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INTER-TRIBAL RELATIONS OF THE MAENGE PEOPLE
OF NEW BRITAIN

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Foreword

The present study was carried out at the request of the New Guinea Research Unit of the Australian National University which provided a visiting fellowship and various facilities. The data were collected in the field between December 1967 and May 1968. Other aspects of inter-tribal relationships entertained by the Maenge people are discussed elsewhere (see Panoff 1969).

Grateful acknowledgment is made to the New Guinea Research Unit Committee, particularly to Dr A. Chowning who supplied valuable comparative information thanks to her extensive knowledge of the peoples of New Britain.

For facilities in the field, especially transportation, I wish to thank Messrs A.M. Bottrill, C. Butcher, J. Harrison-Brown, R. Kelly, W. Muskens and Father White. For plant identifications thanks are due to Messrs Womersley, Henty and Coode, Department of Forests, Lae. As for the help given me by informants, too numerous to be cited here, each of the following pages will show how much I am indebted.

Apologue

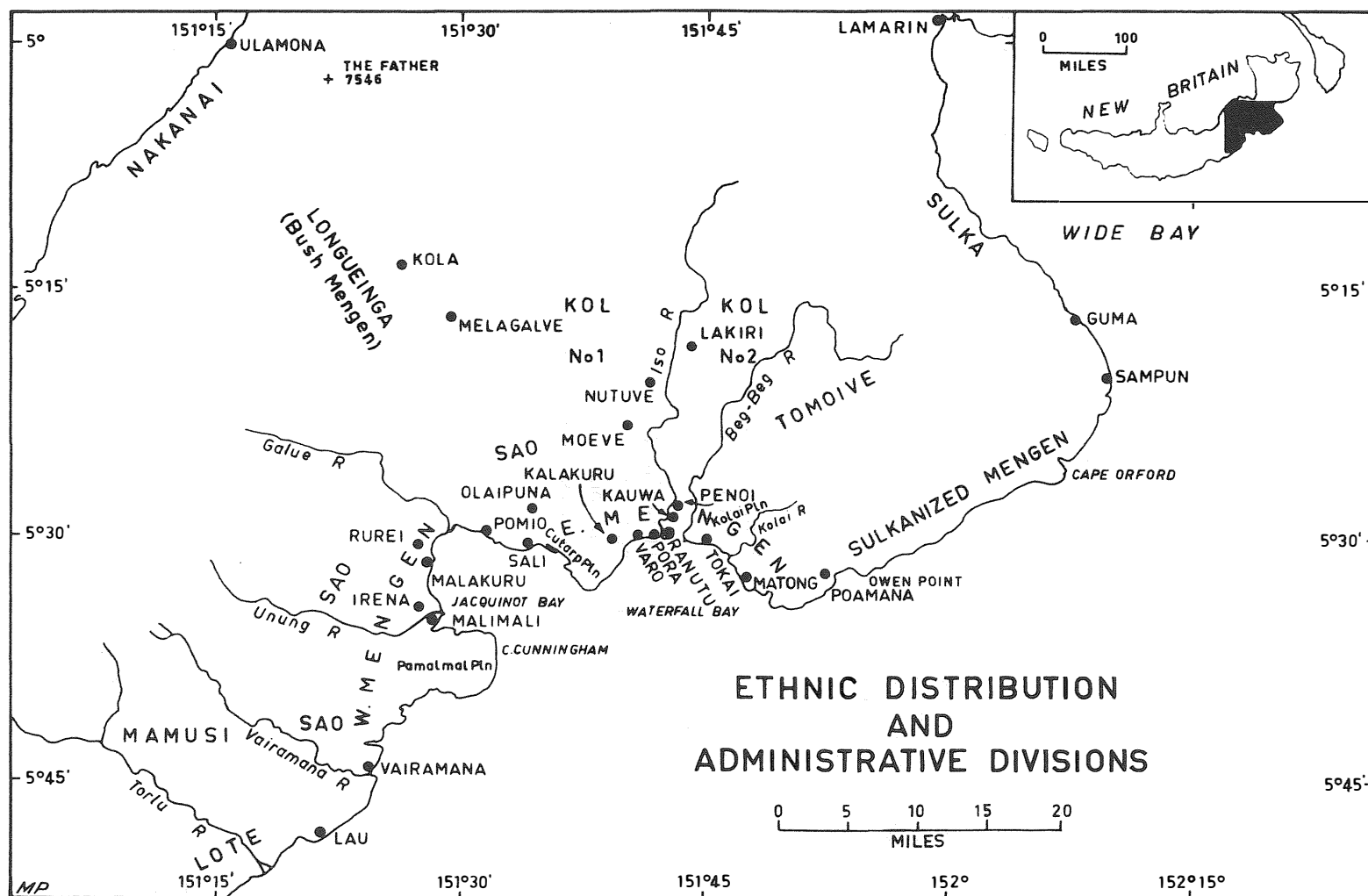
'Once upon a time there was a big mountain called Lituvolau standing in the centre of the Sulka country where she was born. It so happened that she quarrelled with neighbouring mountains and hills who were incarnations of evil spirit-beings.¹ They quarrelled and quarrelled and finally she decided to leave her place altogether, so as to shun those unpleasant neighbours. She started her way southwards. She walked and walked, but still was within call and continuously heard her enemies grumbling: "Go further, further! We can see you yet and this spectacle offends us." So, she proceeded ever southwards and eventually entered the Maenge country. After walking for a while she reached the headwaters of Kolai River, a spot so far away from her home that her persecutors could see her no longer, in spite of her height,² and she managed to enjoy peace and rest in this new abode. Ever since she has lived in the Maenge country.

Thus, we Maenge received Lituvolau, but this was reciprocated later on, when the river Sigileimatana left our country for her present place near Poamana village which is an outlier of the Sulka people. She left for the very same reason as the big mountain. Look! We received, it is true, but we gave too.'

(Told by Kuenuna, Matong village)

¹ Masalai in pidgin.

² Called 'Kwoi' on maps, it is 1,800 feet high.



Introduction

Geographical and linguistic setting

Any study of inter-tribal relations involves, as a prerequisite, the question: who is related to whom? The question is nothing but a truism. To answer it for the Maenge, however, is not so easy. Indeed, the demarcations between neighbouring tribes are frequently blurred according to the point of view of the informant and the context of the conversation. Furthermore, among people to whom village solidarity was and still is the primary concern in all vital issues, the very notion of tribe cannot be taken for granted. We shall have to revert to this point when examining each instance of military alliances or trade expeditions involving distant groups, but, for the time being, it should be clear that great care is needed in describing the various partners in inter-tribal relations.

The Maenge, called 'Mengen' in official reports and maps, number about 5,000 people and are located in three Census Divisions: (i) 'East Mengen', (ii) 'West Mengen' and (iii) 'Bush or Extended Mengen'. The 'East Mengen Division' spreads from Cape Orford (152° 07' E) to Pomio (151° 30' E), the patrol post. All the inhabitants of this area live in coastal villages, except for those of Kalakuru and Olaipuna who are located between half an hour and one hour's walk inland. But, despite the official appellation of the Division, its population is not entirely Maenge. On Waterfall Bay 5 villages, Kalakuru, Varo, Pora, Penoi and Kauwa are exclusively occupied by Kol people, and another one, Ranutu, by Tomoive ('Timoip') as a result of a resettlement project of which more will be said later. In addition, Tokai, also on Waterfall Bay, contains a mixed population of Maenge and Tomoive, while Olaipuna, inland of Pomio, is a Maenge village with a significant minority of Kol migrants.

The 'West Mengen Division' spreads from Pomio to Lau (151° 20' E). Here again, the inhabitants are coast-dwellers, except for those of Rurei, a village distant from the beach by one hour's walk. The population is overwhelmingly Maenge, but there are some infiltrations of Mamusi people, the most conspicuous of which is the big resettlement village of Irena, just east of Unung River.

The 'Extended Mengen Division' is more homogeneous since no resettlement has been attempted there. Marginal villages like Kola and even Melagalve, however, display somewhat complex features pointing to

interactions between Maenge and Kol. By and large, these people who call themselves Longueinga, speak a language not very different from coastal Maenge, although Kol elements can easily be found in its vocabulary. On the contrary, their clan organisation, among other cultural peculiarities, is more akin to the Kol system than to that of the coast-dwellers.

As shown on Map 1, these census divisions are surrounded by Sulka, Kol, Nakanai, Mamusi and Lote. Although the census division supplies a convenient preliminary grid, it fails to give an accurate account of the cultural and linguistic reality. Not only do the census divisions include alien elements, but also they inevitably ignore Maenge speakers living outside. Such is the case of the inhabitants of Sampun and, farther north-east, Lamarin and Mope, three Maenge villages interspersed among Sulka and Baining settlements. In fact, the great interpenetration of the Maenge and Sulka people between Cape Orford and Owen Point led Laufer (1955:35), after studying the notes left by the first missionaries posted in the Sulka area, to describe this marginal group as 'sulkanized Mengen'. Similarly, at the western end of the Maenge country most inhabitants of Vairamana and Lau can communicate with Lote and those Mamusi who live on the border. To sum up, along the coast one deals with a linguistic continuum stretching through successive dialectal shades from the western section of the Sulka up to the Melkoi; the Maenge language itself undergoing slight alterations in between. As a result, two coastal villages 50 miles apart understand each other only with great difficulty, while, if 20 miles away from each other, they share the same language medium. This is not true, however, of the communication between inland and sea-board, since Kol, a non-Austronesian language (Chowning 1969:7) offers no similarities to Maenge except for a few words. Though considered Austronesian - as is Maenge (Chowning 1969:in press) - Tomoive ('Timoip') seems to have hardly interacted with it, but it had many links with a language closely akin to Maenge and now extinct, that of the Sao people who lived in the bush inland of Waterfall Bay.

In view of the complexity of this situation, one will recognise the necessity of using the term Maenge when cultural and linguistic features are examined, while the appellation 'Mengen' should be reserved for referring only to the administrative division.

A few introductory words may be said of the economic pursuits of the Maenge. Although 90 per cent or so of the men have worked under contract on European plantations for 2 to 12 years, subsistence horticulture is still the primary activity. Cash cropping (cocoa and even coconut growing) remains marginal, and so does temporary employment as general labourers on the administrative station. Furthermore, fishing and shell fish collecting among coastal people take only 3 or 4 hours a week. This lack of interest in fishing is not entirely due to a recent taste for canned meat, since, according to all older informants, it obtained in pre-contact times. Only gardening was valued, as exemplified

by a proverb which ridiculed those very few people who were fools enough to devote as much time to fishing as to cultivation. Other economic activities, such as trading and handicraft, will be considered in some detail later because they were and, to a lesser extent still are incentives to intercourse with neighbouring tribes; but they were second to gardening.

Chronological landmarks

The first known European to have seen some Maenge is Bishop Couppe' who, on the occasion of a visit to the Sulka country, called at Jacquinot Bay in 1899 (Schneider 1954:276, Laufer 1955:45). Although this first recorded contact must have been very brief since the prelate spent only eight days altogether travelling along the south-east coast of New Britain, he observed interesting evidence of intercourse between the Maenge and their inland neighbours, as we shall see later on. Before that date, however, the area had been raided by black-birders who recruited a few men for Samoa plantations (Panoff 1969), but no more has been learned about their impact on the native society. The German expedition of 1909 (Vogel 1911:235) did not enjoy a very friendly welcome among the so-called 'West Mengen'. Before the first world war two plantations were created in the area: Kolai on Waterfall Bay, which was run by relatives of the famous Queen Emma, and Pamalmal on Jacquinot Bay, which incidentally functioned as a base for recruiting labourers sent to the Gazelle Peninsula. The first two native catechists were stationed at Matong and Malakuru in 1925 (Laufer 1955:41-2), but it is not until 1931 that the first resident missionary, Father Culhane M.S.C., settled in the Jacquinot Bay area. Between the 14 and 20 of August 1933, this priest made a trip to the southern 'Bush Mengen' villages (Laufer 1955:41-2). However, he had been preceded by an Australian patrol officer who, walking from Madidua on the north coast, reached Kola and Talive on 10 June 1930 (Laufer 1955:42, n.21). Just before the second world war, a police post was established at Pomio. Previously administration control over the Maenge country had been exerted from Gasmata, more than 100 miles from Pomio by sea.

During the second world war the Maenge people, like many other tribes in New Guinea, witnessed the spectacle of new machines and goods and entered amazingly different relations with white men. In the last part of the operations in New Britain some 3,000 allied troops were concentrated around Jacquinot Bay (Brigg 1967) and although the Japanese forces had never been so numerous in the area, the local population must have seen several hundreds of them retreating after the American landing at Arawe. Moreover, a significant number of coast-dwellers enrolled themselves in the guerilla unit under command of Paiaman, a man of Pomio, and received 100 rifles from the Allied G.H.Q. (Wright 1965). This sequence of events had far-reaching effects

on their psychology and the balance of leadership within their social organisation as well.

In 1966 Pomio became the centre of a new sub-district spreading from Gasmata to the first protrusion of the Gazelle Peninsula. More than one year before, a local government council was gradually introduced into the Maenge area so that all the coastal villages belonging to this linguistic group are now included in the system. The 'Bush Mengen' and Kol still remain outside, but steps are being taken to induce them to join the council organisation.

These chronological landmarks suggest a convenient division of the study of inter-tribal relations into three parts:

- (i) the period prior to christianisation
- (ii) from christianisation to the second world war
- (iii) after the second world war.

Chapter 1

Inter-tribal relations before christianisation

Some clues to the ancient ethnic distribution

It is important to emphasise that massive migrations were in progress when the first Europeans visited the country. As regards the eastern branch of the Maenge people, Laufer claims that the coast of Wide Bay was already occupied by Maenge when Sulka migrants arrived there and settled (1955:42-3). Although this hypothesis seems very frail as there is no archaeological evidence supporting it, yet it is unquestionable that the Maenge area spread eastwards far beyond its present limit. As late as 1909 the coast between Cape Orford and Jacquinet Bay was still inhabited by people calling themselves 'Omenge' (Vogel 1911:163). But the phenomenon had also occurred in the other way and some Sulka groups had left their initial habitat in the Wide Bay area for the Maenge country. Owing to constant warfare with a Baining tribe, the so-called 'Ogaktei', a significant number of Sulka fled westwards and were living in 1899 in the vicinity of Matong (Laufer 1955:49), a fact confirmed by Rascher (1904:209) who reported that it was not uncommon between 1902 and 1904 to find Maenge and Sulka gathered in the same villages. What is more, there seems to have been nothing new in this sort of shift since Brown saw in 1878 a population completely different from that he had observed two years before on the coast of Wide Bay (1908:151-2, 235-6). Not only do such fluctuations make it difficult to define clear demarcation between two neighbouring tribes, but also they imply that the Maenge had already undergone various external influences before the first data on inter-tribal relations were recorded. This second point should be kept in mind, especially when examining statements of those modern informants who insisted on the local character of a particular element of their culture.

The second important remark concerns the bush people who surrounded the Maenge proper. In pre-contact times it is certain that the bush was populated to a higher degree than could be inferred nowadays from the mere survival of the Longueinga and Kol. What happened to those inland groups? At least three or four generations ago, quite a few of them were settling on the sea-board, either individually through marriages or in small groups as refugees, so that a significant proportion of the present coastal Maenge must consist of descendants of former hill dwellers. Others were exterminated during repeated

inter-village wars. Such is the case of the Sao people of whom a very few eventually survived at the price of forsaking their own language. Until the first world war, there were Sao villages inland of every coastal settlement and many of them still remained as late as the 1930s, in particular in the interior of Vairamana, Malakuru and Matong. As a buffer tribe between the Maenge and more distant populations, they were frequently involved in issues important to the coast-dwellers.

Inter-tribal trade

Trade routes to and from the Maenge country used to stretch over 100 miles in both directions, along the south coast as well as across the island. Owing to the establishment of trade stores on every plantation and, more recently, to the part played by shipping and airlines, these routes do not see many goods carried on long distances any more, but they are still used on various occasions of social intercourse and are well known to local politicians. Routes differed according to commodity; although preferential connections and permanent markets were entertained between certain villages, or even linguistic groups at large, irrespective of the goods to be bartered. This fact points to some kind of adjustment underlying commercial dealings.

To begin with, the most important commodities and the different ways in which the Maenge acquired them will be examined.

1. Stone tools (adzes, axes and gouges) are said to be of Nakanai origin, with the remarkable exception of those made of pale-grey or yellowish matter which are called mue taena, 'snake faeces'. These are believed to derive from supernatural beings, a belief not uncommon among New Britain peoples.¹ Although some informants have failed to give positive answers, it seems highly probable that the lithic implements used by the Maenge were obtained from the Talasea area and not from the eastern Nakanai (Ulamona). This information needs to be checked through archaeological investigations, but the statements recorded about the forwarding of tools through the region will receive confirmation from any future cross-examination, since their detailed character suggests first-hand testimonies. This trade was in the hands of the Longueinga and, more particularly, of the villages of Mukulu who acted also as middlemen in the circulation of obsidian. The Longueinga gave their Nakanai partners salt in return for axe blades, and received coconuts, areca nuts and sea-food from the coastal Maenge to whom they resold part of their acquisitions. Ironically, European steel tools were introduced into the Maenge country by the same route as the implements which they were to supplant. Indeed, the first steel axes and bush knives came from the Nakanai area through the Longueinga. Most older people still remember the particulars of the successive

¹ For example, among the Sengseng (A. Chowning, personal communication).

transactions which eventually resulted in making the new accessions available to the coast-dwellers. Bishop Couppe's notes allow us to date the event to the year (or years?) immediately preceding his visit in 1899 (Laufer 1955:45), and guarantee the accuracy of what today's informants say, since the traditional route across the island is explicitly mentioned by him. Although a mere appurtenance of the stone tools trade, the supply of whetstones travelled a different circuit. The Maenge were unable to make axes and gouges by themselves, but obtained their whetstones from the headwaters of Orlo River, east of Cutarp plantation. This route must have been cut off several times for it required peaceful relationships with the surrounding Sao, a condition difficult to fulfil in view of the frequency of vendetta between the two tribes.

2. Obsidian. This commodity was forwarded to the Maenge country along the same route as stone implements. People of Mukulu village mounted expeditions once a year to the north coast to obtain it from the Nakanai of the Ulamona area, that is the Meramera tribe, who are said to receive most of their supply from Talasea. Some informants claimed that in cases of shortage Longueinga went as far as Talasea itself, but such a statement is not to be taken at its face value, both because of the distance and the extent of warfare along the coast at that time. It nevertheless deserves to be reported as a clue to further investigations into local history. What is sure is that all the obsidian used by the Maenge came from the Nakanai through Mukulu villagers. The usual rate applying to these transactions was a block of obsidian measuring 8 to 10 inches in each dimension bartered for a roll of tobacco leaves 3 feet long and 12 inches in diameter. Afterwards those blocks were usually split into flakes which were sent to the coastal villages on Jacquinet Bay where they were used as lancets in native surgery and rites of passage (pinasi) and also for carving.

3. Ceremonial money. This heading includes two categories of traditional valuables: (i) tali, a sort of shell money threaded on strings and identical in most cases with the well-known pele of Duke of York islands; (ii) page, massive rings made of tridacna shell. Both are used mainly on ceremonial occasions and are components of bride price. Tali certainly originated in New Ireland and Duke of York islands and were exchanged in the Nakanai area for nassa shells, a local product forwarded to the Gazelle Peninsula where it was used for making tambu money. Details on this trade, as seen by Maenge labourers on European plantations, are given in Panoff (1969). The page also came probably from New Ireland. They were introduced into the Maenge country through the Nakanai and their Longueinga partners. Laufer seems to believe that those page which he saw among the Sulka were made by the 'Bush Mengen' (Longueinga) and eventually resold to the Nakanai (1955:44-5). When asked about this point, all the older informants in the 'Bush Mengen Division' persistently denied that it was so, and pointed out that they were not coastal people and were ignorant of the technique employed in making the rings. On the

contrary, they insisted on their traditional role as middlemen and general suppliers for this part of New Britain. This may account for some misunderstanding in the Sulka traditions. Here again we come across the same route and distribution centre as for obsidian and stone tools, but owing to the constant and eager demand for these valuables, members of the various tribes frequently went from all quarters to the outskirts of the Longueinga area to take delivery of them instead of waiting until they were carried across the island and slowly circulated along the south coast. Such was the case of the Kol who got them directly from Koaveniki, Melagalve and even Mukulu villages on the one hand, and of some Mamusi groups and western Sao on the other who were supplied by their regular partners in the villages near the headwaters of Galue River. As a result, this trade was of a more centrifugal character than that of the two articles examined previously. Among the various rates of exchange mentioned by informants, the most constant and stable was found in the wholesale supply of page to the coastal people of Jacquinot Bay. For instance, the villagers of Malakuku gave 20 to 40 coconuts for one page, the nuts being delivered by fours as elsewhere in New Britain (see especially Brown 1910:294).

4. Shells used as gardening tools. An element of the bride price, though a marginal one, the shells used as gardening tools fostered an important trade between coast-dwellers and tribes of the interior. This phenomenon involves a great diversity in routing and consequently points to preferential relationships between certain villages which still obtain today. Two sea-shells are concerned here: (i) a kind of oyster called singe in Maenge, used as a knife for peeling and cutting taro tubers and severing their stalks, (ii) a kind of lucine called tue with which the women cut roots and vines when clearing gardens. The names of these implements are ting and tol respectively in Kol, and peng and rake in Tomoive. Three major routes should be distinguished according to the location of the tribes involved. Firstly, the Tomoive living in the vicinity of the headwaters of Beg-Beg River got these shells from the Maenge of Matong on Waterfall Bay. In return they brought yams and taro to their coastal suppliers. The route of both bartering parties ran from Matong northwards through the following places: a ford across Kolai River, then Ram and Bungpaho (alias Upago) villages, finally Nala village. In some cases people of Heri, a distant village close to the spring of Beg-Beg River, joined their fellow-tribesmen in these expeditions. Coast-dwellers met their inland counterparts at two recognised market places, one between Kolai River and Ram, the other at Ram itself. Incidentally, Ram was the first inland village containing a large proportion of Tomoive among its Sao population and all its inhabitants were thoroughly bilingual in Sao and Tomoive, a point to be reverted to hereafter. Among the Kol, oyster shells and lucinae came from two different sources. The former were collected in the vicinity of Ula Mona by Nakanai who forwarded them through the Longueinga to the Kol; each piece being exchanged for a

roll of tobacco leaves 12 inches long and 8 inches in diameter. The latter were obtained from the Maenge of Sali village on Jacquinot Bay who were, and still are, the regular partners of the Kol on the south coast. This is a very strong relationship not confined to this particular trade but embracing the supply of all sorts of items and even political assistance. When prepared for barter, lucina shells were threaded on strings, the exchange value of which was, in the transactions between Maenge and Kol, one carry-all bag (bilum in pidgin) of medium size for a string of 2 feet in length. Those Mamusi living on the fringe of the Maenge area received these shells from Malimali through their Maenge clan mates of the Unung valley. In return they gave ochre and food in quantities not specified.

5. Salt. Salt was by far the most extensively and eagerly traded commodity in the whole area under study. Furthermore, the process of getting salt by ebullition required long stays on the coast and thus resulted in intense social intercourse. This was a significant factor in warfare too since the camps of salt-makers were attractive targets for many a vendetta party. No wonder, then, that the local history of salt-making expeditions is thickly strewn with the storming of these camps and the massacre of their occupants. The dangerous character of this industry, as well as the need of a regular food supply provided by the host population, suggest that nothing could be done without especially strong and lasting alliances between a certain coastal village and an inland group.

In this part of New Britain, salt-making was exclusively a pursuit of bush people; all the coast-dwellers being content, in pre-contact times at least, with sprinkling their food with salt water which they carried home in bamboo internodes. In most cases the stay of a party of salt-makers was organised in concert with the people of a coastal village - usually the clan mates of the prospective visitors - who offered some protection and food in return for part-time labour in their own gardens and a few gifts. But it was not uncommon that, owing to previous troubles, salt-makers had to settle down in a hazardous spot as distant as possible from any village and were killed, defenceless, when their presence was detected. Such parties numbered at least a dozen men, each carrying and using his own equipment, mainly large pieces of the bark of Albizzia falcata employed as brine-pans. To be worth running so many risks, the stay had to last 3 months or so and took place during the 'dry season' (kaepâ), that is between October and March. As regards output per head, a common figure was 5 to 8 salt loaves, one of which was sufficient to buy either a piglet or an adult pig according to the state of demand.

Each inland tribe and even each group of villages within one tribe had either its own salt suppliers or a recognised site for making salt. Suffice it to review here those solutions that had the most significant effects on inter-tribal relations. Though a mere branch of the Maenge tribe, the Longueinga should be examined first because of the part

which they played as traders connected with three non-Maenge groups. Longueinga parties used to camp on Jacquinot Bay in two distinct spots, one close to the mouth of Galue River on the left bank, the other a little farther east between this river and Pomio village. Their stay was always organised in agreement with their clan mates living at Pomio and, in some cases, with support from the Malakuru area. At that time there was no village at the mouth of Galue River. Apart from a part reserved for their own consumption and that of other people in their own area, their output was traded to three groups of customers. Firstly, the Mamusi of Kangali got their salt from their Maenge partners in Bano and Mara villages who acquired it from the Longueinga. This route was based on traditional links between the people of Kangali and those of Bano and Mara, namely a common participation in clan affairs, and was used for conveying other commodities than salt. Secondly, once back home with their salt, the Longueinga supplied those Nakanai situated inland of Ulamona. Surprisingly, those bush-dwellers never made salt themselves on the north coast, despite the short distance involved. Warfare may have been responsible for their abstaining, but Longueinga informants have added that their northern neighbours were afraid of infuriating their chthonian god by engaging in an operation which would have put together fire and water, two elements that are to remain apart, and earthquake would have followed any infringement of this prohibition. As with the Mamusi of Kangali, pig was the most usual return for salt. The third tribe relying on the Longueinga in this trade was a section of the Kol located in the northern part of what is now 'Kol No.1 Census Division'. The villages supplied in this way were mainly those which moved afterwards to the present sites of Nutuve, Tarovile, Bagatave and Lalika. Owing to frequent hostilities those people never obtained their salt from their fellow tribesmen within two hours walk in the southern part of the area. As a result, this delicacy, so eagerly longed for in pre-contact times, did not reach its ultimate customers until salt-makers and various middlemen had walked for four days at least; passing through villages whose peaceable feelings had to be tested first and rewarded later. The route corresponding to these transactions ran from the mouth of Galue River to the Nutuve area through the present site of Pakia (in the 'Bush Mungen Division') and Koaveniki; its last leg being the same as in the case of the page trade.

Other sections of the Kol tribe had different sources of supply. On the one hand, the southern villages of what was later to be called 'Kol No.1' used to make their salt by themselves on the beach of Sali, a big Maenge village on Jacquinot Bay. In return for a pig and a dozen bilum presented every year to the elders of Sali, the Kol parties coming to this point of the coast enjoyed safety during their stay and could even claim a right of asylum when in serious trouble with their own fellow tribesmen. This ancient alliance was to be turned to the personal profit of Golpaik, the paramount luluai, in the political context of the first few years after World War II. On the other hand,

the people of Lakiri and, more generally, of 'Kol No.2 Division' did not get their salt through barter but made it at camps about half a mile east of Pomio, on a beach closely surrounded by bush which the local villagers did not often visit. According to the 1968 informants these parties of salt-makers seldom, if ever, organised their stay on the coast in concert with the inhabitants of Pomio. It is not clear, however, whether the frequent hostilities between the visitors and the local villagers resulted from the absence of any agreement made beforehand or whether they merely reflected periodic difficulties in abiding by some former arrangement. What is certain is that Pomio warriors killed most members of a Kol party twice within a few years. The last point with respect to the diversity of means used by the Kol for obtaining salt is that physical distance played a marginal part in mounting expeditions, whereas the state of affairs in inter-tribal and inter-village relations was crucial. Comparison between the solutions adopted by the last two sections of the Kol tribe even shows that the farther east one lived the farther west one had to go for salt-making purposes!

Finally a few words should be said of the Mamusi situated around the headwaters of Torlu River. These people, too, made their salt by themselves. They had special agreements with the coastal Maenge of Lau and usually took advantage of their trip to the sea-board for selling manganese earth to their coastal partners (see below). This amicable relationship is the more noteworthy as the same group of Mamusi is still vividly remembered in the 'West Mengen Division' as responsible for many massacres; in particular for the extermination of the inhabitants of Lopo, a Maenge village at the mouth of Vairamana River, only 5 miles east of Lau. The reasons for those differing attitudes of the Mamusi are given under the heading 'warfare'.

6. Tobacco. One kind of tobacco, an unidentified variety of Nicotiana rustica, is said throughout the Maenge country to have been known long before Europeans arrived. However, most older informants in the 'West Mengen Division' recollect that the first tobacco used and planted in their area was reported as coming from the Lote country, an origin evidenced by the name initially given to that commodity: lote or ra Lote (word for word: 'belonging to the Lote people'). Some instances of the way in which tobacco was traded have been mentioned. Closer consideration of this matter is reserved for chapters 2 and 3, since such a trade did not become significant until better varieties were introduced and cultivated as a result of both contacts with the west and a new specialisation of productive activities among the different peoples living in our area.

7. Plants. Many varieties of taro and cordyline have extensively been exchanged between the Maenge and their neighbours for a very long time. The Maenge are not exceptional in this respect: for example, out of 450 taro varieties recorded as cultivated by the Sulka, 50 were of Maenge or 'Tmuip' (Tômoive) origin (Schneider 1954:287). Investigations by F. Panoff among the Maenge indicate that taro varieties defined by

informants as borrowed from surrounding tribes, that is, the most recent loans, represent a similar proportion of the total, namely 10 per cent. These transactions were made through the same channels as those used for the above-mentioned goods and particularly salt. For example, most taro of external origin in the 'West Mengen Division' came from the Lote area and the Mamusi group of Kangali. Among the latter, cooked fish was the usual return for taro. In the same way, the Maenge living on Waterfall Bay supplemented their own stock with varieties supplied by Tomoive and Sulka. And again the special relationship between the southern villages of the 'Kol No.1 Division' and the Maenge of Sali is evidenced by the exchanges of plants, the bush people obtaining new varieties of cordyline for the taro which they brought to their coastal partners. As a result, several cordylines (e.g. patolea, palakanra, etc.) and other ornamental-magical plants belonging to the genera Alpinia and Coleus (e.g. serenreng, sangomale, kumuri, etc.) cultivated by the Kol have retained their original Maenge names.

The purpose of this barter was not only to acquire better varieties, but also to satisfy a strong taste for collecting. Consequently, there were no bounds to the thirst for new accessions, since one's own botanical stock was always open to further extension irrespective of the practical profit to be ultimately derived from it. It is thus impossible to ascertain the exact impact of inter-tribal relations on the individual stocks of the groups concerned, and, what is more, the process of reciprocal loans in this sphere has not been discontinued even nowadays. This holds good even for the food plants introduced by Europeans into the Gazelle Peninsula and gradually made available to the Maenge, either on the occasion of periods on plantations as labourers, or through inter-tribal contacts. Two stages should be distinguished here. Prior to christianisation, such plants as sweet potato and cassava were so scarce in the area that they were sought after only for their food value; whereas during the last 30 years they have been in demand for the same reasons as taro and cordyline varieties, namely for collecting purposes and not only to supplement the traditional diet. The first cassava plants were obtained by Matong villagers and subsequently the inhabitants of the 'East Mengen Division' from the Sulka between 1905 and 1915. The diffusion centre was probably the Catholic mission station of Wide Bay and the relay on the route to the Maenge country was definitely at Baien. On the other hand, the people of Jacquinot Bay and the Longueinga got it from the Nakanai living around Ulamona, that is through the same channel as their shell money and ultimately the first steel tools. In fact, cassava is said to have been introduced into this area together with European knives, which suggests a date at the turn of the twentieth century.

Exchanges concerning varieties of sweet potato are not so easy to retrace since there was no tabula rasa at the starting point of the local history as told by the 1968 informants. Three varieties at least are claimed to be indigenous to the Maenge country and nothing can be learned about their origin. At all events, they do not seem to have

been extensively cultivated or to have produced an important yield; an assertion to be safely taken at face value for they have completely disappeared except for one of them which is still grown in some Longueinga villages. This would explain why new varieties were so eagerly traded at the end of the last century. The first two came to the Malakuru area from the Mamusi through Tolova, an ancient village inhabited by Sao which played a significant part in traditional warfare, as will be seen later. Both varieties are characterised by the yellow colour of their tuber flesh and were therefore called, by reference to the fruit of Parartocarpus venenosus (Becc.), ivo (variety with a red tuber skin) and ivo tuna (variety with a white tuber skin). As for the Longueinga, they received their new varieties from the Nakanai about the same time. Unfortunately, nothing is accurately known about the loans which must have been made by the people of Matong and the adjacent area.

8. Manganese earth. A major component of the paste used for blackening the teeth of the young Maenge males before they became eligible for marriage, manganese earth (pae in Maenge, keto in Tomoive) was almost as important as salt in inter-tribal trade. Three sources of supply have been reported. The Maenge of Lau and Vairamana obtained this commodity from the Mamusi country between the headwaters of the Vairamana and Torlu rivers, mainly on the occasion of expeditions mounted by the Mamusi for making salt on the coast (see para.5). A part of this supply was forwarded to Malakuru through the good offices of Malimali villagers whose leaders had friendly relationships with those of Lau. A loaf of manganese earth 15 inches long and 6 inches in diameter was usually exchanged for a string of tali 15 to 20 inches in length. (A loaf of this size was sufficient to blacken the teeth of a whole age-set in one or two villages.) The second source in the vicinity of Mukulu ('Bush Mengen Division') supplied the villages of Galue River, Pomio and, to some extent, Malakuru. The average price was the same as with the Mamusi although informants said that sometimes the coastal people had to give strings of tali twice as long as the loaves of manganese earth. Thirdly, the Tomoive living near the headwaters of Beg-Beg River, in particular the inhabitants of Heri, supplied the Maenge of Waterfall Bay. Indeed, they proved the most prominent businessmen in this trade since the Sulka, as far as the people of Kalalip on Wide Bay and the Maenge from Matong to Cape Jacquinot depended on them for keto.

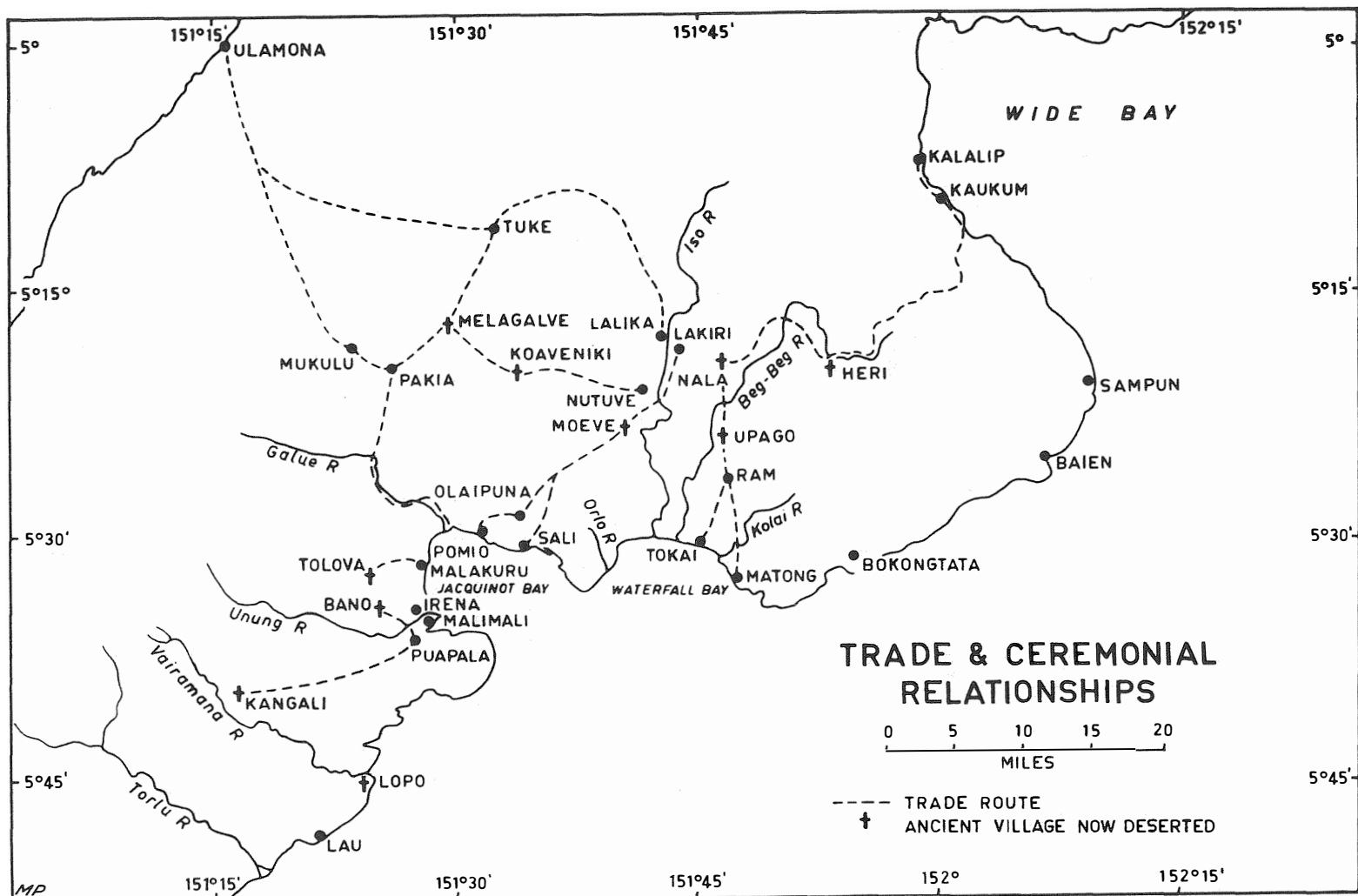
The route used by the Tomoive parties was that described for the trade of shells used as gardening tools (see para.4). Some expeditions came to the coast instead of meeting their customers at Ram, and barter operations took place on the site of what is now Tokai village, between the mouth of Beg-Beg River and that of Kolai River. Not only did the Tomoive visitors find there Maenge partners belonging to the same clans as their own, but they even had some fellow tribesmen living permanently on the sea-board as a result of inter-tribal marriages (see below). Consequently, there seems to have been a sort of competition between

the two possible trade routes, the stake for which was the commercial influence of Matong over that part of the Maenge country. Manganese earth of Tomoive origin was the most expensive kind throughout the whole area since, unlike that supplied by the Mamusi and Longueinga, it was available in loaves 8 inches long priced at a string of tali 20 inches in length.

9. Red ochre. Called maili in Maenge, red ochre was the traditional symbol of blood and ultimately the most common representation of the inner soul of man (Panoff 1968). As such, it was widely used in the realm of ceremonial and artistic life (paintings on shields, masks and the walls of the men's house, etc.). This commodity was not as scarce as salt or manganese earth since there were several little deposits scattered in the Maenge country. However, local sources of supply were not sufficient, so that a brisk trade involving other tribes developed and even survived in some places the impact of christianisation and, what is more, the competition of industrial paints on sale at trade stores. Most ochre was of Mamusi origin. The people of Kangali exploited a deposit near their village and forwarded the product to their partners of Mara and Bano who remained agents in the Maenge area after they moved to the resettlement village at Irena. Before this shift, maili was supplied through them to such distant customers as Matong. The area in between (Pomio and Sali) received it, however, from a different source, namely Ulamona on the north coast. Here again the Longueinga of Mukulu village used their special links with the Nakanai to collect ochre within the territory of their neighbours, and dry it in primitive kilns at Mukulu without risk of hostile interference. When dealing with bush people, ochre suppliers bartered a loaf of maili for a salt loaf of the same size, whereas with coastal Maenge the usual return was a string of tali 15 to 20 inches long for a loaf 10 inches in length and 6 to 8 inches in diameter. The Maenge living on the sea-board between Lau and Drina River obtained their ochre from a deposit east of Vairamana, about half an hour's walk from the present village, which supplied this section of the coast. This location and the amicable relationships between Lau and neighbouring places explain why foreign ochre was not sought after.

Inter-tribal warfare

Trade routes, recognised markets and the network of business partners, as described above, may be regarded as iron filings that show the lines of magnetic forces in our inter-tribal context. Their distribution helps us to detect various sorts of association between villages or larger units. Their absence from certain parts of the area, and their complicated design on the map in some cases illustrate such phenomena as avoidance and hostile conditions. Lévi-Strauss (1943) brilliantly remarked that trade and warfare are but complementary facets of one situation, namely the confrontation of two groups each of which considers itself a whole exclusive of the other and yet compelled to grant



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it some recognition. This view, whatever its theoretical implications may be, suggests that it should be both convenient and logical to make a description of warfare the next step of the present study.

General characteristics of traditional warfare

It is for want of a more appropriate term that 'warfare' is used here since, even before christianisation and administration control made open encounters very difficult, hostilities were generally confined to ambushes and assassination. Traditional warfare was a form of vendetta. The initial cause of hostilities was always an offence inflicted on one or a few individuals. From these two facts important consequences derive with regard to inter-tribal relations. First, because of their very motivation, such conflicts took place as often between members of the same linguistic community or the same village as between people of different tribes; a point to be kept in mind when evaluating the significance of inter-tribal warfare. Second, as retaliation was the aim over and over again while the initial offence was likely to be soon forgotten, the means used to achieve this end did not matter very much, so that nobody seriously hesitated to hire killers from other tribes irrespective of any internal solidarity. The widespread taste for ambushes and secret assassination, of course, made the use of foreign mercenaries even more inviting. Third, operations were very brief and involved few 'warriors' (a party of 30 is the highest figure ever recorded), which means that several villages seldom gathered and took part. Finally, it was very difficult to reconcile tribal loyalties with clan loyalties, and thus it easily happened that a Maenge village had excellent relations with, say, a Mamusi group which was periodically killing the inhabitants of a second Maenge village two miles from the first one.

1. Feud with the Mamusi. In pre-contact times hostilities with various Mamusi groups were extremely frequent, but western Sao were in many cases responsible for these constant troubles. Indeed, their location as a buffer tribe between the coastal Maenge and the people farther inland enabled them to play a role of warmongers; whether by provoking the anger of one group against the other or supporting each of them at intervals. To illustrate relations between Maenge and Mamusi together with the interference of western Sao, suffice it to describe briefly a series of events which occurred during the first two decades of this century.

At that time two prominent 'warriors' whose reputes is still vividly remembered even in so distant a place as Pomio, exerted a strong influence over those Mamusi situated inland of Lau. They were Molau, a man of Kangali, and Aveiate, his regular and more frightening partner from Kera, near the headwaters of Torlu River. About 1910 both enlisted men from six Mamusi villages, nowadays deserted, in an expedition against the coastal Maenge of Lopo who were accused of making offensive jokes referring to their nakedness and, more specifically, to their

anus. The Mamusi party invaded the village at day-break, as they always did, and killed most inhabitants of Lopo in a few minutes. The few who escaped did not take refuge in such a Maenge place as Lau, but in three Mamusi villages which were not within the confederacy which exterminated Lopo. The survivors evidently expected more safety from their Mamusi clan mates than from their own tribesmen. The possibility of collusion between the survivors and the assailants was denied by our informants who, in addition, pointed out that if such were the case, the accomplices would have fled to one of the villages involved in the expedition.

A couple of years before, Aveiate had failed to storm Lau. The motivation of this attempt is not very clear, although it may have consisted in simply 'trying it on' with its inhabitants as so frequently happened in the area. In any case, not only was Aveiate accompanied by a much smaller party which did not include Molau, but the leader of Lau at that time was the famous Kaokutu, a dangerous killer like himself. According to informants, both leaders faced each other for a while on the verge of the village and the Mamusi pitifully withdrew. Neither Aveiate nor Molau ever tried again to attack Lau. Instead, amicable intercourse developed between both peoples, and trade, focused on salt making and the supply of manganese earth, flourished in a situation where the use of arms would have proved too costly. Therefore the massacre perpetrated afterwards at Lopo failed to alter immediately the relations with the Mamusi. But when the recollections of the slaughter began to fade in everybody's memory, when Aveiate himself was killed (see below), the villagers of Lau realised that time for revenge was ripe. A significant change in the balance of power was a prerequisite as not many clans were common to Lau and Lopo, so that enlisting interests in retaliation was not easy and ten years or so elapsed before the Maenge delivered their stroke with the complicity of Sao people. However, they did not dare attack one of the six villages which had exterminated the population of Lopo; instead, they selected a more accessible village, Meramerapuna, where they killed three men and a dozen women and children who were working in their gardens, on the assumption that some clan mates of the former assailants must have been among them. This punitive expedition was not reciprocated. So much for hostilities with Mamusi in this part of the 'West Mengen Division'.

But the Mamusi did not confine their activities to the immediate vicinity of their own territory; they also made visits to the Jacquinot Bay area and so did their 'warriors'. Here, nevertheless, hostile interference from them was usually due to the recruitment of hired killers, among whom we come across Aveiate once again. Indeed, it seems that around Malakuru and inland of this group of villages no vendetta could be seriously contemplated without calling him, an invitation which he seldom declined. His most regular 'employers' were those Sao who were currently engaged in internecine wars among themselves and periodically indulged also in raids on the coastal Maenge.

The contract made with a professional killer followed elaborate rules: a fathom of tali or a page was to be given after execution, but on concluding the agreement a first deposit was always paid; the amount of which depended on whether or not the 'employer' was in a hurry (the smaller the amount the sooner the victim must be killed). The procedure was less formal if one wanted one's own kin to kill, and one merely sent the prospective champion under-cooked taros for some months. The best known killing expedition, mounted against the coastal people of Jacquinot Bay, took place between 1910 and 1912. A joint party of Mamusi and Sao, led by Aveiate, attacked Ngavale, the biggest village in the Malakuru group. As usual, the assailants arrived at dawn, killed six inhabitants, wounded another six and ran away immediately. Two interesting features can be found in this event. First, most Sao members of the party came from Tolova, the very place with which the Malakuru people had trade relations and from which they received new varieties of sweet potato, for instance. This fact emphasises the dual character of intercourse between both tribes; another one, even more surprising yet pointing to the same direction, will be added shortly. Second, the inhabitants of Maling, only 300 yards from Ngavale, did not help their neighbours, although they readily admit that they realised what was happening. True, the clans common to both villages did not cover the whole population of each, but co-membership in the kin groups would have been sufficient to induce them to give assistance. Abstention by Maling was due to a policy of isolationism which then obtained and was fostered by rivalry with Ngavale. Informants from both places have reported three other instances of military operations involving Ngavale during the same decade and from which Maling held aloof. This is a remarkable case of a Maenge group ignoring parochial solidarity and even clan loyalties, not to speak of that awareness of belonging to one tribe, in an inter-tribal challenge.

A couple of years later the raid on Ngavale was retaliated in a way which throws further light on the fluidity of inter-tribal politics. Although the personnel of the former war-party had been mainly Sao, whereas the Mamusi hired killers had been mere instruments, the victims' relatives and friends decided to regard Aveiate only as responsible for the massacre. As suggested by an informant, negotiations between Ngavale and Tolova must have taken place and resulted in sending the former some ceremonial money as retribution. No doubt, this branch of the Sao tribe, after using for so long Aveiate's skill in settling their internal quarrels, were getting afraid of his increasing influence over their own territory. At all events, when preparations were being made to kill him, the people of Tolova assisted the avengers in entrapping him. Indeed, Aveiate was invited to Tolova to meet a man who was supposed to offer him a new 'contract'. For three days, spent in exchanging messengers between the Sao and the Mamusi, the killer hesitated, but he eventually came to the rendez-vous with two clan mates. The man who pretended to hire him, a half-caste of Maenge and Sao, persuaded the three Mamusi to follow him to his village, about four hours' walk

from Ngavale. When Aveiate arrived there, a messenger was sent to Ngavale and, the following night, 30 Maenge gathered to kill this great hero who was sleeping in the men's house.

More stories in the same vein could be added, all suggesting that tribal identity, though clear to the Maenge as a wan tok feeling, played no decisive part in confrontations with other tribes, which confrontations supply the ultimate touchstone of its operative properties. In fact, a feeling of tribal identity worked only if it did not conflict with village interests or clan loyalties, the latter ignoring frequently lines of cleavage between tribes. This conclusion is also true the other way around; thus the Maenge tribe had no more reasons to treat the Mamusi as a whole than to regard itself as a unity. Instead, both amicable relations and cruel feuds obtained between such and such Maenge village and so and so Mamusi place, while the rest of each linguistic community remained aside. The contrast is the more striking for the Sao, since the Maenge had, at the psychological level at least, a collective attitude to these people. Although they had to jump constantly from trade to hostilities with them (a situation not basically different from that of their tribesmen of the Lau area with the Mamusi), they considered the Sao at large as substantially wicked, and this opinion remained irrespective of the current state of affairs. True, they had to keep in touch with them, and even join them in military alliances on some occasions, because of their location between the coast and the interior, but they all agreed on this negative stereotype. Hated in as much as they were felt indispensable, the Sao had a position somewhat similar to that of the Jews in mediaeval Europe, except that they were more often killers than killed. Among the surrounding tribes, the Sao resembled the Maenge most and were the best known, which is probably why they were seen as bogey-men and scapegoats. Incidentally, it is when they dealt with them that the Maenge actualised their own tribal identity, as if the more alike two peoples are the more strongly they oppose each other.

2. Hostilities with the Kol. Since most features of inter-tribal feuds have already been examined with regard to the Mamusi and the Sao, it is possible to review more rapidly the instances of confrontation with other tribes. The description of the salt-making expeditions mounted by various Kol groups has pointed to three different patterns of relation with the Maenge: (i) peaceful intercourse between the northern part of the 'Kol No.1 Division' and the Longueinga, (ii) friendly connections and mutual assistance between the southern part of the 'Kol No.1 Division' and the coastal people of Sali, (iii) repeated hostilities between the eastern Kol and the Maenge of Pomio. Only the third case is considered here. The fact that the eastern Kol had to go as far as Pomio for salt-making suggests that they would have had an unpleasant reception elsewhere on the coast, whereas they were reasonably safe when crossing the limestone plateau between Iso River and Olai-puna and then during their stay on the beach. Olai-puna, a Sao village which was to welcome quite a few Kol migrants after the second

world war, was the key. In pre-contact times the Kol parties had made special agreements with the people of Olaipuna, one token of which is the ancient track from this village to Lakiri, the main place of the salt-makers, through Moeve. But there was probably no direct arrangement with the Maenge of Pomio, the Sao undertaking to negotiate the stay with their coastal neighbours. Now, the Olaipuna villagers, not unlike the western Sao, got into trouble with the inhabitants of Pomio when they felled a dozen of their bread-fruit trees and devastated their gardens. As a result, the partners of the Kol ceased to be helpful, although they had lost four men on the battle-field, which must have allowed them to ask some retribution since the Maenge had no warrior killed on their side. This clash took place at the turn of the century. Through the following years the salt-makers' stay on the sea-board was uncertain, the host population probably being content with the status quo, yet refusing to commit itself afresh. That would explain why the Kol parties of that time consisted of 30 to 40 people as opposed to 10 before the conflict between Pomio and Olaipuna. In spite of their reinforcements, they were attacked twice by the local villagers. It is no longer possible to get accurate information on the reasons for this sudden violence but it was certainly connected with a massacre about that same time at Koinapuna, a Maenge village on Waterfall Bay. Indeed, it was from Lakiri that the assailants of Koinapuna came, and it was among their clan mates of Pomio that most survivors took refuge, two facts pointing to clan loyalties as the explosive factor in those hostilities between Maenge and Kol. Although it is difficult to say which took up arms first, about 1905 the Kol were still waiting to settle the balance, as they ambushed the inhabitants of Pomio on the way to their gardens and killed two of them.

This new scene in the story of the relations between both peoples contains two interesting features. They came from Lakiri to the coast and prepared the ambush in the immediate vicinity of Pomio without difficulty. This implies that assistance from the Sao of Olaipuna was still available to the Kol. On the other hand, all informants insisted that many Longueinga participated in the operation from its inception to its completion, which means that the permanent alliance between the 'Bush Mengen' and the northern part of the 'Kol No.1 Division' was occasionally extended to the No.2 Division. Such co-operation was probably secured through the good offices of Olaipuna rather than through the people of those Kol villages half-way from Lakiri to the Longueinga country. Indeed, Olaipuna was visited as often by Longueinga as by Kol.

This ambush, too, was reciprocated five years later, when the murderers and their clan mates thought that it had been forgotten. On a routine trade expedition to Pomio, a party from Lakiri, after selling some pigs to the Maenge, was invited by them to spend a while in their men's house. As so frequently happened at that time, once the Kol visitors were indoors, they were shut in and slaughtered. The point to be emphasised is that the trip of the bush people to Pomio is

described as a routine visit, as if no hostilities had disturbed the uncertain modus vivendi that survived the withdrawing of Olaipuna villagers as negotiators between the two parties. Although traditional warfare frequently allowed assailants to conceal their identity, such secrets never failed to be discovered, so that one must conclude that peoples kept trading with each other while preparing further hostilities. This would mean that barter and violence were but successive pulsations within the same circulatory system connecting different groups, being associated simultaneously and with equal intensity through feud and trade.

3. Permanent warfare with the eastern Sao. Unlike the western Maenge, their tribesmen of the Waterfall Bay area seem to have been constantly at war with those Sao living on their inland border. The only exception was the relatively amicable relations with Ram, the market village where the Tomoive periodically met trading parties from the sea-board. But not until about 1915, i.e. only a decade before the first catechist was posted to Matong, was this a dependable peace. Before that, fights with Ram were not uncommon.

The state of affairs in this area is illustrated by the number of Maenge villages that were deserted as a result of warfare with the eastern Sao. On the present site of Kolai plantation there were three villages, Kuale, Mogopuna and Tola, most people of which were killed between 1905 and 1910. Over the same period Sao parties attacked another three villages, Lamonglo, Lomolomopuna and Matape, on the coast between Kolai River and the present boundary of Cutarp plantation, and no survivor dared to live there any longer. Most runaways took refuge at Matong which always repulsed attacks thanks to its numerous population and its very strong position on a steep hill, a site deserted after christianisation. Matong was the only safe place at that time and seems to have been so alert that any stranger detected in its vicinity was immediately seized and killed. This happened even to some unfortunate Sulka and Maenge who had just escaped Sao warriors. But Matong was also permanently engaged in retaliation on behalf of refugees who had joined it, and in deterrent actions on its own behalf. The means used for this double purpose did not differ from the Sao's and was as efficient. Thus the population of two Sao villages near the headwaters of Kolai River and of another inland of Manguna plantation were exterminated. Ironically, one of the present cult leaders at Matong, a half-caste of Sao and Maenge, lost most of his kin in repeated raids by the fathers and uncles of his fellow villagers, and has been for many years a qualified negotiator between the coastal people and the Tomoive thanks to his Sao parentage. Mutual extermination had two important consequences of which Matong eventually took advantage. Firstly, as with Lau in its confrontation with the Mamusi, Matong's 'hawkish' attitude probably played a great part in the conclusion and observance of the trade agreement with Ram. Secondly, by offering the only resistance to Sao aggression in the area, it became an inter-tribal melting pot which attracted Maenge refugees, Sulka migrants and even some Sao. As will

be seen hereafter, the very making of Matong was already something of an inter-tribal phenomenon and this legacy was not rejected later on.

Before amicable relations with Ram were definitively established, a skirmish involving Tomoive is said to have taken place but it is not very conclusive from an inter-tribal point of view since the Tomoive participants were a few members in a large Sao party. On the other hand, no feud with the Sulka has been reported, which confirms the general impression gained by the first European visitors about the relations of the Maenge with that tribe.

Sociological factors of inter-tribal relations

Underlying trade operations and solidarity in warfare are various sociological alignments. The most striking impression comes from the Maenge view of the social organisation in other tribes. When asked to describe differences between the Maenge and their neighbours, most informants will claim that all the peoples of New Britain are organised along the very same lines and that, as individuals, they would not therefore find it difficult to fit into the social grouping of the Tolai or the Arawe. This pleasant optimism rests on false premises; since even so nearby a people as the Longueinga or the Kol recognise principles different from the coast-dwellers'; but the belief in a single pattern obtaining throughout the island is a fact of major import to the understanding of inter-tribal relations. When a Maenge claims that he would be able to find clan mates in any linguistic community whatsoever, the exaggeration of his statement illuminates his psychological attitude to tribes living on the borders of his territory. The true issue here is: what facts, at the behavioural level, may have resulted in such a turn of mind, irrespective of the actual constraints implied by various social systems?

Indeed, from a formal point of view, which is precisely the argument put forward by the informants in any discussion, the Maenge, as well as their neighbours, are distributed into roughly similar kin groups, the vernacular appellations of which can easily be translated from one language into another. The trouble is, however, that the membership in, and the functions of, these groups differ from one tribe to another. First, the rule of descent is not the same among all the peoples concerned. While the Maenge, Mamusi, Sao and Sulka have matri-clans, the situation is not simple with the Tomoive and the Kol. As for the Tomoive, although several informants have claimed that they have also matri-clans, some of their genealogies show cases of patrilineal affiliation, perhaps as a result of Kol influence over recent decades. Among the Kol, those kin groups which are called in the vernacular 'vines' or 'vine-shoots' - like the clans of the Tomoive and Sulka - recruit their members in either line, though patrilineal affiliation is by far the most frequent. This rule is consistent with Kol traditions ascribing the creation of the original 'vines' to ten mythical persons, three of whom are males, a fact thoroughly inconceivable to

the Maenge, for example. It follows that descent, as observed today in this tribe, is probably no recent alteration of a more traditional pattern, which is also the purport of the informants. In the second place, the above kin groups differ from one tribe to another with respect to exogamy. In most peoples of the area under study, they are exogamous, but the Kol 'vines' are not; nor were the Sao clans, so that the Maenge used to charge their bush neighbours with constantly indulging in incest. Thirdly, the situation appears to be hardly more uniform when we turn to the larger units present in each of these societies. All of them, except for the Kol and some villages in the 'Bush Mengen Division', have moieties which include the various clans as their respective components. Strictly speaking, we should set the Sao apart since they had only quasi-moieties, their clans being non-exogamous. Unlike the other tribes, the Kol have no moieties or quasi-moieties, but they have nevertheless a 'Smol Pisin' and a 'Big Pisin', as their neighbours and themselves maintain. What is it all about? Simply, among their ten original 'vines' there is a group, associated with the brown eagle (Kol: Paki), which is granted a senior position in mythology, whilst all the others are considered junior to it and are associated with small or shy birds, trees or cultivated plants. As a result, 'Big Pisin' subsumes only one 'vine' and 'Smol Pisin' is co-extensive to the whole society with the exception of the Paki people. Among the Longueinga, some clans, in particular Tavave, which are of Kol origin, hold the same sociological view, although they adhere to matrilineal descent and exogamy as do the coastal Maenge. This last case does not call for a special discussion since it is but a combination of features borrowed from two different societies and therefore introduces no independent variable into the review of cultural diversity, which is the only point considered for the time being. However, it will be examined later on in a more detailed way as a striking example of inter-tribal assimilation.

This simplified sociological comparison shows the Maenge and their neighbours to be anything but homogeneous. Do the peoples of the area really ignore those differences and take seriously superficial similarities when they claim a basic sameness? And if so, why do they behave, in trade expeditions and warfare, for instance, as though similarities were more important than differences? As evidenced by the Maenge attitude to the practice of clan endogamy among the Sao, all informants are aware of what makes their respective societies so distinct to the anthropologist. But it does not matter very much in the practical field of inter-tribal politics. What is operative here is a criterion which the anthropologist would be inclined to consider secondary, namely a common association with a single 'totem'. Without wishing to revert to Lévi-Strauss' helpful discussion (1962) of this vexed notion, often a blanket for jarring institutions irrespective of the cultures from which they have been extracted, 'totem' will be used here for want of a simpler and more convenient term. 'Totem', with reference to the Maenge and their neighbours, will therefore designate

that botanical or zoological species, sometimes just a variety, which is said to have begotten or sheltered a certain clan or 'vine', or to have been instrumental in its coming into being. Its name was adopted as clan or 'vine' name in primeval times and is the basis for classificatory kinship among the members of the group. The species associated with a clan or 'vine' cannot be killed or eaten by its members. The point to be emphasised is that not only do the Maenge know in what villages of their linguistic community they can find clan mates, but also they have some idea of the geographical distribution of those people recognising the same 'totem' as themselves among the neighbouring tribes. Of course, the latter knowledge is more developed when one's clan is said to have originated outside the Maenge country or when it has the same name in other languages, two fairly frequent phenomena as shown hereafter.

On the contrary, the claim that the dual division of society is the same in all the tribes concerned seems to be largely deprived of practical value. To begin with, even among the Maenge alone some clans are assigned at Matong to one moiety and at Malakuru to the other (present tense refers to the period 1967-68). This discrepancy, which still worries older people when marriages occur between 'East Mengen' and 'West Mengen', is yet more embarrassing when the Maenge conception is compared with a system definitely alien to it. With respect to the Kol, such a difficulty is circumvented by equating conventionally their Paki 'vine' ('Big Pisin') to the 'Great Moiety' of the Maenge and all their other 'vines' together to the 'Small Moiety', a satisfactory device as marriages between the two tribes have been rare. But verbalism failed to solve the problem for the Sao and consequently many marriages between them and Maenge people were regarded as incestuous, the only precaution taken in this matter consisting in the observance of 'totem' exogamy. Here again, the association with a common 'totem' appears to have been the decisive factor in inter-tribal adjustment. Nevertheless, the Maenge and their neighbours boast of their ability to guess the moiety of any stranger, irrespective of his tribe, through looking at the palm of his hand. Also, and more seriously, several marriages between Maenge and Mamusi on the one hand, and between Maenge and Sulka on the other were so arranged that spouses were chosen from opposite moieties in their respective tribes. But this care does not seem to have been general, whereas clan membership or 'totem' association was always final, as all informants have insistently said.

Provided we disregard the preposterous claim that all the peoples of New Britain have the same social organisation, we can take seriously what the Maenge say of 'totem' solidarity among members of adjacent tribes. The extent to which this solidarity may have actually worked in pre-contact times depends on whether strangers requesting assistance were able to base themselves on such precedents as lasting intercourse between the two parties, or whether they had nothing to put forward but a similarity of 'totem'. It is therefore necessary to distinguish between

two broad cases: (i) that membership in the same clan which was socially recognised and evidenced by mutual visits and various forms of reciprocity, (ii) a 'totem' association common to two groups which have never been in touch previously.

The first case occurs mainly when the mythology of different tribes explicitly ascribes the same place of origin to all those groups which have the same 'totem' and are thus true branches of the same clan, the identify of a Maenge clan resting on no other criterion. Characterised by yet stronger links between the groups involved, a variant of this case corresponds to the following situation: one of the branches still lives on or near the mythical site of emergence while the other ones have parted and, after visiting various quarters, have eventually settled down in a different linguistic area. In either hypothesis, all segments of the clan concerned recognise the same place of emergence (Maenge: palangapuna) which their members periodically visit in dreams and where they retire after death. Indeed, the very location of somebody's palangapuna is practically the most decisive evidence for the actual origin of his clan. Even a usurper who indefatigably claims that his matrilineal ancestors were no strangers does not dare to lie about the situation of their palangapuna.

Maenge clans which are known to have originated in other linguistic areas will be examined first. To allow significant comparisons, only clans considered autonomous, that is, endowed with a palangapuna of their own, will be taken into account, while those which have gained their identity through separating recently from a more ancient one are to be disregarded as mere branches of it. Now, 46 clans throughout the Maenge country meet the above conditions. Among them 15 are recognised by both their own members and outsiders as having a foreign origin. Such a proportion clearly shows what the present Maenge population owes to migrations in pre-contact times. To help the understanding of the part which they played in inter-tribal trade and warfare, these 15 clans will be classified according to their origin.

1. Clans from the Mamusi area. The best-known are Olenga and Viviliga. Both came from Kangali village and its vicinity. Each of them had many members at Bano and Mara, two Maenge villages already mentioned under the heading 'Trade'. In pre-contact times constant intercourse obtained between these two places and Kangali on the occasion of feasts and funeral rites. It is this association that explains why the people of Bano and Mara were the regular trade partners of the Mamusi among the 'West Menges'. It accounts also for the notable success attained in the resettlement of half the population of Kangali at Irena after World War II. A third Mamusi clan, Naga, seems to have been less important to the Maenge. Some of its members were, and are still, living at Lau where they have probably been instrumental in the agreement made with the Mamusi salt-making parties. A more influential branch of Naga is to be found in the Melkoi area.

2. Clans from both the Mamusi and West Sao areas. Two clans, Kanimosi and Kolei, are said to be indigenous to both the Mamusi area and that part of the Sao territory situated inland of Vairamana, no informant being able to decide which was their initial habitat. Those few people who survived the extermination of Lopo and fled to Mamusi villages belonged to these clans. Today some of them live at Vairamana, keeping in touch with their clan mates in the area between the headwaters of Vairamana River and those of Torlu River.

3. Nakanai origin. Numerous at Mukulu village in the 'Bush Mengen Division', the members of the clan Ulungate have their palangapuna in the vicinity of Ulamona. Although they do not regard themselves positively as the offspring of migrants from the Nakanai country, the location of their mythical place of emergence together with the specialisation of Mukulu villagers in trade expeditions to the north coast leave room for no doubt about the origin of Ulungate.

4. Kol origin. Among the Longueinga, another clan of great importance in the southern part of the present division has originated outside the Maenge country, namely Tavave. Unlike Ulungate, however, this clan possesses a detailed record of its migration from the place of emergence up to those villages where its members have recently settled down. All the Tavave people came from Koaveniki, a Kol village about half-way from Nutuve in the present 'Kol No.1 Division' to Pakia in the 'Bush Mengen Division'. When moving westward, a good deal of these migrants established villages within the Kol area while others decided on proceeding farther and eventually made their living among the Longueinga. As a result, there was an unbroken chain of places held by Tavave members which contributed greatly to the continuity of trade between the two tribes. Nowadays the ancient solidarity obtaining among the various branches of Tavave, whether Kol or Maenge, still operates and reciprocated visits are frequent, clan mates taking any opportunity in the day-to-day life for spending a few days with the other linguistic community. In addition, some Tavave of the Maenge branch can speak Kol.

5. Clans from the East Sao area. In pre-contact times, that part of the Maenge tribe living on Waterfall Bay already included some clans of Sao origin. It is difficult to ascertain whether endemic warfare in this area was a consequence of their presence on the coast, although it is clear that their members did occasionally appeal to their bush clan mates for retaliation on their tribesmen, after being offended by the latter. What is certain is that inter-tribal feud did not prevent the Maenge from welcoming Sao refugees in their villages, precisely on account of a common clan membership. In this respect, three clans, Karagale, Palege and Rainana, are of particular interest. All of them originated in the Sao area and have detached branches among the Tomoive. All of them are described in the local myth of origin as 'friends' of Valakauna, a paramount Maenge clan said to have founded Matong village. All of them had members on the coast at the turn of this century, mainly

at Ranutu. What happened to the inhabitants of Ranutu throws light on the position of these three clans in the inter-tribal setting of that time. Located at the mouth of Iso River, Ranutu had a Maenge population comprising quite a few Sao refugees. Most land rights were vested in Rainana members who seem to have been very influential over their fellow villagers. Between 1900 and 1910 Ranutu got involved in troubles between Matong and the Sao, and several inhabitants were killed. As a result, the village was deserted, most people fleeing to the bush. As for the three clans concerned, their members divided into two groups: one took refuge in the area controlled by the Sao and Tomoive (some went even so far as Nala), the other eventually joined Matong after living in the bush for a couple of years. This story was to get a final chapter after the second world war when a resettlement village was built on the site of Ranutu (see Chapter 3).

6. Clans from the Tomoive area. As relations between the eastern Sao and the Tomoive must have been very close from both the linguistic and the sociological stand-points, it is sometimes difficult to know whether a certain clan present among the Maenge of Waterfall Bay initially came from the former's habitat or the latter's. However, two clans, namely Mango and Raparapa, are certainly of Tomoive origin. Both are reported as having had some members living at Ranutu before this village was left by its inhabitants. Raparapa which is usually considered as the Tomoive counterpart or version of Laia, the second most important clan of Maenge origin at Matong, holds some land rights in the vicinity of Matong. The fact that no informant can remember a tradition accounting for the transfer of these rights suggests a pretty remote date for the arrival of the Raparapa people on the coast. On the contrary, the coastal branch of Mango probably results from a comparatively recent migration.

7. Clans from the Sulka area. The Maenge have always been on good terms with the Sulka. No wonder therefore that some Sulka are said to have contributed significantly to the growth of Matong by joining the Maenge founders at a time when the future stronghold of the whole area was but a meagre settlement. Regarding themselves nowadays as 'true people of the place', these Sulka belong to the Galekorokoro clan, which gradually succeeded not only in pervading the Valakauna clan but also in gaining some leadership over it. Other clans, the origin of which is Sulka, have come more recently and their members are still called 'Sulka' in casual parlance, although their migration took place two generations ago. They are the Konogo and Mego people who are scattered from Wide Bay to Waterfall Bay in such villages as Matong, Poamana, Baien and Guma. The part which they may have played in inter-tribal relations will be better seen in the following chapters.

8. Obscure origin of the Maililingana clan. While it is said to be the Sao counterpart or version of the Maenge clan called Tagatagapuna, the Maililingana clan has kept no record of its origin. All that is known, among its members and outsiders as well, is that it came from

the Sao area. However, some of its members were present at the turn of this century in such places as Ranutu on Waterfall Bay and the bush inland of Malakuru in the 'West Mengen Division', more than 20 miles apart. Consequently, it is not easy to venture any hypothesis as to its initial habitat. It may well be that it was a mere branch of Tagatagapuna which left the Maenge country because of internal quarrels, then settled down among the Sao people and finally sent a detachment back to the coastal area, as happened in some other cases. As a result, the Maenge would have simply recovered the offspring of some of their own tribesmen.

9. Foreign origin of the Kol. More puzzling, though not very conclusive, the myth of origin held by the Kol ascribes to this tribe a place of emergence on the fringe of the Longueinga country. It is believed that the first ten 'vines' came into being on a tree growing in the vicinity of the present site of Pakia. Kol informants have gone even so far as to maintain that this tree belonged to a species absent from their own area, information which the present writer was unfortunately not able to check. Whatever the merits of this claim, it is beyond doubt that the Kol tradition reflects large migrations, some consequences of which have already been mentioned in the introductory pages.

Besides those clans which originated outside the Maenge country, there is a second category of clans to be considered in the play of inter-tribal relations. This category corresponds to the converse situation, namely that of clans founded among the Maenge and afterwards having sent some of their members to surrounding areas where they settled down. The point in this case is that the descendants of the migrants consider themselves as forming a branch of the original Maenge clan, even if they recognise no seniority to it. Both branches usually entertained close relations. To confine oneself to well substantiated information, one has to count no less than six clans falling into this class.

Gavulu, a clan native of Mile in the 'Bush Mengen Division', which had a branch among the Sao of Olaipuna, inland of Pomio.

Kaoila, the place of emergence of which is near Totongpala on Cape Cunningham, had and still have many members scattered among the Mamusi.

Vega represents a very similar case, with both its palangapuna and its foreign extension located in the same place.

Tagatagapuna had its origin in the vicinity of Sali. Though present in many a Maenge village, it had especially numerous members at Bano and Mara on the one hand and at Kangeli, in the Mamusi area, on the other. As a result, the very strong connections established between these three villages through the Olenga and Viviliga clans, as described above, were reinforced with Tagatagapuna loyalties, thus building up a two-way circuit.

Vorenga, having originated near Pakia, in the 'Bush Mengen Division' again, had a branch in the West Sao area.

Taulang, initially a clan from Cape Cunningham, had also members among the Lote.

Finally, there is a third type of inter-tribal relations established along the lines of social grouping: that based only on association with a common 'totem'. As already announced, these relations were much looser than the links between those branches of a single clan which had evolved from one another. It was exceptional that people recognising the same 'totem' in two different tribes, and having no common historical background engaged in regular intercourse. However, it seems that Maenge villagers have always welcomed and assisted 'totem' mates of theirs who may have come to the coast from the interior except, of course, when the two villages involved were at war. Though occasional, and limited to temporary hospitality, this form of inter-tribal relations is not out of place here since it has certainly paved the way to that brotherhood ideology which was to be cultivated by the local cult movement in modern times.

Clans, or 'vines', associated with the same 'totem' among the Maenge, the Tomoive and the Kol are listed in the following table which is probably not exhaustive in the sense that dubious cases have been ruled out.

'Totem'	Maenge	Tomoive	Kol
A variety of banana	<u>Mango</u>	<u>Mongoa</u>	Absent
Brown eagle	<u>Popuna</u> and <u>Malanga</u>	<u>Paki</u>	<u>Paki</u> alias <u>Kolelve</u>
Crow	<u>Lengelenge</u> and <u>Koka</u>	<u>Karo</u>	<u>Karawal</u>
Flying fox	<u>Kailo</u> , <u>Kavueng</u> , <u>Valavasi</u>	<u>Kamboing</u>	?
Hornbill	<u>Maililingana</u>	<u>Vilakolbe</u>	<u>Vilakolve</u>
Parrot <u>Electus</u> <u>pectoralis</u>	<u>Matopuna</u> , <u>Kerana</u>	?	<u>Otopave</u>
Parrot <u>malip</u>	<u>Ulungate</u> , <u>Taulang</u>	<u>Elmare</u>	<u>Temale</u> alias <u>Guenalve</u>
<u>Philemon</u> <u>nova-</u> <u>guineae</u> (?)	<u>Lokato</u>	?	<u>Rengaiei</u>
A mud wasp	<u>Karagale</u>	<u>Malulumena</u>	?
White cockatoo	<u>Lolopuna</u>	<u>Rainana</u>	<u>Laliave</u>
A wild pigeon	<u>Valakauna</u>	<u>Vankoena</u>	<u>Lopulve</u>

To give an accurate account of the situation, it should be added that some clans, or 'vines', shown in the above table possess a secondary 'totem', which is referred to by local branches only, and has therefore been omitted in dealing with inter-tribal equivalences. Such is the case of Rainana which is associated with a species of Convolvulaceae in addition to the white cockatoo.

Other sociological features than clan and moiety alignments also played their part in inter-tribal relations during this period; in particular, marriages, and that fictitious kinship connection established between two persons, where one gives his or her name to the other. But as they are better documented for the subsequent periods, it would be more convenient to defer their description for a while.

Ceremonial practices and beliefs in inter-tribal relations

A mythological tradition recorded at Matong village has already been quoted as apologue. It is not the only one of direct relevance to the study of inter-tribal contacts. The most fundamental beliefs held by the Maenge and their neighbours point to a striking unity, not only in their pattern, which would be expected, but also with respect to the mythical events and the sites of certain ceremonies. The Maenge, the Tomoive and the Kol alike believe that the gates of the nether world are located at the volcano called 'The Father' or 'Ulawun' on the official maps. The spirits of their dead fly to this mountain from whatever village they may have lived in previously. As 'The Father' is situated on the border between the Longueinga and the Nakanai areas, and actually looks down upon the track used by the 'Bush Mengen' when going to Ulamona, there is an impressive correlation between the mythology of the three tribes and what was the most important trade route in this part of New Britain. It is not to say, of course, that the Maenge and their two bush neighbours came from the north coast, but this geographical leit-motiv is probably more than a mere coincidence. Furthermore, another ancient tradition pointing in the same direction will be added shortly.

For the time being it is worth discussing briefly the significance of those beliefs revolving round the volcano. The objection may be raised that the consensus of traditions on this point is but the result of recent inter-tribal contacts and consequently brings no interesting clues to the history of the tribes involved. There are two points with respect to this objection. On the one hand, it is likely that peoples so different from a linguistic point of view, especially the Kol and the Maenge, owe the unity of their beliefs to contacts and not to a common migration centre, if any. On the other, it is difficult to assume that such contacts are recent because both the Kol and Tomoive have a myth - as ancient as their myth of origin, according to the most reliable informants - which tells how the ruler of the nether world tried in primeval times several mountains, either in the Maenge or the Kol country, before deciding for 'The Father'. Thus, whatever the date

may be, this coalescence phenomenon must have taken place early and the unity of beliefs should be considered as a datum in that short part of pre-contact times under study and not as a consequence of late inter-tribal relations.

The other myth reflecting ancient interchanges between the Maenge and their neighbours concerns Malila's travels and death. One of the two Maenge gods, Malila, is a chthonian character associated with earthquakes; he is also present with the same functions among the Kol, who call him Manila. Incidentally, it may be noted that the Sulka, too, had an earthquake god, A Kot by name, but this being was not one of those two Sulka gods that are in many ways the counterparts of the two Maenge gods just mentioned (Laufer 1955:60). Now, both the Maenge and Kol believe that Malila, after various adventures, left Jacquinot Bay where he had lived previously, and went westwards, reaching Cape Gloucester. Then he proceeded along the north coast to Talasea and finally left the sea-board in the vicinity of Ulamona for the interior, which he crossed through the 'Bush Mengen Division', using the very same itinerary as the trading expeditions reviewed above. Travelling further south, he eventually reached the headwaters of Galue River, where he was killed by human beings. Admittedly, distant landmarks like Cape Gloucester are features introduced into the old story after some Maenge had begun to travel around the island aboard recruiting vessels, that is in the early 1900s. However, the fact that all the places where the god has rested from Ulamona up to the headwaters of the Galue are named after him and crystallise the memories of his deeds, convincingly suggests that the last leg of Malila's travels, at least, belongs to an ancient myth. It is all the more so as most people in the younger generations are unable even to translate these place names. Here again we come across the same geographical theme, a fact which all old informants are quite aware of. As for the Kol version of the god's itinerary, it contains some variants implying a visit to their own country, but the final destination is the same. Moreover, this similarity between the two tribes with regard to Malila's death is accompanied with ceremonial practices, of which a few words will be said in the following chapter.

The impression gained through comparative mythology is supported by an inspection of the loans actually made by the various tribes in the field of ceremonial paraphernalia. Clearly, homogeneity in beliefs through the area under study must have facilitated inter-tribal exchanges in this sphere. The most conspicuous accessions secured by the Maenge are very long and narrow dancing-planks which are called rai in both the Maenge and Kol languages. Symbols of Malila's chthonian power, they are fairly widespread in the whole Maenge country, although they evidently enjoy more respect, for historical reasons, among the inland people and those who settled on the coast recently, for instance the inhabitants of Galue village. The rai are of Kol origin and it is remarkable that, when using them on festive occasions, the Maenge have always invited some Kol to sing the appropriate songs; a technical

assistance still required today, while the making and painting of the planks themselves are performed in the coastal villages. It is between 1905 and 1910 that these ceremonial objects were introduced first among the Maenge of Waterfall Bay by the leader (agataive) of Matong on the occasion of the superincision rite performed on his son. Kol singers attended the festival and gave their assistance to their hosts during the rai dances. As regards the other parts of the Maenge country, the date is not known so accurately but probably was a little later. The point to be emphasised here is that the Maenge already had, prior to this accession, dancing masks associated with Malila, namely those models topped by a large dome and called avolau in everyday parlance. When borrowing the rai from their neighbours, the Maenge therefore smuggled no radically new cult into their own system; instead, they merely enhanced a tradition which was previously less developed than among the Kol. Indeed, the Kol and the Sao recognised more importance in the chthonian god than the coastal people. In all likelihood the Sao themselves used the rai long before the Maenge acquired them, which would explain why these objects are especially popular at Galue village. Finally, it should be noted that the Sulka, too, are reported to have had similar ceremonial planks at the beginning of this century (Laufer 1955:60). As the Sulka called them a rei a kot and associated them with their earthquake god, there is no doubt that we are dealing with the very same tradition. It is consequently all the more surprising that the informants of the 'East Mengen Division' have never mentioned this similarity, which they do not seem aware of, a silence suggesting that both tribes acquired the practice of rai-making independently.

The above loan was reciprocated, in the informants' words, one or two decades later, when the Kol got from their Maenge partners at Sali a model of a mask which they had not possessed hitherto. This must have taken place between 1915 and 1925 on the occasion of a salt-making expedition. The mask, called urasaena varana in Maenge, is a high conical structure resembling that of the 'Duk-Duk' dancers on the Gazelle Peninsula. It is considered the second most ancient mask in the whole Maenge stock, and was to become very popular among the Kol, although its foreign origin is acknowledged.

The Maenge claim that they have never had masks representing female characters, except in the primeval period of mankind when, according to their myth of origin, one of their two gods gave masks to women before bequeathing them definitively to the men. Nowadays some villages, Matong for instance, make masks, however, that are supposed to be incarnations of dead ancestresses. Called kulungkulung, they were borrowed from the Lote people two or so generations ago. They have not achieved a large diffusion through the Maenge country and are rarely exhibited on the village dancing ground.

Chapter 2

From christianisation to the second world war

As the general setting of inter-tribal relations on the one hand, and important phenomena which are recurrent through the subsequent periods on the other, have been described in detail in the previous chapter, it will be possible to examine more rapidly those events that have occurred since the creation of the Catholic missionary station in the Maenge country.

Christianisation developed new contacts between the Maenge and their neighbours, but it was also an inter-tribal phenomenon in itself. This is the first point to be considered. Christianisation started at Matong and Malakuru which received two catechists in 1925. Both these men were Sulka, which is hardly surprising since the Catholic mission had been maintaining a station on Wide Bay for a little more than twenty years. Nor is it surprising that they kept in touch with their tribesmen at home. What is more interesting, however, is that a couple of Sulka settled down at Malakuru in the wake of the catechist posted there and interfered significantly in the local balance of power. Indeed, they are said to have practised the most terrible kind of sorcery so successfully that neither the luluai nor the traditional leaders ever dared to oust them, although they allegedly killed nine persons. Now, it may well be that both this imputation, and the credibility it enjoyed, had no other source than the feelings of frustration experienced by the local elders on realising how far the catechist's influence over the inhabitants was imperilling their own position. So, without attacking the catechist directly, they may have tried to raise the population against his tribesmen as a means of bringing discredit on him. This oblique approach is not unlikely if one knows that in four villages on Waterfall Bay, the first luluai appointed by the Australian government were also charged with lethal sorcery. Whatever the truth may be in this particular case, nowadays the Maenge of Malakuru still view the whole Sulka tribe through the dreadful stereotype of murdering sorcerers. By contrast, such troubles have not been reported at Matong. It does not follow that the traditional authorities of this place failed to detect any danger in the beginnings of christianisation; the excellent relations entertained by their followers with the Sulka evidently prevented them from playing xenophobia.

The first catechist to be posted at Lau in 1933 or 1934 was a Tolai who had stayed previously at Malimali under Father Culhane's direct

control. No significant impact of inter-tribal character on the host population has been noticed there.

It should be remarked that a man from Matong was the first catechist among the Kol in the few years immediately preceding World War II. In actual fact, the efforts made for bringing these people under control of the Catholic mission did not bear fruit until another catechist took over at the beginning of the post-war period. It will therefore be necessary to revert to this man's energetic action in the third chapter; but it is certainly not out of place to emphasise at once that he, too, was a Maenge. To sum up, it is to Maenge enterprise and cleverness that Christendom owes the accession of this new province.

As far as inter-tribal relations are concerned, the other major changes initiated over the period under review can be ascribed to two linked factors: increasing political control by the Australian authorities and economic pressures. First of all, though enforced from Gasmata, the new system of law and order gradually achieved the suppression of traditional warfare on the coast at least; such people as the Kol were allowed to indulge in vendetta until the end of World War II. With regard to coast-dwellers, an all-important occasion of contact between different tribes was thus to disappear from the picture presented previously. This event, a great novelty in itself, should have had great consequences in other fields like trade, inasmuch as travelling through the area was to become safer. However, the improvement failed significantly to alter business connections and the organisation of markets obtaining in pre-contact times. Except for Tokai, which enjoyed increasing activity as a result of more peaceful conditions, the exchange of goods seems still to have been conducted with the same partners as before. Indeed, one has to wait till the war with its mingling effects, before trade relations get less selective. On the other hand, the effectiveness of that administrative control which was exerted from outside the area depended heavily on the energies of its local representatives, namely the luluai and tultul. This situation, which left room for the boldest initiatives, greatly favoured Golpaik (Golopage in the vernacular), the man who was to become paramount luluai. Originally a tultul of Sali village, he took over the position of luluai when the man in charge died, and succeeded in presenting the patrol officer with this fait accompli. He managed gradually to subject the whole Maenge country to his sway, through repeated threats towards all opponents, in particular the other leaders, and thus gained decisive influence over Administration officers, themselves happy to rely on one man responsible for law and order among his tribesmen. Now, Golpaik was in a position to turn to his own profit the traditional relations between his native village, Sali, and the southern Kol. Using his authority as Administration representative, he could easily control the whole trade flow with this tribe, levying his commission on it; he also recruited aides and body-guards among his visitors from the bush, valuable assistance in his troubles with some Maenge leaders, according to the 1968 informants. But the impact of his action on inter-tribal

relations was not confined to the Kol: as informer and adviser of the Administration, he was indispensable in mounting patrols and punitive expeditions. Among the latter, two are still vividly remembered: one was conducted among the Longueinga and should therefore be passed over, the other was directed against some Tomoive elders. Informants have not been able to tell whether Golopage actually initiated or simply supported the operation, but they have definitely claimed that it led to two innocent persons being sentenced to death and executed on the ground of false reports. This instance of miscarriage of justice does not seem to have been exceptional. Many people in various villages even complain that a lot of opponents were sent to jail for no other reason than their reluctance to endorse Golpaik's policy. As a result, the luluai of Sali was dreaded not only throughout the Maenge country but in the adjacent areas as well, a fact which was to help him greatly when he undertook the resettlement of Kol and Tomoive after the war (see below).

The second factor to be considered, namely economic pressures, altered inter-tribal relations as significantly as the enforcement of law and order. First, one has to examine the effects of contract labour on plantations. Though already experienced to some extent before christianisation, it became afterwards so general that almost every Maenge male spent at least two years on plantations, either in his native area or on the Gazelle Peninsula. Apart from disrupting the traditional life of each village community, this kind of employment put together members of different tribes who hitherto had few opportunities of knowing one another so intimately. Songs, magic, new varieties of plants, medical recipes and so on were thus circulated among fellow labourers and ultimately brought home (Panoff 1969). On the other hand, inter-tribal trade along the traditional routes described in Chapter 1 ceased to be the main means of getting foreign goods and valuables, as the plantation trade store played an increasing part in the supply of the Maenge country. And what is more, those plantations located on Waterfall Bay and Jacquinet Bay attracted trading parties from the bush and therefore became themselves recognised markets between the Maenge and their neighbours, a function which they still have today. A prominent case in point, though obtaining already before christianisation, was that of Kolai plantation which supplied the Kol with both European and Maenge commodities, and through which many taro varieties cultivated in the interior were introduced into the coastal area. Of course, these exchanges conducted on the plantations became more and more important when warfare disappeared. Last of all, whereas in the previous period joining a salt-making expedition had been considered a 'must' by any enterprising bush youth, plantation work tended afterwards to replace this ordeal as a means of securing social recognition and some valuables. This shift from one way of valuing personal achievement to another was to affect, together with technical factors, the salt trade in our area, a point to be reverted to hereafter.

Another disruptive economic innovation was the administration campaign aimed at planting coconut trees on a large scale. Far from being successful enough to give the Maenge a cash cropping economy, these efforts nevertheless resulted in multiplying the quantity of nuts available for trading purposes. Consequently, what had been a luxury, usually reserved for festive occasions and also an important return in barter operations with bush-dwellers, was henceforth less eagerly sought after. For example, nuts especially selected for reproduction were distributed and planted at Matong in the early 1930s and the impact of this action on trade with the Kol and Tomoive was already perceptible on the eve of the war (exchange rates 50 per cent lower than 15 years before have been reported). And the same holds good for transactions between the 'West Mengen' on the one hand and both the Sao and Mamusi on the other.

After this survey of those general conditions affecting inter-tribal relations, it is now possible to turn to specific cases. To begin with, which fields of trade activities remained as they were and which underwent substantial changes?

As regards red ochre (maili), sources of supply, trade routes and even the volume of exchanges were the same as in the previous period. As we have said, it is not until the 1960s that industrial paints bought from the trade store began to compete with the traditional pigment in some coastal villages. Nor did steel tools supersede those shells used as gardening implements, so that these items have constantly been traded from the sea-board to the interior until 1968. Obsidian, too, seems to have survived the introduction of European knives, since razor blades were to replace the native lancet in surgery and super-incision rites only after the war. By contrast, the trade of manganese earth (pae) greatly declined, as most coastal villages forsook tooth-blackening by the end of the period under study (Matong between 1930 and 1935, the other places in the subsequent years). Bush people, however, did retain this practice for another decade. Paradoxically, it so happened that before the war tooth-blackening even gained ground and was adopted, under Tomoive influence, by some villages in the northern part of the Kol area (particularly Mongo) while the rest of the tribe proved reluctant to accept such a novelty.

But the above instances of conservatism in inter-tribal trade should not conceal the fact that most traditional commodities had quite another fate. Stone tools had already been discarded on the eve of World War I, that is, before the end of the period covered by the first chapter. It is true that such stone articles as gouges and pestles, however, were to be used in magic until the present day, but they had been imported in sufficient quantities to meet the limited demand resulting from this new utilisation and no trade was required any longer. In a less obvious way, other items underwent considerable changes. Salt is a case in point. Salt-making was not discontinued till the second world war, yet both the techniques used and the character of the expeditions mounted for this purpose proved significantly different from what they had been

hitherto. While most parties from the interior had still to be content with brine-pans made of bark, scrap tins and drums began to appear on the coast, as plantations thrived and ships called more often in the area. A by-product of European consumption habits, the dumped can was responsible for a sort of revolution in salt-making through being turned into a ready-made and lasting brine-pan. As a result, not only did the coast-dwellers overcome what their bush neighbours call their 'laziness' and boil saltwater for the first time in their history, but they even sold to the inland peoples the salt they made. Admittedly, their enthusiasm disappeared after a couple of years when they found it simpler, though less lucrative, to sell the tins themselves. The fact remains that this activity, confined previously to bush-dwellers, was altered to some extent by the participation of the coastal Maenge. Besides a change in technology, two other factors should be mentioned again here: the gradual suppression of warfare and the appeal of plantation work to ambitious young men, which made it possible to mount less numerous expeditions and to enlist in them people much younger or older than in pre-contact times. Yet the ancient network of partners on the coast survived these changes, as pointed out at the beginning of the present chapter.

As for shell money (page and tali), it was still widely circulated through the area, since European coins had not yet begun to be used for ceremonial payments. But, except for a new sort of shell beads, no further quantities of these valuables were introduced from outside into the circuit of exchanges and the various tribes concerned had therefore to manage with the stock extant; which means that the traditional trade from the north coast became impoverished in an all-important item. The exception was shell beads of Manus origin which were sold to the Maenge and the Nakanai by Melanesian sailors and catechists. Because of their larger size and cruder appearance they were granted an exchange value 50 per cent lower than the ancient tali, but were called nevertheless by the same name.

Already bartered over the previous period, pigs were to play a much greater part in inter-tribal trade during the fifteen years or so preceding World War II. Instead of being exchanged mainly between clan mates, they began to foster dealings of a less limited character. By and large, this trade seems to have been more flourishing among the peoples of the interior than on the sea-board. Thus the Longueinga depended largely on the western Kol (also known as Sui) for the maintenance of their livestock, and nowadays most of their villages have a fairly high proportion of pigs characterised by a short black mane and a chestnut-coloured skin; a race of Kol origin which was introduced first 30 years ago, and has regularly been kept on ever since. The usual return for these acquisitions was salt or page. The same transactions also obtained between the Kol and the Tomoive but were conducted both ways, each tribe acting successively as supplier and customer according to the current size of its stock, whereas the Longueinga were generally customers.

As new and better varieties of tobacco were being planted in the whole area, keener interest in trading this commodity developed. It seems that over this period fresh plants and cured leaves alike were equally sought after, as against what was to happen on the coast after the second world war when tobacco growing was gradually given up and the smokers' demand was met by the production of bush peoples only. For the time being, both the Maenge and their neighbours carried on this activity, although the Longueinga were already taking the lead in trading cured leaves. Their main customers were the Nakanai of Ulamona and its surroundings. The usual return was either obsidian or pigs. Tobacco leaves were supplied in conical packs 3 feet long and 10 to 12 inches in diameter.

The enforcement of law and order on the one hand, and increasing recruitment of labourers for plantations on the other, indirectly resulted in the introduction of new varieties of food plants and the wider circulation of those that had already been cultivated among distant tribes. Indeed, not only did peaceful conditions facilitate exchanges between the Maenge and their neighbours, but any patrol or punitive expedition through the interior gave coastal carriers and guides the opportunity of acquiring foreign varieties. And even serving a couple of months or years in a Rabaul jail was as rewarding in this respect as a labour contract outside the Maenge country. Such is the case at Matong and Malakuru of that variety of sweet potato called 'Manus', which was brought home by a Maenge on release from imprisonment. Another example is to be found in a garden of the 'West Mengen Division' where out of 70 taro varieties 5 were initially obtained on the occasion of a punitive patrol in the Mamusi area. Further, the same garden contains also 4 varieties of Sulka origin received as a gift from a former fellow labourer. More instances of this kind could easily be added. Of course, the same process operated the other way around, and bush people, too, supplemented their own stock through loans from the Maenge. It is by this means, in all likelihood, that the Kol got from their coastal partners Dioscorea esculenta, a plant which they had not cultivated hitherto.

Turning now to sociological factors of inter-tribal relations, one has to consider first that fictitious kinship connection instituted between two persons one of whom has given his or her name to the other. Already practised before the period at present under study, this custom is better evidenced by cases of living people. Boys and girls alike could, and in some villages still can, be named after an elder or an elder's wife belonging to a different kin group from theirs. This transfer of name usually took place on the occasion of a transition rite, preferably superincision for males and nose-piercing for females; but it also occurred in times of warfare, either as a means of honouring a helpful ally or, on the contrary, in order to thank a merciful enemy who had spared the child's life. Once the agreement was made, the elder and the young recipient had to call each other sinangau ('my small one') and giau e volau ('my big name') respectively, a relationship

which implied assistance or at least neutrality in fights and a permanent right to reciprocal hospitality. Now it so happens that this practice was not confined to the Maenge people, but obtained among the adjacent tribes as well. The inquiry conducted in various parts of the Maenge area shows that the connection sinangana-giana e volau seldom involved members of two different tribes, except at Matong. In this village, repeatedly mentioned on account of its links with its neighbours and the absence of xenophobia, a large proportion of people were named after members of other tribes. Among the 26 persons who received their sinangana name before World War II - that is, people of 40 or older - six got it from Sulka elders or elders' wives, and one from a Sao. However, it seems that this mechanism did not function the other way around, since no Matong villager has been reported as the giana e volau of any Sulka or Sao, except for a rather dubious case. This double fact confirms Matong as a melting pot which received much from its Sulka neighbours but did not exert significant influence on them until the 1940s at least.

With respect to marriage, the eastern part of the Maenge area again seems to have favoured inter-tribal exchanges more significantly than the rest of the country. Although it would be risky to assess what the population figures for the 'East Mengen', 'West Mengen' and 'Bush Mengen' Divisions may have been before World War II, it can reasonably be assumed that the inhabitants of the Waterfall Bay area were, at the highest, three times less numerous than the 'West Mengen' or the 'Bush Mengen', since the big group of villages called by the blanket name of Malakuru already existed, whereas no Kol or Tomoive resettlement village was established yet. Despite this assumed numerical inferiority, 12 inter-tribal marriages (8 involving Tomoive and 4 involving Sulka) were reported among the people of Waterfall Bay, as against 6 (5 involving Mamusi and 1 with a Lote) among the inhabitants of the present West Mengen Division. The comparison with the Longueinga points to the same direction, for there were in their area 6 marriages with foreigners (5 Kol and 1 Nakanai) during this period. However, one feature is common to all the three divisions of the Maenge country: except for one complex case where marriage took place in exile after a manslaughter, all the marriages referred to required the foreign spouse, most usually the bride, to leave and settle down in the village of the Maenge spouse, which confirms what has already been said of the sedentary behaviour of this population.

Another interesting event that occurred during the period under study is the infiltration of some Sao clans into the coastal area as a result of new peaceful conditions. The most conspicuous instance is to be found in the Kamboing clan, ten members of which left the bush and individually settled down on Waterfall Bay. Some of them eventually married Maenge people, but they have not been included in the above reckoning of inter-tribal marriages, since they had been residents among the coast-dwellers for several years before taking a wife. Incidentally, it should be remarked that the ultimate origin of this

clan is not quite clear for, whereas all the Maenge informants claim that it definitely came into being in the Sao area, the Tomoive consider it as one of their own ancient clans and so do the Sulka who call it 'Kambu'in' (Rascher 1904:210). We therefore have further evidence of the ethnic intricacies obtaining in the eastern part of our area at a date not included in the memories of the 1968 informants, a factor already emphasised at the beginning of Chapter 1. By the end of the period reviewed here, a new coastal village, Kaetona, was established in what was to be called the 'West Mengen Division'. Its inhabitants came from several hamlets not very far inland and were Maenge, but they also comprised a few Sao who were at variance with their tribesmen. The same phenomenon has been reported at Malakuru, where two Sao people took up their residence during these years.

As regards the diffusion of ceremonial practices and artifacts from one tribe to another, one has to mention a new accession made by the Tomoive some time before World War II, namely a category of Maenge songs called Taninglele. Originally these songs were reserved for the celebration of the first born child of a maga tamana ('father of the village') on such occasions as rites de passage or his first formal visit to the gardens of his fellow villagers. Later on, however, taninglele gradually came to be used on any festive occasion and even, at a more recent stage, in many situations of day-to-day life. Their adoption by the Tomoive, who named them tanitanie, took place when they were already largely secularised and therefore resulted in the increase of their own musical stock without the remodelling or displacing of their traditional practices. This period also saw the borrowing of the rai dancing planks by the Nakanai of Ula Mona. This must have happened on the occasion of trading expeditions mounted by the 'Bush Mengen'. It seems that, unlike the Maenge, the Nakanai were content to acquire this ceremonial artifact without enlisting the technical assistance of foreign singers acquainted with the original conditions of performance implied by rai dancing.

However, the most important inter-tribal phenomenon, as far as ceremonial practices are concerned, lies in various indications given by both Kol and Maenge elders of one common geographical centre of pagan religion for both tribes. It is only because this information has been referred to the period between 1925 and 1942 by my interlocutors themselves that the matter is presented here, but the alleged centre is said to have been active for a couple of years after World War II, and one can also wonder whether it did not function prior to christianisation. So much for the chronological setting. The core of these surprising statements is that near the spot where the chthonian god Malila (Manila in Kol) is said to have been killed, the headwaters of Galue River, there used to be a cult house surrounded by bush and kept in good repair. At fixed intervals, the elders of a certain clan used to go to this house and propitiate Malila so as to secure fertility in the gardens and general welfare among both the Maenge and the Kol. Now, it so happened that the intercessors had to bring thither offerings

from both the Maenge and the Kol. Consequently, the Kol members of that particular clan are said to have sent ritual gifts of food to their Maenge clan mates, but this was passed off as a secular practice in the eye of the majority of the population, according to the informants. The very notion of a centralised cult at first sight appears rather uncommon in this region of Melanesia. Moreover, it apparently fails to fit in with such important aspects of the Maenge and Kol cultures as the strong autonomy of village communities, and the jealously private character of that control of ritual activities exerted by individual leaders. Last of all, these data rest on the word of only three old people and have not been checked through extensive inquiries because of the informants' fear of getting into trouble with their missionaries. Consequently, this information cannot but sound dubious. Nevertheless, it is only fair to put other data into the scale. Thus, one has to take into account the strong belief obtaining among the West Mergen, as far as the inhabitants of Vairamana, that spells chanted by magicians of the Galue area greatly help bananas and fruit-trees thrive all over the coast. The effective scope of that magic, therefore, covers more than 30 miles and is precisely ascribed to the expertise of the Galue people, who are still considered in everyday parlance as intimately connected with those special powers which adhere to the site of Malila's death. This is a fairly impressive evidence of the extent to which parochialism in the ritual sphere can be overcome. Also, it is significant that most of the Kol people are quite aware of the Maenge having performed propitiation ceremonies near the headwaters of Galue River before World War II; although, except for the above-mentioned informants, they have said nothing spontaneously of Kol participation. To sum up, it may be that this alleged inter-tribal cult centred on the site of Malila's death is a mere hoax, or, more probably, a retrospective projection of a modern religious phenomenon, namely that unified cargo cult movement which embraces all the tribes living in our area (see below). But alternatively it may be that the present cargo cult has derived its unity from this inter-tribal prototype of religious activities. If the latter assumption were correct, one could understand why the informants have claimed that this centralised Malila cult was not active until christianisation, as it would have been a possible response to christianisation itself.

Chapter 3

The post-war period

Through their disruptive effects on the Maenge way of life, the military operations conducted in our area did much to alter the general pattern of inter-tribal relations as described in the two previous chapters. Even among the Kol, who were never involved directly in the troubles entailed by the Japanese occupation - or in the battles to get rid of it - the war had significant consequences which are still remembered with great detail. To quote just one example: half a dozen allied aviators whose planes were shot down had to hide for several months on a mountain in the northern part of the Kol country. Not only did the people of the nearest villages get in touch with them, mainly to supply them with food, but some of them were occasionally sent to the south coast as messengers and had to contact either paramount luluai Golpaik (Golopage) or the coast-watchers. Other inter-tribal phenomena which would not have taken place if the war had not been waged in that region will be described hereafter. The coastal Maenge were, of course, affected by the impact of hostilities to a much greater extent. By the end of Japanese rule they had even in a few cases, had to leave their villages for the bush and this revived ancient connections with the tribes of the interior. However, it is in the flight of various individuals to foreign villages that one can find new cases of inter-tribal relations of the most lasting effect. In the Maenge area, any person who had been at enmity with fellow villagers in the pre-war period had reason to be in terror of his life since he could be denounced first as a traitor to the Japanese, and, in the last months of the war, to the allied forces. This anxiety was no mere fancy: three people have been reported as shot by allied firing parties on the strength of false information. No wonder, therefore, that a few Maenge took refuge among the Mamusi and the Kol in the most critical times of the war. Golpaik is a case in point. Apart from being unquestionably a helpful ally of the coast-watchers, the paramount luluai had accumulated so much hatred through using his official authority for his own interests, that he found it safer to disappear from Sali when the Japanese detected Australian coast-watching activities. The informants are at variance with respect to the duration of his retirement among the Kol: some speak of two or three weeks, others of a couple of months. What is sure, however, is that his stay in this area turned out to be a good political investment. In particular, he was in a position convincingly to promise his hosts various rewards and preferential

treatment from the Allies and the Australians; a promise which was largely instrumental in the implementation of his political plans, as will be seen below. So much for the most direct and general effects of the military operations on inter-tribal phenomena.

Immediately after the war, what Golpaik had promised seemed to eventuate in a way that overstripped the most optimistic expectations: the Australian administration sent to this part of New Britain a ship full of food to be distributed free among the population, as a means of regaining control more easily. Apparently the Kol received a large share in this unexpected cargo of rice and canned meat since everybody still recollects with delight people living in plenty for two months without caring about gardens. Apart from giving tangible justifications to those dreams which were to be entertained later by the local cargo cult, this Australian initiative obviously resulted in increasing Golpaik's most important asset, namely credibility. This was evidenced by the response of the Kol and Tomoive when he endeavoured, some months after, to get them to leave their mountains and settle down on the coast.

In the meantime the paramount luluai managed to get himself appointed as manager of Cutarp plantation (1947). This was a further means of 'standing in the eye of the kiaps and all masters' - as the informants put it - and of enlarging his clientele among the local population. This position enabled him to appoint his friends as assistants and give employment to a score of Kol. It is precisely when running this plantation that he formed the plan of attracting to the coast as many bush people as possible, in order to secure plentiful labour and keep a sufficient number of carriers at Administration disposal for patrols in the interior, thus making himself still more indispensable.

Indeed, the very existence of tribes located in the mountains, at one or two days' walk from the coast, has been an itching problem to the patrol officers and some missionaries: there is, quite understandably, an apprehension that the mice will play when the cat's away, but mounting patrols at frequent intervals meets with real difficulties in under-staffed conditions. These difficulties increase when the coastal people grow reluctant to work as carriers, which is just what happened at the end of the war, according to both Kol and Maenge informants. After enjoying a radically new kind of intercourse with the whites during the period of hostilities, the Maenge were unhappy at being urged to revert to pre-war conditions, so that the carrying problem became serious indeed. The best way of solving it, to Golpaik's mind, was therefore to induce less sophisticated bush dwellers to settle on the coast, grant them only precarious and permissive rights among the host population - and use them as carriers. They would not dare to abandon that submissive behaviour expected of migrants until several years had elapsed. Such was the plan.

To carry it out, the paramount luluai resorted to two different pressures at the same time. On the one hand, he promised the Kol and

Tomoive that government agencies would assist them in creating cocoa and coffee plantations if they agreed to live on those sites which he had especially prepared for them on the coast. The Department of Agriculture was supposed not only to provide seedlings and technical guidance but also to have the blocks of land cleared for the colonists! Was that more unbelievable than the arrival of a cargo of food, after all? Even more striking - and certainly more effective in every witness' view - was the second argument: Golpaik spread the terrifying rumour that an earthquake was very shortly to destroy completely the interior of New Britain, and only people living on the coast could hope to survive. It was Noto, a lieutenant of Golpaik's, who ensured the success of this hoax. A Kol from Paturu village, Noto wandered through all the parts of the Kol country and preached the apocalypse in every village, getting even to a couple of Tomoive places. As a result, except for three men - one of whom feared a jail sentence if he ventured on to the sea-board - all the inhabitants of eleven villages decided on following Golpaik's call and left for the coast. All the resettlement villages were established either on the boundaries of Cutarp plantation or within a distance of 30 minutes' walk from these boundaries. The new villages, together with the origin of the settlers, are shown below.

<u>Resettlement villages</u>	<u>Previous inland villages</u>
(a) Kol:	
Elpora	Kora and Lalika
Otitinelul	Paturu and half of Teveve
Parakamana	Tisanel " " " "
Otipakia	Mogo
Elvaro	Kula
Penoi (coastal)	Penoi (inland)
Kauwa	Lakiri
(b) Tomoive:	
Ranutu	<u>Upago (alias Bungpaho)</u>

The eleventh bush village, which does not appear in the above list, is a Kol one, namely Moeve. It was already in process of splitting up owing to internal quarrels when Noto undertook his campaign. Consequently, half of its population joined that of Paturu, while the rest migrated to Olaipuna, a village inland of Pomio which was mentioned in Chapter 1 on account of its association with salt-making parties from the Kol area.

One can appreciate how far Golpaik's hoax was successful by noting that only the Sui people (usually called 'Extended Kol' in official documents) and a couple of very distant Tomoive villages did not move. All those bush-dwellers who had had ancient connections with coastal Maenge, or had been touched by Golpaik's personal influence on some occasion, surrendered to both the enticement of agricultural development

and to the fear of an imminent earthquake. Indeed, the Sui had been involved in intercourse with the Longueinga and the people of the north coast, while those Tomoive located at the headwaters of Beg-Beg River traditionally felt more attracted to the Sulka than to the inhabitants of Jacquinot Bay; two facts which easily account for their impassiveness in the middle of this agitation.

The end of the story is reminiscent of the Marquis de Rey's famous swindle, in so far as it proved perfectly consistent with its extraordinary beginning. After living on the coast for a little more than a year, all the settlers returned to their former habitat in the bush, as neither earthquake nor agricultural assistance had eventuated. Meanwhile they had lost quite a few of their infants and old people, whose sudden death is ascribed by the informants to that drastic change in climatic conditions experienced on the coast. Also, they had had to pay Golpaik \$A20 per village as an admission fee, and some say as an initial contribution to the purchase of a big boat intended either for getting another cargo from Australia or evacuating the population to a place safe from earthquakes (witnesses are at variance on this point). One should emphasise here that not a single migrant remained on the coast after the truth of the whole matter was out. However, those Kol who had joined the population of Olaipuna did not move again. As for today's resettlement villages shown on Map 1, all have been established more recently and under different circumstances as will be seen hereafter.

This adventure is very interesting in several respects. First of all, it vividly illuminates that peculiar psychological atmosphere which prevailed in the first years of the post-war period and which fully deserves to be described as 'millenarian' in the strictest sense of the term. The unexpected arrival of the cargo sent by the Administration was already something of a miracle and evidently paved the way for any prophet announcing an extraordinary event. It is significant that the extraordinary event which was given so much credit turned out to be precisely one of total destruction and exodus. In the second place, although he constantly supported government policy against the aspirations of his tribesmen (which made his career highly successful), Golpaik played, in this case, on the very expectations and misconceptions that were to result in the emergence of the greatest threat to his white patrons, namely that of the local cargo cult. Ironically, his own son, before taking up a teaching appointment outside our area, had to combat this movement later on. Thirdly, the victims of the hoax derived from their experience a low opinion of that Administration of which Golpaik purported to be the mouthpiece, and hardly more favourable views on living conditions in the coastal area. Apart from these bitter feelings and increased knowledge, they brought home two tokens of their mortification: (i) the false prophet Noto was henceforth called Nabul ('Earthquake'), and (ii) the name of one of the former bush villages was changed by its inhabitants to that of the resettlement site where they had lived (Parakamana, a name which sounds unmistakably Maenge in the Kol country).

This first and temporary migration of bush people to the coast seems not to have affected the Maenge very much, except that the thorny problem of supplying carriers for administration patrols was solved to their advantage for a while. The sites selected for resettlement purposes were all located on blocks of land belonging to Golpaik and, moreover, their occupancy did not last long enough to give rise to serious concern among the original coast-dwellers. By contrast, the second migration, which took place in the early sixties and was not followed by a return to the interior, had a greater impact on the state of inter-tribal relations. As this time it was determined not by the prospect of miracle or impending disaster, but partly by migrants' willingness and partly by government persuasiveness, it was not completed at once. Instead, it lasted four years, from 1961 to 1965, and is probably still in progress, since individuals periodically join their tribesmen who previously settled on the coast. One should even go further and remark that this period saw an extensive shift of populations in our area, as exemplified by the joint migration of Mamusi and Maenge to Irena, a case of voluntary resettlement to be examined shortly. The phenomenon, therefore, was by no means confined to the Kol and Tomoive. According to various informants belonging to each tribe involved, the major motivation was the same in all these migrations, namely, a strong desire to shirk enlistment as carriers on administration patrols. Indeed, government officers had realised that they could not rely any longer on the willingness of the coast-dwellers and, as a result, had adopted the policy of summoning to the sea-board carriers from the closest villages of the bush area they were to patrol. When the first Catholic missionary took his residence among the Kol, he too had periodically to send fatigue-parties to the coast in order to get his supply and mail. This was an additional obligation which implied, in 1968 for example, a double trip once a week. By settling down on the coast, bush people were thus able to lend themselves more easily to administration control; in return for which they were exempted from working as carriers for both the government and mission. Such was probably the implicit bargain between the parties concerned. One can, nevertheless, wonder whether this incentive was strong enough to overcome that reluctance certainly felt by the Kol after their unpleasant experiences on the coast a decade before. It may well be that the increasing control gained by the cargo movement over the coastal people had some part in the attraction of resettlement, although most informants quite understandably avoid mentioning this factor. In particular, when a couple of active cultists in recent years undertook proselytism for the Jehovah's Witnesses sect on Waterfall Bay and offered an inviting alternative to those Kol who resented Catholic rule, there is no doubt that new contingents of migrants left the bush.

In addition, special motives were at work in each case, the most common of which being the internal or inter-village quarrels which broke out as a result of charges of sorcery. In four resettlement villages established by the Kol (Kauwa, Penoi, Pora and Varo), the then

A.D.O. is said to have vouched for the undisturbed occupancy of the sites involved, and provided the colonists with some assistance in agricultural matters. However, the arrangements made for resettlement at Kalakuru and Ranutu were of a private character. At the instigation of government officials, the people of Sali village, especially Golpaik's clan, allowed most Kol from Moeve to move to Kalakuru, where the paramount luluai had created a small plantation. A Maenge village, deserted by its population between 1900 and 1910 (see p.27), Ranutu was selected for the resettlement of the Tomoive from Upago under the following circumstances. As we said previously, the Rainana clan - whose influential elder was living at Matong and had frequently acted as a negotiator between the Maenge and the Tomoive - held most land rights at Ranutu. It so happened that the population of Upago included a significant core of Rainana clansmen, some of whom even were descendants of those original inhabitants of Ranutu who had taken refuge in the Tomoive country 50 years before. Consequently, the occupancy of this site was agreed on by the Maenge branch and the Tomoive branch of the Rainana clan. On the whole, about 350 people of Kol and Tomoive origin were involved in the resettlement scheme carried out in the Waterfall Bay area.

The case of Irena was somewhat different. Although both those Mamusi from Kangali and Maenge from Mara and Bano who gathered there felt happy to be free from carrying duties along the ancient patrol route to the Mamusi country via Puapala village, they also were attracted by another prospect. An influential Maenge, Martin Poiriri, owned a little plantation in the vicinity of Irena and promised the Mamusi a share in his returns if they would settle down near him and help him in his business. The site of Irena was located on land which was looked after by Poiriri and his mother's brother Loiso on behalf of their clan, namely the Tagatagapuna people. As mentioned previously (pp.25 and 28), the Tagatagapuna clan had a good many members among the Mamusi of Kangali village, while two important clans of the same place, Olenga and Viviliga, were also present among the Maenge of Mara and Bano; a two-way circuit of loyalties which accounted for strong trade alliances between the three villages concerned. On the basis of these traditional connections, a double agreement was concluded to resettle both the Mamusi and the Maenge at Irena. Without doubt the local administration authorities supported the scheme, as it was to bring isolated people under their direct control and would contribute to the extension of cash cropping in the area. Although co-operation between the Mamusi migrants and Poiriri turned out to be less successful than expected, 280 people gathered at Irena in 1960, without any secession or return to original habitats taking place in subsequent years. Nevertheless, nearly 50 per cent of the initial population of Kangali remained impervious to the enticements of Irena and withdrew into the heart of the Mamusi country instead, which frustrated the hopes entertained by the Administration.

The major effects of those resettlements achieved during the second period can be marshalled into two broad categories: (i) the direct

impact of the migrants on the host population and vice versa; (ii) the interplay between the Maenge people and the other tribes at large through the resettlement villages operating as cultural transmitters.

What was to affect the Maenge most was the permanent occupancy of resettlement sites. This was not realised by the host population from the outset, but after a couple of years they gradually got worried. Not that there was any land shortage in the areas where the migrants built their villages. Not that they had reason to fear disruptive effects on their own social order or on the advancement of their cargo cult; since their guests had not been uninvited and most of them, apart from being clan mates, had partly come to the coast for the purpose of enjoying the teachings of the movement. Their uneasy feelings derived rather from the apprehension that the trouble was only starting and that further massive resettlements were to happen in the near future. The very fact that official pressures or support had been at work in these cases would have sufficed to arouse some bitterness. But, as it happens, since 1966 the officials of the sub-district have actually contemplated two resettlement schemes on a much larger scale: one on Waterfall Bay again, the other outside the Maenge area and intended for the Mamusi. It seems that the present financial policy of the government has been the major obstacle to their implementation, as both were conceived as part and parcel of a cash cropping project and therefore required money. In addition to this factor of unrest, the Kol migrants have persistently refused to participate in the local government council organisation so as to avoid paying taxes, which, in so sensitive a matter, has resulted in more jealousies among the Maenge. Last of all, when the cargo leaders, mainly in the 'West Mengen Division', happened in 1968 to withdraw their support from the Member for this electorate (Mr Koriām Urekit), the Kol resettlement villages seemed to intend to go along as before and endorse his policy implicitly. This may well bring about further frictions between the two peoples.

An increase in inter-tribal marriages is also a direct effect to be expected of resettlement. Although this new opportunity of marrying out is still pretty recent, ten such marriages have already taken place in the Waterfall Bay area alone. It is among Tomoive women that the highest frequency has been recorded there. A complete list of such marriages is given below

6	Tomoive	women	have	married	Maenge	¹
1	"	woman	has	"	1	Kol
1	"	man	"	"	1	Kol
2	Kol	men	have	married	Maenge	

¹ In all these 6 cases residence after marriage was virilocal at Tokai village.

As noted in Chapter 2, marriages between Tomoive and Maenge are nothing new and already occurred during the christianisation period. Nor is the position of the Maenge as predominantly women-takers to be ascribed to recent developments. On the other hand, four marriages between Maenge and Mamusi have been reported as a result of the foundation of Irena village. In this case the Maenge received 2 women and gave 2, but the sample is, of course, not large enough to permit of any conclusion.

A feature complementary to inter-tribal marriages, sometimes a factor to and sometimes a consequence of them, bilingualism has gained ground since bush people settled down on the coast. A striking example is supplied by the Tomoive population of Ranutu who can communicate reasonably well with the Maenge, and even better with the Kol, through their respective vernaculars. In each of the other resettlement villages, there are two or three persons who are bilingual in Kol and Maenge; a rate certainly not so impressive as at Ranutu, but contrasting with the situation in the bush villages. Among the Kol of the interior, only every second village might contain a single individual able to talk broken Maenge. The point to be emphasised here is that apparently no Maenge has cared to learn the language of these migrants, except in some cases of inter-tribal marriage. All the Maenge who speak either Kol or Tomoive learned it on the occasion of repeated administration patrols or while negotiating trade alliances before the resettlement of inland people into their area. This fact proves consonant with that trend which has been detected in the pattern of marriage with foreigners.

To make an end to this review of the direct effects of resettlement, one has to mention that both Kol and Tomoive colonists were to acquire techniques characteristic of the coast-dwellers, most importantly, swimming and canoe-making. Their tutors in this field have been inhabitants of Tokai village. Tokai is not only the nearest place where such experts could be found, but also it has a long record of trade links, bilingualism and intermarriages with the Tomoive and, to a lesser extent, the Kol; so that assistance from it was only an extension of its traditional ways. Ironically, when travelling west, such coastal people as the Maenge from Matong have now to depend on Kol and Tomoive ferrymen for crossing the Iso and Siboli rivers, and thus owe to resettlement many a quicker and easier trip, an advantage officially recognised by the local government council, which pays a small monthly stipend for this function. Indeed, while the Kol of Penoi and Kauwa have not yet gone beyond the stage of making poor craft, the Tomoive living at Ranutu have already succeeded in getting as good canoes as those of the Maenge.

Turning now to the indirect influence of resettlement on inter-tribal relations, one should consider first the diffusion of cargo beliefs and the transmission of instructions issued by the cult movement to the people living inland. Resettlement has not resulted in severing those

links between the Kol migrants and the rest of their tribe. On the contrary, it seems to have increased their importance and even done much to awake a new sense of tribal solidarity. In fact, apart from fatigue-parties periodically sent to the coast by the missionary in charge of the Kol area, there is a constant coming and going between the bush and the resettlement villages for such reasons as ceremonial visits paid by clan mates and trade operations. Thus, news and innovations as well spread into the interior at a speed and to an extent which the Administration officers are far from suspecting. In addition, messengers and such village leaders as 'committee men' are frequently travelling both ways on specific missions - sometimes as far as Malimali or Kaetona in the 'West Mengen Division' - to meet top leaders of the movement. These emissaries regularly break their journey at some resettlement village. As evidence of the part played by the coastal outliers of the Kol tribe in local politics, suffice it to mention the introduction of pineapple growing into the collective gardens of the bush people, a practice first enjoined by the movement on the coast; also, the successful electoral campaign for Mr Koriām Urekit conducted in 1964 through the Kol country. One could also remark that the Kol party which welcomed the above-mentioned Member at Pomio in 1967, though comprising people from the bush and resettlement villages alike, was led by 'committee men' of Penoi-Kauwa (coastal).

Other indirect effects of resettlement include that attraction exerted for some time on the Kol of the interior by Jehovah's Witnesses' proselytism in the Waterfall Bay area. After meeting with some success three years ago, when it even attempted to set up its own school, the sect was gradually compelled to reduce its activities and eventually in 1968 reached a stage at which it counted no more than a dozen sympathisers. As its local agents were also active cultists, they had to face joint opposition from both Catholic mission teachers and the few anti-cargo politicians. After a campaign of false rumours they became isolated and the Kol ceased to turn their eyes towards them.

Neither Golpaik's deeds nor the coastal resettlement of bush people can exhaust the subject of inter-tribal relations from the end of World War II. While those events described at the beginning of the present chapter were taking place, endeavours were being made to bring the whole Kol population under Catholic control. As already mentioned, it was a Maenge catechist from the Malakuru area who achieved this final phase of christianisation; a task hampered by the persistence of some ancient feuds¹ and by tentative interferences from other Christian missions. When dismissed by the resident priest after many years spent in the service of the Catholic mission, this man was to appear as a determined cargo leader and later on a member of the local government council. One can therefore wonder whether he had not been tempted, at

¹ For another piece of evidence see O'Neill (1961:227).

some stage, to preach cargo beliefs in order to make his official teachings more attractive, as happened in other parts of New Guinea (see, for example, Lawrence 1964:82). However that may be, both Christianity and cargo doctrines were introduced into the Kol area by Maenge enterprise, even if both were not actually disseminated by the very same person. This second catechist arrived among the Kol immediately after those colonists swindled by Golpaik had returned home. Seven or eight years later he was relieved by a half-caste of Maenge and Tomoive from Tokai village.

Another important factor in increasing contacts between bush people and coast-dwellers was the recruitment of many Kol by those plantations located in the Maenge area: mainly Cutarp, Kolai and Unung plantations. This policy was initiated by Golpaik when he was manager of Cutarp, but it has been carried on up to now. Fifty to sixty Kol labourers were employed on the coast until 1966, after which Cutarp plantation sharply reduced recruitment from that tribe and secured its manpower from the Highlands of New Guinea. As a result, not only have these plantations become inter-tribal markets to some extent, but also they have been recognised as halting-places for any Kol travelling on the beach. The regular itinerary in 1967 and 1968 included a break in one of the resettlement villages, where the first night was spent, and another at Unung plantation for the second night; a schedule which applied whether the travellers went to attend meetings at Malimali or simply intended selling bilums and buying pigs, sometimes as far as Drina plantation between Cape Cunningham and Vairamana village.

The new trends to be found in inter-tribal trade since the end of World War II can be ascribed to the one fact that the bush peoples, especially the Kol and the Longueinga ('Bush Mengen'), have become the sole suppliers of traditional goods. Various factors have combined in diverting the coastal Maenge from several productive activities still flourishing in the thirties: the sight of those enormous quantities of food and machines displayed by the allied forces during the war; the opportunity of living for some time as parasites on the military; the increased number of trade stores in the vicinity of villages; and the possibility of getting employment at intervals on plantations or the administration station (as general labourers, sailors, public works hands). The making of net-bags (bilum in pidgin) is a case in point. Although these items are still in demand, they are no longer made in the Maenge area; and even the Longueinga, who are not so well off, have given up the technique, except in one of their villages. As a result, bilum play an important part in the trade conducted by the Kol with their neighbours. They are delivered to the coastal customers preferably through the resettlement villages and the Kol compounds on local plantations. As for the Longueinga, they obtain them from their partners at Tuke village. Prices recorded in 1967 and 1968 were as follows: 50 cents for those little bags which men hang on their shoulder or neck (Maenge: visinga and goletuna respectively), and 1 to 2 dollars for those large ones which women hang on their head (Maenge: varanga).

The same is true of the supply of cured tobacco leaves; cultivation of this plant has almost completely disappeared from the coast, while both the Longueinga and the Kol keep on growing it. Here the former people is by far the main supplier, selling its yield to the Nakanai of Ulamona, the missionary station located at that place and the coastal Maenge between Pomio and Malimali, whereas the Kol trade theirs mostly to Ranutu and other resettlement villages. The usual price over the last two years has been 10 cents for a pack of 10 leaves.

Other commodities traded between neighbouring tribes include pigs, tubers of taro and Xanthosoma sp., and dogs. With regard to pigs, regular transactions involve only the Longueinga and the Kol; the former as buyers and the latter, mainly the inhabitants of Tuke village, as suppliers (intra-tribal trade between the Kol of the interior and those of Olaipuna, Kalakuru, Varo and Pora is not directly relevant to the present review). The people of Tuke, on their part, fairly often purchase food tubers from the Longueinga of Pakia, a trade of some significance in 1967 and 1968 as the Kol of this area were experiencing a serious shortage. Lastly, on the occasion of their tobacco expeditions to the south coast, the Longueinga generally manage to buy dogs to be used in hunting wild pigs. Prices range from 3 to 6 dollars. Subsequently some of these dogs are resold to the people of Tuke and the Sui area.

What remains of those exchanges which have been described in the two previous chapters needs no more than a few words. Shells used as gardening tools are still obtained by the inland tribes along the same routes as before, although they have been supplied more and more frequently by the south coast, since the creation of resettlement villages, which entailed a considerable shift of the centre of gravity in the former network of inter-tribal trade. Moreover, the total volume involved in this trade has declined, as women tend to use knives in their gardens. On the other hand, the barter of cultivated plants between the Maenge and their neighbours seems to have been affected to a lesser extent by the various changes that have developed over the last two decades, a relative continuity probably to be ascribed to the greater conservatism of women.

As previously alluded to, ceremonial relationships between the tribes of our area, especially those that are rooted in clan loyalties, have in general successfully survived and have even gained more importance in some cases. Most of them run, of course, along the same lines as trade transactions. The strongest and most conspicuous of them are to be found among (i) the Longueinga of Pakia, (ii) the coastal Maenge of Vairamana and Lau, and (iii) the Tomoive of Ranutu and Tokai. In the first instance, it is the Tavave clan - through the unimpaired solidarity of its two branches located in the Longueinga and the Kol country - which is mainly instrumental in linking both tribes together. On the occasion of feasts, mourning ceremonies, or just for a change, members of this clan cover the distance (two days' walk) from

Pakia to Tuke and vice versa; forming parties of a dozen persons often accompanied by villagers belonging to other clans. Clearly, this special connection is a significant asset in the hands of the luluai of Pakia, who is the coming man in the politics of the bush area. Indeed, his influential position at the hinge of both tribes, together with the support he gets from the Administration on account of his non-alignment policy towards the cargo movement, may allow him to follow Golpaik's career, though on a smaller scale. At any rate, such is his image in the eyes of many Kol and Longueinga; in particular after he acted as adviser and interpreter to the electoral patrol which visited the two census divisions in 1968. Secondly, two clans, Kolei and Kanimosi, have members among the Maenge of Vairamana and among that population of mixed origin (Sao and Mamusi) living between the headwaters of Vairamana River and Torlu River. Reciprocal visits from one branch of these clans to the other periodically occur, on the same occasions as in the previous case, but the number of people involved is smaller by half. Thirdly, the Tomoive from Ranutu and Tokai regularly see their clan mates, scattered along the coast of Wide Bay, and receive them in turn at home; most parties, travelling both ways to attend clan ceremonies, comprise 15 to 20 persons. This circuit of traditional relationships stretches as far as Kaukum and even Kalalip, that is, 3 or 4 days' walk from the Waterfall Bay villages. Trips, to and from, are broken at two halting places: Bokongtata, a village with a population including many Tomoive elements, and Sampun, which is inhabited by the so-called 'sulkanised Mengen'. In both places, the travellers find clan mates who look after them during their stay. Incidentally, the area thus covered by such a network of clan relationships corresponds to the zone where manganese earth of Tomoive origin (keto) was formerly traded (see p.13). In addition, those Tomoive living at Ranutu and Tokai are also connected - though more loosely - with the Kol resettlement villages and Ram, an ancient market where Maenge and Tomoive trading parties used to meet, and where bilingualism (Sao-Tomoive) is still common. As an example of this circuit of ceremonial exchanges, one should mention a great festival held in April 1968 by the Kol of Penoi (coastal). The inhabitants of the following villages were invited to attend the feast and dances: the four other Kol resettlement villages, and Ranutu, Tokai and Ram. Besides the larger exchange of gifts between the guests and their hosts, there took place specific gift-givings that involved only coastal Tomoive and their correspondents of Ram - a means of recognising their traditional links.

Looming throughout the events of the last decade, accounting directly or indirectly for many a phenomenon among those that have been described on the previous pages, the local cargo movement is certainly the most important factor in the changes undergone by inter-tribal relations over the recent years. In all likelihood, it began some ten years ago, but it is quite possible that it had gone through various transformations and had already known dormant or more limited forms prior to that date. No definite evidence in support of this assumption is available however,

except that the Maenge regarded the first Europeans they saw at the end of the nineteenth century as the tribesmen of their god Nutu who, after creating man, is said to have disappeared without giving his creatures all the riches he had in reserve for them. Such a feature has been reported elsewhere in Melanesia, especially in those areas known as nests of cargo beliefs. In its present form, the Maenge movement displays most characteristics recorded by Lawrence (1964:82) in the Southern Madang District: cargo ritual in cemeteries, the emphasis laid on the Ten Commandments as the 'Laws' of the movement and the means of getting the riches (cf. Lawrence 1964:102), the re-naming of days of the week so that Thursday now is Sunday, while Friday is devoted to collective work in the cargo garden of each village (Lawrence 1964:103), tax-levy (ibid., p.209), recently called 'collection of voluntary contributions' in order to avoid its being considered illegal; and so on. In addition, most villages are controlled by three 'committee-men' - usually known as 'komiti bilong Korian' - who resemble those 'boss boys' appointed by Yali, except that they appear to be more efficient (ibid., p.156). Mr Korian Urekit's position in the whole matter is, quite understandably, far from being clear; he has for a long time kept on a razor-edge, endeavouring to canalise the activities and enthusiasms of the local movement into sensible projects and, at the same time, doing his best to maintain his popularity among people who not only played a great part in returning him twice as M.H.A.¹ but also, through their mysterious expectations, confer on him his only bargaining power vis-a-vis the Administration. On the whole, it can fairly be said that he has succeeded in instilling much wisdom into the beliefs and actions of his Maenge supporters, and in preventing them from surrendering to unreason, as evidence by the part he played in deprecating money collection and in making a sensible allotment of those funds already collected (see below). In actual fact he had been so successful that in 1968 the local leaders of the movement withdrew their support. One has to say no more of the ideology, ritual, and internal organisation of this cargo cult to be able fully to appreciate its impact on inter-tribal relations.

Flourishing first in the Maenge country, the local movement, as distinct from other movements which Mr Korian Urekit has previously been associated with, now exerts its influence over the Mamusi, the Kol, the Tomoive and many a village on Wide Bay. As it is not monolithic, some variations can be found from tribe to tribe, and even from village to village, but one should emphasise that it has so far remained faithful to its origins and the Maenge leaders are still asked for guidance on any issue of importance. Hence a constant coming and

¹ Born in the Arawe country, West New Britain, Mr Korian Urekit is not a local man. As the Member for the Kandrian-Pomio Open Electorate, he has a constituency of which the Maenge and their neighbours are only a part.

going between the outlying areas and Malimali and Kaetona. In addition to this central pattern of inter-tribal connections, a good number of emissaries are frequently on the move to rekindle the faith of certain villages, enlist support from those distant places that have kept outside, or get in touch with other cargo movements which have developed independently of the Maenge organisation. As instances of the coverage secured by such indoctrination rounds during 1967-68, one can mention several extensive trips to the Mamusi country carried out by Maenge propagandists, and routine visits to Tomoive and Sulka villages along the coast of Wide Bay, some of which were even extended to the vicinity of Kokopo. On the other hand, Maenge liaison officers came into contact with the cargo movement of the Nakanai country. It should be noted, incidentally, that all these missions performed on behalf of the movement are given a very official character among the various tribes concerned, and are called 'patrols' accordingly - a feature perfectly consonant with that pride which everybody feels in the native taxation system, that is, the system of contributions imposed by the cargo leaders, as opposed to the unpopular local government council taxes. A widespread feeling, such as the conviction that Melanesians are within their rights in setting up institutions of their own along the same lines as European ones, suggests that the movement has already been successful in furthering inter-tribal integration throughout the area under its control. In fact, other evidence is not lacking.

First of all, the Maenge and their neighbours alike loudly insist that, though they abide by the same 'laws' as Europeans, namely the Ten Commandments, they attribute the worth of these not to the teaching of their missionaries, but to the revelation delivered by their own leaders. Second, although they do not speak so freely of it, the fact that they partake in one cargo ritual and one set of expectations is also conducive to a new sense of solidarity, which ignores the old linguistic and ethnic boundaries. As a result, they evidently delight in calling one another 'brothers' and 'sisters', using the pidgin words 'brata' and 'sisa' even within the same linguistic community. No doubt, this deliberate behaviour accounts to some extent for that complacently unitary view of social organisation in their respective tribes which was pointed out on page 22. Confirming this ideological bias is the image of the Chimbu labourers as held by the Maenge, Kol and Tomoive: since these foreigners, isolated in plantation compounds, do not participate in the movement activities and since many of their tribesmen serve in the Constabulary, not only are they refused the appellation 'brothers', but they are also regarded as having nothing to do with any people in New Britain. Their fate is conceived of as so different, indeed, that it is sometimes denied that they are subjected to the same colonial rule and are culturally and anthropologically more akin to the New Britain population than to the white or yellow race. Lastly, one has to consider those representations centred on Mr Koriām Urekit. Two major factors account for the attitude of the tribes concerned to him:

(i) the Maenge together with their neighbours are comprised in the same constituency, and (ii) in 1964 and 1968 alike he was returned with the cargo movement support. It is therefore impossible to know whether he is considered mainly as the candidate of the movement or as the common mouth-piece of that multi-tribal area. Such a question is no academic hair-splitting since all the Maenge, Kol and Mamusi together identify themselves with him; various informants even call him their 'king', so that some sort of tribal integration seems to be achieved around his name, and one cannot help wondering how far this integration might be damaged by a conflict between him and the cargo leaders.

However, signs of a coming solidarity between the Maenge and their neighbours are not confined to the sphere of sentiment and ideology; they are to be found in deeds, the most impressive of which was the deposit, in 1967, of some 34,000 dollars at the sub-district branch of the Commonwealth Bank. Not only was the quasi-religious solemnity with which each village brought its hoarded 'taxes' an unforgettable event, but also the total amount of money thus brought to light testified to both the strength and unity of the movement. On the other hand, it strikingly demonstrated the extent of Mr Koriām Urekit's authority over his supporters, irrespective of their tribal affiliations. Some details of this operation will illuminate the state of inter-tribal affairs at that time. The fact that money collections were being made in many villages was, of course, known to the government officers as well as to plantation managers, who were sometimes asked to change a few hundred dollars, although nobody had ever suspected that the grand total could possibly amount to so high a figure. The Assistant District Commissioner decided to induce the population to bank the money, as a means both of preventing possible quarrels among contributors, and making future collections unattractive. To this end, he managed to have Mr Koriām Urekit use his credit with the cult leaders to support his initiative; which, incidentally, was a good opportunity of testing the Member's co-operative intentions. The scheme proved entirely successful. Mr Koriām Urekit strongly endorsed the A.D.C.'s suggestion, so as to stop those rumours which claimed that the money was assigned to the purchase of a plane or a boat for himself, and the rank and file of the movement complied with it in the hope of forcing some greater reciprocation from him, and the Administration, along the same lines as in the traditional transactions with dead ancestors. While each of the three parties concerned had a different goal in mind, all the tribes of our area implicitly united in together surrendering their respective contributions. And what is more, when the government officers suggested that a separate account be opened for each depositor-village - in order to avoid subsequent disputes - they refused straightforwardly and opened a single joint account. This insistence on unity, in a major concrete issue, shows the extent to which village parochialism and tribal discriminations have already been overcome in the magico-political sphere.

How far can the local cargo movement be considered a forerunner of nationalism? It is true that the widespread desire to set up a formal organisation after the pattern of the Australian administration - with its own taxation system, its own officials sent on 'patrols', its own supra-tribal laws derived from the Ten Commandments and ultimately, in some informants' words, its own 'king' - should be taken seriously. However, what suggests some scepticism is precisely the emphasis laid on professions of faith and conspicuous gestures; the substance of which too often sounds like a lesson learned by heart and conscientiously rehearsed. Besides its artificial character, the whole attitude of the rank and file is still dramatically lacking in self-confidence, and evinces considerable subservience to external models and expatriate opinion. Moreover, a clever and vocal man is still likely to turn the tables, and enlist supporters against the stream; as evidenced by the astonishing performance of an anti-cult Maenge, who stood at the 1968 election against Mr Koriarn Urekit and must have got 10 per cent of his fellow tribesmen's votes, without having any campaign committee.¹ On the other hand, there remain ethnic minorities which, being insufficiently integrated with the surrounding population, may play a disruptive part in the process towards unity. Such is the case of those former Sao who had settled down in the Poamana area ('East Mengen Division') and have strongly supported the councillor for Matong village in his struggle against the movement, because of their own dissatisfactions with the coastal Maenge. Broadly speaking, it seems beyond doubt that alien elements who hold only precarious rights among the host population will tend to seek support from the administration authorities and therefore avoid committing themselves to any movement that tries to give the local people more say in political matters. Now, since resettlement of bush-dwellers on the coast will certainly go on, either spontaneously or at the instigation of government officers, this factor of division may have greater and greater effects on future political developments. In this respect, it will be highly interesting to observe what happens to the relationships between Maenge and Kol - and even to their respective participation in the movement - if that resettlement project on a leasehold section of Kolai plantation, which was considered two years ago, is to eventuate; as it aroused anything but enthusiasm among the coastal people.

Whatever the future of this area may be, the present study will have shown that the developments of inter-tribal relations have resulted in making the Maenge prevail over their neighbours. Although they did not play any leading part in traditional trade and warfare, their geographical situation was sufficient to give them, from the outset, a key position as intermediaries between the white newcomers - missionaries,

¹ Official figures on a polling-booth basis have not been made available to me.

government officers and plantation managers or recruiters - and the inland tribes. Their number, greater than the Mamusi, Kol and Tomoive considered together, the gradual extension of their language to the detriment of the Sao and Longueinga who formerly had their own dialects, and, at the last stage, the resettlement policy and the spread of the cargo movement, were only to complete what had already been set in motion by this natural factor.

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