spirits), are they able to stand their ground against outside forces.

Although wealth is mentioned first in the list it is possibly not the most important in their eyes. Rather is it prestige, authority, security and status which is obtained through wealth and the things (status symbols) which money buys.

Just mentioned here - it will be dealt with later - is the fact that Europeans have an abundance of these very things: namely prestige, authority (we call up on the radio and command a 'plane to come in at any time), security and wealth.
It is further noted that:

1. Absolutely no distinction is made between the secular/material and spiritual realms. Success in materialism is blessing to them — their utopia.

   Success in obtaining the material and the status they receive through it, is very similar to the concept of blessing in the Old Testament. Abraham and others were said to be blest of God when their material possessions increased.

2. Success in obtaining the material, in whatever realm it may be is not primarily through work, but through calling on the right spirits and being in the right relationship to them, together with the right manipulation of magic.

   Similarly, freedom from sickness is not primarily through keeping the laws of health, but through keeping at peace with the spirits and the successful appeasement of them.

3. Animism provides an explanation to the people of the otherwise inexplicable things of life. The reason for everything is sought for, and they seek to find it in the spirit world. To them, the most pressing questions are not the "hows" — these they leave to the spirits, but the "whys", and they struggle to find the answers. Here are some common questions with some of the usual answers.

   Why did he get sick?
   Ans. He invoked the wrath of a spirit. Then they seek to find out which spirit, and why the spirit was angered. The man must have offended the spirit in some way.

   Why did he die?
   Ans. Someone was angry with him and made sorcery.

   Why is it raining today?
   Aren't we all tired of hearing "Dispel a ren i olsem wanem?"
   Ans. Someone in a mountain village is tampering with the spirits causing them to send rain.

   Why did he miss the pig?
   Ans. Could be one of several reasons. Someone in the group wronged someone else in the group. The wronged person is angry, and so consequently their spirit has not helped them. OR The wrong spirit was called out to. OR The spirit was angered over someone breaking a taboo.

   Why did he miss the bird? He aimed straight.
   Ans. Any and every reason except that he did not aim straight.

   Why did his garden produce more food than the other person?
   Ans. He had a better garden spirit, or he made better magic.

   In every realm of the culture, these and hundreds of other questions are asked every day.

   It is important to note that with the increasing knowledge of science over the last 100 years or so, the Western world has let go a lot of superstition and old wives' fables and the like are not believed in to the same extent now. However, there are many Christians who still believe in such things as: the peril of walking under a ladder; spilling salt; putting shoes on the table; opening an umbrella in a house, and so on.
The legend given in this chapter shows the workings of the mind of the people around the Lumi area. It will also serve to further illustrate some of the factors already dealt with, as well as other basic concepts.

The story deals with such things as, the creation of the earth and the first people, endless life, how people came to speak different languages, various supernatural happenings, the defeat of Satan by a New Guinean in the land of the Europeans, and contact with Europeans. It is only slightly abridged and may be of interest to some.

It was told to me by Epli in his house at Maui village one evening in November 1964. Epli is the Local Government Council member for Maui and Klelbuf villages, and before the formation of the council was the head Government representative for his village. He is the recognized leader and story teller of his group. His contact with Europeans commenced about 1938 when he went to work for 3 years at gold dredging in Eastern New Guinea.

The story was told to me in the vernacular and was taken down on tape. It runs for just under the hour. Rather than translate into English the many pidgin words used throughout, they are left as said, only given English spelling and put in single quotes; e.g. 'soldier'. For most of the time while the story was being told, I was the only one with Epli.

Although this legend is known only to the people of Maui village and a few at Lumi, it has never failed to hold the interest of people in a few of the neighbouring villages when the recording was played to them.

Epli expressed a desire to tell me this story after I showed interest in another historical narrative concerning his own particular village.

He agreed to me telling this story to others in our missionary group, but not to the local Roman Catholic priest. He does not want to be rebuked by him.

The Creation.

A long time ago Furu was by himself hanging in mid-air with nothing to support him. He shone like the brilliance of the sun. (The name you people give to the person who made everything is God. We call him Furu," said Epli to me.)

"Will I just hang on here by myself all the time?" he asked himself one day. "Why?" he thought.

Then he decided to make the ground. He 'blessed' it and it appeared. At first he thought he would leave the ground with nothing growing on it, like a beach by the sea. Later he changed his mind and commanded that plants, trees and food of all descriptions should come and grow.

Then he said to himself, "What will I put on the earth now?"

He took some earth and the branches of a certain kind of tree which has many knots in it, and commenced to form an image. From some 'ton' wood he carved the pelvis. Then he took the form, laid it out on top of the ground and proceeded to collect some banana leaves, laying them on top again. The sun shining down againtually split the leaves and the form underneath began to move.

"What is this", said Furu as he cleared away the leaves. "I think it must be a man", he said. So the form came to life and Furu called his name Oruwa. "It is not good for just this man to be in the very big bush by himself," said Furu. Then, in exactly the same way he made another person, Oruwa's sister, whom he called Sikau. ("You people," said Epli to me,"say that a rib was taken out of the man and from this the woman was made, but we don't say that.")
This woman Sikau became Oruwa's wife and the two gave birth to a son named Womau, followed later by another son, Fompai. Some time later their third son 'l'uwou was born to be followed by a daughter called Opaio.

Some other people were made in a different way.

Womau and Fompai worked so hard at making a living for themselves that they decided they would have to do something about it. First they built a very big house like a large 'house lotu'. Then, after making many baskets, took them inside the house hanging them right around the walls. After this, they went into the bush and shot many wild pigs, collecting the blood and bringing it back to the large house. Going inside, they poured a little blood into each basket, saying alternatively, "brother, sister, brother, sister," to each basket in turn. A large garamut (drum) was then pulled inside the house, following which the door of the house was securely fastened. After a period, Womau and Fompai heard people talking inside the house.

"There!, they said, "they are people now."

Fearful lest pig's hair grow on their skins, they found worms, collected their blood, opened the door and washed the skins of the people with worms' blood. They were proper men. ("They are our ancestors - and I think they are your ancestors too," said Epli to me, looking intently at my face to see if there was any disapproval there. I showed great interest, saying I wanted to hear everything.)

Why we do not live on forever.

Womau and Fompai picked shoots off the sago palm and with other things made a concoction for the people, just made, to drink. This drink was not to make them die, but to make them live on forever, shedding their skins at the normal time of death, just as snakes do. Another man, Koufai, (No one knows where he came from - it is really not relevant to ask) appeared and told the people that they should not drink the mixture and that if they did, they would certainly die. A small harmless snake said, "No, you should all drink it and you will not die."

Because the people believed Koufai and not the snake, the mixture was thrown away. Various snakes and animals who found and drank the concoction have lived on for ever. If only the people had not believed Koufai, we would all live on for ever.

Why there are different languages in the World.

God (Epli from here on drops the name Furu and uses God which is now much more familiar to him), angry with the people for not drinking the mixture, changed their language that night. In the morning the people could not understand each other. Several languages were being spoken. Womau and Fompai sent the people away to different areas, one language speaking group to each area.

A man who continually kept dying and coming to life again.

Womau and Fompai continued to remain on at Mani (Epli's village and situated next to Lumi). One man named Pula became old and died. Relations from a wide area came to mourn his death. When everyone was there, Pula came to life again. The relations went back to their villages but again, after a period, Pula died again. The people came back once more and once more Pula came to life again. After this series of events happened four times, a man by the name of Pimtingkou from Talpipil growled at Pula for deceiving the people into thinking he was dead. Not long after this Pimtingkou himself died, and ever since then others have died like him. If only Pimtingkou had not growled at Pula, perhaps everyone would have lived on for ever.
More about the first two people who were created.

Pimtingko's spirit went to Weliyom, a village out past Eretei. Womau and Fompai lived at Maui village with their father Oruwa and mother Sikau. It was Oruwa who built Maui village. Sikau at one time went down towards the Sepik river and lit fires on the grasslands. Oruwa went to Eretei, Weliyom, Yogoite and Laingam villages. At Laingam he made more people from darth wood in the same manner as Furu(God) had made him. After visiting Winalulu village he was joined by Sikau his wife and they together went to Manam island putting the fire on top of the volcano. There they remain.

Womau and Fompai leave Maui village.

For awhile, Womau and his younger brother Fompai lived on at Maui village. Fompai imitated Womau in everything he did. Whether it was bows, arrows, combs, houses, drawings or traps that Womau made, Fompai made his, exactly the same. Womau was angry at Fompai because of this, but though he asked him, pleaded with him, even hit him, yet Fompai went on imitating Womau. In the end, Womau said he was going away to another area.

"I will go with you" said Fompai.

So they got their belongings and with some food, got into the large 'garamut'(kind of log drum) (The very spot is marked) The 'garamut' moved off, following down the creek, eventually entering the Sibi river. Floating on down the river like a canoe, it eventually got entangled in undergrowth by the side of the river.

That night people from nearby Tupum village, one of the Kammum hamlets, came fishing by the aid of lighted bamboos. Soon, a young unmarried woman, thinking the garamut to be a log, sat on it. Womau put out his hand and pinched her. She jumped up, turned and saw a man inside the 'garamut'. She sat down again, her heart now firmly attached to him. Her parents told her to come fishing, but try as they would she would not move. She did not want another woman to find her lover.

After the people had returned to the village at the break of day, Woman got out of the garamut and saw the woman. Her name was Kuwes. Later on Kuwes returned to the village. Womau and Fompai continued to live in the garamut. There was a great commotion in the village when it was found that Kuwes was pregnant. Although questionings and investigations were carried out at Tupum and surrounding villages the culprit could not be found. The girl herself refused to tell. One day when Kuwes crept out into the bush by herself she was followed by her younger sister and sure enough, Kuwes had gone to see her lover. Womau and Kuwes tried unsuccessfully to prevent her from running back to the village with the news.

Some magical acts of Womau and Fompai.

Womau told everybody to build a house for the garamut, which they did, finishing it in a day. The garamut was then pulled into the house. The elder brother Womau lived in the village with Kuwes while the younger brother Fompai hid in the bush. One day, while the rest of the village were away in the bush, the two men made a bow and some arrows. They then went inside Kuwes' parents house and shut the door. In the afternoon when everyone came back to the village the people noticed that the door was not shut from the outside.

"Who will open the door," asked the father.

No one volunteered, so the father went and opened the door. As he stepped inside, he was promptly shot by the two men, and fell down to the ground. The son courageously followed but was shot in like manner. The wife, Kuwes and her younger sister all followed one after the other and were all shot. Womau and Fompai after sitting for awhile, arose and rubbed medicine on the skins of the people bringing them to life again. As each arose they said, "Oh, I am so tired, let me sleep." After that episode the two men slept in their hammocks in their own house.
The village agreed that Womau have Kuwes as his wife.

Not long after this, the father of Kuwes said to his son, "We must agree to Womau having Kuwes as his wife, as if we don't, we will all die. Womau, in payment for Kuwes gave her father an abundance of 'kawawar' (magic medicine plants), an abundance of meat, rings, burnt lime and many other things. To those who had previously complained bitterly about Womau taking Kuwes, Womau gave a large payment. To those who complained only a little, he gave smaller mounts. To Kuwes' father he gave many rings in payment for her. The reason why there is not much wild game, 'kawawar' ingredients and other things in the Lumi Maui area is because they were taken away by Womau and Fompai.

Womau increases the area of bush of the village.

One day, Womau asked his wife to show him the boundary of their bush. When she showed him, he marked the boundary corners with posts. It was only a small area, about the same size as what Maui village have now. On returning to the village, Womau instructed his brother in law to tell everyone to go to the bush and gardens on the morrow and bring back food, being sure to return in the afternoon. This they did. When they arrived back at the village, Womau further told his brother in law to tell everybody that they must eat just a little at '6 o'clock' and at '8 o'clock' they must eat a lot. When the wind, rain, thunder and lightening come, no one must call out for it to stop. Everyone must sit in silence.

The people on being told this said, "This man from up in the mountains will kill us all." Womau heard this but did not say anything. Later, he went to the garamut and turned it over. At this, wind, rain, lightening and thunder came in mighty force. The people held the small children from running away in terror, and everyone held each other for they were scared out of their wits. In the middle of the storm, the ground shifted, and instead of the villages in the area being close together as they are around the immediate vicinity of Lumi with each village having just a small bush, the mountains became rolling country and the earth spread out. This thing almost happened to Maui and Lumi villages too, but Womau said, "No, that is where I have come from, I don't want it to happen there." He turned the garamut back again, and the whole thing ceased.

Womau, Kuwes and Fompai leave Tupum village.

The two men stayed at Tupum village for a long time and then did something that was wrong. At this, Womau and his wife Kuwes and Fompai ran away down to the Sepik villages. The people in those villages were continually angry with each other with fighting, shooting and killing quite the normal course of events. When Womau and Fompai told them to stop all this sort of thing and live at peace, the people at first listened. It wasn't long however, before they were all at each others throats again. Womau, Kuwes and Fompai then left them and went around many areas, finally ending up a long long way away in the land of the Europeans.

Womau and Fompai's duel with a 'Satan' in European land.

While in the land of the Europeans, a 'Satan' chased them. The two men and Kuwes, frightened lest Satan would eat them, ran away from him. "What will we get to kill him?", they asked each other. The younger brother Fompai, who was very cunning, clever and wise took a small ring and made it into a 'clock' and 'compass'. With another ring he painted it like a torch and on doing this it became a torch. Quickly he drove it straight at Satan, temporarily blinding him, thus enabling them to keep ahead of their foe. Then followed a long chase, the three continually outwitting Satan, even though it was by only small margins. In the end, the wise and clever Fompai made a 'rifle' and shot Satan dead. The three then ran away and got clear of the whole situation.
Travelling along the road they came to a road junction guarded by a 'soldier'.

"You follow that road," said the soldier as he pointed to it. "No, this is our road," said Fompai, as he went on right past the soldier taking no notice of him. They were out to find 'God' - their ancestor and their father. Further along the road, they came to a European woman.

"Where are you going?" she asked.

"We are trying to find 'God', our ancestor," they replied.

"Where do you come from?" continued the woman.

"From 'New Guinea'," was the reply.

"That is really a long way away," said the woman who then went to get her husband, who was the king of the area. He asked the same questions as his wife and got the same answers.

"God doesn't live here," said the woman. "Did you see a soldier guarding the road junction?" she asked.

Womau, Kuwes and Fompai then retraced their steps to the road junction. Along the road 'God' met them and set about to test them.

"What do you want to work at?" God asked them.

"We want some 'laplaps'," replied the wise and shrewd Fompai. God gave them each a 'laplap' which they wrapped around themselves. Fompai sat, but the other two remained standing because they thought that the 'laplaps' being so thin would break on sitting.

After a while Womau and Kuwes took off their 'laplaps'.

After a night's sleep, Womau and Fompai set to, splitting a tree and planing the timber into planks. Then, getting some sheets of iron, they built a house. 'God' put the idea into Womau and Fompai's head to plant 'cabbages', 'onions' and 'tomatoes' to 'offer' to God. Fompai did this, but not Womau, because he preferred to eat 'aro', 'yam', 'manioc' and sago. Kuwes chipped and washed sago. They both liked this kind of food. She much preferred to wear the string skirt than a 'laplap'. Womau and Kuwes then ran away back to New Guinea. (Epli then said to me, "You people say that the reason we are not living properly is because of the 'wrong' of Adao and Eve. But no, it is not because of them, but because of the 'wrong' of Womau and Kuwes. If it hadn't been for them, we would all be like you people.)

Womau and Kuwes then ran away back to New Guinea. The younger brother Fompai remained in European land and nothing more has been heard of him. Womau and Fompai's sister Opai is the mother of the 'Americans' (There is then a relationship between Americans and New Guineans. In Pidgin it is called 'kanteri').

The cool reception given to Womau and Kuwes back in New Guinea. Soon after Womau and Kuwes came back to New Guinea, they gave birth to a son named Kofti. They told everybody to cease fighting and killing.

"Be like the Europeans I saw," he would say. "They don't fight and kill, and further they work very hard. You should do the same. Plant food and 'offer' it to God." His wife spoke in similar strain. The people would not listen to them. They accused Womau and Kuwes of lying and telling them 'bembe'(cargo cult) talk.

"We have only one son and it is not good for him to grow up in this atmosphere," said Womau to his wife one day.

Later, Kuwes became pregnant, but before the baby was born, Womau died. Kuwes gave birth to a daughter but died later when the placenta did not come away.

Kofti cares for his baby sister.

Kofti seeing that his mother was dead, called out to everyone in the village to come and help him to bury her. However they would not come, because Womau and Kuwes used to tell them what to do all the time. Neither would they help Kofti to look after his newly born baby sister.

"We don't want to care for the child of a dead woman," they said. So Kofti had the heartless task of burying his mother and looking after his baby sister. All that his parents had said to
the rest of the people was in his mind now, and he carried on
telling the people to stop fighting and killing, just as his
parents had done. The people however would not listen to him,
accusing him of 'bembe'(cargo cult) talk.

Womau and Kuwes return at night in supernatural form.
At night the spirits of the parents would return to the house
and look after Kofti and their daughter.
"You must not leave this house" they said to their son.
"Stay on here and we will look after you and the baby girl. The
mother would pick up her daughter and give her milk. After awhile
the people in the village who lived a short distance away told
Kofti to come and live with them.

But he said,"No, you people are all the time fighting and
killing each other."

Because of the fighting, one day Kofti picked up his sister
and went away to another area. However, there was just as much
killing going on there. Once again carrying his baby sister in
a laplap, for she was still small and her skin was red, he left
again, and now all he wanted to do was to find his uncle Pompei
in the land of the Europeans.

To European land again and another encounter with a 'Satan'.

After sleeping many nights on the road, Kofti and his younger
sister arrived at last in the land of the Europeans and began
eating European food. His sister grew up quickly and was soon
walking and shortly afterwards was a fully grown woman. Continuing
along the road, Kofti one day climbed a tree to see where he was.
About 8 miles ahead was an iron roofed house, so with their hopes
raised, they continued on. Arriving at the house they soon learnt
that it belonged to 'Satan', but that he himself was still away in
the bush.

When 'Satan' arrived back from the bush that afternoon he saw
Kofti and his sister and invited them to come inside his house and
sit down.
"Where do you two people come from" asked 'Satan'.
"Do we have come from New Guinea," they replied.
"Are you ghosts or real people?" he continued.
"We are real people," they replied.
"All right," said Satan. "You can sleep the night," and then
he proceeded to get them some food. He brought them wild 'manis',
wild yams, shoots of the pung fern, kumu,'palpal', 'tulip' and
other green leaves. After cooking this food he gave it to them.
"Satan doesn't give us good food" they said, "This is the bad
food New Guineans eat." When Satan wasn't looking they threw it
away. Kofti and his sister then ate some European food which they
had brought with them, after which they slept.

A fight with Satan.

Early in the morning Satan brought a 'drum' filled with water
which he said was for them to wash in after he had heated it. While
Satan went away to get some food, Kofti and his sister realized
that almost certainly Satan would throw them into the boiling water
and kill them. Then they decided that instead of that happening,
they would throw 'Satan' in.

All this time their parents were with them in the form of dogs.
Boil the water," said Kofti to his sister, "and when Satan
comes back we will tip him head first into it." The two dogs yelped
telling them to be sure not to put Satan's body in the water, just
his head.

Soon Satan returned asking, "Is the water boiling yet?"
"Yes," they said as Satan went over to see for himself.
Without further ado, Kofti lifted up Satan's legs tipping him
head first into the drum of water. At the same time the two dogs,
who were really Kofti's parents Womau and Kuwes, went into Satan's
stomach. As soon as he died, Kofti found a 'b.yonet' and proceeded
to cut Satan into very small pieces. Kofti's parents came out of
Satan's stomach after which the small pieces were put into the
drum of water and boiled. "Let's go now," said the sister not want-
ing to be around the place any longer. "No, we will sleep first,"
Kofti replied. So they slept.
Kofti's sister leaves him.

Next morning they arose and followed by the two dogs who were really their parents Womau and Kuwes, went along the road until they came to a 'soldier'. He was hiding from another 'Satan'.

"Where have you come from?" asked the soldier.

"We have come from 'New Guinea'," replied Kofti.

"That is a long way away," continued the soldier.

"Yes, it certainly is," was the reply.

Then Kofti asked the soldier where he could find some water to wash in as his skin was full of perspiration.

"Water is over there," said the soldier pointing in its direction.

Kofti went away to wash. While he was away the 'soldier' had sex relations with Kofti's sister, at which the dogs barked furiously. Kofti came running back to see what the matter was, and, learning what had happened sternly rebuked his sister. So angry was he over the matter that he left his sister with the soldier, and calling the two dogs to follow him, went on by himself. The soldier and Kofti's sister gave birth to Americans.

(At this stage another man came into Epli's house and sat. Epli asked the man if he should tell me the whole story or not. "Yes, tell him all of it," he said without hesitating. So Epli went on.)

European women and the girl given to Satan as appeasement.

Further along the road he came upon two European women, unclothed and hiding behind the buttress of a large tree.

"Where have you come from?" they asked him.

"I have come from New Guinea," he replied.

"You had better not go further along this road," they continued. "A Satan lives along there. He all the time deceives us, makes us sick, kills us, and now everybody has decided that he should be given the King's daughter to eat. He will be appeased then and will hurt us no more. The people are still sending the King's daughter. When she has gone to Satan and Satan has eaten her, then we can all go to the village."

After staying the night near the women, he told them on arising that he would go on.

"Satan will eat you," they said to him.

"No, I will go and see him," Kofti replied.

"Did you see the other Satan on the road you have just come along?" they asked him.

"Yes, I saw him. He is my friend and I slept with him," he said lying to them.

So Kofti went on to Satan's house but found him to be still away in the bush. After thinking a little, he opened the door and went inside. There he saw the King's daughter sitting by herself. Kofti promptly pulled the woman out of the house and sent her back to the village. He then returned to the two women who were still hiding at the base of the tree.

When the people of the village saw the King's daughter, they were furious.

"What are you looking for?" they shouted to her. "We sent you to Satan's house. He will eat you and be appeased and then we will live our lives in peace being no longer terrorized by him," they cried. In great anger they sent her back to Satan's house.

The two women at the base of the tree asked Kofti about Satan.

"Did you see Satan?" they asked him.

"No," he replied, "He has gone away somewhere. The door of his house is shut."

"What about the King's daughter; did you see her?" they continued.

"No," he said, lying to them again. "She might have been inside the house but I really don't know."
Next morning when Kofti went back to Satan's house he found Satan to be still away. He entered the house only to find the King's daughter there again.

"Why have you come back?" he asked her.

"I returned to the village but they were all very angry with me and sent me back here. They say that when Satan has eaten me he will be appeased and they will all live their lives in peace," she told him.

Kofti sent her back once again, first taking a ring off his own finger and giving it to her to put on her finger. Then she went away back to her village. When she had gone about 200 yds, Satan arrived back at his house. Satan and Kofti talked together. She stood and watched. A 'soldier' was also watching from a hidden position in another direction.

"Where have you come from?" Satan asked Kofti.

"I have come from New Guinea," he replied in a friendly voice.

"Come," said Satan, "Let us shake hands."

So the two shook hands. Then Kofti pulled and pulled and both of them were trying to pull the arms off each other. When Kofti was out of breath, the two dogs who were Kofti's parents, went for Satan. The male dog went for Satan's nose and the female for his secret parts. They bit and ate, and before long Satan fell down dead. Exhausted by the duel, Kofti lay on the ground. When he had sufficiently recovered he got up, found a 'b' yono't' and cut off Satan's head. The two dogs then let go. Satan's body was then cut into very small pieces and cooked in boiling water.

The soldier tries to take the credit for the victory.

The King's daughter, after seeing the duel to the end, went home again to her village. When the people were again angry with her, she told them that she had not come home of her own will, but that Satan himself had sent her back. The soldier also went home to the village.

That night the soldier called out to all the people saying that he had something very important to tell them. Instructions went out to a large area for everybody to come. The soldier saw that a platform was built for him to stand on while talking to the people.

Kofti, suspicious of the soldier, told the two women to stay where they were while he went and heard what the soldier had to say. Finding a 'horse', he rode it to the village. On reaching the King's property he tied up the horse, went to the house and asked the domestic servant who came to the door for a drink of water for his two dogs.

"My dogs are very thirsty," he said.

The servant of the King went and got a small plate that cats drank out of, and filling it with water put it down on the ground for the dogs. Kofti was furious at this.

"Are these bad dogs?" he said. "Why have you given them a small dirty plate that cats drink out of? Go on, get a good plate that Europeans eat from."

At this, the servant somewhat startled went and told the King of the incident. The King came and spoke to Kofti asking him where he had come from.

"I have come from New Guinea," he replied.

Looking intently at Kofti, the King summed him up to be a good man with a lot of knowledge. He therefore instructed the servant to give the man just what he wanted. So the dogs drank from a good plate.

At this moment the soldier started addressing everybody.

"You people, everyone here to-day," he cried. "I myself have killed and cut up two Satans who have been continually terrifying us. They will eat us no more. Now we will live our lives in peace."

The King's daughter on hearing this went and spoke to her father saying, "This man is lying. You look at that man with the black skin sitting down there. That is the man who sent me back to you these two times. He is the man who gave me this ring."
"All right," said the King after listening to his daughter. "You listen to me." Then standing up, in a loud voice called out to the soldier.

"Are you telling the truth or are you lying," he asked. "I think you are lying. It was not you but another man who killed the Satans," he said.

The soldier on hearing this didn't like it at all. He hung his head in shame not able to say anything. The King continued. "Go on you people, have a good look at him, has he got anything to say?"

The soldier then got down from his platform thoroughly disgraced and shortly afterwards everyone went back to their villages.

Kofti comes and stays with the village.

Kofti then left the scene and went back to the two women. "Come on," he said to them, "We will go back to the village." "Satan will eat us," they replied. "No he won't, a soldier has killed him," he told them.

As they walked back to the village together, the two women asked Kofti to marry them. He refused. When they insisted, he only agreed to them cooking food for him, which they did.

The episode of the house and marriage.

Later, at Kofti's request, the people in the village built him a house. When they had planted the posts Kofti saw that they were not straight. That afternoon he took them all out. Next morning the people arose to find the house completed and full of decorations, possessions, clothes and goods of all kinds.

The following morning the people again arose to see many new houses in the village, all full of goods. Then the people said; "We Europeans haven't got many goods but this man whose skin is black has come to live amongst us and lots of good houses have been built by him and goods have come his way, but not ours. Why is this? What about us?"

The Europeans kept working away without much reward for their labours. Then one day the King said to his daughter, "You must marry this man." He then spoke to Kofti saying that he should marry his daughter.

"No, I didn't come to marry," he said. "I want to remain single."

The King kept on asking but still the man from New Guinea remained firm. Then the King told her daughter to get up and go and live with the New Guinean, which she did. She cooked his food, lived with him, and the two were married and remained in European land.
There are several points of interest in the story.

1) True to all peoples, the Wape folk have a high estimation of themselves. With the ancestors of the human race created in their domain, they are literally the "hub of the universe." Note that the hero of the story is a Wape ancestor, and that it was he who helped the Europeans, bringing us to our present state of prestige and power. That the people should ever think such a thing never occurs to us, but it is amazing what goes on in their minds. We delude none but ourselves if we believe that the New Guineans think they are basically inferior to us. Although not always obvious at this present stage, there is that inherent "nationalistic" feeling which we should not be ignorant of. This is a long story and it is given with the purpose of us "getting into" their thinking - especially what they can think of us in relation to themselves.

2) It is difficult to determine the age of this legend. Quite possibly several legends are joined together into one. Take for instance the two separate and differing accounts of the creation of man. It also appears that Epli, with his increasing knowledge of European terms has included them into his story. Epli, in the story actually said Queen and not King, but it was evident by his use of the masculine pronoun that he meant a male. He would only have heard of the term 'Queen' after the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II which was some time after World War II. Certainly the story has changed with increasing knowledge of Europeans and their ways.

It is also difficult to know just to what extent the people themselves believe the story. The answers to many questions given here are not dealt with by the European. See later section. It is most probable that this kind of thinking goes on everywhere.

3) Note the many answers to typical "why" questions in peoples' minds.
   a) Why villages around Lumi area are close together with little bush and few wild animals, while villages down towards the Sepik river all have large areas of bush with an abundance of wild animals.
   b) Why there is a volcano on Manam island.
   c) Why we do not live on forever.
   d) Why there are different languages in the world.
   e) Why Europeans have prestige, authority, security and wealth, but not New Guineans. This is the great pressing question in the minds of all Cargo Cultists.

The "how" questions raised in the story are so difficult to our scientifically oriented minds that we put the whole legend into the realm of fantasy. Not so to the New Guinean however. Such questions don't bother him - their answers are simply found in the inherent power of spirit-magic. What does bother them are the "why" questions, and to them it is most important and expedient that their answers are found, for only then can their spirits and magic be manipulated and their power brought to bear on themselves for good.

About 3 years ago many people died in an epidemic in Otimgi village situated at the western end of Lumi airstrip. The great question in the minds of the villagers was why the sickness should come to them and not to other villages. (We Europeans don't know, for that particular village was no dirtier or cleaner than surrounding villages.) The people as they have done for centuries sought the answer in the spirit world. When visiting the village a few months ago, one man told me that spirits caused the sickness. He further advanced the theory that spirits don't like petrol and exhaust fumes. Should a European live on the Western side of his village and operate a battery charger, Europeans would then be on both sides of the people and exhaust fumes would keep the harmful spirits at bay.
4) The question in 3.e) should be dwelt with in greater detail. Let it be said frankly that we do not know the complete answer why Europeans have more prestige, authority and wealth than New Guineans. The usual answer given to New Guineans is that Europeans work - not spasmodically, but consistently, with the aim of getting the job in hand finished with the least possible delay, working with purpose over a long period. But this is not the complete answer. If it is, why then have European countries differing standards of living, often not in relation to the expenditure of energy? Why do some countries have iron ore deposits, minerals, oil, fertile land etc., while others have nothing? Why are some people born into wealth and others not? Europeans give different answers. Some believe the reason lies in the realm of chance or luck. "They struck it lucky", is a common saying. "They were lucky being born into a wealthy family". To many, wealth, or the lack of it, is mostly chance. Others say that the acquirement of wealth is brought about by hard work and ingenuity and they give examples of men, who, starting off with nothing, by hard work and brains and adapting themselves to their environment, win for themselves material prosperity. The proud self-sufficient man often takes this attitude. Other people believe that wealth comes from a combination of luck and hard work. The communist says (in theory anyway) that uneven distribution of wealth is greed on the part of the capitalist.

The Christian belief is that wealth (not the most important thing in life) is obtained by work and brains, but under the sovereignty of God. James 4.13-15. "Go to now, ye that say, to-day or tomorrow we will go into such a city, and continue there a year and buy and sell and get gain. Whereas ye know not what shall be on the morrow; For what is your life? It is even a vapour, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away. For that ye ought to say, If the Lord will, we shall and do this or that,"

5) Wape people believe that the answer to the question concerning the difference between the European and New Guinean, lies in the fact that some individual, at a certain time in history, either failed to correctly manipulate spirit magic, or committed a wrong act (not wrong in the moral sense) involving the wrath of the spirits, or failed to take the advantage at an opportune time, or that a European "put it across" the New Guineans somewhere along the line. Thus in this legend, it was Woman's two mistakes which resulted in New Guineans not having the prestige, power, authority, security and wealth of Europeans. This reasoning is typical of them.

When visiting Utapi village recently I noticed a man selling shot gun cartridges to other people in the village. The government officer has made it very plain that this is highly illegal and the practice must stop. I knew the R.C. priest had given out the cartridges, but for some time was at two minds as to whether or not to tell the government officer. In the end I did mention it to him, asking that my name be not mentioned. Next day the people of the village were called in, and after investigation the priest was fined £10. Of course the people could only attribute the reporting to me. It so happened that at the time I saw the man selling cartridges, a group of people were gambling at 'satu'. I did not rebuke them in any way. The people at Utapi village, worked it out among themselves that I reported the matter of the shot gun cartridges because I was angry at them playing 'satu' in my presence. The fact that the priest had broken the law in giving them cartridges to sell was the mistake, the wrong, did not come into the picture. Playing 'satu' in my presence was their wrong turning their mistake, their 'rong'. Incidentally, I think how I would not have reported the matter had I not reported the fault.

The story of the fall of Adam and Eve fits exactly into their thinking. By their one wrong act, sickness, pain, death, and all evil has come upon mankind (mainly upon New Guineans to their way of thinking), It is all Adam and Eve's fault that we are what we are - not ours, and the people divorce themselves from all moral responsibility.
6) If spirits have such a large part in the thinking of the Wape people, it may be wondered why they are not mentioned more in the story. The answer is two fold. Firstly, spirits of any given village are never discussed with people outside that village group. Secondly, ancestors and spirits are often equated.

7) Another important fact emerging from this story is the way teaching from outside the Wape culture - especially Christian teaching is fitted into Wape legends and spirit - magic beliefs. Often Christian truth is terribly distorted in this "fitting in" process. For example-

a) Satan is equated with evil ghosts ("tamberans"). There is more than one ghost, and consequently more than one Satan. They go about killing and eating humans. Their concept of Satan is not primarily an unrighteous person, but a spirit who physically destroys humans. However the true concept of Satan they are beginning to grasp through consistent teaching. New Guinea food is also associated with Satan.

b) Womau and Kuwes are partly equated with Adam and Eve. Epli said to me, p.19, "If it had not been for the mistake of Woman and Kuwes, we (New Guineans) would be like you people (Europeans)

Even when similarities are not marked, the two are put together. An interesting point here is in connection with Wape Roman Catholic adherents. When we tell them a Bible story that they have previously heard from the priest -(even though we tell the story quite differently), they immediately say that what we say and the priest says are the same. 'Wampela God tasol' is a very common remark.

Not all Christian teaching is accepted. Epli flatly rejected the idea of Eve being made from Adam's rib. However it is typical of the Wape people to reconcile our belief with their animism as far as possible.

When I played the tape recording of this legend to Miliom village, the people, after listening intently to the end, enthusiastically said to me. "Let's sit down now and put your story and ours together, making one story, thus arriving at the truth."

(Miliom people immediately accepted Epli's story as true.)

There is much evidence to show that this sort of thing is going on all the time and us not knowing much about it. Satan is equated with evil spirits and ghosts. God made everything, including the good spirits whom He has given to all villages to help them to shoot pigs. I have heard this said more than once. We are mistaken if we think that Christian teaching is received in a vacuum. The truth is twisted into all sorts of shapes in order to make it fit into their concept of the supernatural. This subject will be dealt with further under Christo Paganism.

8) From the legend, it is not difficult to see how Cargo Cultism could have arisen. After Womau and Kuwes' first visit to European land, the message they brought to their people was to stop fighting and arguing etc., and to live properly like Europeans. Then they would have the things, the prestige and authority of the Europeans. The message at that time was rejected. The Wape people could have decided to accept this message about 15 years ago when Cargo Cultism was active in the area. Their reasoning could have been that if they stopped fighting and arguing and behaved like Europeans, then they would receive the things Europeans have.

9) It is interesting to note the place blood has in one of the Creation stories. The Scriptures declare that "life is in the blood."

Likewise, the concept of appeasement or propitiation through the sacrifice of a life - the King's daughter given to Satan, which is in the story. There seem to be relics of truth in their heathenism.

The belief that dying is not natural, not in their utopia and was not the original idea is also stated.
10) The term Pura, for the Creator spirit, is not known outside Maui village and nor does everyone in the village know it. Other villages have their names for the Creator spirit, but they are not well known. The people's main concern are their hunting, gardening and other such spirits.

11) It is interesting to note that the story claims the Americans to be related to Wape people. This fact emerges in many villages in the Sepik and also in other parts of New Guinea. At present the "President Johnson" cult is causing the Administration much concern in New Britain. No doubt the idea originated during the Second World War when there were many American troops in the island.

CHAPTER VI. CULTURE CHANGE.

Some tribes are open to change while others are not. In many groups there are forces both for and against change at work at the same time on different levels. For example, Wape land is open to change in the realm of European type prestige, the iron roof sort of thing, clothes European type food, and in certain places Education. But Wape village life remains much the same as it always has, with only little desire for change in such things as marriage custom and spirit magic.

Examples of tribes resistant to any change would be, from what has been heard, the Wainye Swanye group N.W. from Amanab and the May river people.

Our culture, though it has changed greatly over the last 100 years, has forces in it resisting change. When motor cars were invented, many held on to their horse and buggy long after it was proved that automobiles were better. When back home in N.Z. I was amazed at the number of people who were opposed to television - not on ethical or religious grounds, but just because it would change the way of N.Z. life.

The question may be asked, "To what extent are the Wape people leaving their spirit magic?" This is very difficult to find out, one reason being that the people are only too ready to give the answer they think the questioner wants. However it seems that much of the ritual associated with spirits has gone or is going. It is almost certain that no more pig blood is set aside for the spirits in the villages immediately surrounding Lumi. The rigid reliance on garden spirits at the time of planting is easing off somewhat. Sorcery is not practised very much, if at all around Lumi, although each village thinks the others are doing it still.

When discussing the subject of spirits with the Local Government Council member for Keipam village in his house one night, he told me that since they have forsaken much of the ritual connected with spirits, very few wild pigs have been shot. "But that doesn't matter," he said. "We are on the road to becoming like Europeans and that is the main thing."

A further example of change, or rather adaptation, comes from Yebil. The Administration has recently been encouraging the people to find gold in the rivers. After spasmodically working for a period without much success, the villagers put on a 'party' or 'cup tea' as it is called in Pidgin, with the purpose of reconciling offending factions so that the spirits would help them to find the gold. Whereas it was pigs that were and are hunted for, now it is gold. This basically, probably is the same thing as the confession and soup which the Tepali folk had in connection with their shot gun. p.7.
The practise of "blowing" on the sick, asking the spirit to go down and out of the person, thus making the person well again is still firmly held. I doubt if there are more than a handful of Wape people around Lumi who when sick do not ask to be "blown" on. Only when the sickness stubbornly defies this ritual (this means that the spirits have not heard) are the sick brought to hospital.

It would be true to say, that though there are some changes in their spirit magic world, the basic concepts are still firmly entrenched in their minds and will continue to be for many a year, apart from the enlightening grace of God.

Something on Singsings.

I very much suspect that the nature of singsings is changing. There is not much doubt that originally they were held predominantly for the purpose of appeasing spirits and curing the sick. The various spirits are personified in the elaborate head and body decorations.

A few months ago, I accepted an invitation to attend the climax night of a month's dancing at Floubu village. So firmly had I reasoned and argued that singsings are evil, that I was most reluctant to go. Arriving at midnight, at which time it was said that the real dancing would commence, I was immediately struck by the bright colours of the head decorations and the effort which had gone into their making. Most of these decorations were twice the height of the person carrying them, and I counted over 40 of them - called 'devil fishes' in Pidgin. Everybody was proudly enthusiastic in showing off their particular handiwork. Here was the life and soul of the people.

I couldn't help but compare this colourful and vigorous scene with the sight we so often see on entering a village in the afternoon - the all too familiar sick woman, the starving dog covered in sores, several houses in varying stages of collapse with uneven ground around and in the houses. These encounters often make us think of the people as dead, degraded, with no ambition, purpose or hope in life. This certainly wasn't the case at lively Floubum that evening. It also passed through my mind how much Europeans in general underestimate the power and rights of the New Guinean. In the face of this display of life and vitality, the power of the European seemed terribly insignificant. It seemed to me that had they wished, Europeans could have been sent out of the area the next day.

I moved around watching the dancers with interest. A man proudly pointed out to me the decorations he had made. Groups would dance for a period and then come to the side line and watch. They would talk to me about anything. More than one man asked me how much it would cost him to go by M.A.F. plane to Amanab where he hoped to find work. I could even call out and talk to the dancers though it was difficult to do this because of the noise.

At 3 a.m. the dancing came to a sudden halt. Someone reported that his valued bird of paradise feathers had been stolen and the men with authority said they had to be found or no more dancing. After about half and hour the feathers turned up from somewhere and the fray was on again. I saw no evidence of spirit possession or uncontrolled attitudes or anything else of that nature at any time during the evening.

It was previously told me that at the break of day, water would be poured over four women to cure them of the continually large haemorrhages they had been having. Unfortunately I had to return to get back to the radio shed for some reason and I could not stay. However when I departed at 6.15 a.m. many had already begun to leave for their villages. They got what they came to get, namely, a social release - an opportunity to show off their prowess, their handicraft and to see the works and dances of others.

It seemed to me that the whole dance, in the main, was a social event. Certainly in the past, such dances had a far higher percentage of the "spirit appeasement" sort of thing about them.
More recently I attended a reportedly very evil dance at Miliom village, a dance which the people had not had for a long time and which they only put on then at a Government Officer's request. The whole thing centered in a huge cylindrical object 15 feet high which men, in turn, put over their heads and danced in around the village. It was concerned with one of their ancestors. Here again, though the form was there, the evil significance seemed to have largely gone. I frequently heard a man, after carrying the object around the village say as he put it down, "Boy, that was heavy." I was with the men the whole night, during which time they talked to me rationally, and explained the parts of the singsing to me as they went through their many many chants. It was a social release to them.

I am not condoning singsings, for there is certainly no praising of God there, but what I do sometimes wonder is whether in all our thinking, there is the tendency to look upon singsings as something entirely evil and to pass over the hidden daily individual reliance on spirits in the many realms of their lives. Should an issue be made out of signsings?

Also, I wonder if we are aware of the seeming Culture Change in singsings, namely, the retaining of the outward form, but the decreasing amount of evil spirit significance in them.

A similar thing I understand has happened in Maori culture. The outward form of such things as the "tangi" (Maori funeral) and the traditional Maori greeting were in bygone years inseparably linked with spirit belief of one kind or another. Now, at these ceremonies spirit belief has gone, leaving only the outward form which Christians take part in with no conscience. Perhaps there are similar examples in our culture.

While at Lae attending the Translators' Institute, we all were invited to the opening of a Lutheran Mission school library. After quite a full programme of hymn singing and recitals, we were shown over the buildings. Then, unannounced and entirely of the school boys' own accord, they decorated themselves up with green leaves and danced around in singsing fashion. Happy in spirit and with a good audience, they wanted to "show off." No one sought to stop them; and why should they have anyway?
That mixture or amalgam of Christian and pagan beliefs and practices has been called Christo Paganism. It has been stated already that Christian teaching, as far as possible, is "fitted into" and alongside Animistic beliefs. For example, Satan has been equated with ghosts or 'tambarans' along with evil spirits. Satan is then thought of in terms of their ghost characteristics which are not evil in the moral sense, but are out to physically eat and destroy living people.

In discussing spirits with people in many villages, I have frequently been told that there is One true God and that He gave the good hunting spirits to all villages in order to help them in their hunting of wild pigs. Thus they believe there is no conflict between God and their "good" spirits. Many a baptized person in the Wape area continues to rely on his hunting spirits, much to our dismay.

The animist's goal in life, as already stated, is a materialistic one. He wants authority, power, prestige, wealth & protection against the surrounding hostile world in which he lives. He relies on the spirits to obtain this goal, but realizes, after a period of contact with Europeans that the spirits are not helping him much. On hearing the missionary say that Jesus has come to help everybody, he thinks that perhaps Jesus will help him obtain his desired goal. (Although material prosperity was often proof of God's blessing in the Old Testament, it is certainly not the teaching of the N.T.) So, entirely consistent to his animistic background, he tries Jesus and His power, putting Him alongside the other spirits. Many times a missionary has been asked to pray to his God and ask that an abundance of wild pigs be sent into the bush of a particular village. In no sense is there a conflict to Christ. I am now very wary of the phrase, "Jesus helps us" (Pidgin, 'Jis a s i helpim mipela') because of the wrong meaning taken out of it.

The idea of trying everything to see if it works appears to be typical of New Guineans. The Lutherans around Finschhaven area have noted that in the various cargo cults which have gone through the area in recent times, there was always the attitude of "trying it" to see if it would bring them the goods. If not, they would return to their Christianity. Many of the cargo cults have Christian ideas in varying proportions hopelessly entangled with animism.

Some natives who have had more extensive Christian teaching have worked it out that Jesus is concerned with helping them at death and the after life, taking them to heaven and looking after their souls. Their hunting spirits, given to them by God, continue to aid them in hunting and other realms.

That Jesus prevents us from having sickness is another error which takes on like ducks to water. Many more examples of this sort of thing could be given. The situations arise because the Christian message is interpreted in terms of their animism and incorporated into it.

While most New Guineans tend to mix Christianity and animism together, there are some individuals who are fairly successful in keeping their Christianity in one compartment of their lives and their animism in another. They can adequately play their parts in both camps. This could be the case with the man, who, without a sound foundation of Christianity being laid in his life while still living in his own village, moves off to a long term Bible school where teaching, largely based on European concepts is given. There is a strong probability that in such a life, Christianity would not have an encounter with animism, but simply be as it were, "laid over" heathenism.
What should the former animist, now desirous of following Christ, be taught about his spirit world? If the matter is ignored, he will work it out for himself and probably come up with the errors given at the beginning of this chapter. Are the spirits really existant? Do they help in hunting, gardening and fighting? Do they enter people thus causing sickness? and do they leave the sick when "blown" on? Or is the whole concept of the spirit world a lie of Satan, bringing souls into servile bondage? Or is it mostly a lie, with a small proportion of the truth? This latter statement is probably nearest the mark.

In the Gospels, there are many accounts of Jesus healing people by casting out evil spirits. The spirits in those days appeared to have behaved, in many ways, like the Wape spirits. They too could be spoken to, told to go out of people and with their going, the sickness also went. Can we say the spirits in Christ's day were real, but that the Wape spirits are not? The Scriptures have a message for everybody and Christ's power over spirits including the spirits in Wape land, is the message relevant to these people.

It is interesting to note that the Pidgin word for spirit, 'masalai' is not used at all in either the Pidgin translations of the Gospels or in any of the Christian Pidgin publications. Instead, the English word spirit is used. 'spirit nogut' is used for evil spirit and Holy Spirit is exactly the same as in English. This is a new word in Pidgin with next to zero meaning, though of course 'spirit' meaning methylated spirit is known. Has the Bible then nothing to say about 'masalai', the word which is so much in the mind of New Guineans? Is it left to the missionary to frankly say that 'spirit' or 'spirit nogut' is simply the same as 'masalai' or should we let the enquirer work it out for himself? Probably the translators thought that there was such a variation in the meaning of the word 'masalai' throughout New Guinea, that the only safe way would be to use the English word. This may or may not be the case but the pressing question is, do New Guineans grasp what the English word spirit really means? If they don't, then the door is open to either Christo Paganism or abysmal ignorance.

The missionary often wonders just how much of the true concept of spirit, Pidgin speakers grasp from the English word Holy Spirit. Most probably think of it as a proper noun, the name of a person, which is all right as far as it goes. One Christian of several years' standing, one being asked, said it was the same as life. The usual way of translating the word Holy Spirit into the vernaculars of so called primitive animistic peoples is to say something like "The good Spirit of God." - that is, if there are "good" spirits in their culture. In Pidgin then, one translation could be, 'Gutpela masalai bilong God.' This immediately grates on our ears because the word 'masalai' has a bad connotation with us, but it would certainly get across the concept of spirit - a personal invisible force, not bound by the limitations of a body, and who has contact with humans for good or bad. However another complicating factor is the fact that the "good" spirits ('gutpela masalai') are very seldom referred to in Pidgin. Almost entirely are they referred to in the realm of the vernaculars, for their names are never spoken to anyone outside their particular village. We have discussed in Pidgin by people from different language groups. Bad spirits are however continually referred to in Pidgin. This means that to the New Guinean Pidgin speaker as well as to the missionary, the word 'masalai' has an almost entirely bad connotation, so we are back where we started. But I fail to see how the term 'masalai' - both for evil spirits and the Holy Spirit can be avoided in our teaching of the Scriptures if the people are to grasp the concept of spirit.

In the Wape vernacular, Holy spirit is translated, "Good Spirit of God". After speaking on the Life, Death, Resurrection and ascension of Christ, teaching is given on the coming of His Spirit to this earth to come into the hearts of those people who want Him. I couldn't understand why the people weren't more
interested in this good news until it dawned on me one day that in their culture, all spirits, whether good or bad, on entering any part of the body of a human being give sickness. Their very presence constitutes the sickness. So they were not too keen about the prospect of having the Good Spirit of God in their hearts. I had to carefully tell them that God's good Spirit is different from other spirits in that He does not give sickness in coming to abide in them. After this explanation they are much more interested. Now I am concerned lest they misinterpret the message into thinking that if God's good Spirit abides in them they will never get sick.

In talking to a man about the Good Spirit of God at Oute village one evening I explained that in the same way that two garden spirits are present in every garden belonging to 20 villages or more, so the one Holy Spirit is present in the hearts of all people who have said "yes" to Jesus, no matter what country or village they are in. "Yes" replied Maki without a moment's hesitation, "just like, after a man has died, his spirit goes to heaven or hell, but his spirit is around the village at the same time." Another example of Christo Paganism. Anyone got the chapter and verse ready to answer this error?

These sort of problems crop up all the time. It is all part of the difficulty of cross cultural communication; but it is better to grapple with the problems than to go on in ignorance of the situation getting nowhere.

One other thing. After a person's death, Wape belief is that the spirit of the person stays in or around the body for two or three weeks, after which time the people in the village gather to send the spirit happily away. Any argument between the deceased and a living person is put right, otherwise the spirit of the deceased may be angry with everyone for leaving him around the decomposing body and not sending him away. What should the Christians be taught concerning this? Should they cease the practice, or should a substitute be found, such as a meeting at the graveyard at the appointed time where relevant victorious Christian teaching is given, or, should the whole thing be ignored and left for the Christians to work out for themselves? The practice with variations is carried out all over the Sepik it seems. In Pidgin it is called, 'rausim dewel bilong em.'

See Dr. Nida's article "Christo-Paganism" in Practical Anthropology Jan-Feb 1961.
CHAPTER VIII. THE MISSIONARY'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS ANIMISM AND HIS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE ANIMIST.

A most unfortunate and unhealthy situation exists in Wapeland as well as many other areas in the Sepik, in that spirit beliefs and practices are underground, safely hid from the knowledge of the missionary. In village after village, Wape people have most emphatically and sincerely argued that they either do not know anything about good spirits, or that their village has left such heathen practices many years ago, or else that only the old men carry on such things. And yet every village in the end has told me of their good spirits. There are mission stations where the people have for years successfully hid from the missionaries the fact that they are relying on their good spirits. On asking some professing Christians why they have done this, they have given two main reasons. Firstly, some said they were fearful lest the missionary said that their good spirits had to go, and they didn't want that. Secondly, others said that because the missionary never asked them about their supernatural world, they never told him. I got the impression that some Christians were concerned about their spirit world and would have welcomed the missionary's advice on their problems, but no doubt they decided that the white man in his ignorance would not be able to help them much.

Because of the problems in connection with Christo Paganism, Cross Cultural communication and Cultural Change, I doubt if we will ever be able to successfully shepherd these folk unless we can go underground and get to the bottom of their spirit magic beliefs. Of course better than that is to bring everything to the surface and out in the open.

The cause for spirit belief being underground to its present extent is not difficult to find.

Firstly, the first R.C. missionaries, strangely enough took a strong stand against all spirit magic. It has been said that in many villages the early priests forced the people to throw many of the rings used in spirit magic into the river, after which holy water was sprinkled around the houses. Now, without exception villages around the Lumi area make sure they keep the priest in blissful ignorance about such things. Why tell him if reprimands are the result?

Secondly, Europeans in general have ridiculed animism. Some Medical Assistants have given withering rebukes to people who have not brought the sick to hospital as soon as they became unwell. Imagine a person telling the Medical Assistant that he first tried "blowing" to see if the spirit would hear him before coming to the hospital! He wouldn't tell him a second time, that's for sure.

Thirdly, missionaries in general have preached against 'masalais' in rather a heartless way without first understanding even the rudiments of the people's beliefs. What little we have picked up is all too often used as ammunition in the next Sunday's sermon. We have been all too insensitive to the feelings of the people, failing as well to discern God's time as to when to bring up issues close to the people's hearts and to speak with genuine Christian love and understanding. Other attitudes and actions such as, an air of superiority, impatience, or taking the folk down a peg or two haven't helped matters either. Why should they tell the missionary of their religion when he is all the time angry with them?

Thirdly, we missionaries have shown an appalling lack of interest in the animist's spirit world. We have made little consistent effort to find out what is going on and to get to the bottom of it. While this is hardly a reason for the spirit world being "pushed underground" yet it all goes towards ignorance of the situation.
Fifthly, the people themselves are of such a nature that they do not readily talk about their spirit beliefs to others. They have never done so in the past — only with people in their own village would the matter be discussed. The Highland folk by contrast, it seems are much more open about such things. It has been said that they continually ply their missionaries with questions concerning their spirit worship and what they should do about it all now that they want to follow Christ.

Let it be said again that when there is ignorance of spirit magic, there is sooner or later going to be a very difficult situation. The missionary does not know whether or not professing Christians are genuine, or what concepts they have of Christian truth, or what is going on in their minds.

There is a danger of divorcing animistic spirit belief and practice from the people themselves — of coldly analysing spirit magic with no regard for the soul of the people who believe such things. The professional anthropologist does this. We want to know the people. But spirit magic belief and practice is part of the people. The imperatives are: to get close, learn, understand, feel, see life from their viewpoint, through their eyes, and love.

European and Wape cultures are so far removed from each other that there is often the unconscious tendency of thinking it not even worth trying to come closer to the Wape way. It is sometimes helpful to draw parallels from another situation where cultures are not so diverse. Consider in the homeland a Christian from the upper middle class going to evangelize a slum area. He certainly wouldn't roll up in the latest model American car even though it was given him. His first concern would be to get close to the people so that he could get to understand their background — their aspirations, their grievances — to get to know about their mistrust of the white collar worker and why. He may even take a job alongside them so as to better see life from their viewpoint. He would as far as possible try to find common ground with them. Other things being equal, success or failure would depend on his relationship with the folk. If they got to trust him and saw his genuineness, the door would be wide open to preach Christ. Incidentally, no other Christian worker could tell him what particular things he should do or not do. It just doesn't work that legalistic way.

In our situation, the relevant question is: What is our relationship like with the people to whom God has sent us to witness of Jesus Christ? What is their relationship with us like? Is there mutual trust, understanding and oneness?

We have unconsciously fooled ourselves into thinking that because New Guineans come and listen to us being Europeans, a closer relationship with them is hardly needed. That to understand, love and to win our right to speak to them of the things of God is not really essential because they are already physically sitting under the sound of the Gospel.

The fact is, they come and listen because they think they might get from the European missionary some help enabling them to get on a road which leads to authority, prestige, power and wealth. In other words, there is a wrong relationship, with gross misunderstanding and without trust. Where this sort of situation continues, there is the probability of the people eventually accusing the missionary of not helping them nor of doing his work properly. Then there is nothing else to do but go all the way back to the point along the road where we thought there was a short cut and took it.
Getting acculturised, which is to get to know a people, their ways, customs, to be completely at home in their presence and to enjoy being there is the hardest part of missionary work. It is an intangible thing and often one doesn't know where he is going, what he is trying to do, or be, or learn. In this process one suffers to some extent from what has been called "Culture Shock", which has been described as that emotional disturbance which results from adjustment to a new cultural environment. No European would be completely acculturised into a New Guinea tribe, but we can go a fair distance.


Just as a personal worker in the homeland goes nowhere until he endeavours to answer the particular question in the enquirers mind, and then moving on from there to preach Christ, so neither will we, until we first communicate sympathetic answers to the questions in the minds of New Guineans. The better our relationship with them, the greater their trust in us and what we tell them.

Here are some questions which may give some indication as to how our good relations with the people are coming on.

1. When did a native last come to see you - not to get something or to have a wound dressed, but just to be with you because he likes being with you?

2. Do you like talking with the people about the things they are interested in? How long can you carry on an unforced conversation with them?

3. Where do you find yourself going when you have a little time to yourself and work is not too pressing for the moment? If we love the people we will want to be with them.

4. When did a person last ask you a question about Christianity and his animistic beliefs?

5. To what extent is village life and happenings hid from you?

6. Do the actions of the people and their whole outlook on life still seem stupid to you, and rather unpredictable, even when looked at from their viewpoint?

The writer of this paper doesn't get full marks by any means.

See Dr. Smalley's article in P.A. 1960 Supplement, "Proximity or Neighbourliness."

Repremands, impatience with spirit magic beliefs or with the people, ridicule are hardly fitting attitudes for the Ambassador of Christ. A missionary who has such attitudes and does such things may have relations with the people that may truthfully be described as friendly, yet such a relationship is not adequate for the communication of the Christian faith.

Employer employee relationships are not ideal, and Trade Stores, whatever their merits are, do not go towards satisfactory relationships in the Wape area, for they are inseparably associated with the white man's religion. They "get in the way." They give us prestige, but not a right relationship.

Let us cultivate a sensitivity to the feelings of the people both subjectively and objectively.
CHAPTER IX. THE NECESSITY OF LEARNING ABOUT SPIRIT BELIEF.

Some missionaries have asked why it is necessary to spend so much time finding out about spirit magic belief. They say that it is no good digging up what is evil and that if we show interest in it, the natives will interpret our interest as thinking their animism is good; otherwise why is the missionary so keen about it? In addition to this it is asked what difference a knowledge of animism makes to preaching and teaching the Word of Truth, for is not the Gospel we preach over and above all cultures and will it not be the same Gospel we preach whatever we find out?

These are fair questions and some answers are given.

1) If we fail to understand their culture we fail to understand why they think and act as they do. Consequently, to our European way of thinking, their actions are stupid, illogical, damaging to themselves (to say nothing of what they do to the missionary), irrational and all the rest. Tension will rise, and we will, depending on our particular temperament, either give the people uncontrollable rebukes, or secretly or openly despise them, show our disappointment over their actions, fail to find the areas where they can be trusted, or just be at a distance from the people. In such a situation how can the Gospel take root?

2) Other things being equal, the more we know of their culture the more the people will be inclined to confide in us their problems, for the more will they feel we understand them and are in a position to help them in their problems. Also the less they will both want to, and be able to hide from us their spirit happenings.

3) The more we know of their basic spirit magic concepts, the better equipped we will be to shepherd the flock, to know areas of possible error, or possible wrong concepts, due, for example to a background of total ignorance of righteousness, or a totally wrong concept of Eternal life.

We will be able to make use of the sound teaching method of contrast. Beginning with known things and going on to the unknown, the various similarities and contrasts between their spirits and the True God can be pointed out. There are however pitfalls in this approach.

4) The more effective will be our dealing with the continual problems of Christo Paganism, Cross Cultural Communication and Cultural Change.

5) I doubt, that with having a proper humble sincere attitude in our enquiries and with Christians knowing why we are enquiring, there will be any thought of us condoning animism.
CHAPTER X. SOME SUGGESTIONS IN FINDING OUT ABOUT THE SPIRITS OF A VILLAGE.

1) The importance of getting on to a good relationship with the people cannot be emphasised too strongly. This subject has been dealt with in Chapter 8. In addition to what has been said there, the missionary must have a desire to learn from the folk. Eat with families in their houses in the evening. Tell them that you not only want to teach them, but you want them to teach you. They appreciate this. Ask the Lord to show you anything in your life which is not of Christ.

2) Be sure that there is no one from another village present, nor children around. It is better to ask the older men of the village - the men you think might have authority. Get on good terms with them. Younger men are often frightened of spilling the beans because the older men may be angry. Remember that, after all, to tell a person outside the village the name of their spirit is not the done thing.

3) One approach would be, one night to tell a group of men about Wape spirits and what you have heard of them and how they behave. Related cultures have an ascendency for these folk. When interest is aroused - it may not happen on the first night, ask them the names of their spirits.

4) If you ask, "Have you got good masalais or not?" you will be sure to receive a negative reply. They will think that you think that only the primitive heathen deep in the bush have spirits. And don't ask, "Have you left your masalais or not?" or you will be sure to get a "yes" answer. Frame your questions in such a way that leaves the people in no doubt that you know they have good spirits.

5) Try and get across to them that you won't be angry with them no matter what they tell you. For a start, depending of course on the area, they will almost certainly say, "No, we definitely haven't got any," or, "We have been away on the plantations and don't know anything about that sort of thing," or "We have left all those things a long time ago," or, "I don't know, but ask so and so." When they say this you are getting close.

In village after village the people have given me all these answers and more. Then when they did tell me, they went into rhapsodies over their good hunting spirits. Some villages of course were more enthusiastic than others.

6) Try not to refer to the actual names of the spirits of other villages if you can help it, but you may have to. It is not etiquette to do this.

7) Don't press too hard or for too long. Don't make them out to be liars. One just has to feel his way.

8) It is probably not wise to ask a Christian whom you feel may be giving earnest thought about giving up his spirits. Ask either a mature Christian, or an unbeliever.

9) Whatever else you do, don't after finding out a little about their spirits get up next Sunday and slate the people for following such heathen practices. Remember they have the right to do and believe what they like. Such a message will drive the whole thing underground for good in that village, as far as you are concerned.

The people will certainly have to learn, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," but we have to feel our way and wait for the God-given opportunity to speak directly, with earnestness and love. It is the same in the homeland. A next door neighbour whom you are witnessing to is a materialist. His things are his gods. You certainly don't nag at him everyday about his idols and that they will one day be destroyed. You endeavour to
understand him, win his confidence, love him, and then when the opportunity comes - it may be after a year or two, after you have won your right to speak to him, you go right to the heart of the matter, pointing out his folly and preach Christ.

10) Write down all information in a book. There are some articles in P.A. which give a lead or two in recording information. Try and analyse the information, finding out their concepts of the supernatural. Think and pray about it, and try to work out why the people think and act as they do. You will get some surprises. Then seek to know what Christian teaching should be given them. Finding out the information this way is ever so much better than reading something about it in this paper or in a book, though all information on the subject should be read. Have a go at answering some of the queries on their mind, such as "why the difference between New Guineans and Europeans?"

11) I know that almost everyone around Lumi "blows" on sick people. I now ask, on seeing a sick man in the village. "Have they blown on you yet?" If he says "yes", I ask them which spirits they have requested to go away. This information is only given after all the children have been cleared away. I had to force myself to ask these questions as it somehow went against my grain to do so. The fact is, it is not good that spirit practice is hidden from us. Let's get to know what is going on. Opportunities will come later when we have their ear on the subject. Then we can effectively communicate with them.

12) There is a limit to the amount of useful time that can be spent in a village in the evenings around their fires. There also needs to be time spent in gardens working in some way with the folk. Participation with the people is very valuable.

Finally, after learning all that the European can learn about the people, such knowledge is still insufficient in itself to bring about regeneration. As ever and always we are dependent on the revealing, convicting and saving power of the Holy Spirit.
Genesis 1.

ABOUT THE BEGINNING, A LONG LONG TIME AGO GOD MADE EVERYTHING.

A long long time ago there was nothing. God one only remaining. No strong ground, just soft ground. No trees came up, no food came up, no animals and wild game, no men and women, no light, darkness remained for a long long time all the time. God one only will make everything.

The first day, God put light and it came up.

God spoke saying, "Light come" He said this and light came. God saw light come, He saw that it was very good. A long time darkness and light, darkness and light, darkness and light remained all the time. God put the light, said its name is big light. God put the darkness and called said its name, darkness. That was the first day.

The second day. God made the heavens.

God spake again saying, "The heavens come. Water nothing remain on the ground. Mist, wind and clouds remain above." God said this above its name heavens. That was the second day.

The third day. God made the ground and the ocean.

God spake again saying, "Water break and go and sit one place." This place nothing God called saying ground. This place water sitting, God called saying ocean.

God spake again said many many things come up on ground. A tree one kind, a tree one king, a grass one kind, a grass one kind, food too, food one kind food one kind, many many things they came up on the ground. God saw them they were very good. That was the third day.

The fourth day. God made the sun and the moon and the stars.

God said,"Two lights, and many little lights come and remain in the heaven." God made the two big big lights. He made one light for the night, and called naming its name moon. He made one for the big light, called its name sun. He made stars too and put them remaining. God made the sun to shine for the men. The moon too, like this all the time, to shine for men. God saw them they were very good. That was the fourth day.

The fifth day. God made fish and birds.

God said,"fish come up in the water, birds get up above." He spoke, many fish and many birds came up. God made big fish and little fish put them remaining in the water. They gave birth to offspring. God saw them they were very good. God spoke to the fish saying, "You give birth to many offspring in the water." God spoke to the birds like that too saying, "You give birth to offspring many they get up above. That was the fifth day.
The sixth day. God made many things for the earth.

God spoke saying, "Big animals came, little animals come. Many little things come." He made them and many many things came. God saw them and they were very good. Now God said, "I will make man like me. Man will look after the many things I have made. He will look after the fish of the water and the birds of above like that."

God made many things and put them for the ground put them above and put them in the water, like that. That was the sixth day.

The seventh day. God remained nothing.

God remained and rested. He made many things, and then he remained and rested. Now this time, we too must sit nothing and think of that time God made everything. Like this.

Finish.

The second story goes on to deal with the creation of man.

The story of the raising of the widow's son of Nain is as follows.


Jesus still remained in the district (big village) of Galilee, and one day he and his men they got up and went to a village, its name Nain. Many men and women went together with them. They go and arrive near the village and they meet some men they carry a body, come to bury. This man, his mother cries for him. Her husband too had died, and she only remained. They put pungal (what cofins are made out of) like a box and they put the body in it and it remains, and they carry it and they come to bury it.

Now Jesus he sees the mother crying for her son, and Jesus is very sorry for her and he thinks about her and he speaks to her saying, "Stop crying." They are still carrying the body and coming and Jesus goes and stands near and they all stand up, now Jesus puts his hand on top of the pungal which the body is in. Jesus says, "You young man, you get up." Now this man which died, he arises and sits and talks. He talks, and now Jesus he brings him he comes and gives him to his mother.

Men and women remaining here they see this man who was dead, he gets up again, they afraid. Their hearts are good to God, and they are happy with him, and they say, "God He is the big one. The big man of God now he comes to us, he helps his men.

This talk went around many villages, they hear and they understand."
MARK 1:1-13 WAPÉ LANGUAGE - in the Sepik District of New Guinea. -Don McGregor

Title

Il tengkępi pepe Mak laptei masis. news good(pl) these Mark he writes marks.

1. Il tengkępi pepe pinu pau poleti. Il tengkępi news good(pl) these first came like this. news good(pl)
Pęti Jisas Kraist, le nængke neliye lęti, God. about Jesus Christ he son one of God.

2. Il pinu pepe Aisaia, le metene nele ulul lëla news first these Asaiah he man a big he carries il pęti God, le Aisaia laptei masis loleti, talk of God he Asaiah he writes marks like this Ife yęngkētei, ki God kaitē metene nele lęti you(pl) hear I God send man a belonging to ki, le lëlaf ki il le lelfefiye lese he carries for me news he goes to you he will lespęngkē ye tēsi repair for you road.

3. Metene lepe ratei tōlēm yausēl le nafpe man this stays area nothing(in part he calls out icular) to them lerepeīye, "Ife mas yoprofi tēsi lēti Ulul laule saying You(pl) will clean road for Big one he come ife yespęngkēf tēsisingku pęti le ma laule" you(pl) repair roads for him will come(he)

4. Watefi lepe Jon, le metene lēti loroweipe tēpe like this John he man who he puts them in water le fale tōlēm yausēl. Le lerepefepe weiśs he appears area nothing he speaks to them strongly alep nēmēn pęti pe weite engkes pelpe. Pe weite clearly so that they turn hearts their They turn engkes fei, Jon loroweipe tēpe. Fei God hearts completed John puts them in water. Now God action laite men men olēpe pelpe. sends whatever bad their away

5. Pęti Juda pere Jerusalem pe pelēfolye. Pe perepeei They of Judea and Jerusalem they go & go to him.They say alep nēmēn men men olēpe pelpe. Jon loroweipe wof. clear place whatever bad their John puts them in river
Le leltalo fouyou pau lelel. Le laploi maroungkou lere he put rope waist his He eat locusts and
melfengke yölm pëti tow. wild bee eggs(honey) of bush.

7. Le lerepefepe weës alëp nëmën, lerepeiyé,"Mampei metene he said to them strongly & clearly he saying soon man
nele slëngküf ki laule. Singke pelel ulupu, pinuwei ki a will follow me he come Strength his big(pl) before me
Ki metene yausël. Ki könkafol kolo." I man nothing(in particular)I come up not to him

8. Walapetei ki korowei ife töpe. Mampei les leifoi ife Now(very Recently) I put you in water Soon he will put you in
rërël tengkël pëti God. spirit good of God.

9. Wofei wem tôlëm lepe Jisas raltefi Nasares lere Galali At time this Jesus leaves Nazareth and Galilee
le laule. Jon lorweiël wof Jodan. he come John puts him in river Jordan.

10. Jisas lisa wof longkëlo laule, fei, le lëlu teplaif malkum Jesus leaves river steps up comes now he sees sky blue
kere. Le lëlu rërël lëti God watefi nafle sölpon nele break He see spirit of God like bird pidgin(kind) a
lëtapi laule. Le lëtapi lau lau lënki le ratei it down come it down come go inside it remains

11. Jisas lënkëtei il pëti teplaif yuei, God lerepei, Jesus hears talk belong sky above God said
"Ye nengke neliye lëti ki. Ki onom tengkënefyi" You son one of me I heart good to you

12. Fei, rërël lëti God laite Jisas le leli tôlëm yausël Now spirit of God send Jesus he goes area nothing(in particulal)

13. Le ratei lëfe loungkafi anëne neliye pere eplilengke pere He remains there measures moon one and suns(days) with
etëf plene pau pere etëf plene. Towa ulul lere ma lamplëfol le. hand there base with hand there Evil spirit wants to deceive him big
Yuri re pratei tôlëm yausël lepe. Mete ilepe pëti Animals too remained area nothing this men some belonging to
teplaif yuei pöntöli Jisas sky above they look after Jesus.