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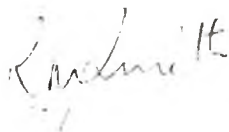
Response to Missionization in the Papua New Guinea Highlands

by

Robert Millard Smith

A thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy of
the Australian National University. 1981

All information presented in this thesis is derived from my own research unless otherwise stipulated and listed at the end of the work.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'R. Millard Smith', with a stylized flourish at the end.

Robert Millard Smith

10.3.81

Abstract

The thesis deals with missionization in the Papua New Guinea Highlands and particularly with the Lutheran impact in the Eastern Highlands. Based partly on fieldwork research undertaken between 1976-78 at Kiseveloka in the Lufa District, Eastern Highlands Province, Papua New Guinea, the study sets the mission impact against the history of contact between Highlanders and Europeans in the 1930s. The Lutheran impact at Kiseveloka and elsewhere in the Highlands is examined, focussing on two issues: the nature of indigenous response to contact and evangelization, and the role of New Guinean mission workers in the rapid conversion of Highland populations during the 1950s and 1960s. Conversion and related change in village society is considered in terms of the interaction between older political and economic processes in Highland societies and the impositions of missions and government. In the light of this, the following issues are considered at length: the nature of Lutheran evangelistic policy and practice; changes in village leadership; the nature of congregational leadership in the current setting of post-conversion decline in mission support; and, finally, the factors underlying this decline and village rejection of Christianity.

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Chapter One

THE STUDY OF MISSIONIZATION: PERSPECTIVES AND METHODS

This is a study of missionization in the Papuan New Guinea Highlands, and especially of the impact of Lutheranism and the response of Highland peoples to that impact. The dominant theme is social change. In this introductory chapter a number of theoretical issues are explored which bear on the approach adopted in this study. Here we are principally concerned with perspectives and research methods and the problems which underlie these matters.

The process of change among colonial peoples has been largely bound up with the mission impact. We commence with a discussion of the dominant theme of change in the missionary enterprise.

Missions and Change

If imperialism can in part be taken to mean that process by which one culture out of a sense of its own superiority comes to dominate other cultures, then the missionary enterprise is imperialistic. The missionary enterprise is born from assumptions of superiority; not in this case necessarily from a racial, political, economic, or more generally a sense of cultural superiority, but from a sense of religious superiority. The central assumption built into the mission expansion is the unquestioned superiority of the Christian gospel over and against every other form of religion. To superiority is added exclusiveness, for as the missionary perceives it the claim of the gospel is that on it and it alone hangs the destiny of mankind. Only the gospel offers the means to salvation to a lost and doomed world.

The missionary, especially during the 19th century, may have shared the general imperialist assumptions of others, seeing his lot

partly in terms of vague ideas about the "white man's burden" and "uplifting the natives". It was after all the missionary Livingstone who coined the imperialist slogan 'Christianity, Commerce, Civilization'. But that is not the point. For however such notions help to understand the reasons why the imperial powers bumbled their way into the colonial adventure, they do not explain much about the missionary enterprise and the drives which motivated it. The missionary neither bumbled his way into Africa, the Pacific, and elsewhere, nor was his presence there the result of any vagueness of purpose. The religious imperialism of the missionary movement of the 19th and 20th centuries was a response to what was understood as the divine imperative underlying the standard missionary slogans: "Go ye into all the world", the purpose of which being to "Preach the Gospel to every living creature".

The exclusive claims of the gospel and its universal applicability to "all sorts of conditions of Men" were to the missionary mind unequivocal matters. Indeed, there would have been little point in being a missionary if one thought otherwise. The missionary enterprise commenced with assurance. Moreover, the missionary was fortified by an understanding that he was about God's work. Not on him, a mere instrument, did the evangelistic task depend. That task could it was believed only prosper and be accomplished by the active participation of the Almighty in the venture. The missionary was certainly a necessary agent, but it was the "Spirit of God" working in the hearts and minds of the African or the Pacific Islander that would make conversion possible.

But it was not just this assurance, this certainty of purpose that made the missionary such a formidable and unique colonial figure. The missionary task was not simply fulfilled with the preaching of the gospel. Even the most individualistic of missionaries accepted

that conversion had social implications, and all missionaries worked actively to realise these implications in the creation of religious institutions. The creation of churches occurred by design. From the outset the missionary was committed to the task of building a church. The gospel would produce converts; converts would need to be organised. The successful creation of churches among colonial peoples meant change and frequently drastic change. All too readily, as we shall see in this study, missionaries adopted a negative and prohibitory stance towards the cultures of the mission field. Missionary estrangement from these cultures, as much as anything else, led to the short-sighted and ethnocentric view that Christian purity demanded a complete break with the past. In effect, conversion usually became a strict choice between old and new. In the colonial setting mission Christianity was a revolutionary force. It was not the only factor affecting change, yet, Christianity frequently exerted a more profound and pervasive influence in the lives of colonial peoples than any other.

The present study was generated by this emphasis on change in mission Christianity and especially by an interest in conversion - understood here as a positive mass response to the mission impact. In turn this interest in conversion largely determined the choice of area for this study; the Papua New Guinea Highlands. A number of factors were involved here. First, colonialism effectively began in the Highlands only during the 1930s. However, for many Highland peoples direct and sustained contact with aliens¹ was experienced even later, following the Pacific war. Second, missionization on a large scale occurred during the 1950s and 1960s and was extremely rapid. By 1942 only a small number of Highlanders had been baptised², yet by 1967 some 16 different missions active in the Highlands were claiming between

them approximately 400,000 members, or some 57 per cent of a population of 700,000.³

The fact that the choice of the Papua New Guinea Highlands was influenced by its recent contact history and by a more recent phenomenal rate of conversion, indicates that the study as originally conceived contained certain built-in assumptions about history. It is necessary to explore these assumptions and their bearing on the perspectives and methods employed here.

The Study of Colonial History

(i) Intrusion and Imposition

Historians have tended to treat colonial history as an extension of the domestic history of the imperial powers. We know a great deal from historical research about the explorers, who they were and where they went; about colonial administrators and their problems in administering large areas usually with limited finance and manpower; about missionaries and the manner in which their pioneering work was consolidated and expanded. In discussing colonial history in these terms historians have consistently emphasised the policies, activities, and achievements of the European colonialist. This approach is a perfectly valid one, but this emphasis gives the impression that history (say, in the Papua New Guinea Highlands) commences with the advent of Europeans (see Souter 1974:157-93; Biskup 1968; Willis 1969), and that the subsequent colonial process is largely explicable in terms of the policies and practices of the European intruders (see Radford 1972).⁴

This emphasis on intrusion and imposition in the study of colonial history stems almost entirely from the use of conventional historical methods and the weight given to written sources; government and mission records, diaries, correspondence, autobiographies, etc. the great

proportion of which has been written by Europeans. Total reliance on such material must limit and, in a sense, distort the colonial picture, if only for the reason that colonial peoples, who have generally been pre-literate (especially during the formative period of colonial expansion), have been unable to provide written accounts which the researcher might use to balance the perspective drawn from the written sources. Perspective and method have all too often combined to present a lopsided historical view in which colonial peoples appear as marginal to their own history.

There are however exceptions. The historian Vansina (1965) has argued for a reappraisal of historical methods largely in the study of African history, and stressed the importance of the oral traditions of indigenous peoples of colonial and even pre-colonial history. Methods designed to record these traditions have an obvious merit; they enable the historian to either present a possibly, radically different historical account seen from the viewpoint of the indigenous population, or to utilise oral traditions to balance the interpretation generated from other colonial records. More recently Vansina's approach has had its advocates among historians of Papua New Guinea, but little material based on oral accounts dealing with the contact history of the Papua New Guinea Highlands has so far been published.⁵

(ii) Response and Participation

Colonial historians of the Pacific have generally failed to grasp the potential importance of response to the colonial intrusion and thus to account for change at least partly in terms of such response. It is partly true that colonial institutions grew more directly from the initiative of the European colonialist than to any major influence which colonial peoples could bring to bear upon such

institutions. In a sense this is true of the churches in Papua New Guinea, which have developed along the lines of the European institutions from which the missionaries themselves sprang. But this is so only if the church is seen as a management structure. Yet much of its significant characteristics would be obscured if viewed solely as a sort of ecclesiastical bureaucracy. If we commence instead at the grass-roots a very different perspective emerges. Here village support for the church is expressed through local congregations, which could not have been formed without earlier response to the missionary initiative. That fact not only made the congregations and thus a church possible, but the past and present involvement of villagers in the congregations and other levels of church organization determines to a marked degree the present character of the church. Its fabric may be European in origin and contemporary form, yet its social content is not. That content has been forged out of a past in which, even in the most general sense, traditional processes have interacted with innovatory ones to stamp a unique mark on the church.

Much the same can be said of the colonial system generally. It can be seen as a set of institutions imposed as it were from above and discussed in terms of how these institutions were established and who exercised ultimate authority over them. Or, the colonial system can be seen as an alien system imposed from outside, but which was subject to modification by the fact of indigenous participation in the system. This approach enables us to see not only how the system was developed but also to identify problems in how the system functions over time. The point at which the imposed system is joined to traditional institutions is not necessarily a point of compatibility, but frequently one of discontinuity. The clash between novel and traditional institutions, together with their

opposing values, has been a legacy which newly independent nations like Papua New Guinea continue to struggle with.⁶

Perspectives and Methods

Contributions to Melanesian history which focus on indigenous response to the colonial impact have come significantly from anthropologists. The large body of material on 'cargo cults' is such a contribution. Two studies deserve mention here: Worsley (1970) and Lawrence (1964). Worsley's study, based entirely on published accounts of specific cults and originally published in 1957, attempted to integrate this material into a broader socio-historical framework in order to present an overall interpretation of Melanesian cargoism as a general response to colonialism. Lawrence's study was less ambitious and dealt with a series of cults in the Madang area spanning the period 1871-1950.

For Worsley and Lawrence the interest in cargoism was not motivated by its exotic and bizarre features but arose from more significant perspectives. Anthropology in the colonial context has been predominantly concerned with the society and culture of indigenous peoples. This research is rooted in fieldwork methods, which usually mean that the anthropologist resides among the people studied, observing their way of life as it were from the inside. In the past much of this research was undertaken without any real attempt to account for the broader colonial setting. However, when anthropologists turned their attention to this setting, it was not merely to ask, "how and why did the colonial system come into being?", but rather to ask "what are its effects upon the society and culture of the indigenous population; how did these people respond to the colonial impact?". These perspectives grew directly out of the nature of

anthropological interests and research methods.

If then anthropology by the very nature of its approach to the study of indigenous society and culture has shown more direct interest in the relation between colonial impact and indigenous response, the study of this problem (when it has all too infrequently been taken up)⁷ has forced anthropologists to recognise that socio-cultural change has inescapable historical dimensions. This had been apparent in Africa during the 1930s. Richards summed the issue up as follows:

In most parts of Africa cultural changes are taking place so rapidly that the anthropologist cannot study what is, without studying what was (1936:47).

We have seen how this recognition is reflected in the studies of Worsley and Lawrence and their concern to provide an historical account of Melanesian response. In effect this meant combining both historical and anthropological perspectives and methods. This is especially apparent in Lawrence. His account of the colonial intrusion is based on documentary evidence, but his grasp of the reaction of Madang peoples to colonialism is grounded in ethnographic research conducted mainly among the Garia. In other words, documentary research is complimented by fieldwork investigation. Both lines of enquiry are then used to build up a more rounded picture of the historical period and the process of change.

Lawrence's approach is generally followed here.⁸ Historical and anthropological methods, however, are consistently intermeshed with each other in my research and cannot for that reason be kept neatly distinct. While I spent time studying government and mission (Lutheran) records, largely for historical purposes, I frequently found useful ethnographic observations for the Highlands in this material, especially in early government patrol reports. Again, I have used the published

ethnographic accounts of a number of Eastern Highlands societies based on field research conducted in the early 1950s, in the manner of an historical ethnography, primarily to establish "what was" of Eastern Highland society at or around the time of contact.⁹ This material served as the basis from which to gauge the degree of change that had occurred up to the time of my fieldwork, between 1976-78. Inevitably, given the topic under investigation, fieldwork research¹⁰ had both historical and ethnographic dimensions, and included such areas as: pre-contact social organisation and settlement; the history of local mission activities; the history of local government activity; current social organisation and settlement; in addition to a general range of ethnographic enquiries regarding the past and present.

Scale

Social anthropology has conventionally employed a small-scale approach to research based on the fieldwork method. Usually the focus for the given study (and thus its scale) is the village or territorial population.¹¹ The anthropologist may broaden the net to include other territorial groups in the immediate area or even to pay occasional visits to villages further afield. Despite the small-scale focus the anthropologist usually prefers to describe his or her research in wider terms, making statements for language groups or even larger cultural units, rather than limiting the discussion to the smaller catchment area on which the research is actually based. Statements like: the 'Bena Bena' do this, or the 'Chimbu' do that, and the 'Highlander' believes such and such, have been somewhat indiscriminately used in individual studies to generalize for populations that run into thousands and hundreds of thousands.¹² Generalizations of this order represent the weak point of anthropological research. This is not to say that generalization is neither

useful nor necessary in anthropology. To demonstrate homogeneity or, in some ways more importantly, diversity over a wide cultural region, is not the product however of an isolated enquiry among one village or small group of villages, but the result of cumulative research by different investigators dispersed in space and time over that wider area.

In social anthropology comparative study whether within a wider cultural setting or cross-culturally, has only been possible due to the accumulation of detailed ethnographic data yielded by numerous small-scale studies. Comparative study, say for a socio-cultural region like the Papua New Guinea Highlands, has been predominantly at the level of social institutions, how they function, and how they intermesh. The underlying perspective in this approach to institutions is with what is, what persists over time. Later we will point out that this kind of analysis has not always been carried on without an awareness of change, but in the Highlands it remains true that in the analysis of particular or comparative social institutions, social change has been at best treated only as an adjunct to the study (Smith 1980).

In a way it would be possible to undertake studies of social change much in the manner that anthropologists have studied the structural and functional aspects of social institutions. That is, building up a more composite and general picture from particular, small-scale studies. The general lack of studies of change in the Highlands however defeats that possibility. Alternatively, one might merely attempt a small-scale analysis of change (much as I had in fact originally intended) and leave generalisation to take care of itself. This however would have presented great difficulties, for much of the significance of change in the immediate catchment area

of my fieldwork would have been meaningless without reference to historical and social forces exogenous to the local community. It was the existence of these forces and their importance in directing the course of local response that necessitated a scale of analysis which could adequately take account of a wider process of change.

As missionization at Kiseveloka (see Maps 3 and 4) was part of a more general process, it was necessary to see events at Kiseveloka in a wider context. I was anxious not to make the study too general, though the lack of published accounts of missionization in the Highlands would have warranted this, and have attempted to strike a balance between a local study and a general one. Inevitably this poses difficulties, and the following account may appear to suffer in continuity as the focus shifts consistently from the particular (Kiseveloka) to the general (the Highlands) and back again.

If this procedure was unavoidable given the need to relate the particular to the general, another issue is involved here. Interpretations of Lutheran policy elsewhere in New Guinea present an account of positive attempts by the Lutheran missionaries to accommodate much of the pre-existing culture and social organisation of New Guinea societies. Lawrence, for example, has styled the Lutheran approach one of 'limited change' (1956:73). As the Lutheran impact at Kiseveloka cannot be interpreted in these terms, it was necessary to show that the Kiseveloka evidence is consistent with Lutheran impact elsewhere in the Highlands. It will be necessary at various points in this study to refer to these interpretations, though I have discussed the main issues involved in a previous paper (Smith 1979).¹³ A general point concerning them can be made here. Whereas these other accounts of Lutheranism in New Guinea are heavily based on discussions of stated Lutheran policy, this study differs in

examining mission policy at its point of implementation. Lutheran policy is therefore evaluated in terms of its actual impact at village level. In part differences of interpretation between the present approach and others is the result of two different approaches and two different ways of looking at Lutheran strategy.

The village focus is important in this study, then, because of the view of change which correlates with my approach to missionization. This needs to be spelt out. As I have indicated at various points above, change cannot be understood solely in terms of the impact of exogenous forces upon village society. Of course, the actual existence of these forces represents change in adding a new and significant element to the traditional political spectrum, and as such prompted reaction at village level. Theoretically, that reaction could have been consistently negative, with the result that the impact of external pressures was resisted and the traditional order left more or less intact. In fact this was not the case in the Highlands, as the statistics on mission adherents quoted earlier partly show. Changes in village society were made possible because of positive reaction at grassroots in the form of mass support for the missions. A satisfactory explanation of change, then, is best achieved by analysing the missionizing process at the point where external impact encountered local response.

This encounter was not an isolated event but was subject to the conditions of time and space. The initial Lutheran intrusion at Kiseveloka in 1948-49 occurred against a background of speculation and rumour about aliens going back to 1932. The communication process through which information about aliens was relayed into the general Kiseveloka area from the north-east was subject to filtering, distortion and re-interpretation. Two general factors were involved

here. First, information about the presence of aliens in the Kainantu area to the north was interpreted in terms of existing beliefs and attitudes and later re-interpretations occurred on much the same grounds. We shall see more fully in Chapter Four how interpretations about the aliens passed through successive negative and positive phases in the general area around Kiseveloka prior to 1948. Second, the manipulation of information during this period was closely related to concepts about power in traditional society, and especially to the bearing of such concepts on male prestige. Manipulation of information in the context of a given event to maximise personal advantage in the pursuit of power and prestige is a key factor in understanding change in this study.

The degree to which manipulation of information is possible depends upon the nature of the communication process in which that information is relayed. Equally, because human communication occurs between persons, it is subject to the kinds of relations that exist between persons. The nature of these relations was determined by two general factors: the character of traditional society; and the kinds of processes operative during the early and formative periods of colonial control. The significant characteristics of interaction between these two general factors and the bearing of this on change requires further introductory comment.

Encapsulation and Change

The system of colonial order known as "Indirect Rule" was marked (in Papua and New Guinea as elsewhere) by the use made of indigenous officials in local level administration. This procedure was no doubt less due to the conscious application by the colonial power of a political theory for its own sake, than by the practical exigencies of the time - the lack of manpower and limited financial resources

available to a given colonial administration. A handful of European officials with paltry budgets at their disposal were thus forced to make use of indigenous personnel in order to exercise political control over, often, large and widely dispersed indigenous populations. In several colonial settings, notably in India and in many African cases, indigenous colonial appointees already possessed established political and legal authority within the pre-existing society (e.g. Indian princes, African chiefs) - a fact which largely determined their appointment as local colonial officials. At local and in some cases at regional levels, then, the colonial power came to rule indirectly through the agency of such appointees. And in achieving the cooperation of such leaders, the colonial power co-opted, as it were, into its own system much if not all of the pre-existing authority system and its politico-legal institutions.

Bailey (1969:151) has described this process as a variant of a more general form of encapsulation - that process by which previously autonomous polities are absorbed into or otherwise made dependent upon an external State form of power. The kind of colonial encapsulation accompanying Indirect Rule did not automatically lead to a complete or even major loss of autonomy for the encapsulated unit, though this may have been (and usually was) increasingly so in the long run. The retention of significant degrees of autonomy throughout much of the colonial period was due to the fact that encapsulation did not necessarily mean integration of the pre-existing unit into the colonial order. Rather, the relation of the two was one of inter-dependence and co-existence.

Co-existence within a larger whole, however, exhibited a marked degree of social and political distance between the indigenous society and the colonial administration. This distance was closed off only

at certain points, notably in the relation between colonial appointees and the administration. The former often played critical roles in the colonial process, and in their capacities as "power-brokers" or middlemen (see Bailey 1969:167ff) had a major hand in facilitating or obstructing change within the indigenous society. Such men were somewhat uniquely placed to manipulate communication between the colonial power and the indigenous society, and in so far as the forces variously engendered within these distinct political processes met, and tended at times to do so exclusively, in colonial middlemen, they were able to exploit the new power dimensions which this allowed. But the interplay of these distinct processes in their bearing upon middlemen was often ambiguous, allowing new opportunities for power while imposing new kinds of constraints upon this.

If new opportunities were made possible to middlemen by virtue of their interstitial placement between two forces, the fact of their placement also made them subject to the pressures generated from each quarter. This factor had an important bearing on personal strategies middlemen might adopt in given circumstances, but it also had a major bearing on the role of middlemen as avenues of change into the indigenous arena and upon the general acceptance of change within that arena. For change cannot be adequately understood to be simply the result of exogenous imposition by the colonial power, nor simply the product of the actions of a handful of individual middlemen. Change, as I have been at pains to stress above, fashions its course from the meeting point of intrusion and response, and though that encounter occurs in time (event) and through time (process) first and foremost between individuals rather than between societies and cultures, the individuals involved do not operate in a socio-political vacuum and as culturally-free agents. They imbibe and therefore represent the values and goals, and the assumptions underlying them of the traditions to

which they belong. In this sense the colonial encounter is socio-cultural and is markedly influenced by the order through which society and culture is expressed - that is, through institutions.

Indigenous response to the colonial impact was mounted in terms of pre-existing institutions, and this bore directly on colonial middlemen as on more general indigenous response. It was in terms of such institutions that experience of the exogenous power was evaluated and interpreted, and the impact of this either absorbed or rejected. Clearly, then, an understanding of the role of colonial middlemen requires an understanding also of the indigenous institutions to which they belonged, and an evaluation of the actual or potential facility of middlemen to transmit or obstruct change is to be grasped in the light of the pressures exerted upon them by these institutions. This pursuit must be undertaken with due regard to the nature of the institutions themselves. For institutions are not everywhere the same; their political functions being variously formulated (as every anthropologist knows) according to the circumstances of given socio-cultural and environmental settings, and (as every historian knows) to the bearing of distinctive historial processes upon these settings. The effects of Indirect Rule in India, in Africa and in Papua New Guinea were not the same, principally because the indigenous institutional forms encountered by the colonial power in these different settings varied, and varied in respect of very different environments and histories.

Colonial middlemen and Indirect Rule were introduced above in a particular way: middlemen as leaders having clearly defined political authority within the pre-existing society; and Indirect Rule as a feature of a certain mode of encapsulation. It is now necessary to qualify the use of both these notions and the discussion which

followed, in terms of colonial history in the Papua New Guinea Highlands.

Here, colonial middlemen unlike their Indian and African counterparts did not possess clearly defined authority in the traditional society. In the small-scale, territorially-based and polysegmentary Highland society leadership operated in the context of weakly-formulated political institutions, was highly individualised and markedly competitive and opportunistic in nature. Not only did this form of leadership generally lend itself to excessive middleman exploitation under the colonial system and subsequently, but the absence of strong, centralised political institutions within the old order made the society less generally resistant to the colonial impact and to change. An underlying egalitarian implication and the bearing of this on the pursuit of power in traditional society has played a varied and ambiguous role in the colonial Highlands, as it has continued to do. For if this factor has facilitated change, it has also consistently worked to undermine the novel institutions imposed upon the village by the colonial powers, and particularly by the missions. The basis of this argument is established in Chapter Three of this thesis, and its implications are elaborated upon, especially, in the three closing chapters.

A proper understanding of middlemen and their varied roles in the colonial Highlands will depend upon carefully distinguishing the interplay between the village and the different colonial powers involved. By focusing primarily on Indian middlemen under the British Raj, Bailey (1969) tends to imply that middlemen roles arise in response to a single colonial process of encapsulation - that set in train by the colonial government.¹⁴ In the Papua New Guinea Highlands, and I would think in many other colonial settings, middlemen roles

were formulated through a more complex set of relations. For Kiseveloka, at least, it is possible and indeed of paramount importance to identify two distinct processes of encapsulation: that effected by the colonial government; and that of the missions. Among the latter, the Lutheran process of encapsulation has been by far the most important. From 1956 to 1964 the Lutheran impact had a profound effect upon the lives of Kiseveloka people and led to quite drastic change (see Chapter Five) - a process unique and without parallel in government initiative then and later.

To see how and why change was fashioned after 1956 at Kiseveloka it is essential to grasp two key facets of the nature of exogenous impact. First, the various and distinct ways in which government and Lutheran organisations bore upon village society. These differences are explored in some detail at the commencement of Chapter Eight. Second, in distinguishing government and Lutheran impact at Kiseveloka (and more generally in the Highlands) the setting and roles of New Guinean mission workers of the Lutheran Mission in relation to the Kiseveloka population, are crucial matters.

Such men were in many ways unique among colonial middlemen in the Highlands. They were not indigenous to the societies among which they worked, and in the case of the two Kiseveloka mission workers, Gomai and Sera, were not even Highlanders. Unlike the station-based European missionaries, the Lutheran mission workers resided in the villages, working among populations with which in the main they shared limited linguistic contact and cultural identity. Special attention in this study is given to the problem of how and why these evangelists and teachers were able to establish an effective power base in Highland villages and use this to engineer radical changes in village society (Chapter Eight). In many ways these workers were uniquely

placed at the margins of traditional society, and change stemmed directly from their ability to link the village to a changing external order. Middlemen roles, however, were not confined to these mission workers, and a wider pattern of exploitation of this kind is apparent especially during contact and the formative period of colonial intrusion. Though we shall give some attention to the emergence of this pattern, the nature of this study requires that this pattern of middleman exploitation be mainly examined in terms of its bearing on the process of missionization.

In so far as the presence of the Lutheran mission workers represents the main point of the external mission impact upon village life, change must be seen largely as an alien force imposed upon the village. A number of problems stem from this. Allowing for certain variations in the pattern of local response to the Mission, we shall see that radical change found short-term acceptance especially among young Highlanders because of the new opportunities which either directly accompanied change, or which were expected to accompany it. However, there has been a major problem in maintaining long-term support for mission impositions. In the current setting mission support is rapidly declining with the congregational life in the villages in a virtual state of collapse. The process of decline, which we examine in the two final chapters, is predominantly due to the fact that the Lutherans attempted to impose a social system within the village broadly inspired by Euro-Christian ideals. The alien character of such imposition served only to cause a fundamental breach between old and new. For while transformation of the older society was achieved, much of the traditional order and its values continue in existence, though generally in a modified way. This is especially so of the relation between imposed change and what remains of the older

society. We will examine these problems at two closely related levels: the competing claims of religious and secular values with regard to current church leadership in the village (Chapter Nine); and the struggle between an other-worldly religious ethic and a traditionally pragmatic view of the world (Chapter Ten).

The perspectives and related theoretical considerations discussed in this introductory chapter now require substance. We proceed, first, with a brief outline of Lutheran history in New Guinea, and a summary of general mission history in the Highlands and the Kiseveloka area.

Notes - Chapter 1

1. The contact situation in the Highlands was not simply one of direct encounter between Highlanders and Europeans. More generally this encounter was established and maintained through New Guineans who came to the Highlands with European explorers and settlers. Frequently non-Highland New Guineans working as labourers, policemen, etc. played important middlemen roles (see below) in the early contact period. This was especially so of New Guinean mission workers, as will be increasingly seen in this study. Because of the complex nature of this contact process, it is important not to create the impression that this was straightforwardly a Highland-European encounter. It should be understood that the use of the terms 'alien' or 'aliens', which are adopted throughout, refers to a category of individuals, New Guinean and European, and not exclusively to the latter.
2. These were mainly the few baptised Catholic and Lutheran adherents in the immediate vicinities of stations at Mount Hagen, in several Chimbu areas, and in the Raipinka area of the Eastern Highlands.
3. See Table 1 (Chapter Two), and Appendix A.
4. In fairness to Radford it should be said that her thesis (1979) contains useful material on Highland response to alien intrusion. Her published account (1977) of pacification in the Kainantu area of the Eastern Highlands in the 1930s also contains pertinent observations on Highland initiative, though little attempt is made to root these observations sufficiently in an understanding of the pre-existing societies. Radford's account has little of the richness of detail evident in Berndt's two important papers (1952-3, 1954) on response to contact in the southwestern Kainantu area. Indeed, Radford might have made a great deal more of Berndt, especially in interpreting the 1936 pacification movement, aspects of which are considered below in Chapter four.
5. An important exception here for the Eastern Highlands is Berndt's two papers referred to in note 4 above).
6. Papua New Guinea achieved self-government in 1973 and independence in 1975.

7. See my critique of the general blindness to social change through the course of anthropological research in the Highlands (Smith 1980).
8. This, however, does not mean that Lawrence's methods and interpretation are accepted uncritically in this study. On the contrary, his study of cargoism in the Madang area set against the general colonial backdrop makes too meagre use of historical sources, and this applies specifically to his account of Lutheran impact in the Madang field. At a number of points I take issue with Lawrence on these matters (see Chapter Seven, for example).
9. See Chapter Three for an account of traditional and early contact village society in the western region of the Eastern Highlands.
10. Fieldwork research was based at Kiseveloka, a small valley located in the Yagaria Census Division, Lufa district, Eastern Highlands Province (see Maps 3 and 4), and was undertaken over some seventeen months in two periods between 1976-78.
11. Throughout this study the local Highland socio-political unit is described as the 'village' or 'village society'. At a higher level, as in the case of the population of the Kiseveloka Valley, the term 'local community' is used. It should be understood that 'village' does not refer to a social grouping inhabiting a discrete settlement. Rather, 'village' describes a territorial area which usually contains several different settlement groups, together with small hamlets and varying numbers of isolated, single houses. In adopting this usage of 'village' I merely follow the convention established by the colonial government.
12. See Smith (1980).
13. See Chapter Seven.
14. Bailey allows for varying forms of encapsulation, but he fails to make clear that these may be operative within the same colonial setting.

Chapter Two

THE MISSIONS

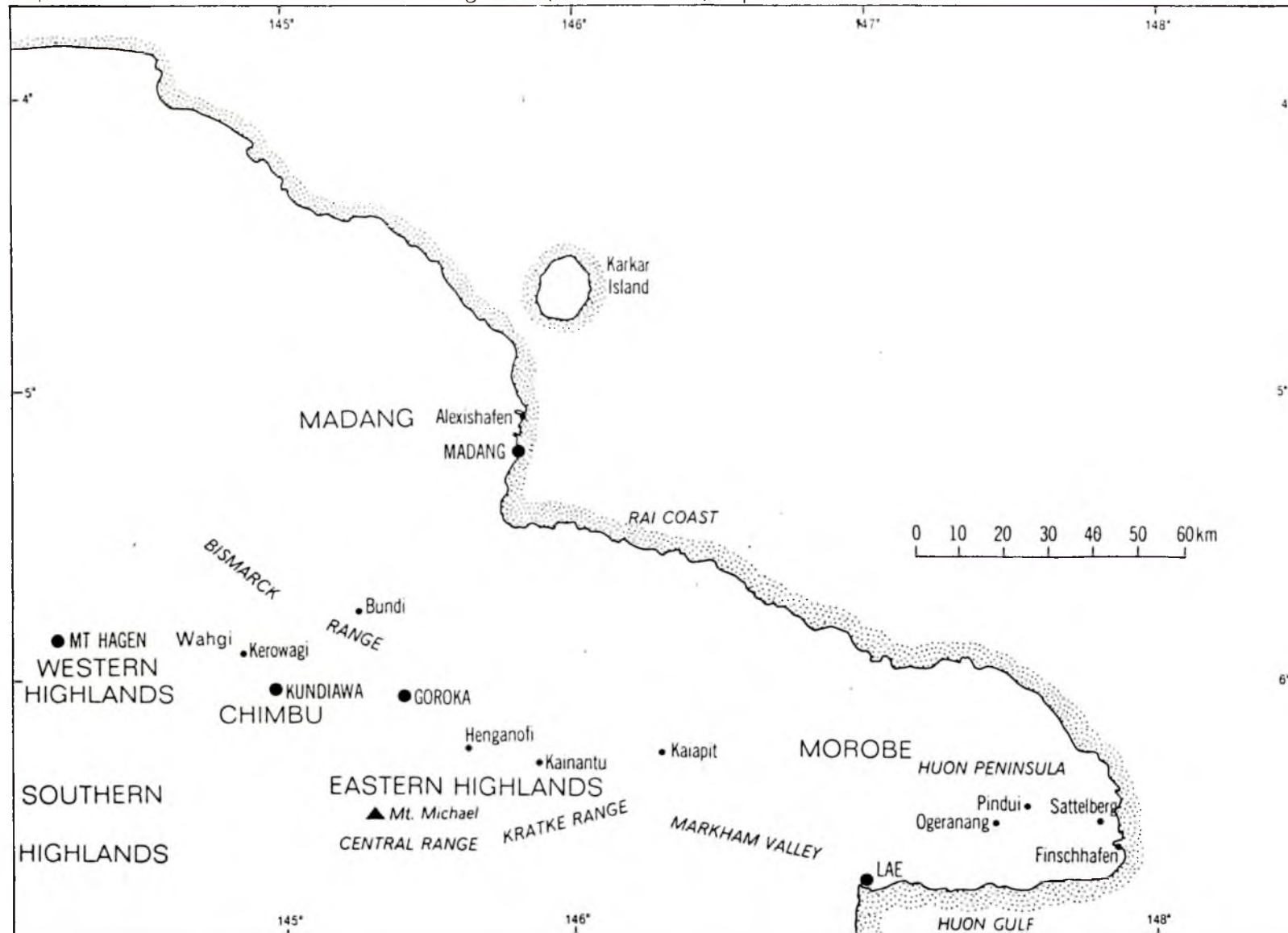
The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (ELCPNG)¹

German annexation of North-East New Guinea (Kaiser Wilhelmsland) in 1884 provided the spur to Lutheran beginnings in New Guinea. Independently the Neuendettelsau Missionary Society established work at Simbang in the Finschhafen area in 1886, and the Rhenish (or Rheinische) Missionary Society founded a station at Bogajim in the region of what is now Madang in 1887. Forced to cope with a difficult climate and a suspicious coastal population, both German Missions were able to establish footholds only with great difficulty. Gradually mission stations, schools, and plantations were developed as the small pioneer staff was supplemented by the arrival of other Lutheran missionaries from Germany.

The early approach of both Lutheran Missions was dominated by the policy of extracting youths and children from nearby villages into station schools. This policy had limited short-term effects and little direct impact on village life, especially because of the tendency to widespread truancy. Under the influence of the Neuendettelsau missionary Keysser, a village-oriented strategy of evangelism was developed in the Sattelberg area in the early 1900s. This was, apparently, later adopted in the Neuendettelsau field after 1915 and by the Rhenish Mission in the Madang area after 1919 (Lawrence 1956: 75-7; 1964:52). Some aspects of Keysser's evangelistic approach (notably, the so-called 'method' of 'tribal conversion', see Keysser (1924), Smith (1979)) have received uncritical and rather romantic treatment by a number of writers.² The key and revolutionary part of Keysser's

Map 1:

The Highlands (and North-East), Papua New Guinea



policy was the use of New Guinean converts as the main evangelistic spearhead among pagan populations. Given that the evangelists were usually then as later illiterate, poorly trained and in some cases barely conversant with Christian teaching, the policy was a bold and adventurous one. Its chief merits were in creating opportunities for New Guineans to play an active and decisive part in the Mission, and in doing so in an evangelistic capacity to ensure that the effective encounter between the gospel and the old culture occurred in the village, where its impact might have telling results.

Keysser stressed that evangelism was a congregational rather than an exclusive missionary responsibility. In essence, the policy was one of evangelism by chain reaction; each new congregation assuming an evangelistic responsibility toward neighbouring populations by sending some of its young converts to reside among the latter. The main defect of this approach was that it frequently led to poor supervision of the evangelists by the area missionary and the home congregations. Left to their own devices (especially when residing in outlying areas) the evangelists tended to prove unfaithful or become despots.

The village emphasis in Keysser's evangelistic approach found parallels in Lutheran education. With the expansion of Lutheran impact in the Neuendettelsau and Rhenish fields during the inter-war period a system of vernacular education evolved based on village schools. Its underlying aim was the assimilation of Christian ideas into the language and culture of the village, rather than education for its own sake.³ The schools were extremely rudimentary, aiming only at the attainment of basic literacy sufficient to read scripture and mission literature. For the more promising youths further education was provided at some station schools and later at special centres for the training of teachers.

The emphasis on vernacular education was modified however to take account of the actual language situation. Unable to accommodate the many different languages spoken in the two mission fields, the Lutheran missionaries encouraged the general adoption of one or two vernaculars, which became in effect mission *lingua francae*. Thus Graged was widely adopted in the Madang area, and Kâte and Yabem were extensively used throughout the Nuendettelsau field. Later Kâte was to be introduced as the main Lutheran language in the Highlands.

Mission vernaculars assisted centralization and regionalization in Lutheran organisation. In both fields a common organisation of strategically located mission stations overseeing village congregations emerged. As each station developed a 'circuit' organisation encompassing the congregations served by each station, the circuits were gradually integrated into a larger 'district' structure. The European missionary became a manager of station facilities, and an administrator of circuit schools; the village teachers (and evangelists) being directly supervised by him. The congregations, however, maintained a degree of autonomy having a major responsibility through their own leaders or elders for evangelistic work in the area (which included as noted the supervision of evangelists) and for internal congregational discipline. In addition to missionary visits relations between station and congregation were strengthened through regular elder conferences, which enabled elders to participate in circuit affairs and influence Mission policy.

Though consolidation and expansion of mission work in both fields occurred during and after the 1914-18 war, the future of both Lutheran Missions in New Guinea was uncertain under the Australian military occupation and the new civil administration that followed. Some German residents were deported for reasons of military security

during the occupation, but this measure did not automatically apply to German missionaries. They were however required to take an oath of neutrality, but this led to difficulties and four Lutheran missionaries were deported in 1915 (Rowley 1958:259; Nelson 1979). Designed as a wartime expedient the oath did not guarantee permanence of residence to the German missionaries. It was not until the late 1920s that assurances of this kind were granted by the Australian government. In the meantime (as later) the Lutherans faced a suspicious and at times hostile Administration whose officials resented the extent of Lutheran, and especially Neuendettelsau, influence. Government officers found grounds for criticism in the existence of Lutheran village courts (Flierl 1928), the administering of corporal punishment by Lutheran elders (Rowley 1958:42, 141), and the tendency to despotic control in the villages by Lutheran teachers and evangelists (Rowley p.260). In addition, the Lutherans were consistently accused by government officers of needlessly destroying traditional customs (Harrison 1975:214-5). Antagonism between the Lutheran missionaries and the Administration also on occasion became prominent in the Highlands, as we shall see.

Restrictions governing financial aid and the recruitment of new missionaries from Germany, led to the amalgamation of the Rhenish and Neuendettelsau Missions in New Guinea under Australian Lutheran direction from Brisbane. In addition, Neuendettelsau links with Lutherans in America proved to be increasingly important after 1921 to the newly constituted Lutheran Mission New Guinea (LMNG). New sources of financial aid and manpower were thus made available to LMNG, and this gradually broadened the traditionally German character of New Guinea Lutheranism. The arrival of Lutheran missionaries from America and Australia also helped to ease relations, then and later, with the Australian Administration.

The 1921 amalgamation proved short-lived. In 1932 the Rhenish Mission, which was still supporting via LMNG its old interests in the Madang area, asked to be relieved of this responsibility due to the worsening economic situation in Germany. In consequence LMNG agreed to place the Madang field under the direct control of the American Lutheran Church, while retaining control of other Lutheran areas (which now included a small part of the Eastern Highlands following Lutheran penetration during the 1920s).

Organised into two districts, Finschhafen and Finisterre (the former subdivided into Kate and Yabem areas), LMNG was operating 18 mission stations in 1932. Of an estimated population of 136,500 in the vicinity of these stations LMNG claimed 30,000 baptised members and a further 5,500 catechumens, the bulk of these adherents living in the Finschhafen district and served by its 13 stations. 612 New Guinea mission workers (Finschhafen 573; Finisterre 39) were placed in villages and schools, 236 of these staffing 184 mission schools with 5,500 pupils (66% male, 33% female). In addition, LMNG operated 3 secondary schools, two teacher seminaries, and one carpentry school. In 1932 the LMNG European missionary staff amounted to 65, evenly divided between ordained and lay personnel. There were 34 Germans (12 lay), 19 Americans (9 lay), and 12 Australians (all lay).⁴

Following the Japanese invasion in 1942 Lutheran work in New Guinea came to a standstill with the departure of most of the missionaries. They returned after the war under new conditions. While German missionaries with proven non-Nazi affiliations were allowed to return to New Guinea, the wave of post-war anti-German feeling led to the re-organisation of LMNG under American leadership with its headquarters at Lae. In 1956 an autonomous body was created out of LMNG. This body became the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New

Guinea (ELCONG). Following national independence in 1975 this title was changed to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea (ELCPNG).

Today ELCPNG is the largest Protestant Church in Papua New Guinea, and second only to the Roman Catholic Church which has slightly more members. Of an indigenous adult population in Papua New Guinea in 1966 (1,560,000), 35% (550,000) claimed to be Lutheran, and of an indigenous adult Christian population (1,450,000) the Lutherans claim 38%.⁵ The bulk of ELCPNG members are found in the Morobe and Madang Provinces, and throughout the Highlands. In the Morobe Province ELCPNG has enjoyed unrivalled supremacy. Elsewhere, and particularly in the Highlands, the Church has had to compete with other missions (see below).

At the National Office in Lae ELCPNG is administered by Bishop Zurewe Zurenuo and a secretariate responsible for various departments (education, evangelism, finance, youth, etc.). Government is synodical; that is, through a triannual conference or synod composed of standing executive officers and elected representatives of pastors, elders, and others. Government is diffused through the districts and circuits. Each district has a president and other officers who coordinate district affairs. Circuit leadership is provided by a president, pastors, elders and other prominent individuals. In some cases circuits are sub-divided in the attempt to more directly involve the congregations in circuit matters. Circuit and sub-circuit meetings are held regularly, the former at the main station, while the latter are held at hosting villages on a rotating basis.

Lutheran congregations consist of baptised and confirmed members, the latter paying an annual tax or *kristen fi*.⁶ Congregations

are led by a pastor, elders, and church workers. None of these officers receive a stipend, though pastors and church workers are usually given a small annual gratuity from circuit funds. Due to shortages in many circuits, pastors generally serve a number of congregations (sometimes as many as twelve) which are visited more or less on a regular rotating basis, especially for the administering of holy communion and baptism. Communion services in the Kiseveloka area (where there is currently no resident Lutheran pastor) are rarely held more than twice per year. Regular services (usually each Sunday) are led by resident church workers, elders, or younger men attending Lutheran Bible schools.

Two main features should be noted from this outline of Lutheran history in New Guinea. Partly under the control of the congregations and mainly in the hands of the evangelists, Lutheran expansion occurred at a rate determined by village conditions. Here the evangelists marshalled local response and fashioned this into new congregations. The development of mission organisation through the Neuendettelsau/Rhenish stage, to LMNG, and the subsequent creation of ELCONG (ELCPNG), however, was hardly influenced at all by New Guinea conditions. The ecclesiastical structure, the incorporation of theological and liturgical forms all stemmed directly from the European tradition of German Lutheranism. The significance of these two distinct processes will be drawn out in the following chapters. First, we need to provide a brief outline of the mission situation in the Highlands from 1934, before turning finally to a discussion of mission developments in the general environs of Kiseveloka during the post-war period.

Missions in the Highlands from 1934⁷

Though Lutheran penetration of the extreme fringe of the Eastern Highlands commenced as early as 1919 and Lutheran missionary exploration of some areas in the Eastern Highlands occurred during the 1920s, general mission intrusion into the Highlands dates from 1934. In the pre-war period (1934-43) three missions were active in the Highlands. The Catholics and Lutherans established several stations in the Mount Hagen (Western Highlands) and Chimbu areas, while the Lutherans also developed work in two areas in the Eastern Highlands. Both missions brought New Guinean mission workers and other personnel (skilled and unskilled labourers) into the Highlands; the mission workers being stationed for a time in Highland villages. From 1934 a Seventh Day Adventist undertaking was also begun in the Eastern Highlands. Little effective mission work was possible during the pre-war period for reasons which will be discussed in Chapter Four. With the outbreak of the Pacific war during 1943, all the mission stations in the Highlands were closed and most were not re-opened until after 1946.

The three pre-war pioneers rapidly expanded their work during the 1950s. However, in addition to their own rivalries all three missions had increasingly to contend with the arrival of other missions. With the exception of the Anglicans (and the Methodists in the Southern Highlands), the majority of the new arrivals were small, independent, fundamentalist missions. In some cases these were little more than shoe-string operations run by one or two individuals. A general picture of the mission situation in the Highlands in 1967 can be judged from the following statistics - the latest extant for mission adherents in Papua New Guinea.

Table 1⁸Missions in the New Guinea Highlands 1967

<u>Mission</u>	<u>Region</u>	<u>Adherents</u>	
Apostolic Church	Western Highlands		18500
Assemblies of God	" "		20000
Church of England	Eastern Highlands	3110	
	Western Highlands	10000	13110
Church of Nazarene	" "		3150
East and West Indies Bible Mission	" "		800
Faith Mission	Eastern Highlands		8650
Four Square Mission	" "		9380
New Guinea Lutheran Mission ⁹	Western Highlands		33000
Lutheran Mission New Guinea	Eastern Highlands	109411	
	Western Highlands	14456	123867 ¹⁰
New Tribes Mission	Eastern Highlands		4500
Roman Catholic	" "	55500	
	Western Highlands	65000	120500
Salvation Army	Eastern Highlands		250
Sola Fide Mission	" "		300
Swiss Evangelical Mission	" "	2000	
	Western Highlands	3000	5000
Village Church	Eastern Highlands		400
World Missions Inc.	" "		3000
			<u>364407</u>

Missions in the Lufa area from 1948(i) The Lutherans

The Lutherans were the first mission to penetrate into the Mount Michael or Lufa area, as it was later called. In 1948 a Lutheran expedition into the area was mounted from the Lutheran station at Raipinka, near Kainantu. Led by the missionary Frerichs,

the Lutheran party established contact with Frigano, Kiseveloka, and other Yagaria peoples in the general region. Frerichs returned in 1949-50 to station about twenty Lutheran mission workers among the population. Most of these workers were Kamano-speaking evangelists from the Kainantu area. The two men placed at Kiseveloka, however, were Kâte-speakers who had previously been recruited into the Highlands from the Huon Peninsula. Stationed on land acquired by Frerichs in different parts of the Lufa area, the initial task of the mission workers was to establish small out-stations, develop contacts with the neighbouring population, and learn the local language.

Lutheran expansion into the general area south-west of Raipinka during the late 1940s considerably widened the territorial area served by that station. To achieve more direct supervision of this new area a station was opened in the Fore area at Tarabo in 1950, from where Lutheran work in the Lufa region was now supervised. Effective missionary supervision of the latter continued to be difficult throughout the 1950s, with little material advances being made by the evangelists among the Yagaria population. From 1954 the Lutherans had to contend with the arrival of other missions in the Lufa area. Following repeated warnings by the Tarabo station missionaries that the presence of other missions represented a serious threat to Lutheran work¹¹, in 1958 a Lutheran station was founded in the Lufa area at Rongo, and a further station at Agotu in the Gimi area in 1962. The threat posed by the new arrivals was rather over-dramatised at this time. As we shall see, the new missions offered no immediate challenge to the Lutherans, whose evangelists were in any case already widely distributed in the region. The warnings of the Tarabo missionary (Bamler) rather reflected a concern with territorial prerogatives and the need to keep interlopers out; an attitude which was general among

Lutheran missionaries in the Highlands. In addition, however, Bamler's anxiety here probably expressed concern with evangelist inactivity and a general failure to gain rapid support among the population.

The establishment of the Rongo station led to Lutheran advance. Prior to 1958 only a few Lutheran baptisms had occurred, but with the arrival of the young Lutheran missionary Renck to take charge of the area and found the new station, baptisms steadily increased and Lutheran congregations were gradually formed throughout the region.

(ii) New Tribes Mission and Faith Mission

Founded in the USA in 1942, the New Tribes Mission (NTM) is a non-denominational and fundamentalist body. As its name suggests the Mission has been largely concerned with the evangelisation of tribal peoples, predominantly in South America. Emphasis is placed on the "faith mission" principle¹², which simply means that the individual missionary starts out in faith and leaves the rest to God. The faith principle extends to matters of missionary recruitment and status. Recruitment is not based on educational standards or the attainment of a recognised church status, e.g. ordination. Indeed, many NTM missionaries would eschew such criteria as incompatible with the teachings of the New Testament.¹³ To be a missionary it is sufficient to have received the "call", to enthusiastically desire to share the "good news" with tribal peoples, to be led by the "Spirit" in pursuit of this, and to possess a thorough and literal understanding of the Bible.

Unlike large and highly organised mission bodies (e.g. Catholics, Lutherans), NTM is a loosely allied body of independent missionaries. The Mission maintains a limited overall system of organisation, and there is no real central authority as such. Rather, missionaries are

bound together in a free association based on common belief, and the need for mutual encouragement or "fellowship". The mission venture thus succeeds because of the faith of the missionary rather than because of his or her dependence upon strong organisational support.

NTM aims are broadly two-fold; the translation of the Bible into vernaculars, and the establishment of independent churches based on New Testament principles. Usually the latter amounts to something like a congregationalist system; though an underlying egalitarian ideology attempts to minimise any sharp distinction between pastorate and laity. There is also a strong emphasis on adult baptism.

NTM beginnings in the Eastern Highlands were inauspicious. Some time between 1951-52 the first NTM missionary, Sellars, arrived in the Highlands. At Goroka Sellars presented himself to a surprised District Commissioner (Greathead), who had received no prior notice of Sellars' intentions to begin a mission in the Highlands. Greathead was doubtlessly unimpressed by Sellars' desire to evangelise "the tribes", seeing that the missionary had little else to commend him. According to Downs, who shortly succeeded Greathead at Goroka, Sellars arrived 'completely and actually destitute', and the small European community was forced to support him and his family for several months until supplies and financial aid arrived from the USA. Shortly after two other missionaries arrived with their families to join Sellars.¹⁴

Following an exploratory journey into the Mount Michael area, two stations were founded in the region in 1953, at Kami, some twenty miles south of Goroka, among the northern Yagaria, and at Gono, to the south of Mount Michael, in the Labogai area. The Kami station was re-located to its present site at Tagai in the Ologuti area some years later.

This, then, was the nature of the threat which so troubled the Lutheran missionary Bamler, at Tarabo. Ill-prepared and totally ignorant of Highland conditions, the NTM missionaries were in no position to offer any immediate threat to the Lutherans. Unlike the latter, the new arrivals were handicapped by their inability to recruit evangelists from elsewhere in New Guinea and use them to establish a village foundation for mission activity. Still, they were the only Europeans then resident in the general area south of Goroka, and this gave the missionaries some advantages in establishing contacts with surrounding villages where Lutheran influence was weak or non-existent. These contacts provided the basis for pre-baptismal Bible classes and the later establishment of NTM congregations.

Almost immediately following the founding of the two stations, a doctrinal dispute arose among the NTM missionaries. In consequence, the Gono missionary severed his association with NTM and commenced to operate his station under the name 'Faith Mission'; a title which now also applies to two other stations in the area, located at Haero and Lufa. This small Faith Mission venture is essentially pentecostalist.¹⁵

Both NTM and Faith Mission have had success in creating village support and founding congregations, but there has been a general failure to sustain these gains. Later we will examine the reasons for this in terms of NTM fortunes among two Kivuluga clans at Kiseveloka. Such failures are also evident in education. Both Missions have developed station Bible schools which despite early enthusiasm have suffered, like their Lutheran counter-parts in selected villages, from the advent of government English schools (see Chapter Nine). In the early 1960s NTM launched a vernacular literacy programme based on the study of the Nega or Ologuti dialect.¹⁶ The programme aimed at little more than basic literacy and numeracy, and

in its early stages was described in a government report as 'ill-conceived, ill-timed, mismanaged and misinformed'.¹⁷

After two decades this programme has culminated in two recent events. The first was the publication of a translation of Mark's Gospel in late 1977. Heralded by the NTM missionaries as a hallmark in the life of the area, the publication in fact has met with little local enthusiasm and few copies have been purchased by Yagaria people. The second event was the founding of the Yagaria Vocational Bible School at the Tagai station. Some twenty youths (the elite products of the literacy programme) represent the first intake. In addition to a general Bible education, elementary instruction is provided in carpentry and motor vehicle maintenance. While such manual skills are needed in the area, it remains to be seen whether this new venture will prove any more successful than the previous failures in non-English mission education.

(iii) Other Missions

Two other missions have been active in the Lufa area; the Seventh Day Adventists, and the Four Square Mission. The latter maintains a station in the northern Yagaria area at Gotomi (established in the 1960s), and has some adherents in the Frigano area at Nupuru. Its influence, however, does not extend much further south. The Seventh Day Adventists have no mission station as such in the area, but operate an English school at Kami. A number of SDA congregations have been established in villages along the vehicular road between Kami and Lufa.

Due to the fact that neither of these two missions has any influence in the Kiseveloka area, they will hardly concern us in this study. For this reason there is no real need to bother much with their particular teachings. Suffice it to say, that the Four Square

Mission, like the Faith Mission, is pentecostalist¹⁸; while SDA's chief characteristics, in addition to a general fundamentalist and adventist emphasis, is a strong Old Testament bias. This includes (like Judaism) Sabbath observance on Saturdays rather than Sundays, and prohibitions on the consumption of pork, alcohol, and tobacco.¹⁹

Summary

Summarizing this brief account of mission activity in the Lufa area, five missions have been operative among a population of approximately 25,000 distributed over an area of about 800 square miles which comprises the Lufa District.²⁰ The Lutherans have two stations (Rongo and Agotu); Faith Mission, three stations (Haero, Lufa, Gono); NTM, one station (Tagai)²¹; Four Square Mission, one station (Gotomi); and SDA, one English school (Kami). Currently (1978) neither of the two Lutheran stations is staffed by a European. This is not the case with the other stations, which indeed are essentially small European enclaves in a sea of otherness. This fact is of major importance, and we shall shortly examine the significance of the mission station (and government station) and its bearing on political and economic relations between Europeans and Highlanders.

Support for each mission is usually found in the general vicinity of each station, though there are some exceptions. A major exception is Lutheran support, which, due to the earlier Lutheran intrusion and the use of village-based mission workers, is widely distributed throughout the district. Though many villages and clans are associated with a given mission, others have mixed affiliations. Thus at Kiseveloka, where the bulk of the population is Lutheran, one clan maintains adherence to the Faith Mission, another is generally identified with NTM, while yet another has mixed NTM/Lutheran membership. The other clans are largely Lutheran, though here and there

they include small numbers of converts to other missions (usually NTM). As this picture indicates, inter-mission rivalry has at times been pronounced in areas like Kiseveloka - a feature generally characteristic of the battle for Highland souls.

To see how support was captured by the missions it is necessary to provide an account of the older village society, and to explore the nature of early contact relations between Highlanders and Europeans. These matters are dealt with in the following two chapters.

Notes - Chapter II

1. For fuller accounts (both popular and serious) of Lutheran history in the Madang and Morobe regions, see Flierl (1932), Mager (1937), Hannemann (no date), Inselmann (1948), Lawrence (1956, 1964), Frerichs (1969, first published in 1957), Jericho (?1961), Vicedom (1961), Willis (1974), Harrison (1975). Reference should also be made to Hogbin (1947, 1951), Rowley (1958), Morauta (1974), Bade (1977), Moses (1977) and Nelson (1978). Of the former accounts, that of Willis for the Lae area, despite its brevity and at times limited use of sources, is by far the most perceptive. It offers a general interpretation of Lutheran impact which this thesis substantially, though independently, endorses for the Highlands.
2. A critique of interpretations of Lutheran evangelistic policy based on Keysser's writings is given in Chapter Seven.
3. Harrison (1975:151ff) provides an extended discussion of the impact of the Germanic concept *Volkstum* on Lutheran educational and mission policy in the Neuendettelsau field after 1914.
4. The details cited above are taken from Flierl (1932:158-60).
5. See Appendix A.
6. This is a form of church tax, which stood in the Rongo circuit between 1976-78 at around K2 per adult member. Younger, unmarried members pay something less than this.
7. For early mission penetration of the Highlands, see Radford (1972, 1977, 1979) and Munster (no date, 1979) for the Eastern Highlands; Ross (1968) for the Western Highlands; and more generally Simpson (1954), Souter (1974, first published in 1963), and Willis (1969). An important account of the economic effects of pre-war European impact in the Highlands is given in Hughes (1978). This and other features of the early contact situation in the Highlands is fully discussed in Chapter Four.
8. These statistics are taken from *Report ... Administration of the Territory of New Guinea 1966-67* (Appendix xxv:398-9); see also Appendix A in this thesis. For convenience mission statistics for the Southern Highlands are excluded from this table. It should

also be noted that owing to the classification used in the above Report, the figures for Eastern Highlands include mission adherents in the Chimbu area.

9. This organisation was a separate Lutheran body under the control of American Lutherans of the Missouri Synod, and later became the Wabag Lutheran Church. The rival American Lutheran Church (Iowa Synod) also sent missionaries to New Guinea, but under the auspices of LMNG (now ELCPNG). In recent years the Wabag Lutheran Church (itself now riven by a major internal split in the Enga Province) has cooperated closely with ELCPNG.
10. This figure is taken from the *Report ... Administration of the Territory of New Guinea 1965-66* (Appendix xxv). The figure given in the 1966-67 Report appears to be miscalculated.
11. Tarabo Station Reports 1953 (R.W. Fiegert), 1955 and 1956 (H. Bamler); letter, Bamler (Tarabo) to Kuder (Lae), 10.8.57.
12. For an elaboration of this principle, see Lindsell (1970:441-2, 206-7).
13. NTM missionaries in common with other fundamentalists reject the pursuit of prestige as worldly and unchristian. In fact missionary status commands great prestige among fundamentalist Christians. There is an inherent contradiction here (apart that is from the obvious one), for such Christians believe they confront a universal missionary setting in which the missionary challenge of the USA, Australia or Britain is seen as no different from that of the Amazon or Papua New Guinea. However, mission work in the latter settings - that is among "savages", "headhunters", "cannibals" and the like, where the "true gospel" has never been preached - adds its touch of romance, drama and danger, factors which reflect tacitly on missionary prestige. In a sense such tacit evaluations are closely shared by anthropologists. Thus, research conducted among "primitives" in their "traditional" state is thought to be "real" anthropology, while the study of social change is relegated to a tainted or impure category of research. Individual anthropologist prestige is liable to be evaluated according to these implicit categories.

14. For details of Sellar's arrival at Goroka and subsequent matters concerning NTM missionaries, see letter, IFG Downs (DC Goroka) to Director (DSNA, Port Moresby) 20.10.54 (file 1/2/5 - 1238).
15. Apparently, the dispute between the Gono missionary and the other NTM missionaries concerned pentecostal teachings, which the former espoused and the latter rejected. Broadly, the pentecostal position is this: while personal conversion regenerates the believer, the possession of full spiritual power derives from a subsequent experience, variously referred to as the "baptism of the Spirit" or the "second blessing". This experience is closely associated with such "gifts" as "speaking in tongues" or glossolalia, prophecy, and faith healing. Doctrinal evidence for this phenomena is especially based on a literal interpretation of Acts ii.
16. Both Lutheran and NTM missionaries have made studies of the Yagaria language. The Lutheran missionary, Renck (1975, 1977a, 1977b(iv)), classifies eight main Yagaria dialects, his study being based on one of these, 'Move'. Strangely Renck uses dialect terms which in some cases conflict with indigenous terms. Thus the Nega dialect (principally studied by NTM missionaries, with whom Renck has had some differences of opinion over the translation of Yagaria terms) is rendered 'Ologuti' by Renck, while his 'Move' is consistently referred to by Kiseveloka people as 'Frigano' or 'Filigano' - a term which Renck generally applies to the inhabitants and geographical area lying due east of Kiseveloka (see, however, his qualification in 1977b(iv):1019). Move (literally, 'yaws man') is in fact the name of a Kiseveloka territorial group, though this has segments at Dagenava and at Lufa. Renck asserts (1977b(iv): 1019) that one of the reasons for choosing to base his study of Yagaria on the 'Move' dialect, is that 'it carried a certain prestige already in the old times'. Prestigious to whom, one wonders? Renck provides no evidence to support this claim.
17. *Eastern Highlands District Annual Report 1960-61* (p.21).
18. The term 'Four Square' derives from Pentecostalist Christology and is summarized in the dictum, "Christ the saviour, healer, baptiser, and coming king." The gospel is thus regarded to stand "squarely" on these four points.

19. SDA adherents are encouraged by the Mission to keep goats rather than pigs. Though there is some conformity with this in the Lufa area, it is doubtful today that the prohibitions on pork, alcohol, and smoking are generally adhered to.
20. The bulk of the population, however, is located in the Yagaria Census Division in the northern part of the district, where approximately 20,000 people inhabit about 200 square miles.
21. A small NTM out-station (actually a single house) was established near Kogaraipa (due south of Kiseveloka) among Fusa people by a Canadian missionary and his wife around 1974. These missionaries are currently engaged in linguistic and evangelistic work among the small Fusa population.

Chapter ThreeTRADITIONAL SOCIETY

The aim of this chapter is to provide an account of society at or around the point of European intrusion into the Highlands in the early 1930s, in order to establish a basis for later accounts of Highland response to contact, and, thus, to identify in the post-contact period the interplay of indigenous and exogenous forces in the process of change. Rather than attempt to provide a potted version of the traditional society, the following account highlights a number of crucial features of the older order. This approach is determined by the bearing of these features on the later process of change. Before turning to this account it is first necessary to make several points of clarification.

Ethnographic enquiry in the Highlands has generally lacked a dominant historical perspective. A marked synchronic bias has usually resulted in a failure to make sufficient allowance for change; it being too readily assumed by anthropologists that the facts of the ethnographic present are in some strange manner immune to adaption by diachronic processes and the impact of exogenous forces. Yet such bias was not generally typical of the pioneering ethnographic research in the Eastern Highlands in the early 1950s.¹ Here the concern with change received major attention (Salisbury 1962), or was considered important enough to merit secondary consideration (Read 1952a; C.H. Berndt 1953, 1959; R.M. Berndt 1952-53, 1954). Salisbury and the Berndts readily saw that the societies under investigation had been subject to, mainly, indirect contact for two

decades. This was perhaps less true of Read, for, as we shall see in Chapter Eight, he tended to give insufficient weight to the effects of pacification on Gahuka-Gama leadership. Among the Siane and the four language groups studied by the Berndts change had occurred during this twenty year period, but this was mainly in terms of adjustment to the European presence. The full effects of missionization and government impositions had not yet been generally experienced among these southern populations by the early 1950s, though as Read (1952a) and the Berndts pointed out (C.H. Berndt 1953, 1959:180-1; R.M. Berndt 1965:100-1) radical changes were threatened by mission activity. Much of this was aimed at the maintenance of older rituals (e.g. male initiation and pig festivals) and associated practices, though mission prohibitions extended to other social forms (e.g. polygyny). The general climate of pacification in the early 1950s created fertile ground for mission and government impositions to become more widely accepted, but the general picture emerging from the ethnography of the period is of a traditional order still largely intact yet at the point of drastic change.

With certain reservations the ethnography of this period can be taken as substantially representative of traditional society in the western part of the Eastern Highlands, and will mainly be treated in these terms in this chapter. However, it will be necessary in the following account to draw also on later material, notably the publications of Langness (for Bena Bena) and Glasse (for South Fore). These additional sources are especially important in considering two major themes in Highland societies, namely flexibility and optation, and the relation between group and individual. Earlier studies were less conscious of the importance of these features and their bearing

on group membership and political action in the Highlands (see Barnes 1962), and though these features have been markedly affected by the changes of the 1950s and 1960s, they can be seen to be rooted in an older process.

Two final points of clarification should be made. First, the focus of the following discussion is generally concerned with the western region of the Eastern Highlands where those societies first to come under intensive anthropological study in the early 1950s are located: the Gahuka-Gama (see Read) of the immediate Goroka area, and the Kamano, Usurufa, Jate and Fore (see C.H. and R.M. Berndt) lying to the immediate northeast and east of Kiseveloka (see Maps 3 and 4). This general region (though it had and has significant variations) can be broadly taken as a socio-cultural unit, and the account of social organisation at Kiseveloka is handled here in these terms. Second, while the discussion is mainly conducted in the past tense, it should be made clear at the outset that much of the basic themes discussed here of the older society still apply in the present Kiseveloka setting, despite the effects of social change.

General Setting: Place and People

When the Lutheran Mission first penetrated into the Kiseveloka area in 1948, its agents encountered a small population of probably no more than 800-1000 people occupying an area of approximately 15-20 square miles. Located in the northern fringe of the Central Range, which with the Kratke Range forms the main southern barrier of the Eastern Highlands, the Kiseveloka Valley is typical of many of the small valleys cutting into the Central Range (see Maps 3 and 4). Unlike the broad, anthropogenic grasslands to the north, these fringe valleys are marked by lower grassland slopes receding into

secondary scrub and rain forest. The valleys located further into the Central Range by contrast become more densely forested and less densely populated as one moves south. The general picture was a fairly familiar one to the Lutherans, whose contacts with Eastern Highlanders went back to 1919.

Later linguistic research would classify the Kiseveloka population as part of the Yagaria language group (now including some 23,000 people in the general area, see Renck 1975, 1979), though early Lutheran classification referred to the valley population as part of the 'Yacte tribe' (Frerichs 1969:59). Two main dialects are spoken in the valley, Frigano and Hugumate. Frigano (or Filigano) is spoken by the Move clan inhabiting the eastern slopes and lower grasslands of the valley, the dialect extending eastwards into the neighbouring Frigano area. Hugumate (or Kamate) is spoken by a number of different groups occupying various territories on the western side of the valley (see Figs. 1 and 2).

The pre-contact Kiseveloka population was dispersed into small settlements sited mainly at higher altitudes (up to about 6000 ft. asl), though a few settlements were then located in the lower grasslands at about 5200 ft. The preference for the former location on ridges and knolls was determined by security in a climate of frequent ambushing and raiding of settlements. The proximity of secondary scrub and rain forest was (and is still) reflected in the valley's inhabitants distinguishing themselves as 'forest people' from the grasslanders of the north.

Though today a marginal capitalist economy impinges on the life of the people (mainly through cash-cropping, trade stores, and migrant labour), in many respects the older subsistence economy is still a dominant feature of daily life. The older pattern of subsistence was characterised by swidden agriculture and pig husbandry, and was of a

common Eastern Highland form: small, fenced garden plots sited close to settlements. The main crop was sweet potato supplemented by a variety of other garden vegetables (taro, tabioca, maize, edible cane, and various greens). Other foods like pandanus fruit (Tok Pisin, *marita*) and winged beans (*as bin*) were associated with ritual and other feasts, while sugar cane and banana were specifically associated with men and cultivated in male plots. Apart from fencing and manual labour connected with house-building and the preparation of cultivated areas, gardens were almost exclusively the concern of women. Male pursuits were directly identified with fighting and hunting, though the limited variety and quantity of wild game in the area restricted hunting mainly to possum. Pig husbandry was general. Small pig herds were jointly owned by husband and wife. Pigs were permitted to forage freely in uncultivated and fallow areas, their diet being daily supplemented by poor quality garden tubers. The consumption of pork was limited to special occasions, and cannibalism was normally practised at death. With minimal meat resources available, the population was predominantly vegetarian.

Groups, Territories, and Settlements

The main Kiseveloka groups were small-scale territorial units and correspond to Berndt's 'big name' or 'district' group (1962:19-20). These groups were either autonomous clans or sets of allied clans. Thus Move² (approximately 250 people in the 1940s) as a single clan broadly acted independently of others, while Kivuluga, with roughly the same population, was sub-divided into three named clans which tended to cooperate in defence of a common territory. Clanship was expressed in a number of ways. The clan was a territorial and in a sense a land-holding group. In the case of a clan set or district

with a common name (e.g. Kivuluga), the district was the territorial unit with each clan associated with contiguous land tracts. Territorial defence³ was a principal feature of clan/district polity. The clan was a descent and resident group, and was exogamous.

Settlements⁴ were usually strongly fortified against attack by a double row of palisades surrounding the settlement, sometimes with a secret escape tunnel leading from the men's house into the area outside the settlement. Settlements were small, rarely exceeding twenty houses,⁵ and were organised around a men's house group. As several settlements were often distributed over clan or district territory, the territorial group essentially comprised a set of men's house groups. The men's house group was in a sense focused around a set of older male 'brothers' and their 'sons'. In practice older men were not always brothers in either a real or putative sense, and inter-clan mixing was a common feature of men's houses. A given men's house might have contained men of clans x and y and men of other clans, even though the men's house was located on the territory of clan x and associated with that clan. Neither, in such a case, did it follow that men of clan x were numerically dominant in the men's house group. Thus, though this group and by extension the clan were thought of as a group of agnates, settlement populations frequently included other residents, e.g. cognates, affines, and other migrants.

With the exception of uninitiated male children (say, those under twelve years old), residential and domestic organisation segregated male and female residents. Married men and initiated bachelors resided together in the men's house, which was fenced off from the rest of the settlement. Normally, wives and daughters were not permitted to enter the men's house enclosure. Smaller houses in the settlement were occupied by individual wives and their children,

and contained a pig pen into which pigs were gathered each evening. Adjacent to a wife's house a small confinement hut was located where women retired during menstrual periods and for the latter stages of childbirth.

Settlement life was dominated by the men's house group in a number of ways. Sexual segregation effectively excluded women from participation in public affairs, though the ability of wives to influence decision-making in a variety of other ways was probably significant.⁶ Corporate male residence enabled older men to exert direct and immediate dominance over junior generations. The latter, possessing limited access to territorial and other resources, looked to older men for obtaining wives and assembling the necessary wealth payments this required. A man remained indebted to his 'fathers' for such help and was required to discharge this obligation by later contributing to brideprice payments of other men. The men's house was the setting for all important discussions about key matters like fighting, sorcery, the organisation of various payments and exchanges, and for arranging important rituals connected with male initiation and pig festivals. Pig festivals usually required the collaboration of a number of men's house groups in staging what amounted to a territorial group affair.

In sum, then, the valley contained a number of small autonomous groups each associated with and defending a given territory. Though political ties existed between territorial groups, these were alliances between individuals (e.g. affines) which could activate larger numbers of men to participate in activities like raiding. There was no polity above the territorial group (whether clan or district) which integrated speakers of a common dialect or "tribe" into a larger unit, leading to joint action on that basis.

Major Themes in Traditional Society

(i) Flexibility and Optation

Kiseveloka clans were in part (but only in part) patrilineal descent groups. Children belonged to their fathers' clan and adult males resided on the clan territory of their fathers and ancestors, inheriting land and other resources on the basis of descent. However, a lack of concern with genealogical reckoning beyond a depth of two or three generations and a prevailing ignorance and indifference about clan or district origins and the identities of clan founders, indicates a flexible attitude to clan membership and residence. As seen above, resident groups did not exclusively comprise male agnates (real and/or putative), but often included other men who might or might not have been otherwise related to other male residents. In other words, while a resident group referred to itself and was referred to by others as clan x and its male residents sometimes cooperated on that basis, not all the male residents necessarily belonged to that clan by virtue of descent.

Non-agnatic residence enabled men to utilise territorial resources much in the manner of men claiming agnatic membership of the clan. There appears to have been no developed distinction at Kiseveloka between rights of tenure and usufructory rights, and it probably misses the point to speak of 'rights' at all in respect of traditional society. Access to resources like land stemmed from and was a necessary condition of residence. In turn, participation in men's house and clan affairs led to a degree of control over other resources in addition to garden plots. Thus, a non-agnate contributing to brideprice payments organised by the men's house group with which he resided, would expect to subsequently gain a share in the brideprice of unmarried females controlled by the men's

house group. If this contribution was substantial such a man would establish major control over a given girl's brideprice (say, of the daughter of the man originally aided). In this respect the status of the non-agnate was no different from that of any other male resident. Indeed, non-agnatic residence was in no way a barrier to achieving prestige in clan or district affairs.

As residence conferred access to and, depending on the nature of an individual's participation, degrees of control over territorial and other resources, so in time these conditions came to apply to the male descendants of non-agnates. In fact, the tendency was to "absorb" such descendants by regarding them as agnates, and by the application of appropriate kinship terms. Such manipulation of kinship terms is a common feature of Eastern Highland societies, and there is no reason to simply regard this as a post-contact phenomenon. In present-day Kiseveloka society it is not a straightforward matter for the researcher to consistently distinguish "fiction" from "real" kin, whether these involve "agnates", "cognates" or other kinds of "relatives". Langness (1964:172) has asserted for the neighbouring Bena Bena⁷ that residence rather than descent ultimately determines kinship, while Glasse (1969:37) argues that for the South Fore 'kinship ultimately rests on the principle of reciprocity', rather than on rules of descent. Langness' point is already reflected in the preceding discussion of Kiseveloka residence patterns. Glasse's point needs a little expansion.

For the South Fore, the mere fact of a's relation to b is of less importance than the values and expectations (the social content) that pertain to that relation. In a sense this is true of all societies; fathers ought to behave as fathers. Nonetheless, in some societies the mere social (or socio-biological) fact that x is related

to y of itself can have major implications if y happens to be a Greek shipping magnate with one foot in the grave. Here, legal and economic consequences resulting from the social fact exist irrespective of its social content. Though Fore men obviously do not eschew the biological and social facts of kinship, they portray a great interest in the obligations ideally marking kinship relations; that is, with the exchange of wealth and the obligation to mutual aid. Thus non-kin involved in a reciprocal exchange relation will apply "fictive" kin terms as if they were so related.

Two basic interpretations are possible here. It could be argued that reciprocity between non-kin requires that this relation be subordinated to a dogma of descent, in the sense that the primacy of the latter demands that deviance be forced to comply with the canons of orthodoxy. I doubt that this really gets to the heart of the motivations behind such manipulation of kin terms. The crucial point is what can be extracted from this practice. It is not a matter of saying, 'this man behaves towards me like a cross-cousin, therefore propriety demands that I call him "cross-cousin"', but of saying 'by calling him "cross-cousin" I can establish certain conditions in our relation, such that will have advantages for both of us, but possibly more so to me.' This interpretation meshes well with the competitive nature of Highland society and the marked accent on the exploitation of male social relations. We will return to this point.

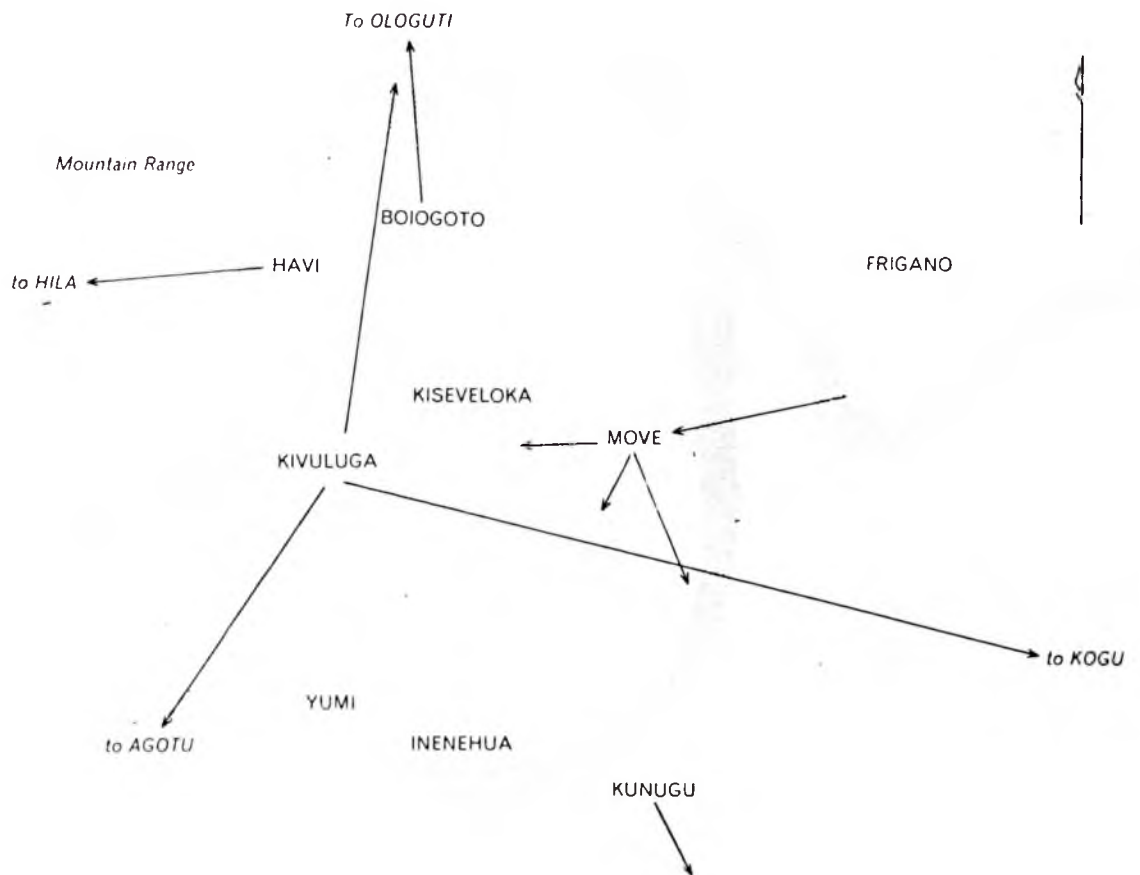
Flexibility in residential patterns, in access to and control of territorial resources, and in the manipulation of kin terms reflects a marked degree of choice available to Kiseveloka men; options which were widely exercised. We have seen this in regard to non-agnatic residence. For the fact that a man could leave his own clan territory to take up residence elsewhere on terms which were not disadvantageous to himself, frequently occurred by choice. Depending on the nature of

his actual relations, a man might choose to live with his affines, his matrikin, with an agemate of another clan, or with other men with whom exchange or trade relations had been established. Indeed, a man might actually have resided at two or three different places during his life. Moreover, the range of options established by a man expanded those available to his sons. The process was theoretically endless. It would be misleading, however, to imply that everyone in the older society was constantly on the move. A man, particularly an influential one, would opt to live where he had established resources (land, wife or wives, pigs and other wealth) and commanded support from other men obligated to him. Where migration occurred it did so for reasons other than mere preference.

There were three main "push-pull" factors affecting traditional migration. First, intra-group conflict. As we shall see directly, male relations, particularly between brothers, were subject to great stress. Adelpic conflict was common and could result in one brother abandoning his settlement to take up residence elsewhere. Second, big man recruitment. Competition between men and the tendency to factionalism, sometimes led big men to actively increase their local support by recruiting in other men from outside the men's house group or clan. This process was also common where the clan of a big man was numerically weak (Watson 1971:240ff). Third, warfare. Groups suffering serious defeat in warfare were forced to abandon their territory and seek refuge elsewhere. All Kiseveloka clans have histories of migration in and out of the valley due to the effects of warfare during the immediate pre-contact and early contact period (See Fig. 1).

The pre-contact relation between fighting and migration can be briefly expanded upon. Move have a tradition of migration in the

Figure 1: General Migration Patterns at Kiseveloka Due to Pre-Contact Warfare



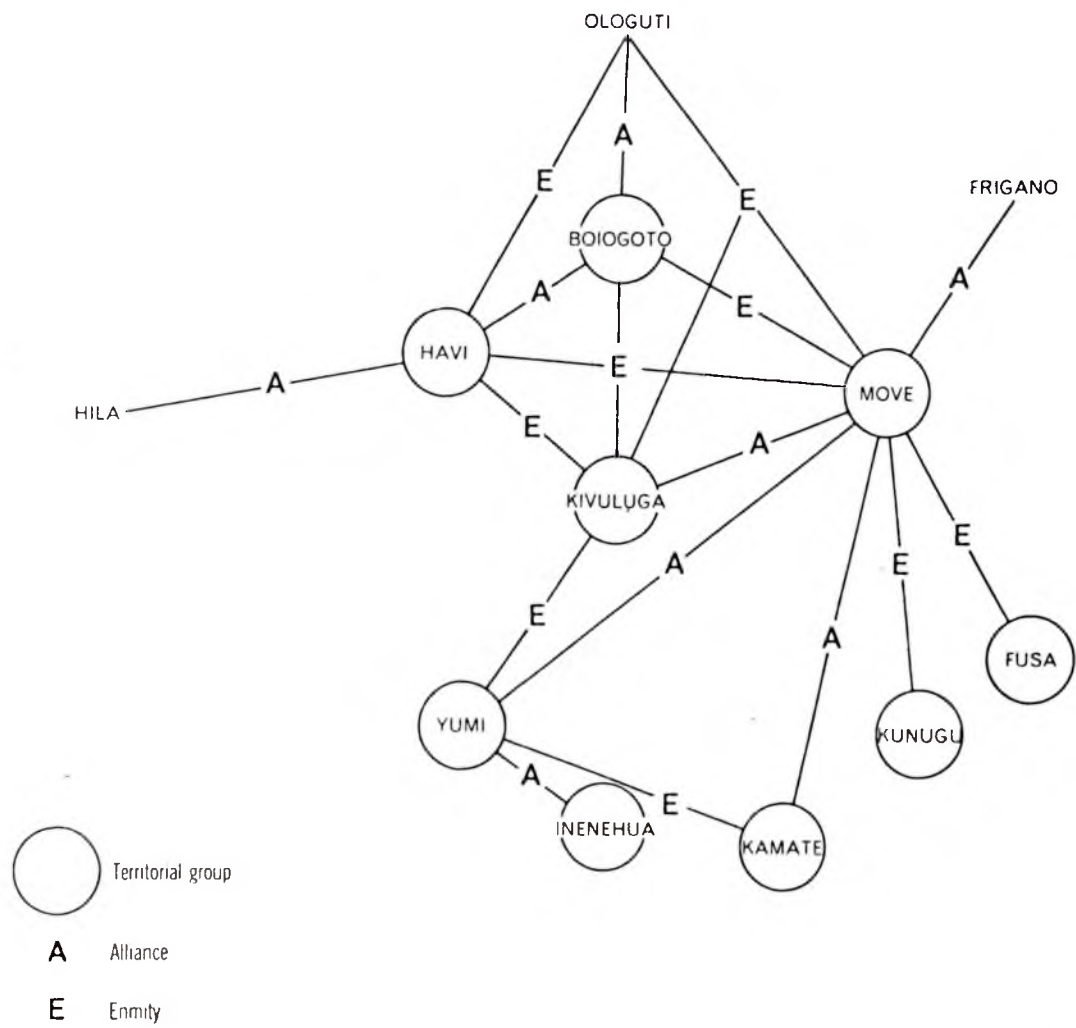
general area prior to establishing territorial claims at Kiseveloka. Migration into the valley occurred directly from the adjacent Frigano area, possibly aided by Move alliances with some Hugumate people already residing at Kiseveloka. According to one account (Veyamo Imara 1976:14) Move migrants fought Hugumate residents (who had earlier migrated into Kiseveloka from the south), drove them out, and later established alliances which enabled them to return to the valley. Over time, and probably through recruiting in small migrant groups from Frigano and elsewhere, Move gradually expanded in the valley, establishing settlements in the lower grasslands and on the western slopes of the valley. These incursions had major implications then and later. Move expansion and related fighting with Havi, led to the forced migration of Havi people from Kiseveloka to Hila, Havi returning to the valley only during the early contact period (see Chapter Five). In addition, Move ascendancy brought about by effective expansion had an important bearing on the politics of missionization at Kiseveloka during the 1950s and 1960s (see Chapter Five). Kivuluga's three clans were also embroiled in fights with both Yumi and Havi, Kivuluga men assisting in the expulsion of Havi from the valley. However, Kivuluga also suffered serious defeats at the hand of Yumi, which resulted in the migration of some Kivuluga people to Kogu (Fore) and Agotu (Gimi).

Pre-contact fighting, its related alliances and enmities, and the bearing of both on migration require several qualifications in order to grasp the politics involved here. First, the migrants referred to above and in Fig.1 were in actuality individuals and small segments, rather than clans and districts *per se*. In fact it is unlikely that Move, as later constituted at Kiseveloka, existed

as such prior to the migration into the valley. Rather, Move was created at Kiseveloka out of a number of distinct elements, possibly drawn together through older alliances - e.g. through marriage and exchange, and trade. This use of alliances is clearer in the case of Kivuluga. The Kogu and Agotu migrants utilised existing exchange and trading ties with Kogu and Agotu people. Descendents of the Agotu migrants were still residing there in 1978 and a Kivuluga big man with strong ties among this segment, was actively attempting to recruit numbers of them into Kiseveloka in 1978. The Kogu migrants, or numbers of them, returned to Kiseveloka in the early contact period, and links between Kivuluga men and Kogu men are still maintained. Several of the former are married to Kogu women, while a Kogu big man contributing substantially to a mortuary payment on the death of a Kivuluga man in 1976, returned to Kiseveloka the following year to seek reciprocal aid from Kivuluga men in making a mortuary payment for a Kogu kinswoman.

Second, the alliances involved here were alliances between individuals rather than between groups, and the political consequences of these ties held primarily for the former than for the latter, though alliances might have secondary consequences also for groups. Thus, while men talk of the alliances referred to above as Havi-Hila, Kivuluga-Kogu and Kivuluga-Agotu, these ties did not actually operate at these grosser levels. The same holds for the patterns of territorial group alliance and enmity presented in Fig.2. Despite the apparent neatness of this political arrangement of inter-territorial group relations at Kiseveloka and beyond, the actual politics underlying this pattern lacked this sort of precision. Political action (say, fighting) was not simply a matter of Kivuluga versus Yumi. For, in addition to the fact that Kivuluga men might

Figure 2: Major Patterns of Territorial Group Alliance and Enmity



draw in allies from Move or even from as far afield as Kogu to fight Yumi, Yumi men also utilised similar alliances. Indeed, this could lead to Move men fighting on opposite sides in such a conflict. Moreover, in the case of a Kivuluga-Yumi fight, there would be men of both groups who did not participate owing to the fact that they were allies. In other words, the general pattern of inter-group alliances and enmities was crosscut in a variety of differing ways by numerous individual ties. This, however, anticipates a later stage of this discussion, and the matter can be left here for the present.

A general flexibility of social organisation coupled with marked degrees of individual optation reflect an underlying conflict between men, which both pushed people out in one way and recruited them in another. The conflicts which gave rise to this process was rooted in intensive male competition.

(ii) Aggression and Conflict: the Competitive Male World

Marked male aggression in Eastern Highlands societies was largely bound up with the notion of "maleness". This idea can best be understood by examining it on two levels: male notions of femininity and the bearing of this on relations between men; and the inferred egalitarian ideal underlying male relations.

Sexual segregation in the residential organisation of Kiseveloka settlements gave social expression to male-female opposition and conflict. Sexual segregation can be interpreted in two different ways: as an indication of sexual inter-dependence and complementarity (Berndt 1962:105, 107), or primarily of sexual antagonism (Read 1954: 24-5; Langness 1967). It is significant that both interpretations have been advanced of closely related Eastern Highlands societies, for this may indicate not variation in emphasis between these

societies so much as an underlying paradox which they all share. At Kiseveloka the paradox of antagonism and cooperation between the sexes is (as it was in the past) a central feature in the community. Here, I am less concerned with this (though the paradoxical nature of male-female relations should not be lost sight of), than the relation between sexual antagonism and inter-male conflict.

Corporate male residence limited contact between the sexes, with male-female relations managed through a range of prohibitions. A man would not normally accept food from a woman other than his wife (or wives), and in some contexts not even from her. This latter restriction applied during periods of menstruation and childbirth, when women were isolated in a confinement hut from general social contact (even with most other women). Sexual relations between spouses were also prohibited during the wife's menstrual period, during the latter stages of pregnancy and for a considerable period after childbirth. More generally, sexual relations were ideally restricted, though in practice pre-marital promiscuity and adultery were common.⁸

Segregation directly correlated with views about the distinctive natures of men and women. Maleness was sharply distinguished from femininity in a number of fundamental ways. Men were 'strong', 'hot'/'dry' and 'hard'; women were 'weak', 'cold'/'wet' and 'soft'. Thus femininity was the antithesis of maleness. Not only were these distinctive attributes exclusive and incompatible, but in the sense that water is inimical to and in fact extinguishes fire, so men regarded their nature - their physical and mental condition - as threatened by the nature of women. Women were regarded as potentially and, in some contexts, actually polluting to men; that is, women were thought of as dangerous and capable of exerting a weakening effect on male strength. This danger was especially

symbolised by menstrual blood, though it was also associated with other internal female body fluids and other substances. A man coming in contact in any way with a woman during her menstrual period or during the later stages of her pregnancy believed he would immediately become weak, sicken and die.

Women were also thought of as dangerous to men in other ways. Due to clan exogamy marriage created important ties with men of other clans,⁹ alliances which had major economic and political implications. A wife was thus the means by which advantage could be extracted between male affines. Yet alliances were unstable over time and affinal ties between men tended to degenerate into suspicion and potential enmity. Thus, if a man became ill and suddenly died his wife was an obvious and frequent target for sorcery accusations. This was usually a matter of guilt by proximity and association. In part this stemmed directly from the patrilocal norm, which meant that wives were always in some sense "outsiders" among their husbands' territorial group. In the case of a man's death it was believed that the wife's access enabled her to easily mix poison or sorcery concoctions into the man's food, or obtain such things as the husband's semen, hair, nail-clippings, faeces, etc., sending these to her brothers or other men for use in sorcery rituals aimed against her spouse.

Conflict between spouses and tension between male affines also reflected on inequality in the passage of wealth from the husband to his wife's 'brothers'. This commenced with brideprice and continued throughout the marriage, with payments (usually pork) made for childbirth, male initiation and the onset of a daughter's menses, and ended only with death.¹⁰ Though some of these payments were almost immediately reciprocated by the wife's brothers (see Fortune 1947a:

245), the trend in the flow of wealth was uni-directional. Only in the case of big men was it sometimes possible to reverse this relation of inequality towards one's wife's brothers.¹¹

Inequality between male affines sharpened into tensions because the fact of inequality ran counter to the implicit ideal of male equality. In Kiseveloka society, as in the Eastern Highlands generally, differences in male status did not amount to a formal system of male ranking, and there was no institution of hereditary leadership. Men's house group and clan affairs were largely dominated by senior male generations, but authority was not gerontocratic even if the political process tended in that direction. An older man or any man of influence could rarely command from others automatic adherence to his wishes. Group decisions generally emerged from consensus, though belligerence was common and, in some extreme but rare cases, sheer despotism occurred.¹² A man of influence, a big man, achieved prestige primarily by exploiting his abilities in warfare, and to a lesser extent as an orator and in partial management of group affairs. A big man's renown lay in recognition by others of his strength,¹³ and support came mainly from men indebted to him in various ways; usually as a result of his contributions to brideprice and other exchange payments of other men.

Male society, geared to the egalitarian ideal, fostered competition, and male prestige was won against a background of intense rivalry and conflict. Certain male relations intensified rivalry, while other relations lessened and reduced conflict. The former has already been observed of male affines, where inequality was marked. Inequality was also explicit and implicit in other male relations; between fathers and sons, and between male siblings.

Inter-generational conflict stemmed in part from the generational structure of the men's house group and the corresponding dependence of sons on fathers through the control of economic resources by older men. Intra-generational rivalry was also marked, particularly between male siblings. Considerable resentment was engendered by the favouring of older brothers in the provision of wives, thus giving them certain advantages over their bachelor brothers; for marriage allowed a measure of independent economic status and created the basis for effective participation in the competitive male world. But even following the marriages of all male siblings adelphic conflict remained a prominent feature of male relations, being specifically focused to the apportioning of wealth payments received from sisters' husbands. In contrast, bonds between males who had together undergone initiation (i.e. *agemates*)¹⁴ were strong and tended to counter-balance adelphic conflict. As the ideal of adelphic solidarity and cooperation was more generally realised among non-competitive *agemates*, they might in this respect be regarded as substitute brothers. If brothers tended to divide, *agemates* united.

Conceptually, the inclusive world of the territorial group with its internal structure of men's house groups, clan, district was characterised by ideals of male solidarity against the external world of uncertainty, suspicion and enmity represented by rival territorial groups. A distinction was made between specific enemy and allied groups in respect of other Kiseveloka clans and districts (extending into the general region, see Fig.2), but this political world view, while it had some abiding significance from a collective (i.e. clan or district) standpoint, shifted in terms of the standpoints of individuals. For this reason it would be misleading to see this

general structure of enmity and alliance as consonant and consistent with actual political behaviour, as we have partly seen and will see more fully below.

Reciprocal homicide provided the rationale for organised physical violence and sorcery. Men were obligated to avenge the death of kinsmen, which if not occurring through physical violence was generally attributed to sorcery. Distinctions between organised physical violence and mystical violence (or sorcery) cannot be made with total consistency, as at least one form of sorcery was said to involve an organised physical assault on the victim (see Berndt 1962: 223ff). More generally the distinction is valid.

Organised physical violence usually took the form of raiding and ambush, though open fighting between two armed groups of warriors also occurred (see Fortune 1947a, 1947b). Stealth and surprise were the favoured stratagems employed in raiding and ambush, and bribery and deception were common (Fortune 1960:146; Berndt 1962:232-68). A major object of fighting was the ejection of enemies from their territory. In the process indiscriminate slaughter sometimes occurred. Successful raiding was followed by the burning of settlements, the destruction of gardens and the plundering of enemy possessions. Though interspersed by periods of peace brought about by peace ceremonies (see Aitchison 1935-36), organised violence was endemic and migration common (Fig.1).

A variety of sorcery forms (Berndt 1962:208-31) were generally known and practiced by Kiseveloka people, but the more virulent forms were known and used only by certain individuals. Though several men might cooperate to effect a sorcery attack upon a victim, the actual rituals involved were performed secretly by a single sorcerer, who was usually recruited for this purpose (often from outside the area)

and rewarded for his services (Fortune 1947b:115). Sorcery divination was undertaken collectively by senior kinsmen of the victim in order to determine successively the identities of the clan (or district) and the individual (or individuals) initiating the sorcery attack. Such revelations usually led to a raid against the clan held responsible for the sorcery attack, or to attempts to ambush and kill the individuals concerned. If neither measure was immediately feasible, country-sorcery was resorted to.

Though physical violence and sorcery were ideally directed against the hostile external world, these two foci of male aggression tended to reflect back and threaten the ideal of internal cooperation and solidarity. We have seen that within the inclusive world male solidarity was achieved only against a process of intensive male competition and its ensuing conflicts. Fighting between clansmen was held to be a violation of group mores, but such violations did occur and on occasion resulted in death. Equally, though the use of lethal sorcery against fellow or allied clansmen was ideally prohibited, such practices were probably resorted to on occasion. Certainly, this dimension formed a part of divinatory procedures following death, for intra-group sorcery was widely suspected and sorcery accusations between 'agnates' were relatively common.

(iii) Group and Individual

The tendency in the ethnography of the 1950s was to focus on the structure of Highland groupings. In part this was understandable, given the need in breaking new ethnographic ground to first establish the general shape of the social landscape and describe its salient political features. Thus, the tendency was to discuss social action exclusively in terms of groups without taking sufficient account of individual action.

While individualism is now a marked feature of Highland societies, it would be completely mistaken to regard this as solely the product of post-contact change: a kind of "then clans did things, now individuals do things" argument. Certainly, post-contact change, and especially pacification, considerably widened socio-political horizons and augmented the potential and actual range of options for Highlanders (for both men and women), but a certain pronounced individualism was apparent in pre- and early contact society. We have already observed this in respect of flexibility in group membership and residence patterns and the corresponding options this made possible to individuals. We need to pursue these matters more fully, and will take the example of warfare to illustrate the problem in the relation between group and individual action in traditional society.

In two publications (1962, 1971) Berndt described warfare among the populations south of Kainantu as an 'inter-district' affair, with the clear implication that all the men of one district were arraigned against all the men of an enemy district. Indeed, Berndt considered it a primary political characteristic of the district that warfare be conducted in terms of this polity. Yet elsewhere Berndt concludes a discussion of warfare on a more qualified note. Here, allowance is made for such factors as the 'conflict of loyalties [on] ... group ... and person', and individual neutrality leading to some degree of non-participation in fighting by individual men. Thus, a man might choose to abstain from a fight because he had kin or trading ties among the district to be attacked. Berndt's conclusion is that warfare

was never "total". Even apart from neutrality, participation of adult males was rarely complete. In some cases [non-participation] ... was left very largely to individual choice (1964:203).¹⁵

Langness strongly endorses this view, adding some crucial observations based on Bena Bena, mainly Korofeigu examples. Korofeigu accounts of traditional warfare show that the scale on which this was waged varied considerably. Sometimes several districts were involved, on other occasions only single Korofeigu clans organised and conducted raids on other settlements. Langness is satisfied that though his informants speak of fighting as if it was conducted in terms of standing polities, only "selected men" of the district or clan actually took part in offensive action. The implication of this is that warfare cannot be interpreted as politically meaningful solely in district or clan terms. On the contrary, in all probability the actual polity involved at any given time was an 'unpredictable alliance of numbers of men who joined together on a purely temporary basis' (1971:307-8).

This interpretation accords with the fluid and individual nature of alliances between men. Indeed, in some Korofeigu examples the cross-cutting nature of these ties could result in men of the same clan fighting on opposite sides (Langness 1971:307), as already observed of Kiseveloka. But we need to add here that men did not participate in warfare simply because they were obliged to avenge the death of kinsmen, or because they were directly obligated to assist an ally to do so. In some cases men with established reputations as killers were recruited by men from distant groups to participate in raids even though the recruits had no special interest in the group to be attacked (Watson 1971:238). The motivation underlying such participation appeared to be (a) economic reward for services rendered (Fortune 1960:146), (b) the joy of killing, and (c) the enhancing of a "strong man" reputation.

The nature of recruitment for warfare shows something of the inconsistency between ideal representations of alliances and enmities (Fig.2), and their actual mode of operation. A case cited by Langness (1971:310) is instructive here; and though it does not actually deal with warfare, it brings out a number of features intimately bound up with warfare. Some Korofeigu men (of Nupasafa) wished to kill a Forape big man. They visited Kami, who were friendly with Forapi, and made gifts of shell and pork to elicit the aid of Kami. This wealth was accepted and divided among Kami people. Later, Kami invited Forape to a feast during which the Forape big man was to be killed with an arrow provided for this purpose by the Nupasafa men. The killing was accomplished, and the arrow sent to Nupasafa as confirmation. Nupasafa then killed more pigs and sent pork payments to Kami.

The important point here is the way in which individual ties between Nupasafa-Kami were used to exploit similar Kami-Forape ties to bring about the murder of the big man. In the process the ties between Nupasafa men and the Kami assassins were strengthened, while, presumably, the Kami-Forape alliance turned to enmity. Of course, in the long run there would be no guarantee that the Kami-Nupasafa alliance would prove any more durable than that between Kami and Forape (see Fortune 1947a:248).

The fact that a big man was the object of this treachery is significant for a number of reasons. Warfare was mainly organised on the basis of big man support and, as pointed out above, in the Eastern Highlands fighting prowess was the principal criterion for achieving "strong man" status, and the waging of warfare was the principal pursuit of big men. A big man's support included men of his own resident group and men of other clans. But the resident group,

normally possessed several big men and probably more if the district population was in the region of 500 or more. Thus, to organise significant numbers of men from within the district and elsewhere the agreement and cooperation of the various big men involved was paramount. Yet, these leaders were rivals, competing within the same immediate social arena for support - a support, moreover, which was in any case fluid and constantly shifting over time. Co-ordinated action in these circumstances was anything but straightforward, and Langness' point about the 'unpredictable' nature of the warring polity in any given context is made in this light.

Clan and district groups were not mere big man followings. Indeed, it was only in rare and exceptional circumstances in the Eastern Highlands that an individual could exert wide-ranging or total power over clan and district members. Usually, big man rivalry and the shifting nature of their support worked against autocratic or despotic control by big men. Clan and district polity, then, did not exactly if at all correspond with big man support, but existed at another distinct level. Though the standing polities were subject to a process of decay and could in fact cease to exist as autonomous units, over time they were considerably more permanent and durable as institutions than big men and their support.

Big men certainly operated in the context of these institutions and attempted to utilise clan and district manpower in pursuit of political and economic ambitions, to achieve a 'name'. Indeed, territorial manpower provided the immediate potential for achieving support for such ambitions; but this support had to be created. Big man support was neither total in respect of the territorial group nor contained by it, but had a more temporary existence as a political grouping. Nonetheless, clan and district affairs overlapped with and

were often directly bound up with the personal interests of big men. A clan or district had a 'name' and was 'strong' because its big men had renown and were strong. In addition, influential men consciously used clan and district idioms as a focus for their own behaviour and ostensibly acted in terms of these idioms.

In sum, then, a number of crucial points need to be made in respect of traditional political action in Eastern Highlands societies. First, the standing polities (clan/district) appear to have had limited political functions and this largely stemmed from the fact that leadership itself was not institutionalised. Second, significant collective action was the result of activating a network of individual ties and alliances between men. Because these relations were forged and maintained by individuals, they were subject to the vagaries of time and circumstance and were therefore fluid and shifting over time. In addition, as the network of one individual overlapped with that of another, the potential political implications of such groupings were as endless as their limits were unfixed. Thus, third, we might characterise the traditional process as "opportunistic" in the sense that individuals sought to create and utilise options made possible by the range of alliances open to them as individuals.

(iv) The Pursuit of Power

In the preceding discussion we have touched on something of the concern with power in traditional society; for example, in noting the stress on male strength and its bearing on aggression in the competitive male world. The following account of power focuses more fully on ritual and related activities. In respect of this two major points will be made: the inter-relation between ritual and political and economic action; and, the individualist implications inherent in this inter-relation.

Ritual acts combining spell, the use of ritual objects and, on occasion body display, are mediatory acts concerned with the manipulation of power. Power in such contexts is normally understood as external and alien (in the sense of being apart from but not necessarily opposed) to ordinary social existence. External forces, as the sources of power, may impinge on society in a variety of unforeseen and random ways (disaster, illness, unexpected good fortune), but ritual action attempts to deal with these forces in a premeditated and controlled manner. Two general features can be noted of ritual action: ritual control attempts to placate potentially malign forces, or to gain the benevolent disposition of these or other forces. Both aims are ultimately oriented to the well-being of the ritual congregation and the social order it represents.

In the Eastern Highlands, manipulation of power through ritual acts commonly expressed the dominant concern with strength, fertility and growth. These concerns underlay a variety of rituals, including a range of selective and more individualised rituals dealing with magic, curing, and sorcery. They were also manifested in behaviour associated with pig festivals (see Read 1952b; Berndt 1962:61-73; Salisbury 1962:32-4; Newman 1964, 1965).

The pig festival formed part of an exchange cycle which varied somewhat (from one to five years, or longer) by the number of territorial groups participating; it being usual for districts to successively host the festival on a rotating basis (Berndt 1962:64). The festival was the culmination of many months preparation and industry, requiring considerable coordination of activities between men and women, and between the men's houses of the territorial group. Much of this activity was devoted to the planting of new gardens (the produce of which was distributed and consumed during the festival),

and the careful cultivation of pig herds. Throughout, these preparations were accompanied by rituals directed towards ancestors (and in some areas to fertility spirits) in which the blowing of the male cult flutes (and among the southern Kainantu populations, the use of bull roarers) was a principal feature. The cult flutes, as the central foci of male society and the symbols of maleness, were closely associated with ancestors, especially in respect of the flute tunes (Read 1952b:8). The blowing of the flutes thus evoked a special identification with ancestors, with the express intention of securing their contribution to the fertility and growth of pigs and gardens. During the stages of preparation small offerings of pork (or pig fat) were presented to the flutes in the men's houses, where the flutes were usually kept, while at the pig kills which signalled the commencement of the festival proper, libations of pigs' blood were made to ancestral or fertility spirits. In addition, the ancestors were associated with pig kills by the presence of *gerua* boards (Salisbury 1962:33-4).¹⁶ The successful mounting of the pig festival, in terms of the actual amount of garden foods and pork distributed during the festival itself, was a tangible demonstration of the goodwill of ancestors and thus an index of territorial group strength and well-being. Here the ritual concerns with power on one plane, directly correlated with political and economic demonstrations of power on another.

According to Langness (1971:309) Bena Bena pig festivals were means of reciprocating allies with gifts of pork for their help in warfare, and the context of Berndt's account seems to confirm this. Read's more detailed description of the *idza nama* festival among the Gahuku-Gama shows that though payments of pork to the descendents of slain allies formed a major category of prestation, other categories

of payment were involved in the festival (1952b:17, 20). The festival thus encompassed a much wider range of individual ties between territorial groups than those specifically relating to warfare. Allowing for some significant variations in pig festivals in different Eastern Highland settings¹⁷, it is evident that these festivals were commonly and primarily concerned with the ratification of alliances between individuals and between territorial groups, with the obligations entailed in such ties being fulfilled and created by the passage of wealth (pork and other valuables). But while fulfillment and renewal of obligations occasioned by the festival were directed towards balance or parity in political and economic relations between allies, the concern with individual and group prestige in the making of prestations also made the festivals highly competitive occasions. Arguments about the amount of pork due to an exchange partner frequently erupted prior to and during the distribution of pork, and the big man orations which preceded the prestations were occasions for marked boasting of group strength and generosity. But competition was usually contained by certain tacit restraints. According to Read, the delicate balance between strength and parity in such contexts had to be carefully managed, so that while the gift stood as a measure of the strength of the donor this should neither expose the weakness of the recipient, nor exceed his ability to reciprocate (1959:429).

In addition to their overt political and economic object, pig festivals occasioned a great degree of social intercourse between people brought together over a wide geographical area. Inevitably such gatherings facilitated new contacts which might be subsequently exploited for exchange and trade. The affair was fully festive in the popular sense, with individuals brilliantly attired in bird of

paradise plumes, shells and other ornaments and decorations. In organised dancing these decorations were proudly and provocatively displayed; a behavioural form which not only expressed aesthetic values about beauty and wealth, but was equally a body display of male and female power. Such display had strong sexual connotations and the sexual encounters which often resulted sometimes lead to brideprice negotiations and marriage. In other words, the festival had more general political and economic consequences than those relating to the exchange of wealth occasioned by the festival.

The relation between body and power was an important feature of two other rites belong to the male cult: male initiation, and the sweat rite.

Male initiation also gave accent to the theme of fertility and growth which marked the preparatory stages of the pig festival. Preferably, initiation of boys into the male cult occurred shortly after the initial blowing of flutes which signalled the commencement of pig festival preparations. Boys of around ten to twelve were forcibly removed from the care of women and taken to a nearby stream. Here to the accompaniment of flutes, played in an adjacent enclosure and hidden from the novices, the boys were subjected to ordeals designed to facilitate growth and instil strength necessary to warriorhood. Two initiatory procedures were emphasised: the drawing of blood by nose piercing, and induced vomiting. These acts were designed to expel 'bad' blood inherited from mothers, and to eject weakening and polluted food received from women. The drawing of blood may also be understood as a ritual enactment of menstruation and a parallel to the puberty rite accompanying the onset of menses of girls, and which in both cases symbolised fertility and the possession of reproductive power.

Male initiation ended with the showing of the cult flutes, hitherto kept secret from the boys, who like women had been encouraged to believe that the flute tunes were the utterances of a monster bird.¹⁸ The showing of the flutes, instruction of their real purpose and of the importance of restricted contact with women, marked the transition of the initiates into male society and residence among the men's house group. Membership of the men's house group involved participation in a range of corporate activities and rituals directed towards accumulation of personal strength; that is, the fostering of those essential qualities ('hot', 'dry', 'hard') which, as noted earlier, distinguished maleness from femininity. The most expressive of men's house activities concerned with these values was the sweat rite.¹⁹

The sweat rite, though more generally practised, can be regarded as part of the pig festival complex of activities, for prior to initiation novices were brought to the men's house to observe this ritual (Berndt 1962:76). The rite commenced with each participant (the observing novices excepted) drawing blood from his nose and tongue. A specially prepared food containing 'hot' seasoning (ginger and salt) was consumed by the group seated around a large fire which was kept well fuelled. As the temperature rose sweat ran down the bodies of the men and youths, making patterns on their skins; some men manipulating the flow of sweat with a cassowary bone to achieve a desired effect. The sweat symbolised the manifestation of power, while the patterns indicated the degree of power possessed by different individuals. According to Berndt the length of sweat running from the upper part to the lower part of the body also measured the degree of power said to be possessed by given individuals. Thus, the longer the run of sweat the greater the degree of power possessed. The desired effect was to achieve a run of sweat from

the upper region to the penis. This manifested great power, an accomplishment especially associated with men of renowned warrior status. With the termination of the rite, held over five days or so, garden vegetables were cooked by the women, who brought newly-made decorations to the men's house and presented them to the men. At the opening of the earth ovens the decorated men emerged from the men's house singing and displaying themselves for the women to admire. The ritual ended with a corporate feast.

During the course of the rite an explicit prohibition on sexual intercourse was enjoined on male participants, expressing the view that sweat would not appear on the skin of a man who had violated this injunction. Indeed, at the termination of the rite youths were informed that the sweat patterns now made them especially attractive to women. The youths would therefore refrain from sexual intercourse to prevent the dissipation of their power (Berndt 1962:76). A series of related analogies can be drawn from the rite: for example, heat is equated with power; power is manifested in sweat, which probably stands as a metaphor for semen. The prohibition on copulation sets up a standard ritual opposition between maleness and femininity in the with the view that copulation robs males of their strength; that is the condition of maleness, for which semen is a root metaphor, is negated by the act of copulation and semen loss. These questions of symbolic interpretation however are of less direct significance to this discussion than other implications which stem from the concern with power in the sweat rite.

Though the rite emphasised maleness against femininity, the demonstration of power was ultimately stated not in terms of this opposition but in drawing basic differences in male status. This individualisation of male power directly correlated with the underlying

individualism which we have previously drawn attention to in political and economic behaviour. Ritual cultivation and protection of individual male power was no less apparent in the pursuit of power in political and economic spheres. Finally, it is worthwhile drawing attention to the degree to which personal choice was exercised in the cultivation of male power. Though corporate prohibitions and restrictions usually formed an essential part of male rituals, more generally individual men could and did exercise options to protect or increase personal power. Many dietary and other prohibitions and preferences were adopted and terminated by individuals on this basis. Indeed, acts like blood-letting and self-induced vomiting were not simply restricted to male initiation and other corporate rituals. All initiates possessed sharpened bamboo sticks (for nose-piercing) and a length of lawyer cane (to induce vomiting) and privately used these implements to expel weakening influences as occasion demanded (Berndt 1962:57).

A more complete understanding of power in traditional society requires more elaborate treatment than that given here. Only limited attention has been given to ancestors and spirits and their role in the affairs of society, and we have omitted any treatment of the broader Highland world view, of which ancestors and spirits formed an essential part. Aspects of this world view will be considered in the closing chapter, where we contrast the competing demands of the traditional world view with that represented by the missions. The present account has been limited to stressing two basic features of power: the pragmatic consequences inherent in the relation of ritual action to political and economic behaviour; and, the degree of individualism evident in the many facets of that relation.

It is appropriate to end this account of traditional society on this note, for much of the significance of Highland response to contact can be directly traced to these pragmatic and individualist emphases in the traditional pursuit of power.

Notes - Chapter III

1. In fact the first fieldwork research in the Highlands was conducted by Fortune in 1935. However, he published (in 1947) only two somewhat repetitive papers on warfare based on this research. Missionaries in Chimbu and the Western Highlands produced ethnographic accounts based on research undertaken in the 1930s, but no comparable missionary studies were ever published for the Eastern Highlands.
2. The spelling of group and place names in this thesis differs in some instances from that used in government patrol reports and censuses for the Kiseveloka area. Thus my Move is variously rendered 'Mobei' or 'Movei' in government reports, while Kivuluga occurs as 'Kiwaraga' or 'Kiburaga', and Havi as 'Habi'. It should be noted that the small Move population at Dagenava to the south of Kiseveloka is listed separately in government censuses, usually as 'Mobei', though on occasion the two spellings are unaccountably switched.
3. However, offensive action was a very different matter. See below.
4. Nucleated settlement was common throughout the Eastern Highlands, but dispersed residence was a more common feature of Chimbu and further west (Read 1954).
5. Patrol Report Goroka 7/1949-50. Read (1954:13) gives a higher general figure (settlements with 10 to 50 houses) for the area 'Asaro to Kainantu, and south of Mount Michael', the latter referring to the Lufa area. The discrepancy between the figure given in the text and that of Read may reflect a general difference between grassland (north) and forest dwellers (south) in the Eastern Highlands, not brought out in Read's general account.
6. See Read (1952b:18, 19), and for one of the few substantial accounts (though of a Western Highlands people) of women in a Highland society, M. Strathern (1972). A more recent account of Highland women is given in the papers in Brown and Buchbinder (1976).

7. Langness undertook fieldwork at Nupasafa (Korofeigu district) in the early 1960s. Nupasafa is situated on the Bena Bena-Yagaria border, some 15 miles due north of Kiseveloka.
8. Numerous examples of sexual promiscuity and adultery are given in Berndt (1962). The implied inconsistency between ideal and real here is expanded upon in Chapter Eight.
9. Kiseveloka men did not have a preference for marrying into specific enemy clans, though this did occur. Rather, the tendency was to marry where alliances already existed, having been forged in previous generations. Marriage is sometimes associated with the concept *aitene*, literally 'seed', and expresses the notion of returning a woman to the clan of her 'mother' or 'father's mother'. In a sense this can be said to mean marriage to a man's FZD or FFZSD, i.e. patrilateral cross-cousin marriage. It would be fundamentally misplaced, however, to interpret this concept in terms of a prescriptive or preferential marriage system.
10. At the death of a wife, the husband and his supporters ('brothers', 'sons', and others) assembled mortuary payments of pork, some of which went to the woman's 'brothers'. Payments made to this 'clan' only ended with the death of their 'sisters' children.
11. This is the implication in the case of Matoto (see Chapter Eight). His renown led to the accumulation of numerous wives, probably in excess of sixteen (Watson 1971:231). The initiative for arranging these marriages came principally from villages anxious to establish alliances with Matoto by pressing their sisters on him (p.245). It would seem completely uncharacteristic that Matoto stood in a subordinate position to his male affines, quite the reverse. It is not clear whether brideprice was paid for his wives, neither is it known if Matoto consistently made affinal payments. Watson suggests that where fulfilled such payments were probably an expression of Matoto's economic power rather than of his subordination. It is probable that he reneged quite openly on many of his affinal obligations (*ibid.*). Indeed, in one case where Matoto murdered one of his wives, her brothers out of fear neither took revenge on the despot, nor attempted to claim compensation from him (pp.237-8).

12. This and other aspects of traditional leadership in the Highlands are dealt with more fully in Chapter Eight.
13. 'Strength' is broadly understood here as courage or bravado, coupled with a forceful, domineering personality. It should not be taken to imply mere physical strength.
14. Though it is unlikely that all the eligible male children of the three Kivuluga clans were of necessity jointly initiated, male initiation tended to be organised between clans (or between the men's house groups of different clans). In part this may merely reflect on inter-clan mixing in men's house groups compounding itself over the generations. However, male initiation was normally organised in the context of pig festivals, which were essentially organised as a district (i.e. Kivuluga) affair. A paucity of eligible children in one clan may thus have made it convenient for clans to jointly mount a given initiation ceremony. In either case, the outcome was that an initiate had strong agemate bonds in his own and in other clans of the territorial group.
15. Such choices were originally observed at first hand by Fortune of fighting in the Henganofi area of the Eastern Highlands in 1935 (1947a:247; 1947b:115). Fortune was probably the only ethnographer to actually observe organised fighting in the Eastern Highlands. However, his discussion is rather forced and places too much weight on the underlying 'rules' supposedly governing the conduct of warfare.
16. *Gerua* boards were decorated with painted designs which among the Siane represented 'lineage ancestors', and in some cases the boards were also associated with the souls of slaughtered pigs (Salisbury 1962:65). Similar objects were found elsewhere in the Eastern Highlands. Among the southern Kainantu people such boards were used in pig festivals and in other contexts, but the designs did not directly represent ancestors (C.H. Berndt 1959: 165-73).

17. Though the accounts of Salisbury, Read and Berndt lack detailed consideration of the actual prestations involved in pig festivals, some general variations are apparent. Among the Siane the main category of pork went to sisters' husbands of the phratry (i.e. district), with dancers from other villages being rewarded for their presence and participation. Subsequently, exchanges of pork were made between the clans of the hosting phratry, with other gifts of pork going to 'honorary members of the phratry', that is 'outsiders' who had previously aided the phratry in some way. For Gahuku-Gama, an initial exchange of pork occurred between the two principal groups involved. This was followed by a large pig kill organised by the hosting group, with a more generalised distribution. For the southern Kainantu populations, a single distribution of pork was made to allied districts.

It should be noted here that the pig festivals observed by these writers were among the last to be held in the Eastern Highlands, for due to mission influence the festivals were abandoned throughout the Eastern Highlands during the 1950s (Read 1952a). See Chapters Six and Seven.

18. The flutes as the major ritual objects of the male cult were kept hidden from women and uninitiated boys. At Kiseveloka the belief that flutes represented a monster bird formed part of a series of deceptions played by men on women. A principal feature of this was the illicit obtaining of pork from women, say, after quantities of pork (following a pig festival, a marriage, or a mortuary distribution) had been received by a given settlement. At night the men crept close to the houses of the women and played the flutes. To placate this 'monster' pork was thrown out of the houses, which the men took to the men's house and consumed. On other occasions the hollow stem of a plant was used to initiate the crying of a baby. This was said to be the child of the 'monster', and pork was thrown out of the women's houses in the same manner. Doubtless, this behaviour was more of a game than a serious attempt to deceive the women. According to Berndt, such deception was differently interpreted among the populations to the

east of Kiseveloka, where the women gave pork in the belief that flutes were the 'wives' of the men, and 'co-wives' with the women (1962:71). However, Langness confirms the 'monster bird' interpretation for the Bena Bena (1969:40).

19. See Berndt (1962:73-84).

Chapter FourCONTACT: INTRUSION AND RESPONSE

'Trade was the basis of contact'¹

When in 1935 Hides and O'Malley first climbed into the Papuan (or Southern) Highlands and glimpsed the broad expanse of the Tarifuroro Valley with its substantial population and orderly system of cultivation, Hides had cause to reflect on what civilisation would bring to the valley's inhabitants. He saw particular cause for anxiety in the inevitable advent of the missions, which, he felt, would equally inevitably disrupt the life of the valley and break up its social system (Sinclair 1969:145, 178-9). In fact it would be some years before a mission presence in the Southern Highlands gave substance to Hides' anxieties. However, to the north in the Highlands of the Mandated Territory of New Guinea the mission scramble had already begun even as Hides and O'Malley entered the Southern Highlands.

Intrusion

Contacts between the Lutheran mission and small populations on the fringes of the Eastern Highlands of New Guinea were initiated by Yabem evangelists of the Neuendettelsau Mission residing in Adzera villages in the Kaiapit area. The Kaiapit station in the Upper Markham Valley was established between 1916-18, and by 1919 some eighteen Yabem evangelists were resident in the surrounding area. This brought Lutheran influence to the foothills of the Eastern Highlands. At least two of these evangelists had made limited contact with raiding and trading parties from the mountain range

that loomed above Kaiapit to the west. One evangelist claimed to have intervened during a raid by an 'Orauna' (Gadsup) party on an Adzera settlement and to have been taken back to an Orauna village (Geyammalo Apo 1971). Another evangelist, Kemadi, having made contact with a different mountain party, successfully persuaded the Lutheran missionary Lehner to lead a small mission party into the mountains. Lehner's party spent the night in a Binumarien settlement before returning to Kaiapit (Radford 1972).

These early contacts with the Gadsup² were gradually developed in the early 1920s and evangelist out-stations were successively founded by the Lutherans at Binumarien and Wampur (Map 3). An evangelist, Gape'nuo, stationed at Wampur, attempted to explore the surrounding country, but frustrated by incessant local fighting, in 1926 Gape'nuo and a colleague journeyed down to Kaiapit and then into the Lower Ramu Valley to the evangelist station at Garamaro. This route brought them parallel to the Kamano area high above in the Bismarck Range. From Garamaro Gape'nuo led a small party to Lihona on the fringe of Kamano country. Following some trading with Lihona people, Gape'nuo returned to Kaiapit, from where details of the contact with Lihona were sent to Leonard Flierl at Sattelberg.³ Later in 1926, Flierl, who had previously visited Wampur, travelled to Lihona and established a Kate out-station there.⁴ Flierl used this and later visits to explore part of the Kamano country to the south-west along the Dunantina River.

This area was more extensively explored in 1929 by the two Lutheran missionaries, Pilhofer and Bergmann. The following year two gold prospectors, Mick Leahy and Dwyer, entered the Highlands at Lihona and, following part of the route taken by the earlier Lutheran explorers, made the first penetration into the broad Goroka Valley

and established contact with Bena Bena and Yagaria peoples as they followed the course of the Dunantina, Asaro, and Tua rivers. Leahy and Dwyer eventually crossed into Papua and, following the Purari River, arrived at the Papuan Coast.

Leahy shortly returned to the Highlands and made a number of explorations through the Central and Western Highlands between 1930-34.⁵ During this period Leahy established base camps in the Bena Bena and Wahgi areas (where he had laid out rudimentary airstrips) and later a permanent mining camp near Mount Hagen.

(i) The Stations

In the Eastern Highlands the Lutherans took steps to establish an effective presence and extend their influence into other Highland areas. A temporary station was founded at Kambaidam in 1931 by Bergmann and re-located to Onerunka, near Kainantu, in 1933. Here the Lutherans joined a small number of gold prospectors working claims in the area, and government officers following the founding of the Upper Ramu (Kainantu) patrol post in 1932.

In the latter part of 1934 a large Lutheran party travelled west across the Highlands and founded stations at Ega (Chimbu) and at Ogelbeng (Mount Hagen). A few weeks earlier, American Lutheran missionaries from Madang had also founded a station in the Chimbu area (Kerowagi), while Catholic missionaries of the Society of the Divine Word based at Alexishafen, founded several stations in the Chimbu and Hagen areas.⁶ Later, in 1937 another Lutheran station was begun at Asaroka in the Upper Asaro Valley. In addition, a small Seventh Day Adventist undertaking was started at Kainantu in 1934.

Thus in the latter half of the 1930s missionaries, miners, and government officers (patrol posts having also been opened at

Kundiawa and Hagen) were consolidating the earlier contact with Highlanders, and establishing the basis of a network of centres in terms of which political and economic relations with Highland peoples were to be increasingly managed. In the post-war era some of these centres like Kainantu, Kundiawa, and Mount Hagen were to develop into large townships.

Due to restrictions on the movements of Europeans and their non-Highland subordinates in the Highlands after 1936 - a matter which will be examined more fully below - station populations were sometimes considerable in the late 1930s. In 1937 the Lutheran station at Ega had some 200 residents, while the Kundiawa patrol post nearby had about 100 residents. In the general Mount Hagen area the missions government, and miners employed between them 700-800 Hageners. In addition to the permanent station personnel (European missionaries, mission workers, and non-Highland labourers; government officers, native police, etc.), the bulk of the station residents comprised schoolboys, local labourers and other locals who were all apparently provisioned daily at the stations. Thus, in excess of one ton of vegetables (sweet potato) was being obtained daily between the Ega and Kundiawa stations, the vegetables coming from village gardens in the immediate vicinity. At Asaroka, the Lutherans instituted a weekly market to furnish their food requirements. Held on each Saturday, the market attracted huge crowds of local people, estimated at the time to vary between 6,000-10,000.

The demand for food placed considerable pressure on local resources in the general environs of the stations, and by the late 1930s pigs had become scarce. On one occasion Leahy was refused permission to travel out of the Mount Hagen area in search of pigs on the grounds that such impositions on local resources could no longer be

tolerated by the Administration. These restrictions applied equally to the missions.⁷

(ii) The Economic Flood

Station demands for food and labour⁸ led to a rapid structuring of economic relations between Europeans and Highlanders, and, in the absence of a monetary economy, to large-scale traffic in alternative forms of wealth. From the outset Europeans had grasped something of the importance of shell in Highland trade and exchange networks, and, with the permanent European presence in the Highlands, vast quantities of shell (each kind having its own value) were imported into the Highlands. In addition, there were the more standard trade items; steel tools (axe heads, plane blades, machetes and knives), razor blades, beads, salt, twist tobacco, decorative paint, etc. Ross, who helped pioneer Catholic work in the Highlands, remarks that in the Chimbu area in 1934 a large pig could be obtained for either a green-snail shell or for a small axe or machete. Values at Mount Hagen were higher; here a large bailer shell worth about 25 cents could obtain a 200 lb. pig. Moreover, a ton of sweet potatoes was valued at about the same amount in shell (Ross 1968:61).

The increased demand for shell after 1936 threatened the Europeans' coastal sources of supply. According to the government officer Taylor, in the attempt to create a new source of supply and overcome the growing deficiency of shell along the Huon Coast, the Lutherans ordered imitation shells from a British manufacturer. However, customs officials at Salamaua refused to permit entry to this consignment and it was dumped into the sea (Hughes 1978:313).

The volume of trade in shell alone in the Highlands reached flood proportions, with millions of shell items circulating through Highland trade and exchange networks as a direct result of European

intervention (Hughes 1978:312-7). Some general appreciation of the amount of shell used to obtain local labour for the construction of mission stations can be judged from details given by Ross (1968: 60-1). The building of the Catholic station at Mingende, which included missionary quarters, a 'kitchen, laundry, workers' quarters, tool shed, and a small church', involved 'literally thousands of natives', each receiving a 'few' cowrie shells per day. The station was completed in about two months (April-May 1934) and, allowing for a total working period of 50 days, the amount of shell distributed by the Catholics must have been considerable. This was in addition to shell and steel trade for local food. At Wilya near Mount Hagen, where the main station was rapidly completed, over a four-month period (June-September, 1934) a further nine out-stations were constructed by the Catholics in the surrounding area. Again, the labour ran into 'thousands'. At Anggil some '2000 ... men, women and children' completed the out-station in a single day of thirteen hours work. Payment of a few cowries was made for each bundle of bush materials brought in. Probably well over one million cowrie shells were distributed by the Catholic missionaries during the construction operations in the Mingende and Wilya areas in 1934. But when we add the construction of the Catholic station and out-stations in the Denglagu area (see below) and the additional station at Rebiamul⁹ near Mount Hagen, together with the five main Lutheran stations at Ogelbeng Ega, Kerowagi, Asaroka and Onerunka, the mission contribution alone to the traffic in shell must have run into millions.

(iii) Wealth and Change

Economic intervention by Europeans had profound effects in the Highlands. It not only created new sources of supply of shell and other wealth for Highlanders, but over time actually reversed the

older patterns of trade; valuables flowing out from the Highlands through trade networks rather than into the Highlands as before. In turn this brought about changes in exchange relations and a corresponding shift in alliances between individuals and groups.

Four general features can be taken to illustrate this. First, the influx of wealth rapidly effected traditional values associated with wealth payments. Thus, in the vicinity of the stations and possibly further afield payments more subject to negotiation like brideprice became steadily devalued, while major exchange ceremonies like *moka* in the Western Highlands and general trade between Highlanders probably suffered in the same way. Certainly, Hageners were complaining by the late 1930s that shell was virtually worthless (Hughes 1978:315).

Second, male prestige was directly affected. Traditionally, relatively exclusive control of wealth by big men was a significant factor in male prestige. However, more general access to wealth, especially by younger men employed at the stations as labourers, undercut big man exchange monopoly and with it much of their prestige (Strathern 1966:364). Moreover, in the process younger men were now able to compete with older leaders by virtue of their economic independence and their knowledge of station life, probably using this experience to boast of their relative sophistication and denigrate the ignorance of others.

Third, general access to the stations created new opportunities for individuals and groups in the station environs to establish economic and political prestige over more isolated populations. This, as we shall see directly, had an important bearing on the general communication process in the Highlands during the 1930s and 1940s, with highly significant repercussions on the response of outlying

populations.

Fourth, change was not limited to the populations in the vicinities of the stations, but gradually affected outlying peoples who had experienced little or no direct contact with Europeans and non-Highlander New Guineans. Thus, the introduction of steel tools traded into the Siane area from the north in the 1930s gradually released men from the time-consuming labour of a stone age material culture and led to the organisation of larger exchange ceremonies than had been the case before. These ceremonies were also affected by the increased volume of wealth circulating in the area.

Increased male leisure, more wealth, and the cooperation needed to organise larger ceremonies led to the emergence of new levels of political organisation among the Siane. Hitherto autonomous clan were now formed in to a phratry organisation. In the ceremonies, clans acted together as a phratry in competition with the clans of other, rival phratries (Salisbury 1962).

(iv) Hostility

As these changes stemming directly from the European presence partly suggest, Highland response to intrusion was predominantly positive. There were however exceptions. Mick Leahy was involved in a number of skirmishes with Highlanders prior to 1934, and he claimed to have shot some 40 warriors in different confrontations (Finney 1973:25). Leahy's initial 1930 expedition seems to have lacked major hostile incidents and this may have been largely due to Leahy's precautionary approach when establishing initial contact. It was his usual practice to give a demonstration of his party's superior fire-power, using a borrowed war shield or a nearby tree as a target. The report of the rifle-shot and the damage to the target

were usually sufficient to deter any thought of attack by the stunned onlookers (Munster 1979:70-1). Such demonstrations were only possible when the initial contact had been more or less friendly. Hostile reaction by Highlanders alarmed by primary European intrusion were not unknown, but in many cases trouble arose during subsequent contacts.

Thus, Taylor's Bena-Hagen patrol in 1932 was enthusiastically greeted on the outward journey, yet it encountered consistent hostility on returning through the same areas. The reason for this dramatic *volte-face* is unknown. Leahy's difficulties at Korofeigu (Bena Bena) have a clearer underlying cause. In 1932 Leahy made his third visit to Korofeigu and as usual his arrival was enthusiastically greeted, with local people thronging about the camp. To forestall trouble in such cases, Leahy had the camp roped off. However, one of the carriers working too near the rope had a steel axe stolen, the thief rapidly fleeing into the crowd. Leahy gave chase but was unable to catch the fugitive. On returning to the camp he found the Korofeigu men in an aggressive mood, obviously impressed by the ease with which the theft had been accomplished and by Leahy's inability to apprehend the culprit. An attack quickly followed during which Leahy's party shot six Korofeigu men before the attackers were dispersed. Incidents like this reveal the knife-edge on which contact was often precariously poised; a situation in which apparent amity might speedily turn to enmity.

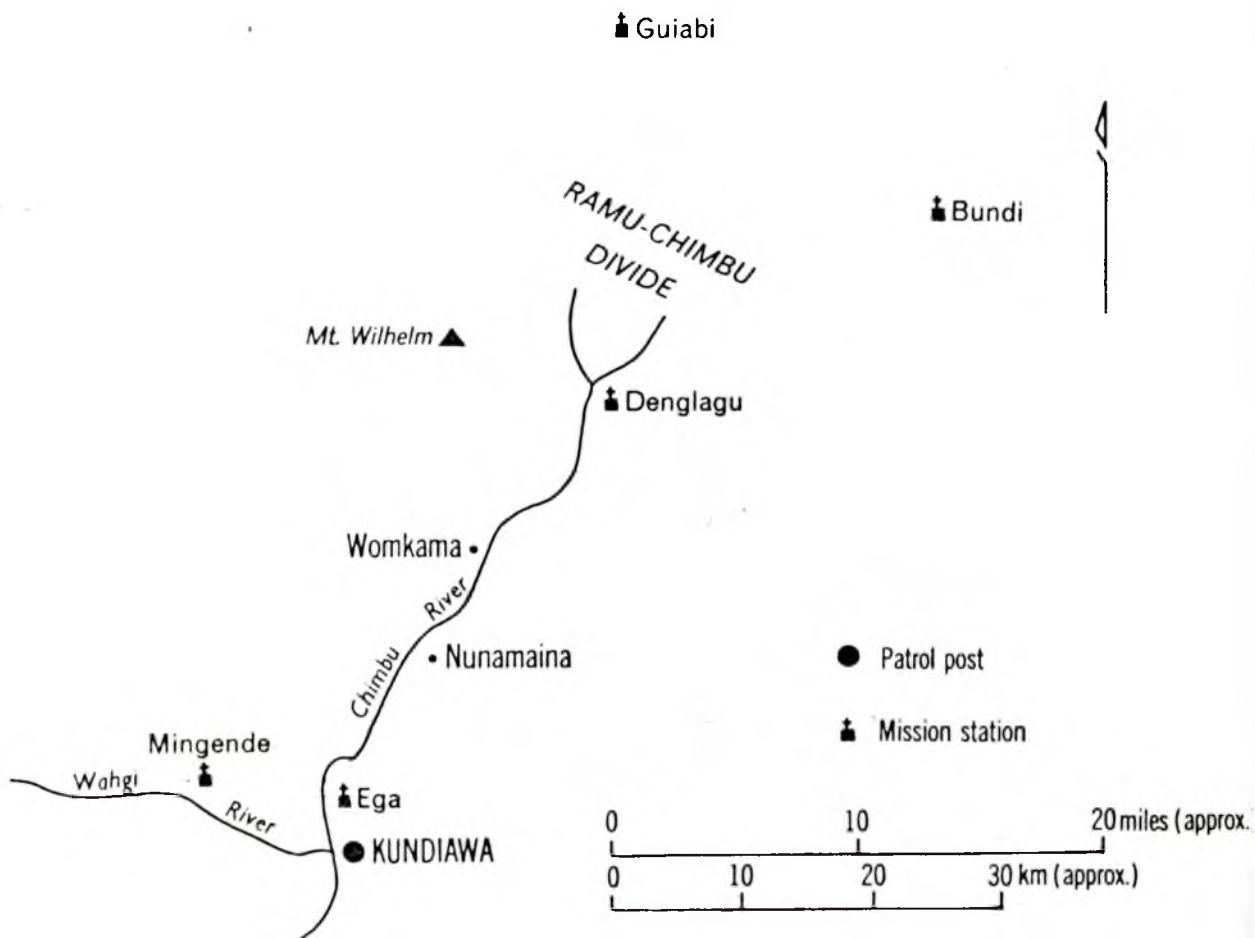
Primary contacts were often forged in the early 1930s by the sudden and bold approach of an individual Highlander responding to the gestures of friendship made by Europeans. This was usually sufficient to break the ice and establish a more general friendly encounter. Once achieved, this was quickly reinforced by trade; usually the exchange of trade goods for garden vegetables and pigs (see Sinclair

1966:38-9). Yet, if for the bolder spirit contact presented opportunities for displays of bravado, the surface friendships that resulted frequently masked great anxiety and suspicion by Highlanders. Not that this necessarily led to subsequent hostility. Rather, as the Korofeigu incident shows, this was prompted by the intruders' possession of highly prized wealth. Highlanders could not fail to observe the many patrol boxes crammed with shell and other valuables, neither were they unappreciative of the numerical weakness of many of the exploring parties. Though Leahy's precautions might serve as an immediate deterrent, the growing boldness of Highlanders in their sporadic contact with Europeans and their small parties of carriers sometimes led to attempts to test the "guns versus bows" hypothesis.

Occasional hostility to European intrusion was not however confined to sporadic contact, but could occur even when relations seemed more established. Here a number of factors were present, and not least the overbearing and reckless behaviour of Europeans. In late December 1934 and early January 1935 two Catholic missionaries were killed when they were attacked in two separate incidents in the Chumbu Valley.¹⁰ Following the founding of the Catholic stations at Mingende and Denglagu (see Map 2) the Denglagu missionary van Baar became involved in disputes with Womkama people. Womkama carriers used by van Baar had pilfered mission stores, and a small mission house was later burnt down on Womkama land. Van Baar discovered this on a visit to Mingende, and warned the Womkama people that if the house was not rebuilt by his return from Mingende he would take reprisals.¹¹ Returning to find the house still in charred ruins, van Baar's party shot several local pigs and moved off to join another missionary, Morschheuser, camped nearby. Maddened by the loss of their pigs, a

Map 2:

Chimbu Valley (after Simpson 1954 : 85)



Womkama party gave pursuit and ambushed the mission party, killing Morschheuser. A few days later another missionary (Brother Eugene Frank) was attacked at Nunamaina¹² and died later of his wounds. Frank knew of the Morschheuser killing before leaving Mingende, where he had been warned by Chimbu people not to travel to Denglagu as widespread fighting had broken out in the Womkama area. Frank's decision to ignore these warnings led to his own death and the injury of two mission assistants.

(v) Restrictions

These incidents in the Chimbu Valley topped off growing concern by the Administration at Salamaua about the general situation in the Highlands. In 1933 a government officer, Mack, was killed in attempting to bring about pacification in the Eastern Highlands, and in 1935 the mining prospector McGrath was killed near Kainantu following thefts from his stores. In the same year another prospector, the Austrian Ludwig Schmidt, was arrested over the murder of villagers in the Yuat River area of the Sepik. Schmidt and his companions, however, were strongly suspected of other irresponsible actions in the Highlands before arriving in the Sepik (Leahy and Crain 1937:221).¹³ In consequence the Administration amended the Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance (1925) to curtail European movement in the Highlands. Apart from government officers, no European was allowed to enter the Highlands, and those already present in the Highlands were restricted to their settlements.¹⁴ Due to an oversight the Administration did not immediately apply restrictions to the Catholic and Lutheran mission workers resident in Highland out-stations (of which there were over 70 in 1936). However, when some of these mission workers became involved in incidents in the Bundi and Kerowagi areas,¹⁵ a new regulation to the Native Administration Ordinance was issued forcing the recall of the mission workers to

the main stations and the closure of the out-stations. With the exception of the Kainantu area, where Lutheran pressure led to the easing of these new regulations, both restrictions remained substantially in force until after the Pacific war.

The restrictions had two main consequences. In limiting mission influence to the immediate environs of the stations, mission expansion became impossible and effective missionization was delayed until the post-war era. Though seriously handicapping the missions, these restrictions were advantageous to Highland populations in the station areas. As we shall see, access to the stations enabled these populations (or rather individuals among them) to play crucial middle-men roles in the communication of information about Europeans and in the flow of trade valuables to outlying areas.

(vi) Pacification in the Eastern Highlands

The regulation to the Native Administration Ordinance came as a great blow to the Lutherans. Lutheran expansion particularly in the Neuendettelsau field had been mainly achieved by the use of Kâte and Yabem evangelists. Lutheran plans for rapid expansion into outlying Highland areas through the use of Kâte evangelists, a policy made more urgent by the Catholic and Seventh Day Adventist presence, were frustrated by the closure of the out-stations and the recall of the evangelists. Only in the Kainantu area were the Lutherans successful in having these restrictions lifted.

The situation in the general area around Kainantu was unstable during the early 1930s. Internicine warfare was common and Europeans were sometimes threatened and attacked, and, as we noted earlier, two Europeans were killed by Eastern Highlanders between 1933-35. The situation worsened even as the Administration imposed the new restrictions in 1936, for widespread deaths from an influenza epidemic that swept through the Eastern Highlands, left a train of

sorcery accusations and fighting in its wake (Radford 1977:46).

The government officer, James Taylor, who arrived at the Upper Ramu patrol post at Kainantu in 1932, was surprised to learn that fighting was widespread and endemic, but thought that 'a little bit of education' would quickly rectify matters (Munster 1979:140). Taylor's enigmatic phrase might well have meant discipline rather than edification; though uttered in the presence of the Lutheran missionary Bergmann, it may have been a sop to Bergmann in recognition of the potential pacifying influence of the Kâte evangelists.

Shortly after the war, Taylor, reviewing how pacification was achieved, believed that indiscriminate trade in shell by Europeans hindered pacification in the pre-war period. Shell was simply too easily obtainable and this allowed Kainantu peoples to remain aloof from government influence and restrict contact with Europeans to a minimum. During the 1930s Kainantu peoples were prepared to trade food for shell and other goods, but were generally reluctant to work for Europeans; labour having to be recruited from the Markham Valley and Chimbu. Taylor held that a less generous use of shell and an appreciation of the values associated with given varieties of shell, could directly affect the success of government control. He cited as evidence for this the policy he adopted later in the Goroka Valley, where, benefiting from his earlier experience at Kainantu, Taylor used shell more sparingly, reserving the most highly prized egg-cowrie for labour. This ensured a ready supply of local labour, whose subordination to the economic and political authority of government officers gradually spread to the surrounding villages (Munster 1979:142). This was later dramatically underlined in 1944 when Taylor and Black mounted a display of rockets and mortar bombs at Goroka, in order to impress villagers of government power (Munster, p.231).

While revealing of policies pursued by individual officers, Taylor's remarks seem to ignore the different conditions existing between the Goroka and Kainantu areas in the 1930s. In the latter, competition between Europeans and the options presented to the population by the varied European presence, presented opportunities which could be exploited to obtain shell and other goods while maintaining a degree of detachment from the stations and mining camps. Little of this existed in the Goroka Valley. Though Leahy began gold-workings and fashioned a rudimentary airstrip at Sigoiya, where a government post was also established, these were later abandoned. Throughout much of the 1930s the valley essentially remained a place through which Europeans occasionally passed en route to Chimbu and Mount Hagen. For the most part traffic in shell and other trade with Europeans was limited to this transient contact.¹⁶ If, then, pacification was later more readily achieved in the Goroka Valley, it would seem that the absence of European competition and a substantial government monopoly of shell greatly assisted this process.

(vii) Pacification and the Kâte Evangelists

Following the early location of Kâte evangelists at Wampur and Lihona, by 1934 some 19 evangelist out-stations were in operation in the general Kainantu area under the supervision of 'Hans' Flierl at Onerunka. Their number was probably increased by 1936, though Aitchison's later estimate of 'hundreds' of Kâte evangelists settled in the area at this time seems wildly exaggerated.¹⁷ The main concentration of Lutheran influence lay in the Kafe-Karmamontina area to the north-west of Onerunka (Radford 1977:47). Some evangelists with their small families having been 'adopted' by village leaders (1977:44), were able to establish themselves and gain general

acceptance in the area. Elsewhere footholds were achieved less easily. At Rabana, where Bergmann had met difficulties over the trade goods in his possession in 1930 (Munster n.d. (ii):18), two evangelists were physically assaulted on several occasions, possibly due to disputes between two local factions about where the evangelists should reside; both factions having made separate arrangements to accommodate the mission workers (Munster 1979:136).

Stated Lutheran policy required the evangelists to be cautious and reserved in their early contact with pagan villagers, yet they were expected to exert a pacifying influence and attempt to intervene in warfare and sorcery (Keysser 1924:427-9; Vicedom 1961:19-21; Geyammalo Apo 1971:23-9). The Lutheran missionaries believed that once an elementary pacification had been achieved by the evangelists, this would gradually lead to a realisation by local populations of the benefits to be derived from association with the Mission. The door to evangelisation was thus opened.

This door was seemingly firmly shut with the gazetting of the new regulations and the withdrawal of the evangelists to Onerunka in 1936.¹⁸ The intention of withdrawal, however, prompted an immediate reaction. Having learnt from Flierl and the government officer at Kainantu (Aitchison) that the evangelists were to be removed, a Lutheran supporter at Wayanofi persuaded the villagers to initiate peace with neighbouring villages in the Upper Dunantina, in the attempt to have the government order rescinded. A gathering of several hundred people later assembled at Wayanofi to meet Flierl. The missionary berated the assembly for consistently reneging on their promise to abandon warfare and sorcery. Local leaders replied that they would now demonstrate their desire for peace by giving up weapons and sorcery objects for public destruction. When Flierl learnt that not all the

villages in the area were represented at this meeting, he argued that without a general commitment to peace the government was unlikely to allow the evangelists to remain or, following their departure, to return. Flierl then departed to Rabana to attend a peace ceremony,¹⁹ leaving the Wayanofi assembly to extend the support for peace.

Some time later Flierl returned to Wayanofi where a huge gathering, broadly representative of villages in the region, was assembled. The Kâte evangelists acted out in tableau²⁰ the new road of peace brought by the Mission, contrasting this with the old ways of warfare and sorcery. At the termination of this tableau and under the direction of the evangelists, the gathering resolved to

make roads [i.e. bridle paths], pull down the village ... stockades, clean the villages, deliver up ... weapons and sorcery bundles, listen to the word of God and be subject to the government (Radford 1977:49).

The following day Flierl led a large party of warriors to Kainantu, where they deposited weapons and sorcery items for Aitchison to destroy.

These events set off a chain reaction from Dunantina in the west to Pundibassa in the east. Over the next few months groups of warriors in increasing numbers arrived at Kainantu to destroy the instruments of war and revenge.²¹ In response to Aitchison's reports on these events, Chinnery, then Director of District Services, visited the Eastern Highlands to personally inspect the situation. Satisfied that peace had been widely achieved in the general area around Kainantu, the Administration gave district officers discretion in applying the restrictions of 1935/36. Though restrictions on European movement in the Highlands were partially eased by these new directions to district officers, only in the Kainantu area were the evangelists allowed to return to the villages.

Radford's account of the Kainantu movement, based mainly on Flierl's diaries, emphasises the initiative of Kainantu peoples in bringing about the change in government policy (1977:40, 41). Regarding the Lutheran Mission, prominence is given to Flierl's frequent intervention in visits to the Upper Dunantina and, later, his combined patrols with Aitchison. Apart from the account of their role in the tableau at Wayanofi, the Kâte evangelists receive little attention during the movement. This is probably due to lack of detailed information in Flierl's account. But it is insufficient to leave the matter there. Some speculation is called for.

During the early stages of the movement in the Upper Dunantina in July/August 1936, the evangelists were still resident in the area. It seems probable, seeing that they had been present at Wayanofi since 1930 and had achieved influence there (1977:47), that the evangelists were also active in gaining wider support for peace in the general area following Flierl's initial meeting at Wayanofi, and may have used a variety of threats and warnings in the process. It was not unknown for the evangelists to make use of supernatural sanctions; threatening villagers with sickness and death as a divine punishment for ignoring mission teaching (Munster 1979:161). Given that an influenza epidemic had recently swept through the area, evangelist interpretations of the source of that epidemic may have gained wide acceptance once the impending removal of the evangelists was known. The decision to destroy weapons and sorcery objects is interpreted by Radford as coming voluntarily from the Wayanofi gathering. However, this practice has all the hallmarks of evangelist influence. As we will see in later chapters, such practices were extended by Lutheran evangelists and teachers during the later period of conversion to include the destruction of other cultural objects.

The fact that the evangelists were the central issue in prompting the Wayanofi response would suggest that Lutheran evangelists in that general area had achieved considerable personal prestige, and it is not unreasonable to see a strong Kâte hand in the 1936 events in the Upper Dunantina, even if this cannot be fully sustained from the available evidence.

This is not to minimise the role of indigenous response and initiative in the movement, for without this the new conditions in the area would not have been possible after 1937. Radford rightly concludes that the movement drew together many peoples in the Eastern Highlands 'in a wave of activity and intention, identifying with something much wider than traditional group loyalties and transcending all enmities to a degree unknown before' (1977:54). In the event the outbreak of the Pacific war presented a setback to these developments, though the nature of change during and following the movement is to be seen in the relative ease with which government²² and mission control was re-established after the war. Government and mission gains in 1937 were the really significant results of the movement. For the wide acceptance of peace in fact meant not only acceptance of external power, but growing submission to government and mission authority. Of primary importance was the way in which the movement probably enhanced the position of the Kâte evangelists. The practice of 'adopting' evangelists by village big men, while this served as an entry point for the Lutherans into village society, probably made the evangelists heavily dependent on such leaders, who were generally adept at manipulating these kinds of alliances. The movement may well have reversed this relation by forcing big men and other villagers to accept the returning evangelists on the Mission's (and the evangelist's) terms rather than on their own.

Building on this foundation newly created by the movement, the Kâte evangelists were probably increasingly able to consolidate and extend their influence.

Response

The question of Highland response to contact has been touched on here and there in the preceding discussion of intrusion. It is now necessary to consider this aspect of the contact process more fully.

The economic and political consequences of contact in the Highlands are not merely or predominantly explicable in terms of external imposition on Highland societies. After all, it takes two to trade, and 'trade was the basis of contact' in the Highlands. Economic intervention was only possible because Highlanders were predisposed to accept such intervention. This predisposition was due to the existence of trade and exchange networks and the values associated with wealth, particularly shell, circulating through these networks. Thus, it was because Highlanders could utilise new sources and, in some instances, new forms of wealth for their own purposes, that substantially determined their response to contact. This was evident from the outset.

In 1933 Leahy had established a base camp and airstrip among a friendly population in the Wahgi Valley between Chimbu and Mount Hagen. Intent on prospecting the surrounding country for gold, and joined on this occasion by Taylor, Leahy decided to move off, leaving a few of his carriers behind to guard the camp. On their return Leahy and Taylor found the camp guards behaving oddly, apparently embarrassed by the return of the prospecting party. Suspecting something amiss, Leahy questioned the guards. Rather shame-facedly they revealed that in the absence of the two Europeans young women had been pressed on

them by some Wahgi men. Taylor later talked to the Wahgi men involved. It transpired that the men had reasoned that the shell valuables owned by Leahy were cultivated from 'shell trees'. Anxious to obtain cuttings from these 'trees' and establish their own shell plantation, the Wahgi men simply resorted to the ploy of forging affinal relations with Leahy's carriers in order to realise their ambitions.²³

This early account of response shows how quickly Highlanders attempted to use the opportunity of more sustained contact to shift from a trading to an exchange relation with the intruders. Throughout the Highlands (as in Melanesia generally) exchange is characterised by competition and credit/debt relations between male exchange partners. Usually, exchange is initiated by marriage (the exchange of women for wealth), pivots on affinal relations, and is maintained by the flow of wealth between male affines. Though trade and exchange relations often overlapped, it was primarily to the latter relation that the values of obligation, of credit/debt applied.

The use of women by Highland men as a means of establishing and thus manipulating contacts with intruders occurs in several accounts in the early contact literature. Leahy was frequently propositioned by Highlanders to assist them in local fights and was offered local girls as an inducement for the use of his superior rifle-power (Leahy and Crain 1937:232, 280). Identical strategies were sometimes used in the Eastern Highlands, where some European gold prospectors showed less scruple about participating in local warfare than Leahy.²⁴

Though contact and trade with intruding parties led to a pragmatic response, determined by the utility with which traditional and new forms of wealth could be assimilated into local trade and exchange networks, the presence of the intruders and their control

of large quantities of wealth, encouraged speculation about the nature of these strangers and their purpose in visiting or establishing themselves in the area. In other words, accompanying pragmatic attitudes towards the strangers were a set of beliefs and expectations about them.

The arrival of strangers led to the widespread belief that they were ancestors and/or powerful spirits. While this response has been widely reported from the Highlands, it is insufficiently appreciated that such beliefs were not exclusively directed towards Europeans.²⁵ In 1932, when Leahy's party first made contact with Wahgi people, two of Leahy's carriers, Porte and Jokurri,²⁶ were greeted as deceased relatives returning to the living. Following this, Taylor, the government officer accompanying the party, was the object of a similar response; Wahgi people regarding him as the group's fight leader slain in fighting some time before.²⁷ This would suggest that the presence of New Guinean carriers among early exploring parties directly encouraged speculation about returning ancestors. The tendency was either to regard Europeans as more important ancestors, or as powerful spirits with whom returning ancestors (i.e. the carriers) were intimately associated. In either case, it would follow that Highlanders came to see the carriers as occupying an important medial position between themselves and Europeans. This would help to explain the motives behind this initial response in the Wahgi area, and the later incident involving the marriage of Wahgi women to Leahy's carriers.

Trade with the intruding parties directed response toward tangible economic goals and thereby generated expectations about European-controlled wealth. Highlanders came to assume that the purpose of the alien presence was to make available great quantities

of wealth. The politics of response during this early period were concerned with the means of establishing effective relations with aliens in order to (a) enhance individual prestige mainly through acquiring wealth, and (b) secure the political well-being of the clan over and against its rivals. These aspects of response are seen in an incident occurring in the Chimbu area in 1940. Here the concern with political and economic prestige is bound up with the deliberate distortion of information about aliens and the practice of deception.

(i) The Kere Incident²⁸

In 1940 reports reached the patrol officer at Kundiawa of strange rumours circulating in the Eastern Chimbu area. It was said that a new mission had been founded there by four Europeans,²⁹ and that large quantities of wealth had been brought into the area and stored in a house belonging to a Kere clansman. The Europeans had marked out a boundary across the land and told the people that the government officer at Kundiawa would not be allowed to cross this boundary and enter Kere territory. Each day the Europeans went into the forest and returned with more wealth, which they stored in the house. A woman was said to look after the house, and she and her sister had sexual relations regularly with the Europeans. Once the Europeans had finished storing the wealth, they would go to Kundiawa and kill the *kiap* (Downs). On their return to Kere, the Europeans were to make Kere people responsible for the government of the whole Chimbu area.

Using these rumours Kere had pressured surrounding clans to send large quantities of pigs to Kere in preparation for a pig festival. Later, shell and axes would be given to those donating pigs. However, the clans were warned that failure to send pigs would lead to reprisals by the Europeans and the killing of defaulters.

Downs, at Kundiawa, sent a Chimbu man to Kere to investigate. The agent discovered that a house had been erected by Kere under the leadership of a man who had been informally appointed as *bosboi* or 'headman' some years before during an exploratory government patrol into the area, which had not been visited since by Europeans. The house was guarded by the leader's close kinsmen, and a sister played a prominent part in the activities associated with the house, which may have been used as a kind of local brothel. A state of anxiety existed among neighbouring clans, which, fearful of the supposed alliance between Kere and the Europeans, had sent many pigs to Kere. These pigs had been killed and cooked, and Kere people generally were bloated with over-eating.

Downs led a patrol into the area shortly after the return of his agent and with the aid of another clan 357 Kere people were arrested. The house was inspected and found to contain two bags. Each was stuffed with earth, but small amounts of shell and a few axe blades had been placed on top of the earth to give the impression that the bags were crammed with valuables. Evidently, visitors had been allowed to enter the house and partially examine the bags, possibly sampling the charms of the Kere woman for good measure. Some 150 pigs were sequestered from Kere and given to surrounding clans as compensation for the fraud.

Though this incident was coordinated by a Kere big man, who may have used his position as *bosboi* to lend credence to the rumours associated with the affair, there is a dominant emphasis here on clan interests. The Kere-European alliance is correlated with the idea of Kere achieving political dominance in the region and the clan generally seems to have benefited from the deception perpetrated on its neighbours. The numbers of Kere people arrested by Downs suggest

that the affair was organised on a clan basis, or that it had considerable clan support. While the concern with individual and clan prestige in manipulating the climate of contact were important factors in Highland response generally, we shall see that in comparable cases to the Kere incident in the Eastern Highlands (and especially in the latter stages of the Ghost Wind movement during the mid-1940s), there was less emphasis on clan than on individual interests, with selective participation and limited support in clan terms. This aspect will emerge from a detailed account of reaction to contact among the southern Kainantu populations in the Eastern Highlands, to which we now turn.

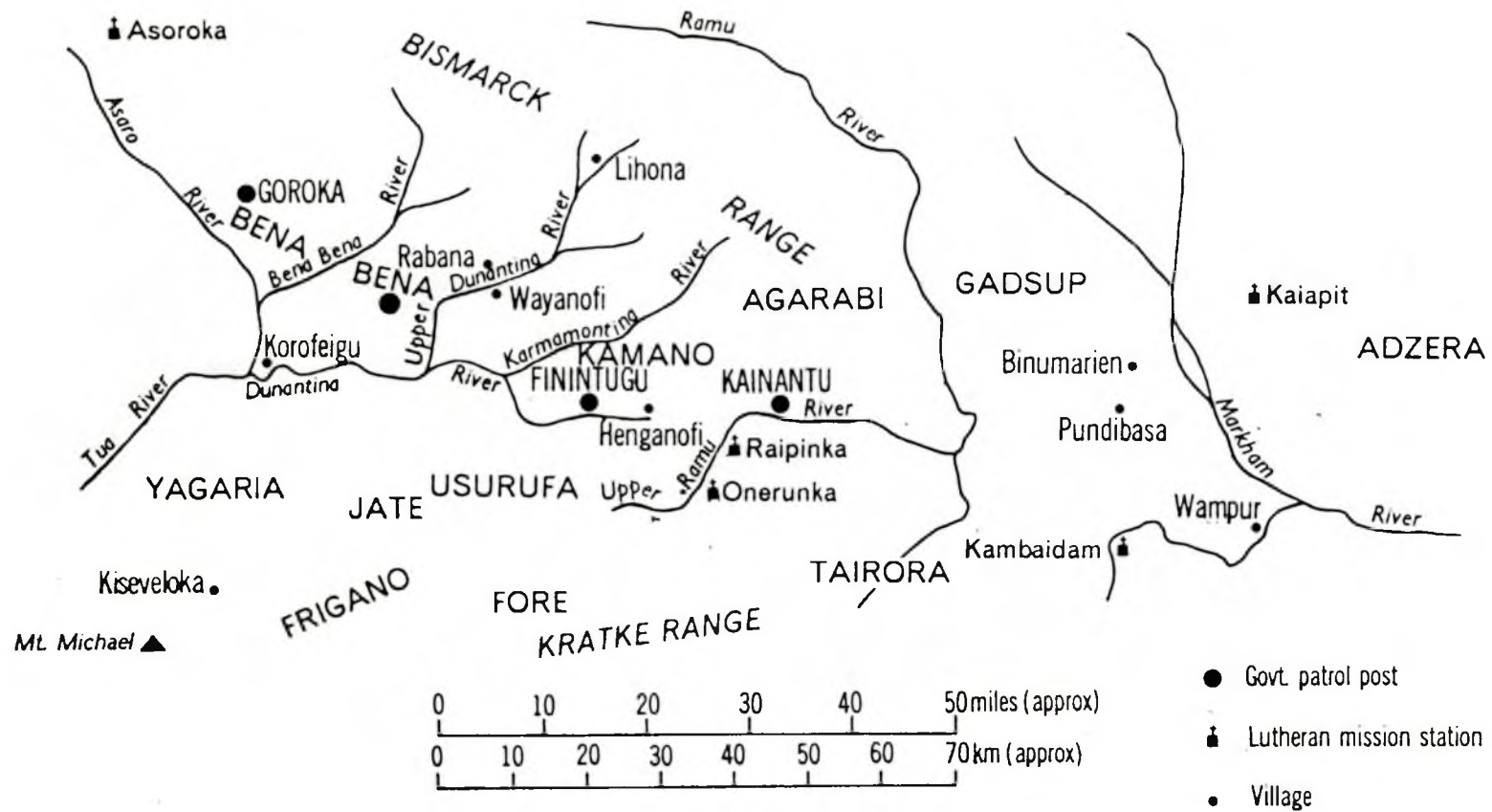
(ii) Response to Primary Contact in the Frigano Area

The Frigano area (see Maps 3 and 4) is situated towards the centre of Yagaria country, and lies on the southern fringe of the broad grasslands which form the main corridor of the Eastern Highlands. It was through this grassland area some 12 miles to the north of Frigano that Leahy and Dwyer passed in 1930.

It is possible that rumours of Leahy and Dwyer's intrusion and later contact with Europeans to the north (Bena Bena) and north-east (Kainantu) reached the Frigano area before 1932. If so, the apprehension that probably resulted from these rumours was given dramatic substance by the sudden encounter with Ludwig Schmidt's prospecting party, which entered Frigano from the north-east in that year. The following account of that encounter and the events which followed is based on the reminiscences of Kugutapi, now an old man living in the Upper Asaro Valley, north of Goroka. Kugutapi's role in the events of 1932 will become clear in the following account, which is given in the first person.³⁰

Map 3:

The Eastern Highlands



The first white man to enter Frigano was called Hayufa. Later I learnt that he had a son called Mofo. Hayufa was a large fat man and had a big camp at Kafetugu [or Kafetegu] near Henganofi. He came to Frigano with many carriers, led by three *polisboi*.³¹ The strangers camped at Hogodi below Nupuru, and spent several days searching for gold in the river.

At that time I was living with my mother's relatives at Yagusa in the Frigano, though my clan is Inenehua which has land at Kiseveloka. I was a young man already passed initiation, and a wife had been bought for me.

Frigano people were very frightened of the strangers. It was said that a bad illness was being brought by Hayufa and that we would all die. The old men warned that we should not attack the strangers, for if we killed them the sun would die and a heavy rain and cold wind would come and kill us all. We were told to kill pigs and prepare 'strong' foods, as this would prevent the sickness from coming. Many pigs were killed, but only the light-skinned ones. We collected *bigua* and *luseva* leaves. Other men secretly collected faeces from near the stranger's camp, which was prepared in a bundle. After the pigs had been cooked, water was strained through this bundle on to the pork and the leaves. Everyone then ate this food so we would be strong. At Yagusa and elsewhere in the Frigano pigs' blood was splashed on to the houses and *luseva* leaves were placed in the roofs. These precautions were taken to ward off the dangers brought by the strangers.

After the strangers had been at Hogodi a few days, I decided to go to the camp. I waited till evening and came near to the camp. Hayufa heard me and shone a light in my face. I was terrified, but Hayufa made signs that I should go away and sleep, and return the next morning. I told the Yagusa men of my experience and that I intended to go back to the camp in the morning. Many said I would die if I went alone and argued that other men should go with me in case of a fight. I agreed, but said the others must follow at a distance.

When I arrived at the camp the strangers were preparing to leave. I stood nearby and watched. Then a man came to me and gave me some things to carry. No one spoke to me but I understood the strangers wanted me to help them carry their cargo. So I took the things and went off with the strangers.

We crossed the river and climbed up past Kipi'ai. The Yagusa men, seeing that I had left, started to follow. My brother ran ahead of them and called out to me. Hayufa looked back and seeing that my brother was armed, raised his rifle. A *polisboi* grabbed me and pointed to my brother. I pinched my breast nipple to show that the man was my brother. Understanding this, the *polisboi* spoke to Hayufa, who fired his rifle into the air as a warning. I called to my brother to go back, saying I would return to Yagusa later. My brother then went back with the Yagusa men.

We travelled on to Kerera and made our way down towards the creek below. A man saw that many people were coming towards us from Kiseveloka, carrying pork, sugar cane and *bigua* leaves. I knew the Kiseveloka people wanted to trade with Hayufa, but he ignored them and went on down to the creek. The man told me

in sign to warn the Kiseveloka people to keep away. I called out, but the people kept coming towards us.

We reached the creek and saw Hayufa searching in the river. After a short time he left and started off up the other side of the creek. Most of the other men were still crossing the river, so Hayufa turned back. He saw the Kiseveloka people were coming down from Kerera, and ran back to the creek. Hayufa called out a warning to the carriers, and grabbing a rifle from one of the men, he fired at the Kiseveloka people. The young man Kumanieva was hit and I heard later that he died. Our party ran up to the ridge, but the Kiseveloka people had all run away. Then we went on towards Ologuti.

Hayufa shortly came over to me and, pointing his rifle towards Ologuti, he said, 'poo!' I understood that he wished to know if Ologuti people were my enemies. I fired an imaginary arrow in that direction to show that Frigano always fought Ologuti.

When we came towards Havagelo we saw men watching us from the ridge. A *polisboi* called out in broken Kafe that we had just killed a Kiseveloka man. The Havagelo men heard this and began a victory song to mark the death of an enemy. Later they came down and helped us make camp at O'epa, in the valley between Lufugu and Brata. Many pigs were killed and brought to the camp, and we traded with Havagelo. Later, I heard that Ologuti people had also splashed pigs' blood on their houses and placed leaves in the roofs. At O'epa we recruited a Havagelo youth called Dogulo.

We left O'epa and went towards the Ologuti grasslands, coming to the Fomiata River near Gotomi. The Sigupa people knew Hayufa and gave pork to him. We remained at this place for some time. Some of the carriers went off north to get new supplies [probably from Leahy at Sigoiya]. I remained at Sigupa.

Here many strange things happened to me. One day after the men came back from the north, I was taken to the river. First, the men cut off my hair and removed my belts and apron. I was ashamed of my nakedness and terrified because I could not understand why the men did these things to me. Then they gave me some soap and forced me into the river. I was so dirty and covered with pig grease that the soap did not help. Later the men gave me a *laplap* [i.e. a cloth covering worn like a skirt].

The men ate rice with tinned meat and fish. I saw the tinned fish and thought it was the fingers of dead people. The fish had a bad smell and when the men gave it to me, I only pretended to eat it. The men saw me throwing the food away, so they held me and forced the food into my mouth. I thought they were trying to fatten me up so they could later kill me and eat me like the dead fingers.

After we had been at Sigupa for some time, Hayufa's son Mofo³² arrived. One day some Sigupa men came and talked with the white men. They wanted them to help attack Kami people. Hayufa agreed to this because the Sigupa men gave him pork and brought young girls to the camp to sleep with Hayufa. When these girls came to the camp I had to take them to the river and wash them.

It was very shameful for me to touch these girls. Some of the other carriers refused to take food from my hand because of this.

The two white men and some of the carriers went off with the Sigupa men. Later I heard they killed some people at Ka'ira Taraiyu and Tunofi, but many Kami people escaped. Hayufa and the others followed them and killed many more people who had hid in a cave near the Kami River. When Hayufa returned to Sigupa, some Sigupa men bribed him and they went off to Gotomi and killed more people. I was very frightened when I heard of this, so one night Dogulo and I ran away from the camp and returned to our own people.

The broad outline of Kugutapi's account appears to be substantially accurate, though much of the details have probably been embellished and the narrative fused in various ways with other events. Moreover, the account contains recurrent themes which now form an essential part of the local corpus of belief and knowledge about the encounter with early intruding parties, and on the basis of which local response to more sustained contact was mounted. A number of points in the narrative are variously corroborated by other eye witnesses, substantiated by another writer, or broadly matched by accounts of contact elsewhere in the Highlands. Schmidt's killing of Kumanieva is widely known to older people at Kiseveloka, so much so that some senior men have talked recently about claiming compensation from the government for Kumanieva's death. The reasoning behind this is that Kiseveloka people believe that Schmidt was a government officer or *kiap*, which explains why his head carriers are referred to as *polisboi* (i.e. native constables) in Kugutapi's narrative. Indeed, we shall see later that this belief had an important bearing on the attitudes of Kiseveloka people towards *kiap* during the 1950s.

The account of Schmidt's recruitment by Sigupa men to attack their Kami enemies (though probably exaggerated as to the numbers reputedly killed) is virtually identical to an incident described by

Munster (1979:192-3), though located by him farther to the north in the Korofeigu area. According to an account given to Munster by an elderly Korofeigu man, Schmidt, probably in December 1932, having received pigs 'and other things' was persuaded by some Katagu men to help attack Korofeigu. During the ensuing raid Schmidt is said to have killed two Korofeigu men. In fact this would have been the second incident within a few weeks in which Europeans were involved in the killing of Korofeigu people. As we saw earlier, in November Leahy's party had shot six warriors after the theft of an axe. It is possible that these two separate accounts of Schmidt's participation in local raiding relate to a single incident. However, the possibility that the Austrian was involved in separate raids in the latter part of 1932 should not be entirely discounted. Schmidt's brief period in New Guinea was filled with notoriety. In 1935 he was tried at Rabaul for the murder of Sepik villagers and after being found guilty was hung.

Attempts to persuade Europeans to assist in fighting enemy groups in the Highlands were not uncommon, as we have already noted of Leahy. Neither was it unknown for Europeans to attach to themselves Highland youths like Kugutapi and Dogulo. Schmidt earlier recruited the Kainantu youth Nomi, who accompanied Schmidt to Madang and helped the Austrian's party drive back some cattle to the Highlands (Munster 1979:145-7). Though apparently well treated by Schmidt, Nomi joined Taylor in 1932 prior to Schmidt's visit to Frigano, and was for many years a government interpreter at Kainantu. I interviewed Nomi in 1978 about his brief period with Schmidt. Nomi confirms that Schmidt and his son were commonly known at Hayufa (or U'ufa)³³ and Mofo, explaining that these terms mean simply 'old man' and 'son' in the Kamano or Kafe language.

Though Schmidt is remembered as Hayufa by older Kiseveloka people, Europeans are usually described in Yagaría dialects as *hava de* ('light-skinned man'), a category which covers a range in the colour spectrum from light pink to reddish brown. A light-skinned pig, for example, is called *hava gayale*. The application of *hava de* to Europeans is an extension of a traditional and basic form of human classification based on skin pigmentation. In the Yagaría or Lufa area, as in Melanesia generally, the numerically dominant negroid population also contains a lighter to reddish-brown skin type (often with blonde or ginger hair). The latter skin type is distinguished as *have de* ('red' man) from the more general *nupa de* (black man), a classification which commonly extends to territorial groups, as in the case of the two Kivuluga clans at Kiseveloka; Havagaveda ('red' rope) and Nupagaveda (black rope).

It is possible that the existence of this classification in part encouraged the belief after the Lutheran intrusion in 1948, that Europeans were deceased *hava de* ancestors, while the non-Highland New Guinean associates or workers of Europeans were *nupa de* ancestors; though it should be stressed that the lighter-skinned members of the population at Kiseveloka were not thought to possess special or unique qualities or powers. We shall return to this ancestor-theme at Kiseveloka in Chapter Five, when we consider the initial impact of Lutheran intrusion at Kiseveloka in 1948-49.

In the Eastern Highlands Europeans were widely referred to as *pupune* during the early contact period. R.M. Berndt (1952-53:202-3) in a translation of a Jate³⁴ text dealing with the first sighting of aircraft and initial rumours of the presence of strange beings to the north, renders what appears to be a variant of *pupune* (Berndt, *pumpu:mi:waija*) as 'white man', from the Jate verb *pumpu:m*, 'covered

up (i.e. with clothes)'. However, Berndt's translation here is apparently inconsistent with that adopted in a following text (*loc cit*), where the Jate term *hanoweiri:fa:waijani* is also rendered as 'all hidden, i.e. covered with clothes' (p.204, n.1). In the Frigano dialect the most common form of *pupune* occurs in the name for Chinese taro (*Xanthosoma* sp.), *pupune yana*, which was probably introduced into the area by Kâte evangelists.³⁵ Enquiries at Kiseveloka into the origins of this term produced the single explanation, 'we called Europeans *pupune* because of the sound made by the rifles of Hayufa and his *polisboi*.' This would seem to be confirmed by the partial reference in Kugutapi's account, where Schmidt pointed his rifle towards Ologuti and made the sound 'poo!' That the derivation of *pupune* is onomatopoeic is supported for the Goroka area generally by Munster (1979:76-7). Rick Giddings, a government officer at Goroka, also confirms this interpretation from his experience among Eastern Highland peoples, adding that he is familiar with an older version, *boom-boom*³⁶ used in the Markham Valley. It would follow from this evidence that *pupune* refers primarily to European firearms. But the term is not merely descriptive. It carries important semantic properties connotating ideas about European power. Shortly we shall see how these ideas found expression in ritual and other responses to contact.

(iii) Stages of Response among the Southern Kainantu Populations

Berndt has documented the reaction to, mainly, indirect contact among the southern Kamano, Usurufa, Jate and Fore, identifying (1952-53:141-3) four stages of response in this general region covering the period 1930-47.

(a) The initial contact period produced an ambivalent response. The sighting of aircraft coupled with subsequent rumours of an alien presence in the Kainantu area, produced widespread anxiety. Though the arrival of European-manufactured cloth into the southern region generated great excitement and a desire to obtain more of this wealth, which was thought to have come from the spirits, the cloth was believed to possess dangerous power and precautions were taken to render the cloth safe. Some individuals in response to these events travelled north in the attempt to make direct contact with the aliens, but reaction at this stage was generally cautious and apprehensive.

(b) During the late 1930s (probably after the pacification movement in the northern area) anxiety intensified. According to Berndt, this was the direct result of deliberate attempts by northern people to encourage and circulate alarmist rumours in order to 'impress and frighten their less sophisticated [southern] neighbours' (1952-53:52). In response to rumours of impending disaster, extreme precautions were taken by some southern peoples (see below). Fears gradually waned as trade goods began to circulate more freely into the area. This was taken as evidence that the aliens, now generally identified with spirits and ancestors, were benevolent. However, with the reduced European presence following the outbreak of the Pacific war, trade goods ceased to enter the southern region. The populations were at a loss to understand why the spirits-ancestors had stopped sending wealth, and became resentful.

(c) A "cargo" movement originating in the Markham Valley rapidly spread across the Eastern Highlands, entering the southern Kainantu area in the mid-1940s. The 'Ghost Wind' movement, as Berndt termed it, began among the southern populations with outbreaks of shivering or shaking fits, sometimes simultaneously experienced by whole

villages. This phenomenon was interpreted as evidence of ancestor possession, and led to the construction of special houses to accommodate the returning ancestors. Wood, stones, leaves, etc. were collected to represent prestigious items like rifles, knives and newspaper, and placed in the houses. This was apparently done to provide a setting familiar to the ancestor-aliens, rather than with the specific intention that by metamorphosis such items would be transformed into wealth or "cargo". However, this intention gradually became dominant in villages affected by the movement, and the building of wealth houses in which symbolic wealth was placed was now associated with rituals to achieve such metamorphosis. With the failure to effect this transformation general support withered.

(d) The final phase of the movement was characterised by individual rather than collective action. Many villagers shunned the activities connected with wealth houses and were generally skeptical of the cult. In some cases wealth houses were constructed by individuals under the direction of visitors from other areas, where the cult had collapsed. In such cases deliberate acts of deception were common. The movement finally expired during the late 1940s with the gradual extension of government control and mission influence into the southern region, following the return of Europeans to the Kainantu area.

Shortly we will compare these stages of response in the general southern region with reaction to contact among the Frigano and Kiseveloka peoples during the same period. First, one aspect of response discussed by Berndt among the Jate during the late 1930s requires further consideration.

(iv) Indirect Mission Influence and Response

As noted, the second stage of response among the southern populations began with an intensification of anxiety in reaction to rumours coming from the north. Thus, among Jate peoples it was feared that the aliens at Kainantu would send snakes to enter the vulvae of pregnant women and kill the fetuses and the mothers. To prevent this public coverings were adopted by the women, as well as bark aprons to hide their pregnancy and deceive the snakes. A later manifestation of this anxiety led to the construction of large communal houses into which villagers gathered. Large quantities of garden produce were gathered and stored in these houses; both the houses and the women being treated with pigs' blood.

Berndt introduces this account of the Jate communal houses with the observation that rumours of imminent disaster, like the snake rumour, were deliberately circulated by Kainantu people in order to frighten their southern neighbours. However, in the course of his account Berndt offers a modified explanation (1952-53:53, n.26), suggesting that the origin of the snake rumour lay in anxiety among Kainantu people about promiscuous sexual liaisons between Europeans and Kainantu women. This explanation is improbable given the evidence of Highlanders actually encouraging such relations during the early contact period, as we have seen. The snake rumour bears a certain resemblance to the Passover massacre related in Genesis xii, and a possible explanation is that the rumour was a corrupted version of this story, originating from the teaching of mission workers resident in Kainantu villages to the north. In the Genesis story, a series of disasters befell the Egyptians following the persistent reneging by Pharaoh on assurances given to Moses to release the Jews from slavery and permit them to leave Egypt. This episode culminated in the

Passover massacre in which the Lord killed all the first-born of the land. Having been forewarned of this, the Jews sacrificed lambs and treated their houses with lambs' blood. Seeing this sign the Lord 'passed over' the Jewish houses to spare their first-born children.

Even allowing that the snake rumour could have had other origins, the explanation offered here can be taken as an example of what must have been a general and inevitable consequence of mission teaching in the Highlands. As we shall see later, the tendency in evangelist' teaching was to interpret Bible stories and other aspects of Christianity in lurid and dramatic terms, usually with a marked emphasis on the dire consequences attending the rejection of mission demands. (Much of the Bible lends itself to such accentuation). The importance of such distortion during this early stage among populations having no direct contact with the missions, lay in its contribution to the climate of speculation and, thus, to the creation of conditions directly affecting subsequent response once sustained contact with the mission was established.

The impact of distorted or modified versions of mission teaching and practice may also bear on other activities connected with the snake rumour among the Jate. The building of communal houses involved an abrupt and extreme departure from normal residence patterns based on rigid sexual segregation of young people and adults.³⁷ The abandoning of this practice and the adoption of communal residence may well reflect Lutheran teaching in the Kainantu area and the mission's encouragement of villagers to adopt the monogamous Euro-Christian model of spousal co-residence. In addition, the Lutherans also encouraged villagers to construct large buildings to serve as rudimentary chapels and schools. Each day the villagers (men, women and children) congregated in these buildings to receive Christian instruction from the Lutheran evangelists and teachers.

(v) Post-Schmidt Response at Kiseveloka

Berndt's fieldwork undertaken much closer in time to the events described above, lends a greater vividness of detail to his account than is possible in reconstructing the events of the period some twenty-five years later. In part, differences of detail and the sequence of response at Kiseveloka between 1932-47 and that described by Berndt for the populations to the immediate east of Frigano, might be explained by these different temporal standpoints. Even allowing for this, the Kiseveloka material generally meshes well with Berndt's account and at various points events at Kiseveloka accurately mirror those occurring to the east. However, there are significant differences. First, the general period 1932-47 is regarded by older Kiseveloka people as one of persistent negative reaction to aliens. Second, the first phase of the Ghost Wind movement seems not to have been experienced at Kiseveloka and the only collective action there influenced by contact concerned the precautions taken at Schmidt's intrusion in 1932. Third, general identification of aliens like Schmidt and his party with ancestor-spirits, which appears to have characterised response to the east throughout much of the period, did not become widespread at Kiseveloka until 1948 and immediately after.

These differences may not be solely due to the telescoping of details or the collapsing of sequence in the memories of Kiseveloka people. Rather, the differences may reflect a variant sequence of events at Kiseveloka during this period. It should be understood that Berndt's account covers a wide area and generalises for four major language groups. Inevitably there were bound to be local variations within the general picture of response and it is probable that Kiseveloka should be seen as such a variation. A number of

factors favour this conclusion. Unlike the general situation to the east, the chain of events at Kiseveloka began with a direct encounter with a European-led party, the result of which and the reports of subsequent events involving Schmidt to the north, sustained a belief in the malevolent nature of aliens over a much longer period than was the case among eastern populations. It was only after 1947 and the Lutheran intrusion in 1948 that a more generally positive response occurred at Kiseveloka. This longer persistence of negative reaction could have fed on a local outbreak of the 1936 influenza epidemic³⁸ which was believed at Kiseveloka to be a form of sorcery, and which some people link directly with Schmidt's intrusion. This may be reflected in Kugutapi's narrative of the Schmidt episode, where the influenza epidemic (i.e. 'cold wind'; 'sickness') is seen to be presaged by the advent of Schmidt's party.

Two other factors may help to explain the persistence of negative reaction. First, according to older Kiseveloka people there was little or no traffic in alien trade items into the valley following the Schmidt encounter. The first metal entered the valley only in the mid-1940s, and into the 1950s there was limited trade even in shell. The first steel axes and gold-lipped shells seen at Kiseveloka were obtained from the Lutheran missionary Frerichs, in 1949. Second, accounts for the general period up to the mid-1940s stress incessant feuding between Kiseveloka clans. This may have restricted if not entirely cut off ready contact with northern and eastern populations and, thus, limited trade and information about aliens from entering the valley.

(vi) Wealth Houses at Kiseveloka

Negative reaction was modified at Kiseveloka due to the effects of the latter stages of the Ghost Wind movement to the east, and especially the construction of wealth houses. At Kiseveloka wealth house activities did not command general support due to the widespread belief that anything associated with aliens like Schmidt was dangerous and liable to imperil those involved with the wealth houses.

The construction of wealth houses (*lolowali yona: lomane yona*)³⁹ at Kiseveloka arose from a visit by Kiseveloka men to Hagagimi to the east of Frigano. Two Kivuluga men and some Move men journeyed there in response to rumours that a large 'bird' had been killed at Hagagimi. The party arrived, inspected the 'bird' and later returned to Kiseveloka with part of its 'skin'. The 'bird' was probably a wrecked aircraft which had crashed in the area between 1943-44 (Berndt 1952-53:56, n.32), and its 'skin' part of the metal fuselage. This metal was later worked into crude cutting tools and was the first metal to enter the immediate area. During the visit to Hagagimi the Kiseveloka men observed wealth houses built there and learnt about their purpose. After the return of the party three wealth houses were constructed at Kiseveloka; two by Kivuluga men and one by Move men. Informants disagree somewhat about these events and it is possible that the houses were built at different times during the period following the return from Hagagimi (?1944) and the arrival of Lutheran missionaries in 1948. One account has it that the Move house was in existence in 1949 and was destroyed at the instigation of Lutheran evangelists stationed at Kiseveloka in that year. There is also some disagreement whether the three houses were erected solely at local initiative or under the leadership of visitors from Hagagimi.

The first house was built by Numede, a clansman of the two

Kivuluga men who had visited Hagagimi, and who assisted Numede in this enterprise. These three men were then all in their late twenties or early thirties. Concurrent with this activity another Kivuluga man (of a different clan) claimed to have transformed a shell from a stone. Spurred on by this, Numede arranged for whitish river stones, lengths of wood, and fire-flies to be collected by his supporters. When assembled these items were wrapped in banana leaves and stored in the wealth house. Pigs were slaughtered and the house and its bundles were treated with pigs' blood. The supporters were told that the items would later be changed into shells, rifles, and coloured cloth (i.e. *laplap*). Numede warned that the house was dangerous and must not be entered. A 'snake' had been left inside to guard the 'wealth'.

Shortly after this the wife of another Kivuluga man announced that she could make a European. This woman (Aiyame) with the cooperation of her husband and others, erected a house in which a male apron (*fomina*, a small male genital covering made from bark fibre) was placed. Again, pigs were killed and the house treated with blood.

Following the construction of the first wealth house Numede and some companions journeyed south into the Labogai area where they had trade partners, to instruct the people about 'wealth' and supervise the building of houses. Later, the party returned to Kivuluga with quantities of pork obtained from Labogai. However, Numede returned to an angry reception. His house had been entered during his absence; the intruders discovering that the stored items had not been transformed into the promised wealth. Numede and his chief supporters were abused and attacked. The house was destroyed and its contents scattered around in the bush, where the 'shell' stones still lie. Similarly, Aiyame's wealth house was broken into and

she, too, was attacked. Later, Aiyame's death was attributed to sorcery in revenge for her part in this affair. The anger of Numede's and Aiyame's supporters here mainly concerned the needless slaughter of pigs, which thus disadvantaged their owners in fulfilling exchange obligations. As it is possible that the early stages of these cults were organised by Hagagimi men (who received pork for this leadership), Numede and Aiyame would have had to bear the brunt of their supporters' anger for being taken in by outsiders, much in the manner that Labogai people were beguiled by Numede and his companions.

The wealth house built by Move men suffered the same fate, though, as noted, one account states that its destruction occurred under opposition from Lutheran evangelists. A variant account contains an interesting sequel to the events associated with the Move house. The lengths of wood placed in the house were hollowed out and fashioned to represent crude rifles. Later, these items were removed from the house in preparation for a raid on a Fusa settlement. In addition, enamel or metal bowls (said to have been traded into the area at this time) were used as helmets.⁴⁰ On nearing the enemy settlement, lengths of cane (*pitpit*) were placed in the barrels of the 'rifles' and ignited. At the same time pieces of bamboo were placed in a fire. After heating the bamboo exploded, thereby signalling a rush to the settlement. Taken by surprise the Fusa villagers fled in terror only to meet a Move ambush which had been laid on the other side of the settlement. The account is probably apochryphal, but it reveals something of attitudes towards rifles⁴¹ which may have been current at the time. If the acquisition of these weapons was seen in terms of older patterns of enmity, some informants stress that the killing of Kumanieva had led to the realisation that further

intrusion by aliens could only be met by parity of arms. Indeed, the concern with parity in a more general sense was to become increasingly central in local response once the evidence of European power became more widely grasped.

(vii) Response and Power

The wealth houses and other related phenomena⁴² during the early contact period in the Highlands portray an underlying concern with power. In the early stages of direct and indirect contact among southern populations in the Eastern Highlands, this concern was manifested in anxiety about the threat of impending disaster prompted by the alien presence, and led to precautionary measures. Even though the ancestor-spirit theme was not marked at this early stage and allowing then and later for local variations and exceptions, it is possible that the alien presence was partly interpreted in this way, and also possible that anxiety more generally reflected the ambivalence in Highland attitudes towards the dead (ghosts, ancestors) and the spirits, who were thought to perform both disruptive and beneficial roles in the affairs of the living. Once wealth emanating from Europeans and their New Guinean subordinates became available, response shifted into a more positive key. Now the concern with power took the form of more standardized political and economic action. The acquisition of wealth occurred not as an end in itself, but as a means to achieve socially recognised ends;⁴³ wealth being utilised to manipulate and exploit trade and exchange relations. The politics of this process, especially in the Eastern Highlands, were generally individualised to a degree unlike that in the Kere example in Chimbu; individuals attempting to manipulate the circumstances of contact and mobilise support to achieve or enhance personal power over others. In the process some individuals consciously attempted to exploit the

gullibility and ignorance of others to gain personal advantage and economic gain over people residing in outlying areas. In a sense such individuals operated as a sort of middlemen, exploiting the communication network and the climate of rumour and speculation to this end; but at this stage of contact this role was essentially opportunistic, impermanent, and limited to short-term gains.

Though cult leadership was in some cases provided by outsiders, elsewhere this was generated from within the village and frequently appears to have involved younger men and, in some cases, women, rather than established leaders or big men. Local opposition or mere reluctance to participate in wealth house activities is probably explained by the tendency of younger men (and women) lacking in prestige to assume cult leadership.⁴⁴ As we shall see, inter-generational male conflict, which was often implicit in response to the altered circumstances created by direct and indirect contact, became more explicit at later periods when contact with Europeans and their New Guinean subordinates was more sustained.

It will be evident in the light of the previous chapter dealing with pre- and early contact society to what extent Highland response to intrusion was determined by traditional social processes. Here we have emphasised the bearing of traditional concerns with power in Highland reaction to contact, but the broader political and economic expressions of these concerns underlies much of the account presented in this chapter. It is necessary in conclusion to re-iterate the main argument of this chapter, and briefly point to those aspects of the older society which directly influenced the course of response.

Highland response was mounted in the context of the economic circumstances of contact and was essentially a response to those circumstances. Of primary importance here was the manner in which

European-controlled wealth could be assimilated and utilised in terms of pre-existing exchange and trade networks. In effect, this amounted to a marked predisposition towards intrusion and in this respect Highlanders were open to intrusion and to the acceptance of innovation. Such openness was rooted in the opportunistic (or option-oriented) and manipulative quality of Highland politics and correlated with the degree of individualism and flexibility (i.e. adaptive) possible in traditional society. With the altered conditions gradually brought about by sustained contact, the traditional context for competition was correspondingly adapted to meet these new circumstances. This anticipates a later stage of this study, but it is important here to stress the continuity of Highland reaction throughout the contact period and the colonial era which followed. Thus, though the nature of contact and subsequent events generated and confirmed new beliefs, attitudes and expectations about European power, the stances adopted by Highlanders to such changes were primarily directed towards the realisation of traditional goals. This will become increasingly apparent as we trace in the following chapters the next stage of contact at Kiseveloka, and examine the patterns of response prompted by primary mission activity in the general region.

Notes - Chapter IV

1. This comment was made by I.F.G. Downs in an interview conducted in 1976 by Mr. W. Standish of the Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University. Downs was an administration officer for many years in New Guinea. From 1939 he was stationed at Kundiawa (Chimbu) in the Highlands, where he played an important part in sustaining contact with Chimbu peoples. I am grateful to Bill Standish for permission to use this quotation.
2. In fact, the Binumarien group contacted by Kemadi and Lehner was a small Tairora-speaking enclave in the Gadsup area (Du Toit 1975: 21).
3. Details of Gape'nuo's visit to Lihona are given in Radford (1972).
4. The distinction in the foregoing discussion between Yabem and Kâte evangelists reflects a distinction (as used in early Lutheran classification) between "Melanesian" and "Papuan" languages (see Chapter Nine). As the Adzera of the Upper Markham were "Melanesian", Yabem evangelists were located in this area. Highlanders, however, were "Papuan", which in part explains why Flierl at Sattleberg (the original Kâte area) became responsible for supervising the Kâte evangelists stationed in the Kamano and Gadsup areas in the 1920s. In fact the politics involved in determining these supervisory boundaries were more complicated, reflecting a major rivalry between Yabem and Kâte congregations and in some cases their supervising missionaries (Willis 1974:116-7).
5. For details of Leahy's Highland journeys during this period, see Leahy (1936) and Leahy and Crain (1937).
6. In 1933 a Catholic station was established at Guaibi in the Bundi (or Iwam) area on the Ramu side of the Bismarck Range (Map 2). The Chimbu and Mount Hagen Catholic stations were pioneered from Guaibi.
7. Much of the foregoing account of station populations is drawn from Hughes (1978).

8. Labour was used in manual tasks like the preparation of airstrips, and in constructing stations and mining camps. As timber was often in short supply in the broad grassland areas where the stations were mainly sited, a significant amount of labour was probably used to bring timber in from outlying, forested areas. It is also probable that timber had to be purchased; if so, this became another means by which European trade wealth found its way into Highland exchange and trade networks.
9. Wilya was apparently constructed as a temporary station. Once a more suitable site was located nearby, the station was gradually transferred to this new location at Rebiamul in 1938. The rough bush dwellings at Wilya were replaced at Rebiamul by substantial buildings made from sawn timber. This included a large church capable of holding 1000 people. At least fifty Hageners were employed in construction work at Rebiamul on a more or less permanent basis. The new station was set in a 'plot' of 200 acres, which included the site of an old fight ground. 'Axes, spades, knives, cloth and shell' were given as payment for this 'plot'. Once the transfer was completed the Wilya site was returned to its former owners (Ross 1968:63).
10. The following account is drawn from Simpson (1954:83ff.).
11. According to Simpson (1954:70-1) reprisals were commonly exacted by Catholic missionaries following theft.
12. Unaccountably, there is a discrepancy in Simpson's narrative between the place names cited in the text and those used in the map. Denglagu and Nunamaina in the text are rendered 'Dengaragu' and 'Kunamaina' in the map. To avoid confusion, common spellings are given here and based on those in Simpson's text.
13. Leahy and Crain do not refer to Schmidt by name. This account of Schmidt's irresponsible and inhuman treatment of his Bena Bena carriers (see n.16, below) is reproduced in Simpson (1954:67), who wrongly described Schmidt as German; in fact, Schmidt was an Austrian.

F.n. 13 continued.

Below an account is given of Schmidt's activities in the Frigano and Goromi areas of the Eastern Highlands. There were a number of unsavoury incidents involving Schmidt in the Eastern Highlands. The murder of the prospector McGrath in the Finintugu area, where Schmidt had a mining camp, apparently stemmed directly from disruption in the area caused by Schmidt's behaviour. In October 1933, Schmidt allegedly led a party of Gafitula men in a raid against Keyofa during which Schmidt supposedly killed two Keyofa people and wounded three others (Sinclair 1978:214). Seemingly Schmidt participated in raiding parties elsewhere in the Eastern Highlands, and the legacy of his activities caused serious repercussions following his departure for Mount Hagen in 1934 (1978: 212). Schmidt may also have been involved in an incident with Muiife people (see Berndt 1952-53:56, n.32).

14. See Ross (1968:62) for details of relaxations to the 1936 amendments to the Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance (1925).
15. For discussion of these incidents, see Chapter Six.
16. There was, however, occasional recruitment of Bena Bena men as carriers by Europeans. Thus, Schmidt's party recruited a number of Bena Bena (probably Korofeigu men) in 1934. They were later abandoned by Schmidt as his party journeyed down from the Western Highlands, via the Yuat River, into the Sepik. Schmidt paid off his Bena Bena carriers with small quantities of shell and told them to make their own way back across the Highlands - a journey of something like two hundred miles through hostile country. Some of the men were able to get as far as the Wahgi area where Leahy's base camp was located, but were attacked and many were killed. Some of the injured were being cared for by Wahgi people with whom Leahy was friendly, which is how Leahy learnt of the affair.
17. See Aitchison (1964). Aitchison was a government officer at Kainantu during the 1930s. Having lost his personal diaries dealing with this period, Aitchison admits to inaccuracies in recalling the events of the time. In this account he refers to '100' Lutheran and Seventh-day Adventist mission workers who attended celebrations which followed Aitchison's marriage at Kainantu in 1937.

18. The following account is drawn from Radford (1977).
19. This was a traditional practice, one that government officers in the area attempted to utilise to achieve general pacification. See Aitchison (1935-36).
20. Details of this tableau are discussed in Chapter Six.
21. Though the pacification movement began and was initially influential in areas under Lutheran influence, as the movement grew in momentum other villages with little or no contact with the Mission gave support to pacification. In some cases among the latter government *lulusais* were influential in generating wider support for the movement (Radford 1977:50).
22. A minimal government presence was maintained in the Highlands during the war through small detachments of Australian forces based in various parts of the Highlands, usually in defence of airstrips (e.g. at Asaroka, Goroka, Bena Bena, and Kainantu in the Eastern Highlands); see Dexter (1961:233-63). A major operation in the Highlands undertaken by the military administration was the construction of a larger airstrip at Goroka to accommodate allied fighters and bombers. A labour force of 1000 Chimbus was used in this work (Dexter, p.243), while a total labour force of 3000-4000 Chimbus was operating in the general area, mainly in the construction of a vehicular road between Goroka and Kainantu (p.240, n.1).

Japanese patrols partly succeeded in entering the Eastern Highlands, and there were numerous Japanese air raids on Highland airstrips during 1943 (Dexter, pp.239-40, 242-3, 245). These events were important contact experiences for those Highlanders directly affected, particularly the experience of alien military power. This had an interesting repercussion in the Wayanofi area, the initial scene of the 1936 peace movement. In 1944 rifles were apparently used in local fighting and a Mimpopo man was reported to have hired out rifles to other warriors. The government patrol investigating this was greeted with a shower of arrows; see Patrol Report Bena Bena 1/1944-45 (Finintugu).

23. See Leahy and Crain (1937:195), Simpson (1954:46-7). Wahgi people of course were no strangers to shell valuables, but they were undoubtedly impressed by the quality and quantity of shell in Leahy's control. It was probably this abundance of shell that fostered the 'shell trees' idea and the supposed plantation where these trees were cultivated by Leahy.
24. See the account of Schmidt's doings in the Eastern Highlands given below.
25. An exception here is Watson (1964b:139-40).
26. Leahy's carriers came mainly from the Waria area in the northeast of New Guinea. Though these and other New Guineans brought into the Highlands by Europeans were commonly referred to as "coastals", many came not from coastal villages as such, but from hinterland areas. Once Europeans had established themselves in the Highlands, Highlanders were increasingly used as carriers and labourers, though non-Highlanders continued to be used as labourers, and especially as foremen, native police, and as mission workers.
27. See Leahy and Crain (1937:171), Simpson (1954:23-4, and plate facing p.47). Leahy's account of this incident was later confirmed by his senior carrier, Ewunga (Munster n.d. (ii):35-6).
28. See Patrol Report Madang ?/1940-41 (Chimbu Post), 8.8.1940 (I F G Downs); Simpson (1954:100-1).

In an earlier report Downs refers to a Waugu 'native wearing lava lava [i.e. a cotton *laplap*] and claiming to be representing the government, [who] attempted to obtain pigs on false pretences from Damagu [?clan]. He was assisted by other natives' (Patrol Report Madang ?/1939-40 (Chimbu Post), 3.6.1940).
29. The Europeans were referred to as 'Ian', 'George', 'Bill' and 'Schafer'. The first three were the forenames of patrol officers at Kundiawa; Ian Downs, George Greathead, and 'Bill' Kyle. Schafer was the surname of the Catholic missionary at Mingende.

30. Prior to interviewing Kugutapi I had obtained a general outline of the encounter with Schmidt from older Kiseveloka people. Kugutapi's account both confirmed this outline and substantially augmented it. The interview was conducted through an English-speaking friend - Veyamo Imara, an English teacher at the Yagiloka Community School at Kiseveloka. Several other men attended the interview and provided numerous clarifications in Tok Pisin of Kugutapi's narrative.
31. The reference to *polisboi* here and elsewhere in the account are misleading. The three men so described were not native constables, but Schmidt's senior carriers (probably from Madang). Kugutapi identified the three men by name, details which were independently confirmed by another informant, Nomi (see below).
32. It would be wrong to infer from this that Schmidt's son, 'Ludy' was actually involved in the killing of villagers in this general area.
33. However, see Berndt (1952-53: appendices two, three, and four, pp.203-6) where *oija:fa'waija* is rendered 'white man' in a series of Jate texts.
34. The Jate language is closely related to the Frigano and Kamate dialects spoken at Kiseveloka. Frerichs, the pioneer Lutheran missionary to enter the Frigano-Kiseveloka area, refers to Kiseveloka people as members of the 'Yacte' tribe (1969:59). Berndt (1962:18) refers to the 'Friganu Jate' dialect.
35. Unlike the Highlands, where the staple crop is sweet potato, Chinese taro is apparently widely cultivated as a staple throughout much of the hinterland of the Huon Peninsula from where the Kâte evangelists and teachers came.
36. The term 'boomeray' is reported to have been used by Bena Bena people to greet Leahy and Dwyer in 1930. It is likely that 'boom-boom' and 'boomeray' came into the Highlands from Yabem evangelists stationed in the Kaiapit area. *Bumbum* is a standard Yabem word for Europeans (Willis 1974:71, n.).
37. See Chapter Three. However, a modified form of segregation was practised in the communal houses (Berndt 1952-53: appendix six, p.209).

38. See above.
39. Compare Berndt (1952-53:56, n.30).
40. As previously noted (n.22 above), military camps were located in the Eastern Highlands during the war. It is possible that the events discussed here (assuming that they occurred) were connected with knowledge about these camps, though Kiseveloka people deny any direct contact with Europeans between 1933 and 1948 - that is, between the intrusions of Schmidt and Frerichs.
41. According to Berndt (1952-53:61-2) the desire to obtain rifles to attack Europeans and plunder their goods was prevalent in some cults.
42. See Finney (1973:137-43) for a summary of "cargo" movements and cults in the Eastern Highlands.
43. See Berndt (1952-53:147, n.63).
44. This does not mean that older men of influence did not become cult leaders. Much of the second account of reaction to contact by Berndt (1954) is devoted to such a case among the Fore.

Chapter FiveMISSION IMPACT AND CONVERSION AT KISEVELOKAThe Background to Lutheran Intrusion

Because of the unique conditions prevailing in the Kainantu region in the wake of the pacification movement in 1936, the Lutheran Mission was able to continue and partly expand its evangelistic and educational work at the out-stations. However, mission activity was restricted to this general region with alien movement into the adjoining Bena Bena and northern Yagaria areas to the west and that region lying to the south of Kainantu strictly controlled by the Administration. Only after 1947 were these areas gradually de-restricted and opened up to government and mission influence.

According to the Lutheran missionary Frerichs¹ at his arrival in January 1940 at Raipinka (to where the Onerunka station was re-located after 1935), the Mission was operating some 25 out-stations and 16 schools (with 500 pupils)² in the Kainantu region, staffed by Kâte evangelists and teachers. Due to the Pacific war this work was halted in 1943, but the foundations which aided rapid Lutheran expansion in the Eastern Highlands after 1947 were effectively laid during this preliminary period. Frerichs returned to re-open the Raipinka station in May 1946 and quickly took steps to re-staff the pre-war out-stations and expand Lutheran influence in the area. This process was helped by favourable response from Kainantu peoples, with some 60 chapels (28 of them in the Henganofi area) being rapidly constructed in villages in the region.³ Some 20 or so Kâte mission

workers had been sent to Raipinka in 1946, but the Administration would not immediately permit them to return to the out-stations and re-open the village schools. Frerichs countered this by using youths then attending the Raipinka station school to undertake weekend evangelistic activity in the villages.⁴ In addition, to increase the numbers of mission workers and prepare for Lutheran expansion Frerichs recruited young Kamano converts as evangelists, bringing the total number of mission workers supervised from Raipinka in 1947 to 47 (22 Kâte evangelists and teachers; 25 Kamano evangelists).⁵

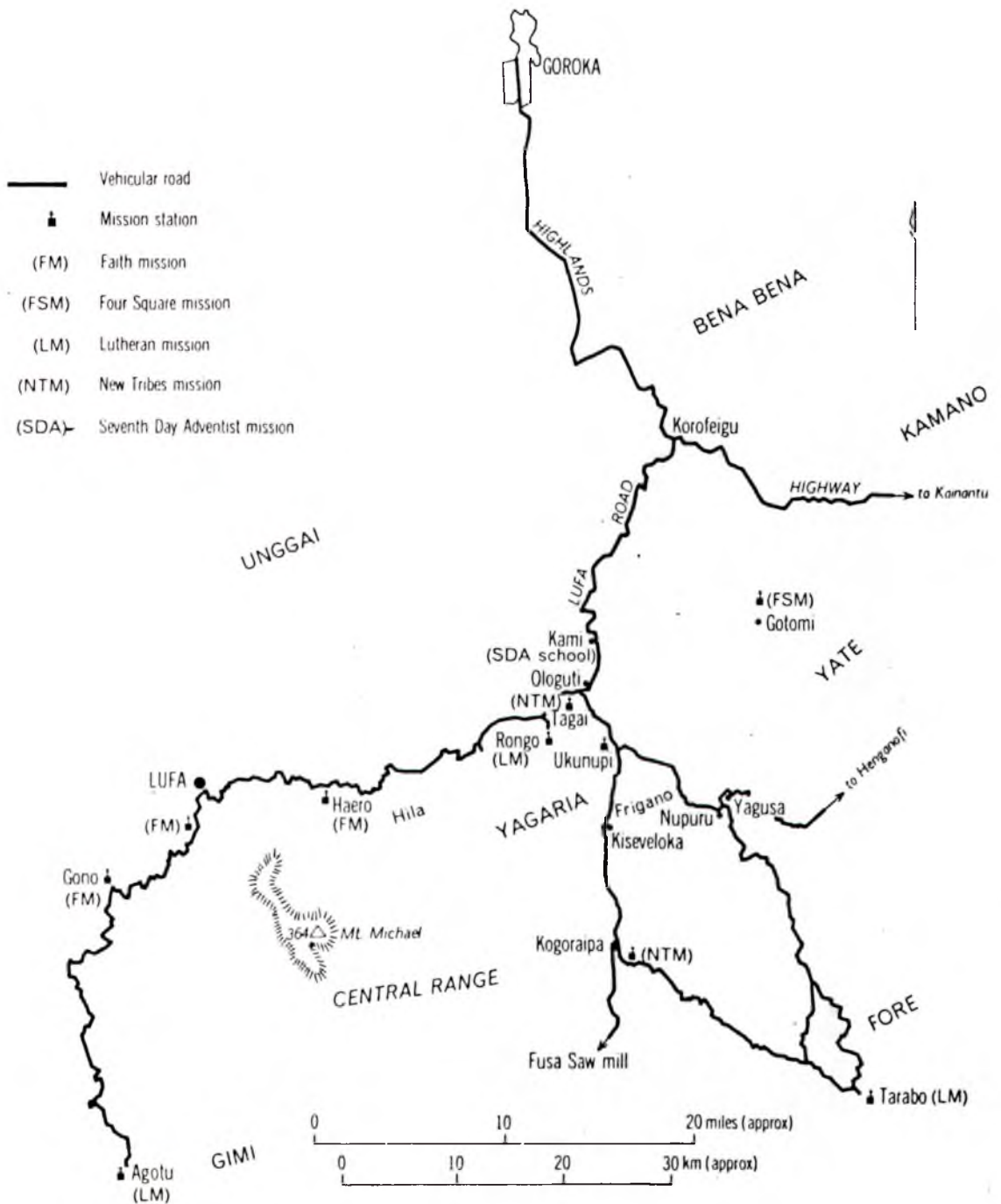
If the increased availability of manpower through the Kamano congregations formed by the Lutherans considerably aided Lutheran advances to the west and south of Raipinka, mission expansion was also greatly assisted by positive response to Lutheran intrusion in these areas. Sporadic and indirect contact for almost two decades which reached its climax in the Ghost Wind movement (still active in some outlying southern areas at the eve of mission and government intrusion), created highly favourable conditions for the acceptance of direct alien influence. Early contact and the experience of alien power, the movement of new forms of wealth into these outlying areas, and the climate of speculation and rumour served to foster widespread expectations of the imminence of some cataclysmic event that would engulf the lives of the people. The arrival of mission parties and government patrols and their indication of sustained contact was generally regarded as the fulfilment of these expectations.

Lutheran Intrusion at Kiseveloka

By 1947-48 Lutheran influence had penetrated into the Jate area to the immediate north-east of Frigano. A Kamano evangelist (Hajo'e)⁶ active in this region journeyed into the Yagaria area, making contact with Frigano and Kiseveloka people. He discovered that the Lutheran term for God, 'Anutu', was already known in the area, being used in rituals designed to attract wealth from the Henganofi or Kafe area. The population were keenly interested in the steel tools (an axe and machete) in Hajo'e's possession and on learning the name of the evangelist substituted this for 'Anutu' in the rituals (undoubtedly connected with wealth house cults). During this visit a young Move warrior, Gope, came under Hajo'e's influence and later visited the evangelist at Kiremu. After several trips to Kiremu, Hajo'e persuaded Gope and some other young Kiseveloka men to go with the evangelist to the Lutheran station at Raipinka. On arrival the Kiseveloka men were astounded at what they saw. Apart from the strangeness of the hustle and bustle of station life - the to-ing and fro-ing and industry of the residents, many of whom were attired in strange apparel, and the curious onlookers who like Gope and his companions had come to marvel at these alien things - there were the many buildings (houses, stores, school classrooms, etc.) and the strange and terrifying animals (horses and cattle). Here was tangible evidence of alien power and clear confirmation of the rumours and speculation about this power which no doubt had led Gope and the other men to visit Raipinka. Thereafter the station model was to predominate in the attitudes of Kiseveloka people to the missions and government, for in addition to signifying the nature of European power, the station embodied a life style and social environment which served as the primary goal of local response. When, later,

Map 4:

Lufa District - Eastern Highlands Province



conversion occurred at Kiseveloka the changes which accompanied it were adopted in the light of this model and the accompanying desire to realise its features in the lives of the valley's inhabitants.

The Arrival of Frerichs

While at Raipinka the Kiseveloka visitors had briefly met the station missionary, Frerichs, telling him where they were from and urging him to visit Kiseveloka. With the return to the valley accounts of the Raipinka experience were widely circulated and served to prepare the population for an extended encounter and the first with Europeans since the partial intrusion of Schmidt.

In August 1948 Frerichs accompanied by two other Europeans⁷ led a large Mission party into the Mount Michael area, having previously visited the Tarabo (Fore) area to the south-east of Frigano. The arrival of this party among populations which Frerichs later described as the 'most notorious cannibals I have ever met' (1969:59), produced a dramatic response at Kiseveloka. As the party moved around the valley to meet the inhabitants, Kiseveloka people embraced the strangers with sweet potato peelings secreted in their hands, while others placed such scraps along the pathway so that Frerichs or his horse would tread on the peelings. Later these scraps were fed to children and pigs in the belief that through contact with the strangers and their beasts the scraps had absorbed alien power. In consuming the peelings the children and pigs would quickly mature and become strong.

Major speculation centred on Frerich's horse (compare Flierl 1932:100). Having no experience of an animal of this size the beast was regarded by Kiseveloka people as an enormous pig and as such a measure of the prestige of those who could rear such beasts. In

addition, some people speculated that as the animal carried Frerichs rather in the manner a mother would carry her child, the horse was Frerichs' mother and he a kind of pig-man. This belief supplemented the more generally held view that the members of the mission party were returning ancestors or spirits, whose behaviour showed them to be benevolent and apparently anxious to reside at Kiseveloka.

Through Kafe (i.e. Kamano) interpreters Frerichs revealed that he wished to acquire land in the valley to establish a mission out-station. The purpose of this request could not have been understood by Kiseveloka people, who undoubtedly took it to mean permanent residence among them of the ancestors/spirits with related consequences for Kiseveloka people and especially the territorial group principally involved in the negotiations with Frerichs about the land. In the event a tract of land was agreed upon, Frerichs distributing some steel tools and shells to its "owners".⁸ This accomplished, the Mission party moved off after Frerichs had informed the people that he would later return to station two men in the valley.

Several points should be made here about the land obtained by Frerichs at Kiseveloka. At this crucial stage in the history of the valley, recent bouts of fighting had given Move clan a certain ascendancy in the area. Since migrating into the valley from Frigano some generations earlier Move had become established on the eastern slopes, but at the time of Frerichs' arrival a Move settlement (Hougoto) was in existence on the grassland floor of the valley, and other Move incursions onto part of the eastern slopes occurred following the expulsion of Havi people from Kiseveloka (see Fig.1). The land obtained by Frerichs (see Fig.3) though strategically well-

located from the Lutheran viewpoint towards the centre of the valley, formed part of that territory threatened by Move expansion. Two other territorial groups, Kivuluga and Yumi, variously claim traditional links with this land, but both groups had sustained defeats in local fighting and were in a weakened position in 1948-49. This political situation had an important bearing on the Lutheran intrusion. The Kiseveloka men who played the major part in the contact with Hajo'e, the visit to Raipinka, and the negotiations with Frerichs were Move clansmen, though some Kivuluga men were also involved. This in part may have influenced which parcel of land to allocate to the Mission, for this was sited close to Move territory yet not sufficiently distant enough to disadvantage Kivuluga. On balance, as the next two decades were to show, the siting of the small settlement occupied by two Kâte mission workers on this land consistently worked to Move advantage more than any other of the Kiseveloka clans. We shall pick up this point later in this chapter when considering the various ways in which Move people exploited the opportunities created by membership of the Mission.

Pre-conversion Strategy at Kiseveloka

Between 1949-50 Frerichs established 24 out-stations in the Mount Michael area, staffed by 51 Lutheran mission workers (8 teachers, 43 evangelists).⁹ With the exception of the Kâte teachers and a few Kâte evangelists, the bulk of these workers were young Kamano converts. Recruited immediately following baptism the Kamano evangelists were generally illiterate with no training beyond the catechetical instruction which preceded baptism. This amounted to no more than the learning of 'Bible stories, Scripture verses, and the catechism by listening to evangelists day after day in a course of

instruction which lasted several years' (Frerichs 1969:71). Thus equipped, the evangelists were (usually) paired off and located by Frerichs and the elders of the evangelists' home congregations in the Kainantu area on small plots of mission land like that acquired at Kiseveloka. Here the out-station (or 'helper-station') was established with the assistance of local people. At this stage the "station" simply consisted of the mission workers' dwellings and adjacent garden plots. Later a large chapel-cum-meeting house was erected for daily worship and pre-baptismal instruction, while in some cases the out-station became the nucleus for the development of a large mission settlement.

The two mission workers, Gomal and Sera, stationed at Kiseveloka differed from most of the mission workers settled in the area. Both were Kâte-speakers (though also with some understanding of Kamano) from closely situated areas in the Huon Peninsula; Ogeranang and Pindii. Though the evangelist Gomal was virtually illiterate, having briefly attended a mission school as a child, Sera belonged to the more elite category of Kâte mission workers. As a teacher he had undergone several years of schooling prior to attending the teacher seminary at Heldsbach. Both Gomal and Sera, then only in their late twenties at the time of their coming to Kiseveloka, were probably second generation converts, having grown up in an area where contact with the Nuendettelsau Mission went back to 1910. Their lives had thus been lived in the atmosphere of change and despite their youth both had had fairly lengthy exposure to station life.

The principal task of the mission workers in developing friendly but detached relations with the local population was to gradually gain familiarity with the local language or dialect. At

this point it was emphasised by the Mission that the evangelists and teachers proceed cautiously, teaching as it were by the example of their lives rather than by word of mouth (Frerichs 1969:71; Vicedom 1961: 38). In this respect Frerichs drew attention to the following factors: the mission workers possessed no weapons (i.e. bow and arrows), were monogamous, made no use of garden or pig magic, had no fear of sorcery and each day undertook Christian devotions. These characteristics served to show the differences between the mission workers and the surrounding population and signify the Mission's stance against "heathenism" and its related social forms. Thus warfare, sorcery, and magic (and where relevant cannibalism and infanticide) as the principal features of "heathenism" were initially to be silently challenged by the examples of the mission workers, as was the related "heathen" manifestation, polygyny. From the Lutheran viewpoint "challenge" in this sense reflected evangelical or pietist dogmas about the Holy Spirit, which activated by the presence of the mission workers and the "testimony" of their lives, began steadily to work in the "hearts" of the population "convicting" them of their sinful beliefs and customs, and gradually leading them to repentance. A more direct mode of influence stemmed less from the pristine spirituality of the evangelists and teachers, than from the more mundane, but nonetheless compelling, aspects of their behaviour and life styles.

The houses of Gomai and Sera were of the rectangular form favoured by Kâte and coastal peoples and were similar to station buildings (which some Kiseveloka men had seen at Raipinka), and possibly also to the wealth houses constructed in the general area. A certain prestige was thus associated with these house styles, which over the next two decades were to largely replace traditional

oval and round houses all over the Eastern Highlands. In addition, the mission workers and especially the Kâte evangelists and teachers, possessed significant material wealth in the form of shells, tools, household utensils and clothes, some of which had recently been the object of wealth house activity at Kiseveloka and elsewhere in the area. These possessions marked out the mission workers as men of economic substance, even if in traditional terms they lacked in basic resources like land and pigs. Alternative and more prestigious wealth underlined economic differences. But an important corollary of this was that this wealth was possessed by men whose relative youth was no apparent handicap to its acquisition and the attainment of independent economic status. These factors coupled with the mission-government ban on warfare constituted a radical challenge to traditional prestige, presaging a shift in the basis and nature of village leadership.

Radical differences were also evident in the domestic arrangements of the mission workers. It was seen, once the evangelists and teachers were joined by their families, that the mission workers co-resided with their wives and children and did not observe customary prohibitions regarding male-female relations. This was underlined at the mission out-station by the absence of women's seclusion huts, to where women usually retired during menstruation and the latter stages of pregnancy. In terms of the prevailing social order at Kiseveloka such behaviour violated crucial social mores, and as such cut at the very heart of existing ideas about power.

In later chapters these points about the impact of the mission workers on changing patterns of village leadership and related notions about power, will be examined at some length. Here it is sufficient to note that the presence of the evangelists and teachers among

Highland populations presented a radical challenge to these key aspects of the pre-existing society.

Though the full range of change which accompanied conversion belongs to a later period, even at this preliminary stage a pattern was being formed in terms of which conversion was to be achieved. At Kiseveloka the youth of Gomal and Sera had an immediate bearing on this. Their support came from those men of the same approximate age group which had previously visited Raipinka. Move young men formed the core of this support, though it included a number of Kivuluga men, and a number of Kiseveloka youths were gradually attached to this coterie. Though some of these men like the Move clansman, Gope, had gained renown as warriors, for the most part they lacked status in local affairs. With limited control of local resources (land, pigs, women, children) such men lacked the support and influence which stemmed from effective participation in the local world of debts and obligations. But as the recruitment of Kugutapi and Dogulo by Schmidt, the wealth house episode, and the alliance with Gomal and Sera at Kiseveloka demonstrates, younger men consistently attempted to utilize the new opportunities created by contact. Their initiative in this respect provided the essential groundwork for effective Lutheran intervention in local affairs; a process in which the support of younger Kiseveloka men was a crucial factor in the wider and long-term acceptance of change among the general population.

Forming "Real" Communities

Vicedom, who helped pioneer Lutheran work in the Mount Hagen area from the Ogelbeng station, emphasised that among the more important of the preliminary tasks of the mission workers was the creation of a 'real community life' (1961:38). This task was seen by

Lutherans like Vicedom as especially necessary in the Western Highlands (and in Chimbu) because of the absence of nucleated settlement among a traditionally dispersed population. So to prepare an effective evangelistic base for the propagation of the gospel major re-organisation of local populations into nucleated settlements or villages was deemed essential. But this was not merely a stratagem dictated by evangelistic convenience. Behind it stood a Lutheran view of "community".

Like pietist missionaries generally the Lutherans strongly cherished the ideal of re-discovering the purity of Apostolic Christianity in the mission field. This ideal, based on the early New Testament model (see Acts *ii*), exalted the virtues of basic communality (love, sharing, fellowship) freed from the encumbrances, complexities and vices of a secular-oriented and especially urban world view. Such notions as these were probably directly instrumental in shaping the anthropological views of Bruno Gutmann during his work (as a missionary of the Lutheran, Leipzig Mission) in East Africa. To put it rather simply, Gutmann¹⁰ believed that primitive peoples like the agriculturalist Chagga of Tanzania had been less subject to the effects of original sin. Social institutions like the clan and the age-set, and the subsistence community bore the original stamp of the creation. Against this, the socio-culture of civilisation in its varied forms represented so many stages in the corruption of the pre-fall order of creation. Gutmann attempted to devise a mission strategy which validated the unimpaired character of these "original" institutions among the Chagga in the hope of realising a sort of primitive Christianity for primitive man.

Gutmann had (and may have influenced) his counterparts in the Neuendettelsau Mission, like Vicedom and Keysser. Keysser is noted

as the architect of an evangelistic strategy which sought to utilise the traditional 'communality' of New Guinea societies as the basis for the establishment of Christian communities. Accounts of Lutheranism in New Guinea attach great importance to this communal emphasis in Keysser's thought, and especially to the so-called 'method' of 'tribal conversion' reputedly devised by him in the Sattleberg area.¹¹ However, it is not clear to what extent Keysser's evangelistic approach was shared by other Lutheran missionaries prior to 1920 and later, in what precise manner his 'methods' were 'adopted' as official Mission policy after 1915,¹² still less what this 'official' policy amounted to or its relation to actual Lutheran evangelistic practice. There is less doubt that Lutheran missionaries generally saw in New Guinea's small-scale, self-contained, and, judged from European assumptions, uncomplicated village societies a special potential for evolving equally small-scale, self-contained, and uncomplicated Christian communities. These were to blossom in Highland soil much in the manner that the Lutheran congregations had grown in the theocratic climate of the Neuendettelsau field.

As noted, the relocation of populations into nucleated settlements necessitated by the Lutheran ideal assumed a special importance in the Western Highlands and Chimbu. However, this strategy was also widely pursued in the Eastern Highlands. Here, pre-existing settlements were used by the mission workers as the basis for re-organisation of the local population; though in some cases, as at Kiseveloka, new mission settlements were established on a scale traditionally unknown.¹³ Designed initially to facilitate pre-baptismal instruction, these new or enlarged settlements were to become permanent social units in Lutheran strategy, for the gospel

would bring in its wake a new sense of cooperation and harmony, and the fruits of Christian living would become manifest in godliness, industry and cleanliness in contrast to the old "heathen" mode of fear, idleness and filth.

Early Difficulties and Setbacks

Lutheran expansion into the Fore and Mount Michael region had been received with general enthusiasm by the populations in these areas, but the Mission was unable to quickly capitalize on this despite the numbers of mission workers deployed among these populations. Many of the evangelists proved to be unreliable and lethargic, lacking effective support from both the station missionary and congregational elders. A new Lutheran station was founded at Tarabo in 1949-50 with the aim of more effective missionary supervision of the Fore and Mount Michael mission workers, but supervision continued to be a major problem throughout the 1950s.

In 1953 the Tarabo station missionary refers to a case of kidnapping of an evangelist's child by another evangelist, and to other disputes which sometimes resulted in fights between the mission workers.¹⁴ Adultery also occurred. This seems to have often stemmed from the reluctance of a wife to remain with her evangelist husband among a strange population and be exposed to the danger of sorcery; a fear which, Frerichs' assertions to the contrary, was probably also widespread among the mission workers.¹⁵ Evangelists deserted by wife and children tended to become vulnerable to the enticements of local women, with adultery frequently resulting. Where known, offending evangelists were either expelled by angry villagers or removed by the Mission.

The waning of initial enthusiasm for the Mission had led to some indifference among the population and in some cases to opposition. This problem was exacerbated in the Tarabo and Mount Michael areas by tensions with the Seventh Day Adventist and New Tribes Missions, and, in the Tarabo area, by government demands on the population for road-building work which interfered with evangelistic activities.¹⁶ But even where evangelistic work was in evidence in the Tarabo area, the Kamano evangelists showed a general reluctance to learn local dialects, preferring to teach in Kamano and use local interpreters;¹⁷ a condition which later applied also in the Mount Michael area.¹⁸

The Lutheran missionary Bamler, who had taken charge of the Tarabo station in 1954, reports continuing problems with evangelists, although in some Tarabo areas effective pre-baptismal instruction was in hand with 'people up all night in villages reciting Bible History'.¹⁹ The following year Bamler points out that though Mount Michael peoples were still friendly towards the Mission, they were not cooperative and little effective influence was being exerted by the evangelists. Some re-organisation of local populations into new settlements had been achieved, but no catechetical instruction had so far been undertaken at any of the out-stations. Conscious of the presence of the Seventh Day Adventist and New Tribes Missions in the area, Bamler exhorted the mission workers to greater diligence to win the people into the Lutheran fold, apparently with some success:

This year all our evangelists were earnestly asked to build, together with villagers, better gathering-houses for the people at all out-stations. These helpers have done right nicely and instead of those windy, poor bush "churches" pretty buildings with bamboo floors and fire places in the middle appeared, where the people are gathering now even at night with more joy and in the old [buildings] separate seating of evangelists, teachers and [visiting] missionary has been ... dropped ...²⁰

Conversion and Re-settlement at Kiseveloka

At the time when Gomal and Sera were establishing the out-station at Kiseveloka, about 250 Move people were residing in three main settlements in the immediate vicinity; at Hougoto, Kemi'ai and Kavo. Another Move segment resided at Ditomu in an adjoining valley to the south, among which two Kamano evangelists were settled. Kivuluga, then comprising three clans (Damugogaveda, Havagaveda, and Nupagaveda) with a population of approximately 300,²¹ were mainly grouped at Upai, a high ridge overlooking the valley from the west. A small Damugogaveda segment was also residing below Upai, at Krigoguma. To the immediate north lay two small Nupagaveda hamlets at Fono'apono'ai and at Kaiparo, the latter on territory previously occupied by Havi (see below). To the south of Upai and separated by the Kisevelo River lay Yumi (approx. 175 people), with Inenehua occupying a small territory further east along the mountain wall which forms the southern barrier of the valley.

Since the founding of the out-station at Kiseveloka Gomal and Sera had been attempting to develop their influence among this population. But this was bound to be limited given their lack of understanding of the Frigano and Kamate dialects spoken in the valley, and their residential isolation from the population. The first of these difficulties was partly overcome through the increasing use of the young Move man Gope as an interpreter; he having gained some facility in Kamano, a language with which both Kâte workers were familiar. The willing cooperation of Gope and other young Move and Kivuluga men gradually helped to deal with the second problem, for these men formed the basis of a new settlement which grew up at the out-station. Gope appears to have been especially prominent in recruiting Move people into the settlement and persuading them to

hand over weapons and sorcery items to the mission workers as a sign of their desire to accept peace and hear mission teaching.

Though the settlement was to recruit in large numbers of Move and Kivuluga people, during its early life the settlement was dominated by Move. Thus of the 236 people (149 adults, 87 children) baptised between November 1956 and August 1958, only 18 (8 adults, 10 children) were Kivuluga people.²² Led by the young Havagaveda man, Upe, and two Damugogaveda clansmen, Kivuluga people began to migrate into the mission settlement in increasing numbers during 1956.

Writing in the Kivuluga village book (containing the basic census data for Kivuluga) Patrol Officer Mater commented in November 1956:

The people have left their tribal grounds and are living in a large Lutheran "settlement" at Kisevera - they have previously been instructed to stop on their own land but the mission evangelists have threatened them with eternal torment in the fires of hell if they don't attend services and live in the settlement: unfortunately they are more afraid of the fires than the kiap.

At present the people in the settlement are walking 1½ hours to their gardens and back each day and the food supplies will probably suffer as a result. This should be checked by future patrols.

Subsequently Mater made further attempts to persuade Kivuluga people to return to their original house sites, but to little effect. The settlement continued to expand and draw in more people. Faced with this Mater threw in his hand, merely insisting that houses at the mission settlement be built along traditional lines rather than in the elevated, rectangular form favoured by the mission workers.²³

Three months later Patrol Officer Bourne commented in the Kivuluga village book that these latter instructions appear to have been followed, though 28 new houses had been built by Kivuluga people at the settlement since Mater's November visit. In addition, as new gardens had been planted nearer to the settlement this would soon alleviate the food problem.

Bourne's account indicates that the settlement was reaching considerable proportions by 1957. Consisting of a long single line of houses the settlement ran east to west along the gently sloping grasslands of the mission territory (see Fig.3), and at its peak of expansion during the late 1950s probably contained some 100 houses (? 300-400 people). Faced with this expansion and probably anxious about the political implications of this Move-Kivuluga alliance with the Lutherans, Yumi people began to migrate into the settlement. However, following opposition from Move and Kivuluga residents and disputes about the traditional ownership of the mission land, Yumi migrants returned to their original settlements. Accompanying this dispute was a stated fear by Yumi men that their wives were vulnerable to sorcery and ambush during the long daily trek to and from their existing gardens in Yumi territory. Following this abortive attempt to attach themselves to the Lutherans, Yumi people were later successful in getting the Mission to send mission workers to reside on Yumi territory.

Recruitment into the mission settlement had a cumulative effect, the initiative of younger men gradually leading to more general migration into the settlement. However, there were exceptions. For example, Kivuluga residents came mainly from Damugogaveda clan and to a lesser extent from Nupagaveda clan. With the exception of Upe and one or two other young Havagaveda men, Havagaveda clan remained aloof continuing to occupy its main settlement at Upai. Some Move people and the Nupagaveda segments at Fono'apono'ai and Kaiparo also remained partly aloof, adopting an ambivalent attitude towards the mission workers. This was expressed in a pattern of fluctuating migration. Thus, Iode (a Nupagaveda man then in his mid-thirties) after a short period of residence at the mission settlement left with

other Kivuluga men and founded a new hamlet near Fono'apono'ai. Apart from the difficulties noted above about gardens, some men disliked residing with such large numbers, fearing that it greatly increased the danger of sorcery attack. This problem had led to wholesale abandoning of similar mission settlements in the Fore area,²⁴ and even following conversion difficulties over sorcery would continue to interfere with attendance at Lutheran services and cause unrest among the congregations.²⁵ The other major factor contributing to migration out of the mission settlement was anxiety over Lutheran teaching. Lutheran opposition to polygyny and the practices connected with the male cult (see Chapter Three) alarmed some men and angered others. We shall examine these and other aspects of Lutheran policy towards the older culture in Chapters Six and Seven. Here it is only necessary to point out that Lutheran teaching demanded a break with older customs and beliefs, requiring public demonstrations of this from catechumens as a condition of baptism.

At Kiseveloka, group baptisms conducted by the Lutherans were accompanied by the destruction of weapons, magic and sorcery items, and the cult flutes. This was done at a public meeting attended by the baptismal candidates, catechumens not yet deemed ready for baptism, and by other people from the surrounding population. Under the leadership of Gomai and Sera, and with the support of the Tarabo missionary and other visiting mission leaders, in direct violation of local prohibitions the flutes were shown to women and children, ridiculed as powerless "heathen idols", and then destroyed. Prominent young converts like Gope and Imara of Move, and Upe of Kivuluga participated in the destruction of the flutes and other paraphernalia. It was partly in recognition of their leadership in

this respect that led to the appointment of Imara and Upe as elders of the Kiseveloka congregation.

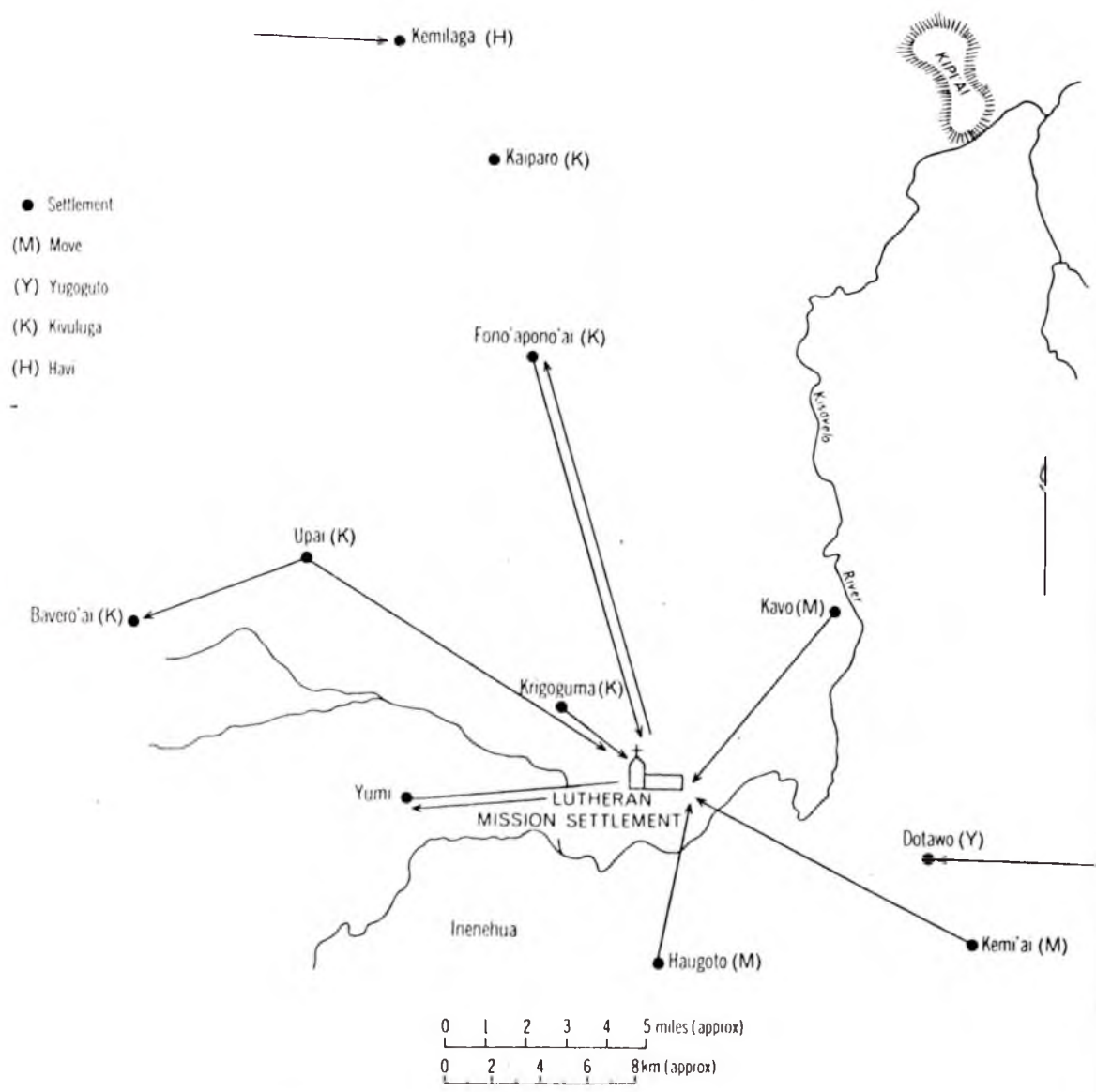
Migration into Kiseveloka (see Fig.3)

In addition to the re-organisation of mainly Move and Kivuluga people brought about by Gomal and Sera, other migration into the valley occurred during this period. Kivuluga, which as noted was in a weakened position at the time of initial Lutheran penetration, began to recruit back into the valley small groups which had previously been dispersed following fighting with Yumi. One of these segments joined a small Damugogaveda group which at Gomal's prompting had established a new settlement at Bavero'ai. Following the main baptisms at Kiseveloka two Move men were sent by Gomal to reside at Bavero'ai (later re-named 'Kasale' by Gomal) and prepare the residents for baptism.

During the same period two other groups migrated into the valley. The small Yuguguto clan (approx. 80 people) at Move encouragement moved onto Move territory from their land in the Frigano Valley. The ostensible reason for this move was that Yuguguto land had become infertile due to sorcery. However, given the political changes then taking place at Kiseveloka through the Lutheran presence, it is likely that Move men were anxious to strengthen their numerical standing in the valley through this recruitment of an allied clan. A Yuguguto settlement was founded at Dotawo and later a Lutheran evangelist was sent to reside with Yuguguto.

The arrival of the second group during the 1950s was to augment the spectrum of mission allegiance in the valley. Some years before the Lutheran penetration Havi was dislodged from its territory during fighting with Kivuluga, taking refuge with Hila allies some ten miles to the west. This alliance was maintained following Havi re-settlement

Figure 3: Migration at Kiseveloka in the 1950s



on part of its former territory at Kemilaga at the north-eastern end of the valley, and later resulted in Havi support for the Faith Mission.²⁶ Faith missionries became active among Hila groups during the late 1950s and a mission station was established at Haero. Faith Mission influence in the Hila area spread to Havi at Kiseveloka with the bulk of Havi's adult population later receiving baptism into the Mission²⁷ and forming a congregation led by its own pastors.

Advent of the New Tribes Mission

As noted, Lutheran dominance was not achieved at Kiseveloka without some opposition from among the population; though a number of Move polygynists overcame their objections to Lutheran demands and, divorcing their additional wives,²⁸ were permitted to receive baptism. Other Move and Kivuluga men, like Iode, who had come briefly under the influence of Gomai and Sera, were alienated by Lutheran teaching and abandoned the mission settlement. To these dissidents was added Havagaveda, the only Kiseveloka clan to remain aloof from Lutheran overtures. In part this stemmed from traditional rivalry between Havagaveda and its two Kivuluga allies, Damugogaveda and Nupagaveda. This alliance, underlined by strong cognatic and affinal ties, nonetheless contained marked rivalry towards both Damugogaveda and Nupagaveda. Internal rivalry within the Kivuluga alliance contributed to the "wait and see" attitude adopted by most Havagaveda men to the Lutherans, until the advent of the New Tribes Mission provided a new direction for this rivalry.

Since the founding of the New Tribes Mission station at Kami in 1954 and its subsequent removal to Tagai in the Ologuti area, the missionaries adopted an aggressive approach in an attempt to undercut Lutheran influence and secure rapid support in the region. At Kiseveloka, despite opposition from Gomai and Sera and numerous

attempts to undermine early New Tribes Mission influence, the missionaries were able to attract some support from Havagaveda men and others alienated by Lutheran demands. This support was concentrated in three Kiseveloka settlements: at a Move hamlet adjacent to the large Lutheran settlement, among Havagaveda at Upai, and among a mixed Kivuluga settlement at Fono'apono'ai. Following a short period of bible instruction led by visiting missionaries, baptism was conferred on a small number of Move people and some 40 Kivuluga adults (i.e. approx. 23% of the Kivuluga adult population) in the early 1960s. Three small New Tribes congregations were formed in the settlements referred to above and several young converts were selected to lead each congregation. These leaders were required to attend a weekly preparation class (held each Saturday) at the Tagai station, where, through Ologuti interpreters, they were instructed in a selected bible story to be expounded by these leaders at a service held in the settlement chapel the following day.

Both Kivuluga New Tribes congregations had a limited life-span. The leaders became indifferent and gradually stopped attending the preparation classes at Tagai, complaining of the distance involved (some ten miles there and back). In addition, two of the Kivuluga New Tribes leaders shortly left the area as migrant workers and spent several years at the coast. Depleted of local leadership and lacking effective support from the missionaries at Tagai, both congregations sank into apathy with services held irregularly and finally discontinued altogether. This roughly coincided with a change in New Tribes Mission policy. Unable to adequately supervise the many small and widely dispersed congregations founded at this time, the small missionary staff at Tagai elected to concentrate on the more promising congregations and others in the immediate vicinity of the station.

Outlying congregations like those at Kiseveloka were left to cope as best they could, in line with the principle that if truly awakened by the Holy Spirit, the thirst for the gospel would provide the necessary dynamic to ensure self-support.

New Tribes converts of this period stress that their decision to accept baptism with that Mission was due to the following reasons: the New Tribes missionaries did not withhold baptism from polygynists (though polygynists were not permitted to become congregational leaders), and baptism itself involved none of the iconoclastic excesses we have noted of Lutheran practice. Moreover, New Tribes converts were also attracted by the fact that baptism was offered after only a short period of preparation, thus contrasting with the much more lengthy and demanding nature of Lutheran catechetical instruction. As suggested, New Tribes policy appears to have been initially motivated by the earlier Lutheran presence in the region and the main features of New Tribes policy were deliberately designed to appeal to popular support and win over Lutheran adherents. (Though it should be added that the New Tribes Mission, like the Faith Mission and the Seventh Day Adventists, were also active in villages having only limited or no contact with the Lutherans.)

Though New Tribes missionaries were able to make some inroads at Kiseveloka and elsewhere, given the more popular appeal of their policy it is surprising that they were not more successful, even in the short-term, in undermining Lutheran influence. Until 1958 and the establishment of the Lutheran station at Rongo, a development largely initiated by the presence of rival missions in the Lufa region, the New Tribes missionaries were the only Europeans resident in the Yagarua area. This and the additional fact that baptismal classes

were personally conducted by the missionaries (via interpreters) allowed more direct access to Europeans. That these conditions did not result in widespread disaffection from the Lutherans at Kiseveloka is an indication of the measure of dominance of Gomal and Sera over the bulk of the population. This dominance is partly reflected in the steady growth of Lutheran converts at Kiseveloka.

Mission Statistics, 1956-64

As indicated, between 1956-58 some 235 Kiseveloka people (147 adults + 88 children) received baptism. To this was added a further 132 people (67 adults + 65 children) between 1959-63, bringing the total number of Lutheran converts to 367 (214 + 153). This total was the product of a series of relatively large group-baptisms which apparently involved mainly distinct clan groups; that is, Move, Yuguguto, and Yumi, the latter probably grouped with the small Inenehua clan. In addition, this 1963 total included some 33 Kivuluga people (20 + 13) who had received baptism at various times between 1956-63 along with larger numbers of Move residents at the Lutheran settlement.

In 1964 a further large baptismal service was organised by the Lutherans at the mission settlement which set the seal on the evangelistic activity of Gomal and Sera during the preceding decade. On this occasion some 257 Kiseveloka people (142 + 115) were received into the Lutheran fold. This seems to have involved converts from several Kiseveloka clans with Kivuluga people (79: 52 + 27)²⁹ contributing a substantial number, including incidentally 6 adults won over from the New Tribes Mission. Thus in the fifteen years since establishing contact with the population and the founding of the out-station at Kiseveloka the Lutherans had attracted substantial support, totalling 624 baptised members (356 + 268).

The following table gives some indication of the growth of mission impact on the Kiseveloka population between 1959-64.³⁰

Table 2. Kiseveloka Baptisms 1959-64

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Christians</u>	<u>%</u>
1959	1080	300	27
1961	1130	380	34
1962	1180	390	33
1963	1190	430	36
1964	1250	690	55

A number of points should be made about this rate of conversion. The 1964 figure of roughly half the population baptised does not represent a distinct cleavage between Christians and "non-Christians". Some people technically falling into the latter category, like the children of New Tribes converts for example, were members of what were in effect Christian families. This was probably true also of many Lutheran families. During this period the government's Highland Labour Scheme became effective in the area and led to the recruitment of increasing numbers of Kiseveloka men and youths as wage labourers. Some of these were employed in the Eastern Highlands, but most worked at the coast. Thus between 1959-64 some 240 migrant workers (plus an additional 26 if we include Havi) were absent at various times from Kiseveloka, usually for a two year contracted period. Many of these men and youths who had not been baptised had been enrolled in Lutheran catechetical classes or attended the bible school which Sera started at Kiseveloka in 1958. In cases where bible instruction was interrupted by recruitment as migrant workers, such men were generally baptised some time after their return to Kiseveloka.

Though Lutheran influence in the valley suffered with the retirement of Gomai in 1975 (who had by then become a Lutheran pastor)

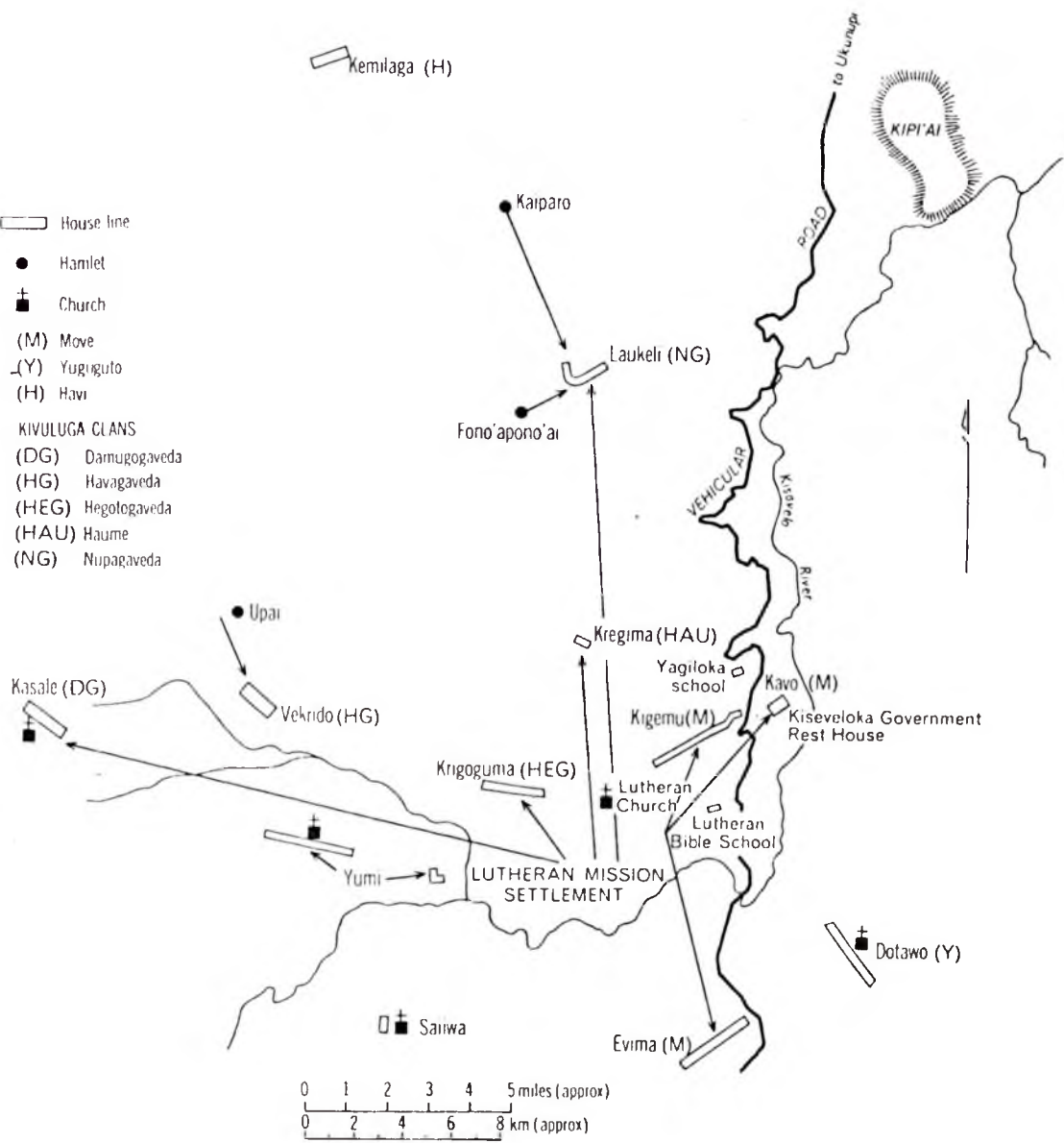
and his return to Ogeranang, and prior to this from increasing post-conversion indifference to the missions, group baptisms were still occurring at Kiseveloka under Gomal's direction until his departure. Thus between 1969-75 a further 229 people (136 + 93) were baptised, the majority belonging to Kivuluga and of the adults a significant number were married people and youths.

In 1975 the total number of Lutheran baptisms at Kiseveloka since 1956 stood at about 870. The total population was then approximately 1640, which suggests that the Lutherans had maintained their claim on 56% of the population (excluding Havi) since 1964. However, the total baptisms here includes those who had died since 1956, but even allowing for this the remaining 50% or so non-baptised probably represents a preponderance of small children, youths and girls whose baptised parents have become increasingly apathetic towards the Mission since the late 1960s. During my period of residence with two Kivuluga clans between 1976-78, I knew of only one senior Kivuluga man who had constantly refused baptism. He was the old Kivuluga *luluai* and later local government councillor for Kivuluga and a polygynist. One or two other men in their late thirties were also "pagans", but this was due either to periods of absence from the valley, or because of incurring the disfavour of Gomal. I would estimate that of the current Kivuluga population (excluding non-baptised children, etc.) only a small percentage have not been baptised with either the Lutherans or New Tribes, and this would probably apply also for other Kiseveloka clans.

The Emergence of Current Settlement (see Fig.4)

Following the large group baptism in 1964 the Lutheran settlement rapidly fragmented with its migrants forming a pattern of settlement in

Figure 4: Post-Conversion Resettlement at Kiseveloka After 1964



the valley which is still largely evident today (1978). The break-up of the mission settlement was mainly due to the reluctance of residents to live permanently in such large numbers and to continuing problems about garden sites, which had become accentuated since 1960 by the local introduction of cash crops. It is also possible that, given the size of the settlement population, the Lutheran mission workers recognised many of the difficulties involved and may have encouraged residents to leave once they had received baptism.

The Lutheran migrants divided into a number of distinct groups of varying size and dispersed to areas in the general vicinity of the abandoned mission settlement. Initially new hamlets and other scattered houses were established close to existing or new garden sites. However, under the direction of patrol officers from the Lufa station (founded in 1954), who had been gaining influence in the valley since 1959 or so, the dispersed members of each group were brought together into a 'house line', that is, a small settlement varying from approximately 10-30 houses. Three Move house lines were established at Evima, Kavo and Kigemu, in addition to the modified Yuguguto house line at Dotawo. Among Kivuluga five distinct groups had emerged following the fragmentation of the mission settlement.³¹ Apart from Havagaveda, which abandoned its old site at Upai to form a new house line nearby at Vekrido, Kivuluga migrants from the mission settlement settled in four other areas on the western slopes of the valley. Damugogaveda split into three groups, one joining other Damugogaveda people at Bavero'ai, where a new house line was formed. The remaining Damugogaveda groups later established separate house lines at Krigoguma and Kregima, while Nupagaveda migrants merged with the residents at Fono'apono'ai and Kaiparo to form a new house line at Laukeli. The two Damugogaveda segments at Krigoguma and Kregima subsequently became known as Hegotogaveda and Haume respectively, and

in many respects both have assumed the identity of clans on a par with the other three Kivuluga clans. However, some men of both groups maintain that they form 'one family' with Damugogaveda, though this relationship has become increasingly confused by some degree of inter-marriage between all three groups.

Currently, of the five Kivuluga house lines two are associated with Lutheran adherence (Krigoguma and Kasale), one is identified with the New Tribes Mission (Vekrido), while the two remaining house lines at Kregima and Laukeli have mixed Lutheran and New Tribes members. As the two latter cases suggest no rigid residential distinction obtains between *bisini* (Lutherans) and *ameleka* (New Tribes and Faith Mission supporters),³² or at a grosser level between *ol man bilong kristen* (Christians) and *ol man bilong haiden* (heathens). This is largely the result of weakened allegiance to the missions. New Tribes identity now has no expression in local congregational (i.e. in ritual and political) terms and this is only less so for Lutherans, as local congregational organisation claims only minimal support, especially from men. Mission identities reflect on past rather than present allegiances. Yet they have some contemporary significance in so far as they are incorporated into an older set of clan identities and values governing individual politics. To take some examples. The Kasale house line, which in addition to its association with Damugogaveda clan forms a Lutheran sub-congregation (see below), maintains a stated Lutheran exclusiveness regarding residence at the settlement. It is said that Damamu, who prior to his death in 1978 lived at the nearby hamlet at Hogototo'ai, could not reside with his clan at Kasale because he was a 'heathen' and a polygynist (he had three wives): while the two Nupagaveda brothers (Solala and Aimaki) were able to reside at Kasale (having previously

moved from Laukeli) because they were Lutherans. But these statements mean little without some understanding of the individuals involved. Damamu, the old Kivuluga *luluai* and later *kaunsil* for the group, was the major Kivuluga big man with rivals and opponents among his clansmen at Kasale. Neither Solala nor Aimaki are men of significant prestige, but both are married to Damugogaveda women. Again, Hau'eva chooses not to live with his Havagaveda clansmen at Vekrido, but with other Lutherans at Krigoguma, where he has become the Hegotogaveda *komit* (see below). However, the significant fact here is that Hau'eva like Solala and Aimaki lives uxorilocally with his wife's kinsmen. A man chooses to live with men of another clan or is recruited by them not simply because he belongs to the same mission. This is not to say that in these examples common mission identity (or the lack of it) plays no part in determining where a person may or may not reside. It is true that Kasale residents are largely Lutheran, but mission identity here as elsewhere functions within a wider set of motivations and qualifications, in terms of which in the present setting its role is generally of a secondary or subordinate nature.

Move Initiative and the Politics of Opportunism

In this and the preceding chapter examples have been given of individual and in some instances of clan opportunism during the early contact period.³³ Such initiative by Highlanders played an essential and often crucial part in establishing the groundwork and later in forging the relations with missions and government that made conversion and other changes possible. The early examples of Kugutapi and Dogulo's association with Schmidt, the initiative of Kiseveloka men in bringing information about wealth house cults into the area and in spreading these ideas elsewhere and, more importantly

for the Lutheran Mission, the varied roles of Gope, Imara, Upe and others in the contact with Hajo'e and subsequently with Frerichs, Gomal and Sera, all illustrate the point. Initially (Kugutapi and Dogulo, say) such action was no doubt spontaneous and motivated by a desire to satisfy curiosity about the aliens and through association with them gain whatever prestige was offered in the circumstances. Later, with the sustained mission presence response at Kiseveloka became increasingly more premediated, with some grasp of the long-term consequences involved; a characteristic consistently marked in Move response to the Lutherans and the opportunities afforded by the Mission.

Lutheran intrusion had a direct impact on the political situation at Kiseveloka. This was not due to any deliberate or specific Lutheran strategy regarding the existing clan organisation, for it is unlikely that this then or later held any great interest for the missionaries, except in so far as inter-clan rivalry tended on occasion to be a recognisable factor in undermining or obstructing Lutheran progress in the valley. Nonetheless, the Lutheran presence had immediate and long-term repercussions on local politics and particularly so on the growth and maintenance of Move dominance at Kiseveloka.

Move occupied a dominant position at Kiseveloka at the Lutheran advent in 1948-49, having expanded from the eastern slopes to establish several settlements in the lower grasslands of the valley. The siting of the Lutheran out-station in the vicinity of these settlements considerably advantaged Move, enabling earlier and more immediate access to the mission workers. Move provided the bulk of the first migrants into the mission settlement and were the first Kiseveloka people to receive baptism. Opportunities resulting from

membership of the Lutheran Mission were then of a limited nature and later were only marginally expanded with the development of Lutheran schools in the region after 1958.³⁴ We shall shortly take up this matter of Lutheran schooling and Move exploitation of the opportunities it created. Association with the Mission, however, indirectly created avenues into the outside world - a factor especially important in the period prior to the advent of the Highland Labour Scheme at Kiseveloka (see below).

In the mid-1950s a group of nine Move youths elected to leave the valley and visit Goroka. These youths were all initiated and some had probably participated in local raiding and fighting. However, with pacification and their desertion from men's house groups the youths found little purpose or diversion at the mission settlement, and entered into that listlessness which was later to lead many of their peers to eagerly volunteer as wage labourers under the Highland Labour Scheme. At the mission settlement the Move youths had come under the influence of Gomai and Sera and like other residents were fascinated by accounts of the outside world, a factor directly responsible for the decision to leave the valley. At Goroka the youths found employment as government carriers and general labourers, and having become rapidly proficient in Tok Pisin were selected (with others) to train as medical orderlies at the small government hospital at Goroka. This training (conducted in Pisin) involved close contact with women patients, which resulted in six of the Move youths leaving the course. They were especially anxious about the polluting effect of working underneath female patients located on an upper storey of the hospital. The six youths found alternative employment at Goroka as semi-skilled labourers, as domestic servants and general labourers.

The three graduates from the hospital course were sent to Lufa patrol post to work as medical orderlies in the sub-district. Later, three of the Move youths trained as semi-skilled workers also obtained work at Lufa. These developments were partly prompted by Move-Ologuti rivalry.³⁵ Guarding as it were the northern grassland approach to Mount Michael Ologuti people were advantageously placed to exploit contact, particularly with government patrols. Prior to 1954 government patrols into the Mount Michael area were variously mounted from Goroka, Bena Bena, and the Kainantu area and usually entered the region via the Ologuti grasslands. With the establishment of the Lufa patrol post in 1954 several Ologuti men and other Yagaria with knowledge of Tok Pisin obtained work at the new station. Alarmed at the potential political consequences of this older Move men encouraged their younger clansmen at Goroka to gain employment at Lufa in order to counter Ologuti influence there, a concern which later led Gope and other Move men to move to the station with their families.

Much of this rivalry between Yagaria men employed at Lufa centred on the work of government interpreters, by far the most politically significant and prestigious role then available to Highlanders. Not only did this work allow more direct association with government officers than any other government work in which Highlanders were employed, but the heavy reliance of the *kiap* on interpreters at the station and during government patrols, presented an unparalleled opportunity for interpreters to gain widespread influence in the sub-district. As the key link in communication between villagers and *kiap*, interpreters possessed considerable leeway with which to exploit their position and manipulate their control of information for personal and clan gain, potentially to the disadvantage of rivals, a factor which

Move clansmen were quick to appreciate.

In 1961 the young Move man Ugi Biritu (then about 24 years old) became a government interpreter at the Lufa station. Through this position Ugi rapidly achieved renown in the sub-district and successfully contested the first House of Assembly elections for the Henganofi Open Electorate in 1964.³⁶ Ugi's election as *membra* was directly associated with widespread cargoist expectations in the Lufa area³⁷ and it is possible that his popularity suffered from a failure to realise these expectations.³⁸ Ugi also had to contend with Kafe opposition in the north-eastern corner of the elctorate, a factor which one commentator directly connects with Ugi's sudden death in 1967 during an epilepsy attack.³⁹ As a parliamentarian Ugi was handicapped by a virtual ignorance of English and his illiteracy in Tok Pisin, but despite this he participated regularly in the House of Assembly at Port Moresby and made a brief visit with other parliamentarians to Australia in 1965. As the first *membra* for the area Ugi represents the rise of a new political phenomenon, one which has become identified with the emergence of a semi-educated and educated young male elite. A number of Move men belonging to this category with the backing of Move big men aspire to emulate Ugi, and though no Move candidate contested the 1967 by-election (Henganofi Open) or the subsequent elections of 1968 and 1972 (for Lufa Open), Hariepe Tereyamo, a young Move English teacher (b.1949) was an unsuccessful candidate in the 1977 House of Assembly election.

Young men like Hariepe form a Move elite of men and latterly women who are the successful products of English education during the 1960s and 1970s.⁴⁰ By 1978 Move could boast some five English teachers (two of them head teachers in English primary schools), one graduate from the University of Papua New Guinea and another student enrolled in a degree course at the University. Two other Move youths

were also undergoing tertiary education elsewhere in Papua New Guinea. A further six or so young Move men (most having completed English high school education) are variously employed as white collar and skilled workers, and reside in urban centres. In addition, two young Move women were students at the Goroka School of Nursing in 1978, while another Move woman having earlier graduated as a nurse, is a ward sister at a hospital in Port Moresby. All three women had completed Standard IV English schooling and two were high school pupils before becoming student nurses. This achievement has no parallel among other Kiseveloka clans (Kivuluga, for example, having had only one high school pupil by 1978), and stems directly from Move monopoly and exploitation of educational opportunities developed by the Lutherans at Kiseveloka and elsewhere in the Highlands.

The Kâte school established by Sera at Kiseveloka in 1958, though designed to serve the children of Lutheran converts in the valley generally, was from the first dominated by Move children. This was a function of the proximity of the school to Move territory and at the time an expression of the numerical dominance of Move people at the mission settlement. Moreover, the exploitation of this advantage stemmed from an earlier grasp by Move Lutherans of the importance of literacy as the means to knowledge of European power, motivated, it should be stressed, by wealth house and other cargoist assumptions. In the early 1960s the Lutheran missionary at Rongo (Renck) created an English class at the Kâte school and founded an English primary school at the Rongo station.⁴¹ For pupils successfully completing education at these schools entrance to secondary English education was possible at Lutheran 'area' schools elsewhere in the Highlands. Allocation of places at these schools was sometimes subject to considerable manipulation in the rush to exploit limited access to prestigious English education. At the

Kitip English school established by the Lutherans in the Mount Hagen area, the Kotna missionary discovered that Lutheran teachers at the school were improperly securing places there for the children of fellow mission workers (probably Kâte evangelists and teachers) stationed elsewhere in the Highlands (i.e. in the Ogelbeng and Tiria circuits of the Hagen district, and in the Kerowagi circuit, Chimbu district) and in some cases for the children of mission workers stationed as far distant as the Finschhafen area.⁴²

Move children completing initial English schooling at Kiseveloka and Rongo received secondary education at various Lutheran 'area' English schools at Raipinka, Monono (Chimbu district) and Kitip, and subsequently at the Lutheran high school at Asaroka. In most cases places at these schools were no doubt secured legitimately on the basis of merit. But some manipulation apparently occurred (possibly in the favouring of the children of prominent Lutheran supporters, like the Move elder Imara), and particularly by the pupils themselves. According to Imara's son (Veyamo), one of the Move products of Lutheran English schooling in the 1960s, once a Move youth had gained a place at a Lutheran 'area' school like Raipinka or Kitip, he attempted to recruit in other Move youths. In some cases this involved concealment of previous education, especially if this had been at a government English school. Here Veyamo refers to pupils initially educated at the Lufa government school who later joined other Move pupils at a Lutheran 'area' school. There may be grounds to this claim given the region over which children were recruited and the potential problem of accurately checking the *bona fides* of new pupils by the school authorities.

While recognising that Move monopoly of English education was influenced by the proximity of the Kiseveloka school to Move

settlements in the 1960s, Veyamo asserts that Move success at the school (and later at Rongo) was mainly due to innate ability and the superior intelligence of Move pupils over other Kiseveloka children. A Kivuluga big man, Foreda, offers a rather different explanation. He accepts that many Kivuluga parents along with other Kiseveloka people were reluctant to send their children to the local school. This was due to fears about the vulnerability of the children to sorcery attack during the daily trek to and from the school. Moreover, those Kivuluga children attending the school failed to emulate the success of Move children because their minds were closed to the new knowledge by Move sorcerers. Foreda adds that the close association between Lutheran missionaries and Move big men like Imara, assisted the advance of Move children. Other Kiseveloka clans which lacked such alliances were considerably disadvantaged in gaining access to Lutheran-created opportunities.

In 1975 a government English primary school (Yagiloka Community School) was opened at Kiseveloka. This was essentially the creation of Move initiative backed by support from other Kiseveloka people and resulted from a struggle with the Lufa Local Government Council, which had initially refused to support the school. In 1971 the Council planned to open three English primary schools in the sub-district. One was to be sited at Kiseveloka, but this was later re-allocated to Kogaraipa some four miles to the south and adjacent to Fusa, the traditional enemies of Move. Hariepe Tereyamo (see above) was appointed in January 1972 as head teacher, in which capacity he was to appoint a school Board of Management from among residents in the Kogaraipa area. Once formed this body was to cooperate with Hariepe in organising the local population to clear a suitable site and commence work on the construction of school class-

rooms (from bush materials), teachers' houses and gardens. However, a year after his appointment a government patrol learnt that nothing had been achieved at Kogaraipa. Instead, Hariepe had mobilized Kiseveloka people to build the school there. According to the patrol report referring to this matter, Hariepe had deliberately sabotaged the Kogaraipa project, encouraging Kiseveloka people to take independent action and present the Council with a *fait accompli*.⁴³

Naturally, the Council refused to accept this. Following censure by the Education Office at Goroka Hariepe was appointed to another school outside the Lufa sub-district, and the Kogaraipa project went ahead under a different head teacher. In 1974 the Council relented in its opposition to the school at Kiseveloka, allowing this to open and appointing two teachers (one being Imara's son, Veyamo) to organise the first school intake for 1975.

General representation of Kiseveloka clans on the Board of Management and the Parents and Community Members of the Yagiloka school ensures a more or less equal distribution of school places, and makes it difficult for any one Kiseveloka clan to monopolize local educational opportunities. Nonetheless, Move pupils continue to claim an advantage over the children of other clans at the school, especially in respect of female pupils (see Appendix B). This suggests that Move parents have been quicker than others to appreciate the value of English-educated daughters, a perception which runs counter to traditional and prevailing male attitudes towards women (attitudes, it should be pointed out, that seem to be widely shared by women). In part closer numerical parity between Move boys and girls at the Yagiloka school (30 boys - 26 girls, compared with 65 boys - 24 girls of other clans) represents less a challenge to views about masculinity and femininity, than a concern with the potential

advantages offered by English-educated daughters; both in respect of brideprice payments and in forging prestigious unions with English-educated youths. However, parity also expresses changes in the nature of male-female relations at Kiseveloka generally and in the related erosion of the more clearly defined social boundaries which traditionally delineated male and female domains. Even if these domains were probably less rigidly drawn in the traditional order than early ethnographic accounts of the 1950s generally implied (see Faithorn 1976; Langness 1976), the social transformations which accompanied and followed pacification and conversion, affected this area no less than other aspects of the traditional society. To conclude this account of conversion at Kiseveloka it is necessary to outline the principal features of social change which followed on conversion.

Encapsulation and Internal Transformation

The process of change at Kiseveloka had two principal dimensions. In addition to the internal transformation of the pre-conversion order, which we will shortly discuss, conversion was accompanied by and, indeed, largely made possible the absorption of the autonomous territorial unit into a novel external structure.

The emergence of the post-conversion pattern of settlement in the valley and the re-organisation of the population into house lines, reflects in a number of ways the growth of government influence at Kiseveloka, as we have partly noted above. The censusing of the population by patrol officers in the early 1950s led to a re-organisation of Kiseveloka clans into a number of different "village" units, and the appointment of village headmen, i.e. a government *luluai* assisted by a number of *tultul*. The "village" applied not to existing settlements in the strict sense, but to a territorial

population - to what might better be understood as a parish. To some extent the pre-existing territorial unit provided the basis for this superimposition of the village system and the appointment of village officials. Though Kivuluga became a "village" with its own *luluai* (the polygynist, Damamu) and various *tultul*, the other Kiseveloka territorial groups, while generally recognised as "villages" and independently censused and taxed, were for demographic reasons amalgamated. Thus, Yumi was paired with Inenehua (the latter renamed "Sai'iwa" by the Lutherans) under one *luluai*, and Move, Yuguguto and Havi were grouped with Gope becoming *luluai* for this unit. In 1965 the village *luluai* system was replaced by the present system of elected local government councillors (*kaunsil*).⁴⁴

Responsible for a given "ward" much in the way that the *luluai* was for a village or group of villages, *kaunsil* are able to participate more fully in district affairs; attending regular meetings at Lufa as members of the Lufa Local Government Council. Within the ward *kaunsil* fulfil the older *luluai* role, assisting government officers in censusing, taxing, and the holding of local elections, in organising road maintenance and other public works. In addition, like the *luluai*, *kaunsil* have authority to conduct informal courts in settlement of minor disputes and where appropriate to impose fines. Apart from *kaunsil* elections, since 1964, as noted above, villagers are able to elect a representative to the national parliament in Port Moresby. The current *membra* for Lufa Open is the Ologuti man, Sunavi Otio.⁴⁵

These political developments were augmented at various points by others which served both to absorb Kiseveloka clans into the changing external world and to strengthen the local influence of the Administration. Reference has already been made to the impact of the Highland Labour Scheme (HLS) in the recruitment of migrant workers.

Though early response at Kiseveloka to the HLS was limited, by 1961 young men were so eager to leave the valley as contract labour that the full quota of 25 per cent of the adult male population (16-45 years) of the valley was quickly reached.⁴⁶ This figure was more or less maintained over the succeeding years. The long-term effect of the HLS was to undermine local mission dominance. The wider experience of Papua and New Guinea and a more general exposure to government and commercial developments gained by migrant workers not only broadened their horizons, but inevitably led to a re-evaluation of the earlier assumption that the missions and especially mission teaching held the key to prosperity, wealth and the acquisition of power. Also, the absence of large numbers of young men seriously weakened the continuity of mission impact and over time had a negative bearing on the creation and maintenance of local mission leadership.⁴⁷

Two additional government initiatives in the area served to reduce mission influence. In the early 1960s coffee was introduced into the valley by the Administration, peanuts having also been planted as a cash crop several years before. By 1961 some 4000 coffee trees were under cultivation⁴⁸ and their number rapidly increased each successive year. At the introduction of these crops patrol officers stressed their potential economic importance; a potential which in the case of coffee was to become fully realised in the next decade and subsequently. The introduction of coffee may have directly contributed to the break-up of the Lutheran mission settlement after 1964. As maturing coffee trees required a shaded environment, small coffee groves were usually planted on higher slopes where existing bush or forest gave the necessary protection. Moreover, as land in the immediate environs of the settlement was already under intensive cultivation to feed the settlement population and with

unused or fallow areas subject to pig foraging, coffee could in any case only be introduced into areas some distance from the settlement. Given the general pressures associated with residence at the settlement, the existence of coffee holdings at some remove may have been an added inducement to quit the settlement and resettle closer to these holdings.

The other factor strengthening government influence at Kiseveloka was the construction of a vehicular road through the valley. The importance of the road was that it linked directly into the Lufa-Goroka road (via the Highlands Highway) and made possible more direct access to urban centres in the Eastern Highlands (Goroka and Kainantu) and elsewhere. Moreover, the road had important economic potential for Kiseveloka people; it allowed coffee buyers direct entry into the valley and thus reduced the problem of marketing the coffee crop. A related development was the growth of local trade stores in the valley. These are sited alongside the road where they could be easily supplied by wholesalers from Goroka. More recently cash income from coffee has been used to purchase vehicles (usually on a nominal village or clan basis), which are licensed as "public motor vehicles" (PMVs) and operate as a kind of taxi service between the valley and towns like Goroka. Sections of the road had already been constructed by village labour to the immediate north of Kiseveloka in the early 1960s. Kiseveloka people watched these developments with great interest, noting how the road advantaged Ologuti people. Such was the rivalry associated with the road that it was said that Ologuti people had told the *kiap* they would not allow Frigano and Kiseveloka people to use the Ologuti section of the road (a threat which proved to be empty). Road work was undertaken at Kiseveloka during 1964-65 against this and other

rivalries, with individuals attempting to influence the *kiap* in charge of the construction to re-route the road, so as to advantage their settlement and disadvantage others. The use of village labour for road work coordinated through local *kaunsi* and *komit*, was the first attempt by the Administration to organise the valley population in an intensive way. The more sustained contact with the Lufa patrol officers which this allowed probably went a considerable way to overcoming the negative attitude of the population towards the government during the earlier period of contact. This shift in attitude was also aided by what the road represented as an avenue to progress and prosperity - a goal now more clearly seen to be tied to government rather than mission initiative.

The road, coffee, wage labour and political development were all significant advances and understood by Kiseveloka people as tangible evidence of the "new way" much stressed in mission teaching, albeit with a different picture in mind. But these developments were increasingly understood less as a direct fulfilment of mission teaching than as evidence of the independent power of the government - a recognition which gradually served to loosen the Lutheran grip on the bulk of the population.

The encapsulation of Kiseveloka clans into the ward system of local government is crosscut by local Lutheran organisation, a development also largely based on pre-existing territorial units. The Kiseveloka congregation, formed after the initial baptisms in 1956, is an amalgam of a number of local ritual units or sub-congregations.⁴⁹ Each sub-congregation is usually associated with a given house line with its own chapel and *songga* (elder). Though *songga* have certain responsibilities within the sub-congregation their authority is corporately exercised through the congregation, where together with the congregational pastor and/or other church

workers they determine matters of local policy and discipline.

The Kiseveloka congregation comprises the sub-congregations of Dotawo (Yuguguto), Sai'iwa (Inenehua), Yumi, Kasale (Damugogaveda), and Move-Kivuluga. The latter sub-congregation consisted of Lutheran members drawn from the three Move house lines at Evima, Kavo and Kigemu together with Lutheran members among the Kivuluga house lines at Krigoguma, Kregima and Laukeli, and was the only sub-congregation formed on an inter-territorial basis. This sub-congregation used the old chapel on the site of the abandoned mission settlement. However, in the early 1970s a split arose with Evima and some other Move Lutherans under the leadership of the *songga*, Imara, forming a separate group and holding independent services at the Lutheran bible school (the old chapel having been pulled down). A Kigemu-Kivuluga group now uses a new chapel which replaced the older building, re-sited half-way between Kigemu and Krigoguma. The reasons for this split are discussed in Chapter Eight, where we shall also examine the problem of current Lutheran leadership at Kiseveloka and in the Rongo circuit.

These developments in government and Lutheran organisation during the early 1960s have considerably widened and augmented the traditional political and social spectrum, presenting individuals with new options and creating avenues for participation in a variety of extra-village structures and their activities (compare Morauta 1974:129-45). If these developments can be said to represent positive political gains (for without some perception of this, change would not have been so readily accomplished during this period), such gains were not achieved without cost. The dual processes of encapsulation of the internal order by government and missions, while not entirely doing away with some degree of local autonomy, nonetheless rendered

the internal society conditional and dependent upon the external powers. Increased recognition by villagers of these powers during the period of conversion involved an acceptance of their authority to intervene in local affairs and through local agents to engineer radical changes within the traditional order. This was of course primarily true of the Lutheran Mission.

Post-conversion society in the valley was in a number of crucial ways radically different from that which had preceded baptism. The pattern of re-settlement which paralleled the life of the mission settlement and which followed on the fragmentation of the latter led to some re-grouping of the population, even if this took place largely in terms of the older territorial organisation. Apart from the post-conversion impositions by the government affecting the formation of house lines however, settlement life had undergone profound changes. Gone was the older practice of residential segregation by sex, having been replaced by a pattern of spousal co-residence based on the Euro-Christian model of the monogamous nuclear family household. Gone also was the male cult together with its related social pursuits; these being abandoned at the establishment of the Lutheran congregation. Such fundamental changes in settlement life were achieved only at the cost of the collapse of the men's house group.

The break-up of men's houses among Move and Kivuluga had begun with the migration of younger men and youths to the mission settlement, where the domestic pattern of the mission workers was generally adopted. As older men gradually migrated into the settlement they also adopted its prevailing practices in this and other matters. In this way membership of men's house groups was gradually depleted and with this much of the effective control of senior men over junior generations was eroded. But the collapse of the men's house group

was no incidental matter; a mere indirect and unintended by-product of recruitment into the mission settlement. There, residents were subjected to a sustained Lutheran attack on the male cult and its associated beliefs and practices. Baptism was made absolutely conditional on the rejection of these things, while membership of the congregation demanded conformity with prohibitions aimed against pig festivals, mortuary customs, the use of garden magic (and sorcery), dancing and the use of body decorations, and the practice of polygyny. The Lutheran proscription against pig festivals meant the loss of a complex of ritual and politico-economic activity. As we saw in Chapter Three, this complex expressed the primary concerns of the older order with fertility, growth and strength on the one hand, and with the pursuit and acquisition of power in the political and economic domain on the other. This complex of belief and action was, among others, a major concern of the male cult and was inextricably bound up with the men's house group. The destruction of the former inevitably sounded the death knell of the latter.

The impact of Lutheran evangelistic practice and the degree of change which stemmed from it had a wider, cumulative effect, and was not merely confined to Lutheran villages in the Eastern Highlands.⁵⁰ There were compelling reasons why Lutheran impositions should find acceptance among Lutheran converts and the adherents of other missions. Lutheran presentation of the new life as a virtual antithesis of the old one offered a clear-cut choice that was more readily understandable, and thus acceptable, in the circumstances of pacification and evangelization. It was largely inevitable in these circumstances that the smaller number of New Tribes and Faith Mission converts at Kiseveloka, despite the limited demands of these missions, would be swept along by the more general Lutheran tide, or would

gradually succumb to the new conditions prevailing among their Lutheran neighbours.

The drama of conversion was a unique experience for Highlanders, and a unique event in the history of change. Here we have described the principal features of that event, but the event itself and the immediate context in which it was fashioned occurred under the dominance of the Lutheran mission workers. Their role in the conversion process was a fundamentally crucial one, and the following chapters are devoted to understanding this role and its legacy in the current setting.

Notes - Chapter V

1. Frerichs was recruited from the American Lutheran Church. At Raipinka he replaced the German, Zimmermann, who was interned in Australia in 1939 (Jericho ?1961:157; Radford 1979:265-7).
2. A.C. Frerichs, 'A Brief History of Raipinka Mission Work and the Problems Confronting us Today,' (typed mss.) 1947, ELCPNG Archives, Lae; Raipinka Station Report, 1940 (Frerichs). The report gives '273' pupils, but this could be a typing error and might read, 473 pupils. The figure of 500 pupils given in the 'Brief History...' for these 16 schools (an average of 30 pupils per school) seems a more reasonable one.
3. Raipinka Station Reports, 1940; 1946 (Frerichs).
4. Raipinka Station Report, 1946 (Frerichs). Berndt (1952-53: 59-60, 215-9) gives an account of the role of such school youths in combating a wealth house cult in their home village at Garufe.
5. Raipinka Station Report, 1947 (Frerichs). Kâte mission workers were probably allowed by the Administration to leave Raipinka and reside in out-stations during 1947.
6. Details of this primary Lutheran contact at Kiseveloka are partly taken from accounts obtained by the Lutheran missionary, Renck, during interviews with three pioneer Lutheran evangelists (Gomal, Mankefa, Yeme) stationed in the Mount Michael area. I am grateful to the Revd. Gunther Renck for making available to me taped recordings of these interviews, and to the Lutheran teacher, Muhucyuc, for his help in translating these tapes from Kâte into Tok Pisin.
7. Raipinka Station Report, 1949 (Frerichs). The two Europeans accompanying Frerichs were Maahs and Charley. Maahs was an ex-chaplain in the American Forces, who served from 1949-50 as a photographer for the Lutheran Mission (Jericho?1961:124). The status of Charley (not listed in Jericho) is unknown to me.

8. Such land transactions as this were not recognized by the Administration and remained a purely private arrangement between the parties involved. However, where a mission or other body or individual had acquired or wished to acquire a substantial portion of native land (for a mission station or plantation, say), in agreement with its native "owners" the land was purchased by the Administration and then leased to the applicant on a leasehold basis.
9. Raipinka Station Reports, 1949 and 1950 (Frerichs). It should be pointed out that the Mount Michael area, as designated in Lutheran maps of this time, comprised a much larger region than that which later became known as the Lufa sub-district. The 51 mission workers settled in the Mount Michael area by 1950 were working among a population (of mainly Kamano, Yagaria, and Fore peoples) of around 40,000 to 50,000.
10. Gutmann published entirely in German. The bulk of his work, like that of the Neuendettelsau missionary Keysser, has never been translated into English. For brief accounts of Gutmann's theological and ethnological ideas see Gutmann (1928), Raum (1937), Wagner (1937), and Christiansen (1970).
11. See Keysser (1924), his only English publication, Inselmann (1948), Lawrence (1956, 1964), Frerichs (1969), Jericho (?1961), Vicedom (1961), Pataki (1966), and Harrison (1974, 1975). In Smith (1979) a critique is given of Keysser's 'methods', and see also Chapter Seven below.
12. See Chapter Seven.
13. Patrol Report Goroka 10/ 1961-62 refers to numerous large mission villages of this kind in the Upper Asaro. Though not identified the mission involved here is probably Lutheran. The report comments that the villages 'are built around mission establishments. They are without a doubt the poorest, most filthy, settlements [imaginable] and it was necessary to order the re-building of nearly all houses.'
14. Tarabo Station Report, 1953 (R.W. Fiegert).

15. Tarabo Station Report, 1964 (F. Steinbauer) estimates that eighty per cent of the circuit mission workers believe in and fear sorcery.
16. Tarabo Station Report, 1953 (Fiegert).
17. Tarabo Station Report, 1953 (Fiegert).
18. Renck (1977b (iv): 1025).
19. Tarabo Station Report, 1954 (H. Bamler).
20. Tarabo Station Report, 1955 (Bamler)
21. Patrol Report Goroka 1/ 1952-53.
22. Lutheran baptismal records at the Rongo station (from which these and the following figures are taken) are in a confused state. From the outset no attempt was made to identify the clans or territorial groups to which converts belonged and as the names used in these records are not always those by which individuals are generally known, it is not always possible to determine the identities of Kiseveloka people listed in these records. Moreover, though my census material includes details of mission membership, the accuracy of this data suffered from a tendency among some Kiseveloka men to conceal their original membership with New Tribes. As that Mission does not keep baptismal records it is not possible in every case to be certain of actual mission membership. The mission statistics used here and below should be read in the light of this qualification.
23. The circumstances of Mater's opposition to the mission settlement and the underlying issues involved, are discussed more fully in Chapter Six.
24. Tarabo Station Report, 1955 (Bamler).
25. Tarabo Station Reports, 1964 and 1965 (Steinbauer), 1967 (H. Gericke), and 'A Statement Concerning Church Activities in the ELCONG Tarabo Circuit' (dated 17.11.1971) written by Gericke and appended to the Tarabo Station Report, 1971.

26. The Faith Mission is an off-shoot of the New Tribes Mission, having emerged from a doctrinal dispute among the pioneering missionaries at Gono and Kami (See Chapter Two).
27. Unlike the Lutherans, both Faith Mission and New Tribes Mission do not practice or recognise infant baptism.
28. The prohibition on polygyny was a regular point of dispute between Lutheran missionaries and government officers, as the latter were often required to settle disputes arising from the expulsion of wives by Lutheran converts. Disputes usually concerned such matters as the payment of compensation to the wife's natal group, the discarded wife's claims on property and wealth, etc. Some patrol officers in response to these problems suggested that husbands be made responsible for maintaining wives divorced at Lutheran insistence (see Patrol Report Lufa 3/ 1962-3), though this measure seems not to have been adopted in the Lufa area or elsewhere. In some cases such divorces caused undue hardship, for the tendency was for a man (say, with three wives) to abandon his two older wives at his baptism, retaining the younger one because he valued her potential procreative capacity. Older wives thus discarded sometimes found it difficult to gain acceptance among their natal clans and were forced to eke out an existence where they could. In other cases the problem was solved by giving a discarded wife to a junior, bachelor clansman (see Chapter Nine). This could mean, however, an abrupt loss of status for the woman, as her previous husband (as a polygynist) was usually a prestigious man. The new husband not only lacked influence (and resources) but his preparedness to accept an older woman with limited or no child-bearing potential, was also indicative of his lack of ambition. A woman tied to such a man could not hope to regain her standing in the community.
29. This figure includes eight Kivuluga children baptised three days after the main group baptism.

30. The small Havi population, which expanded from 157 to 173 during this period, has been excluded from the following table as Faith Mission statistics were unavailable, and it is probable that, like the new Tribes Mission, Faith Mission do not keep such records. An approximate figure of 60 New Tribes converts is included in the following figures, which for convenience are rounded to the nearest ten.
31. The first reference to this development occurs in an entry dated 1.8.64 in the Kivuluga village book by the patrol officer, C. Campbell. Campbell also remarks that he had instructed Kivuluga people to form 'central groups' (i.e. house lines) and construct separate houses for pigs. This latter instruction was made to improve hygiene and was accompanied by a government ban on pigs being allowed to enter residential areas.
32. *Bisini* is a corruption (via Tok Pisin) of 'mission', 'missionary'; while *amaleka* is corrupted from 'America', and refers to the nationalities of most of the New Tribes missionaries and those of the Faith Mission (though for the latter *fet misin* is sometimes used).
33. In addition to the sources cited in connection with such examples in Chapter Four, see also Berndt (1952-53, 1954), Salisbury (1958, 1964). A useful account of big man response to government (and, later, mission) intrusion in the Amajaro District of Irian Jaya (formerly Dutch New Guinea) between 1934-55, is given in Barnett (1959). See also Keysser (1924), Inselmann (1948) and my discussion of the Sattelberg leader referred to in both accounts (Smith 1979, and Chapter Seven, n.1 below).
34. See below, and Chapter Nine.
35. 'Ologuti' refers in Kiseveloka and Frigano thought to the general grassland area to the north inhabited by speakers of the Nega dialect. In terms of area politics, Ologuti and Frigano (Kiseveloka) peoples are rivals and formerly enemies. Though Ologuti clans and individuals tended to cooperate in raiding southern settlements, there was no Ologuti or Frigano polity through which fighting and raiding was effectively coordinated in pre-contact times (see Chapter Three).

36. The Henganofi Open electorate in addition to Yagaria and Gimi people of the Lufa sub-district, then included Kafe people in part of the Henganofi sub-district. Ugi won the 1964 election (after the distribution of preferences) on the basis of Yagaria-Gimi votes. His major rival (Bono, a Kafe man) headed the first ballot by a considerable margin, maintaining his grip on the Kafe vote (some 8,000 of an electorate of 18,000), but was unable to make inroads into the re-distribution of Yagaria-Gimi preferences, which steadily went to Ugi. See *Report of the Chief Electoral Officer on the House of Assembly Elections, 1964*. For a brief biographical sketch of Ugi Biritu, see Wolfers (letter, 1967).

It is significant that of the 14 successful Highland candidates in the 1964 election, 6 had been government interpreters. Of the remainder, 7 were 'farmers' and one a medical orderly (van der Veur 1965:448). In 1964 there were 17 Highland 'Open' electorates, but 3 of these were won by Europeans.

In 1967, due to boundary changes, the Lufa Open electorate was created out of the older Henganofi Open electorate.

37. See Patrol Report Lufa 2/ 1964-65, which refers to rumours that on his first visit to Port Moresby as *memba*, Ugi had contacted ancestors and learnt of cargo secrets. These rumours motivated a large gathering at the Lufa station to greet Ugi on his return to the area in anticipation of the arrival of cargo.
38. See Wolfers (letter, 1967:7) where, apparently during a House of Assembly debate, Ugi refers to beliefs in his electorate that as *memba* he had direct access to huge amounts of cash at Port Moresby, which he could gather at will and bring back to Lufa.
39. Ugi's death sparked off sorcery accusations in the electorate (Wolfers 1967:8). At Kiseveloka I discovered that the Lutheran elder Imara was a major suspect on the grounds of his known criticism of Ugi's lack of overt support for the Lutheran Mission. Ugi seemingly valued his Lutheran membership and was disappointed in failing to become an elder of the Kiseveloka congregation (Wolfers, p.3). However, as a parliamentarian he adopted a non-

partisan stance on religion and seemingly avoided being seen merely as a Lutheran mouthpiece (p.7). In addition, as *membra* Ugi sought to combat cargoist ideas in the area (see letter, P.O. Campbell, Lufa Patrol Post, to ADC Goroka, 6.10.64, file 51-1-8) by stressing the technological basis of European material culture. However, Ugi's non-partisan mission stance and his secularist, anti-cargo concerns were interpreted by Lutherans like Imara as an attack on God and mission teaching, and it was criticism on this score which later made Imara a prime suspect in causing Ugi's death.

40. See Appendix B.
41. A discussion of Lutheran education is given in Chapter Nine.
42. Kotna Station Report, 1966 (R. Jamieson).
43. Patrol Report Lufa 11/ 1972-73.
44. *Kaunsil* are elected for a two-year period. These officials cooperate with a number of *komit* (i.e. 'committee'), an informal body of men who together form a ward committee. *Komit* (who replaced the older *tultul*) tend to retain their informal positions on a more or less permanent basis, though, apparently, a given *kaunsil* has the power to appoint his own *komit* at his election.
45. A more recent addition has been the creation of Provincial Government. In the Eastern Highlands the first elections for a Provincial Assembly were held in 1978, and are to be repeated every four years.
46. Kivuluga Village Book, pp.52-3.
47. The difficulties of sustaining the Lutheran impact and the relation of this to current Lutheran leadership in the Rongo circuit is examined more fully in Chapter Nine.

48. Kivuluga Village Book, pp.52-53.

In some Highland areas the Lutheran Mission introduced coffee at an earlier stage. 400 coffee trees were planted at the Ogelbeng station (near Mount Hagen) in 1938, with cuttings later distributed to Lutheran adherents in the area in exchange for garden food (see Chapter Four). By 1954 an estimated 10,000 trees, developed from the Ogelbeng plantation, were under cultivation in the general area (Ogelbeng 11 Station Report, 1954, H. Strauss). It is not clear from this report which variety of coffee the Lutherans introduced here, but it may have been *Coffea robusta*. Salisbury (1962:180, n.8) observes that the Lutheran Mission introduced the inferior quality *robusta* into the Siane area through mission evangelists around 1950. This later created difficulties as coffee buyers could not always be certain that local coffee was 100 per cent *Coffea arabica*, the superior variety distributed in the area by the government from 1953. Salisbury saw major repercussions from this in an inevitable lowering of coffee prices in the area.

49. Though not used in Lutheran organisational terminology, 'sub-congregation' is employed here and elsewhere in this study in order to clarify local-level Lutheran organisation. For a comparison of Lutheran and Administration organisations and their varying impact on the village, see Chapter Eight.
50. The Lutheran Mission was by far the most dominant of the missions in the Eastern Highlands. Its main rival here was the Seventh Day Adventist Mission, which was equally hostile to much of the older society, and in some ways more so. SDA prohibitions, for example, included a ban on the consumption of pork, alcohol and tobacco.

In Chimbu and the Western Highlands the general picture is rather different. Pig festivals and ceremonial exchange have widely proved more durable in these areas in the face of pacification and missionization. There are several possible explanations for this. It is possible that Chimbu pig festivals and Western Highland ceremonial exchange (e.g. *moka* and *te*) were traditionally

of more central importance in clan and individual politics than was the case of Eastern Highland pig festivals. Moreover, in Chimbu and the Western Highlands large-scale exchange may have been less directly bound up with warfare. This does not seem to have been so of the Eastern Highlands, where pig festivals appear to have been primarily concerned with payments to allies for their assistance in raiding and fighting. As argued in Chapter Three (and see also Chapter Eight) it was raiding and fighting rather than exchange as such which was the main object of big man leadership in the Eastern Highlands. In which case pacification would have had a more direct bearing on the decline of pig festivals in the Eastern Highlands than on large-scale exchange in Chimbu and the Western Highlands.

The second explanation might be sought in varying patterns of missionization across the highlands. Unlike the Eastern Highlands where mission allegiance was directly correlated with prohibitions on pig festivals (for both Lutheran and SDA supporters), in Chimbu and the Western Highlands the Lutherans were in competition with the Catholics, who seemingly adopted a more accommodative policy towards exchange. The maintenance of large-scale exchange in adjacent Catholic areas may thus have made it extremely difficult for the Lutherans to enforce prohibitions among their Chimbu and Western Highland congregations, though this was not for want of trying (see Chapter Seven).

A third possible explanation may lie in a combination of the first two; that is, varying kinds of exchange behaviour across the Highlands coupled with varying patterns of missionization from east to west.

This does not mean, however, that large-scale exchange in Chimbu and the Western Highlands has not been subject to change. Quite the contrary. Indeed, it strikes me in the light of the points made here, that current anthropological research in the Highlands would do better to adopt a more realistic approach to change in respect of exchange and other features of Highland societies, rather than continue to treat these societies as if pacification and missionization had never existed (Strathern 1979; Smith 1980).

Chapter SixLUTHERAN MISSION WORKERS

This and the two following chapters are devoted to an account of Lutheran evangelists and teachers in fashioning change in the Highlands. The present chapter provides a general description of the role of Lutheran mission workers in early mission strategy in the pre-war period in the Highlands, and in Lutheran evangelistic impact after the war. In Chapter Seven the roles of both the Lutheran mission workers and Lutheran missionaries are examined in a critical analysis of interpretations of Lutheran evangelistic policy and practice. In Chapter Eight the leadership of Lutheran mission workers in the village is analysed in terms of its bearing upon older and current village leadership. In addition to these specific concerns, these three chapters attempt to fill in a gap in the literature on pacification and, especially, missionization in Melanesia. This literature frequently does little more than give tacit recognition to the central part played in these crucial phases of change by mission evangelists and teachers (to say nothing of villagers generally).¹

To take a selection of some principal studies of the missions in Melanesia: Tippetts provides some useful observations on Anglican and Methodist mission workers in his *Solomon Islands Christianity* (1967), but his account is generally too theologically oriented (not to say, loaded) to be of any lasting historical and sociological value. Laracy's history of the (Catholic) Marist Mission in the Solomons contains a brief account of indigenous catechists. Laracy has it that these men (by missionary design) had little evangelistic impact or 'scope for individual initiative' (1976:96), which is possibly to underrate their potential and actual role. From his account it is

difficult to evaluate this, as the account (pp.96-107) is less about the catechists than the inter-missionary politics and personality clashes surrounding catechist recruitment and training. Wetherell's history of the Anglican New Guinea Mission devotes a chapter to Solomon Islanders (recruited into Anglican schools in Australia via Queensland sugar plantations), who worked as mission teachers in the Popondetta area of northern Papua (1977:96-121). Between 1893-1907 some 44 'Melanesian missionaries' were working in this region compared to about 50 European Anglican missionaries (pp.334-5, 340-1). Despite this ratio, the study is dominated by the principal figures among the latter, and very little is said about the actual impact of the Melanesian teachers on village society. Wetherell begins the chapter in question with the observation that by 1890 the general mission effort in Papua was spearheaded by some 190 Pacific Islanders, most of whom were Polynesians working with the London Missionary-Society and its Kwato offshoot. The Methodists considerably increased this number with the use of Fijians and Tongans in mission work in New Guinea and the Solomons, a fact which leads Latukefu to stress the 'extremely significant role in the work of the Methodist mission' performed by these Islanders (1978:92). But Latukefu's paper ventures little beyond this initial point, and we are left little wiser at the end as to what that 'extremely significant' role amounted to. He notes a tendency among Island mission workers to adopt a superior attitude towards villagers and their culture, and a few general comments on the political and economic impact of the mission workers are offered. The paper is a disappointing contribution to an extremely important issue, and marred by Latukefu's tendency to indulge in some special pleading, the apparent object of which being

to show that Christian sanctification was not a peculiar possession of European missionaries (see p.96 for example).

So-called histories of the missions in Melanesia have been almost exclusively concerned with the personalities and attitudes of European missionaries, and are often less "histories" than patchwork biographies set within a chronological frame. Such studies qualify as history only in a partial sense, for they chart the course of the missionaries without actually coming to grips with the process of missionization itself. That process is primarily one of social change, and to understand it we require a framework of analysis which is geared to the study of social change. To accomplish this it is necessary to shift attention away from an exclusive concern (not to say, obsession) with European missionaries. This is so for several reasons. For many Melanesian missions the European missionary was often an administrator rather than an evangelist. His main arena was the mission station where much of the missionary effort was devoted to the development and maintenance of station resources like schools, medical facilities, farms, workshops, etc. Though the station was politically and economically important in co-ordinating evangelism, that process effectively took place in the village rather than at the station.² The village was the arena of the mission workers, and it was in this setting and through these agents that the encounter between mission Christianity and the society and culture of Melanesian peoples ultimately took place. While this was generally the case, it was especially so of the Lutherans in New Guinea, who made much greater use of New Guineans as evangelists and teachers than any other mission in Melanesia. In some Highland areas the ratio of Lutheran mission workers to Lutheran missionaries was as high as 40-50:2. The story of Lutheran expansion in the Highlands is

largely the story of the Lutheran mission workers, who pioneered the Lutheran encounter with Highlanders and won substantial numbers of them into the Lutheran fold.

But this is not just a story, a narration of mission worker doings in order to applaud the mere fact of their existence and give due recognition to their place in the historical order of things in the Highlands. Rather our purpose is to understand what was distinctive of their role in missionization, to see how this was fashioned, and ask why (for a brief period) that role was effective in transforming the face of village society. These are fundamental but large questions, and it will be necessary to explore the answers at some length.

Early Kâte Influence in the Eastern Highlands

Lutheran expansion into the Eastern Highlands was initiated by contact between Lutheran evangelists and Gadsup (and Tairora) and Kamano peoples. By 1931, when the Lutherans established the first European-manned station in the Highlands (at Kambaidam), eight Kâte out-stations were already in operation (Radford 1977:44), some having been in existence for about a decade. The number of Kâte people (evangelists, and in some cases their wives and children) residing in the Eastern Highlands in 1931 is uncertain, but it may have been relatively large. There were twenty-six evangelists dispersed in small groups between seven out-stations in 1926, their number increasing as new out-stations were established and reaching the peak pre-war figure of nineteen out-stations in 1934 (Radford 1979:73). The Kâte pioneers were thus the first non-Highlanders under direct alien influence to live extensively among Highland populations. Some had spent many years in the Eastern Highlands prior to the effective European presence, and were probably conversant with several Highland dialects.

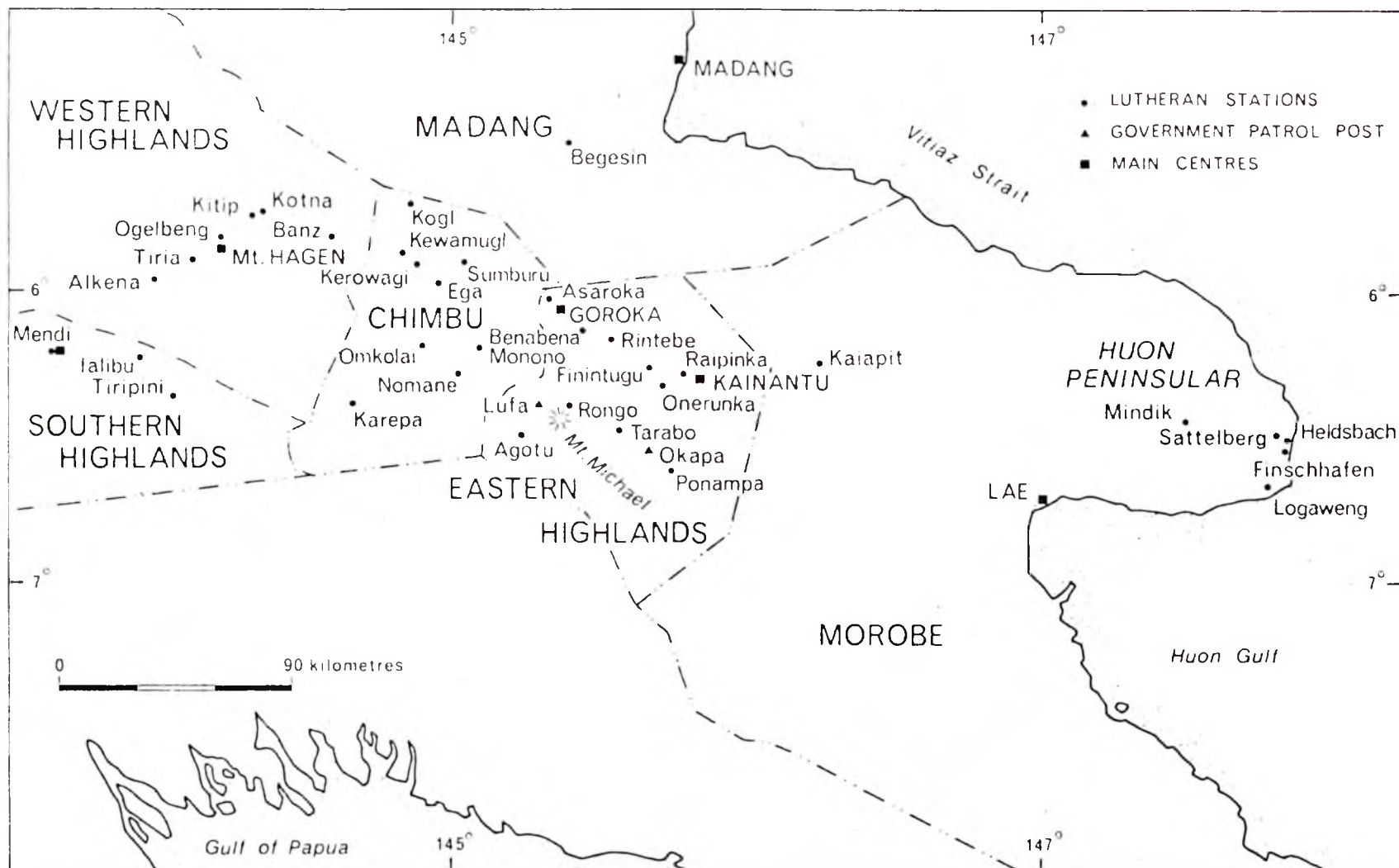
Kâte influence was not restricted to the immediate environs of the out-stations, for many of the evangelists, then and later, were relatively mobile and like Gape'nuo (who pioneered Lutheran penetration of the Kamano area) took every opportunity to explore new areas and extend their range of influence. Contact with Eastern Highlanders and knowledge of local dialects greatly assisted the passage of Lutheran parties entering the Upper Dunantina and beyond in the late 1920s (Radford 1972:91). This pattern of contact in which Kâte evangelists played key middlemen roles, became increasingly characteristic of later stages of contact. But this role was not limited to contact between missionaries and villagers, for Kâte evangelists were often able to effectively mediate between Highlanders and Europeans generally, following the more extensive European penetration of the 1930s. Leahy and Dwyer's contact with Lihona villagers was probably aided by the presence there of the mission workers, and though the latter attempted to dissuade the two prospectors from entering further into the Highlands (Munster 1979:36-7), Leahy and Dwyer's exploration through the Upper Dunantina was probably also assisted by Kâte influence in the area. After 1932 Kâte evangelists were used by government officers as local interpreters³ and sometimes accompanied government patrols in that capacity (Munster 1979:154, Radford 1977:44). On at least one occasion (in December 1932) with Bergmann's hesitant agreement, Kâte evangelists were used as guides to aid the peaceful movement of a prospecting party led by Leahy in the Upper Bena Bena (Munster 1979:154).

The period to 1935 was a formative one in the adjustment of Eastern Highlanders in the vicinities of the stations and mining camps to the European presence. Kâte influence was often paramount

in this, as the events connected with the early stages of the 1936 pacification movement clearly show (see Chapter Four). Though the first Lutheran baptisms were administered at Lihona in 1934, probably little formal evangelistic activity was undertaken elsewhere prior to 1935. But this does not mean that Kâte evangelists were slow to promulgate Lutheran ideas; especially regarding sorcery, fighting and the male cult. Kâte influence was felt in other areas. At the out-stations the Kâte evangelists were distinguished by their dress (Radford 1979:56) and a form of social behaviour which derived from Kâte mission culture in the Huon Peninsula. Economically, the evangelists were channels through which new and traditional forms of wealth entered the village. They possessed small amounts of trade goods (steel tools, shell valuables, etc.) and also brought into the Highlands new vegetable crops, distributing seeds to villagers (Radford 1977:44, Flierl 1932:54). Politically, Kâte influence gradually broadened the traditional social spectrum, not only in adding a new dimension to village leadership, but through the contact between the out-station and with the main station at Onerunka (and later Raipinka), communication was established between Highlanders over wider areas than would have been generally or normally possible before 1930.

This pattern of contact and change continued during the immediate pre-war period in the Kainantu area, becoming more general in the Highlands after the war. By the early 1960s the six pre-war Lutheran stations (Onerunka/Raipinka, Asaroka, Ega, Kerowagi and Ogelbeng) had grown to twenty-six. The number of Lutheran mission workers grew in proportion and may have been between 500-800 in the Highlands in the 1960s.⁴ This massive increase in Lutheran mission personnel substantially reflects the battle for Highland converts

Map 5. LUTHERAN MISSION STATIONS



Note: The bulk of Lutheran stations in the Highlands are given here (excluding those of the Wabag Lutheran Church in the Western Highlands). Several other Lutheran stations in the Madang and Morobe fields referred to in the text are also included.

intensively waged in the two decades after the war. This soul rush, however, had its roots in the pre-war mission scramble in the Highlands, and, occurring at a time when the government was also striving to make its presence felt, confrontation between the major combatants was the frequent result.

God and Caesar

The Kâte mission workers were recruited from an area totally dominated by Lutheran influence. In the Huon Peninsula and along much of the coast of the Huon Gulf Neuendettelsau expansion had been largely unhindered by the German Administration or the Australian Administration that replaced it in 1914. Neither was the Mission encumbered by the presence of rival missions in the region.⁵ Though Lutheran missionaries denied it (Flierl 1928), Neuendettelsau administration had achieved theocratic control of villages in much of the Morobe field by the 1920s. Theile, the Australian Director of the Lutheran Mission New Guinea, writing in 1925, described the Lutheran situation in New Guinea as follows:

[The Lutheran Mission has come] to be everything to the primitive people; [to] help them through the caring for their souls and through development of their church life, through the organisation of their civic and public life in their villages, in the planning of their villages and the building of their huts, in the training of their children and in the education of their young, in the treatment of their sick and disabled, in the training [for] various trades and in the economic use of their labour in the products of their fields. The mission is the advocate before the Administration and its officials. For these children of nature the missionary is their father in the very sense of the word (1925:11).

Theile wrote here with Australian mission supporters in mind (see also Theile 1940:120-2) and though from his Brisbane base he had limited first-hand knowledge of the New Guinea setting, Theile did make three visits to inspect Lutheran work there (Jericho ?1961:147). In addition, as Director of LMNG Theile was intimately acquainted

with Lutheran work through mission reports and correspondence. The picture which Theile painted in 1925 has a decided political hue. For obvious reasons Theile could work with an apologists' brush here, but he was adept elsewhere at creating a different, yet no less an apologetic tone as his dealings with Canberra on behalf of LMNG show (see Nelson 1978:202-3).

The political dominance achieved by the Neuendettelsau Mission occurred in an area largely bereft of Administration influence. Here it was the Lutheran *songga* (congregational elders) who were often the supreme village authorities; their power being strengthened in the village by the Mission's institution of church courts over which *songga* exercised jurisdiction. This degree of control of village affairs troubled the Administration. Flierl, the senior Neuendettelsau missionary, vigorously defended mission control in the Morobe field and its system of church courts against the charge that this amounted to a '*Kirchenstaat*' (or Church State, a theocracy). The missionary argued that the system was necessary to the maintenance of good order and claimed that a government officer at Madang with first-hand experience of the system, had applauded its achievements (1928:540-1, see also 1932:130-2). The Administration's attitude, however, was generally hostile, and steps were taken to forbid the practice of corporal punishment meted out through these courts (Rowley 1958:42, 141, 145).

Administration resentment and no doubt envy of Neuendettelsau rule inevitably led to tension. Three other factors added spice to this. There was the Australian antagonism towards Germans generally⁶ in the wake of the 1914-18 war, which had the added dimension in New Guinea that the Australian Administration had to deal with German nationals many of whom were patriots who viewed the passing of German

Colonial rule in Kaiser Wilhelmsland with regret. This had led to the deportation of several Neuendettelsau missionaries in 1915 (Rowley 1958:259). Second, the use of mission vernaculars like Yabem and Kâte served to strengthen the regional organisation of the Neuendettelsau Mission, which could only redound against the interests of the Administration. But the use of these vernaculars also meant that the missionaries were able to converse freely with the indigenous population in languages quite unknown to government officers. The latter undoubtedly resented this, if only because Lutheran missionary opposition to Tok Pisin hampered government communication with the village. It also restricted the number of Pisin-speakers that the government would normally use in building up its own infrastructure. The third factor was the Lutheran mission workers. They were often able to exert such complete dominance in the village (Rowley 1958: 260), that this worked against and minimised government control. This could also apply to the New Guineans working for other missions.

The young patrol officer Ian Downs, always quick to see a threat to the Administration in the mission presence, became alarmed about the activities of Lutheran and Catholic mission workers in the area north-west of Madang. Here in the late 1930s both missions were engaged in intense rivalry for converts, the ensuing conflicts spilling over, according to Downs, into local disturbances, including tribal fighting.⁷ However, even in the more controlled areas

... invisible propaganda is proceeding unchecked. In nearly every case [this] is inspired by native mission teachers. It has two general forms:

1. It suggests that if the English go the natives will be left alone to proceed under the happy auspices of the missions without [labour] recruiters, without "Companies" [sic], and hand-in-hand with God and the mission superintendent.

2. The Germans will come back and create an ideal state of affairs without head tax etc. etc.⁸

This state of affairs was 'common knowledge' throughout the Territory, though Downs points out that such views stemmed not from 'official mission policy' but from the 'over-enthusiasm of young missionaries of Foreign extraction.'⁹ With respect to the latter:

It is exciting for them no doubt, to broadcast their hopes through the lines of their helpers and it is harmless enough on the face of things. But the missions native helpers colour the reports with their own ideas, and Hitler, they know, is more important than a Bishop. The young native teacher is a religious fanatic until he has been working [for] two years, then he is lukewarm and finally indifferent and bored. When he reaches this latter stage he undergoes a change. He uses his job for his own ends and makes himself a local power. He revels in intrigue and longs for more power. He hopes one day that he will be in a position to get his own back on the one force he cannot completely ignore ... the administration. Long ago, of course, he has realised that the European Missionary is so dependent on him that he can do what he likes in that quarter. Sown in such soil, propaganda, whatever its source becomes a handy weapon. [The] tangible result is [the] weakening of [the] authority of [government] village officials.

Natives are not fools. The average New Guinea native is peculiarly developed in the field of psychology. Few long-term servants are [in]capable of getting almost anything they desire from their employers.¹⁰

Downs may well have been over-reacting in these comments. It is doubtful, for example, that Catholic mission teachers really had much grasp of the distinction between Catholic prelates and the then German Chancellor. Yet, Downs' characterization of the manipulative style of the mission workers in the village is penetrating and to the point; though the description would be equally fitting of village big men, *luluai* officials, government interpreters, medical orderlies, policemen, and others.

Fanaticism was not altogether motivated by self-aggrandizement, for this could exist side by side with a clan-like loyalty to the mission. In this respect at least missionary fanaticism was inherited and absorbed by the mission workers. It was exacerbated in both

missionary and mission worker alike by inter-mission rivalry. This troubled Downs in the Madang hinterland, but the problem was paralleled in the Chimbu area of the Highlands during the same period, where a three-cornered contest was in full swing between the Catholics, the Lutherans, and the Administration. The main informant here (from the government side) is again Downs, who was transferred from Madang in 1939 to take charge of the Chimbu post at Kundiawa. In this general area relations between the three powers were considerably strained before the war,¹¹ and especially so between the Administration and the Lutherans after the war.¹²

Rivalry between the Catholic and Lutheran Missions in the Madang area had been translated into Chimbu following the founding of stations there by both Missions in 1934. Rivalry at times became extreme and led in 1935 to a potentially serious incident in the Bundi (or Iwam) area north of Chimbu.

A Catholic station had been established in this area at Guaibi since 1933, and it was from here that Catholic expansion into the Highlands occurred in 1934. The main Lutheran thrust into Chimbu and Mount Hagen had occurred almost simultaneously from the Eastern Highlands. However, it that year a small party of American Lutherans from Madang had pioneered the Kerowagi station in Chimbu, entering the Highlands via the Iwam Pass. This route took the Madang party through the Bundi area. In July 1935 two Lutheran missionaries (probably from Kerowagi) entered the Bundi area and settled a number of evangelists in villages there. This action was provocative and illegal. It challenged the Catholic presence in the area and contravened the amendment to the Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance, which had been in force for several months and which prohibited off-station movement by Europeans without government authorization (see Chapter

Four). In December 1935 Cranssen, the Catholic missionary at Guaibi, organised a small raiding party consisting of indentured labourers employed at the station and led by three Catholic teachers. Cranssen instructed the party to travel to Kekaru and evict Lutheran evangelists stationed there. Evidence obtained by an investigating government officer from some of the members of this party, alleged that Cranssen provided them with shotguns and rifles and told them to use these weapons, if necessary, in the raid. It was also alleged that the missionary instructed the party to burn down the evangelists' houses at Kekaru; a charge which Cranssen later admitted. The attack took place on Christmas Day, 1935. The evangelists' houses and belongings were destroyed and two of the evangelists (a third being absent from Kekaru at the time) were assaulted before being taken to Guaibi. There Cranssen ordered the Lutherans to quit the area after first warning their colleagues at another village to do the same. The evangelists complied with this following their release, eventually reporting the affair to Lutheran missionaries in the Madang area. The Lutherans lodged a complaint with the Administration and, following an investigation, Cranssen was arrested, convicted of arson and imprisoned.¹³

Lutheran mission workers were also involved in an incident in January, 1936, when a small party of Lutheran evangelists based at Kerowagi entered a restricted area and were attacked and robbed by some Chimbu men. On their return to Kerowagi the incident was reported to the missionaries, one of whom (Foege) went to the scene of the attack and apprehended one of the suspected culprits. It should be noted that Foege had earlier been instrumental in the stationing of the Lutheran evangelists at Kekaru. The Chimbu prisoner was taken to Kerowagi and forcibly detained. Later the missionary returned the man to his clan, releasing him after first recovering part of the

stolen property. This action was taken without reference to the patrol officer at Kundiawa (some 15 miles away), and seemingly involved Lutheran violation of the amended Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance. Foege was later prosecuted by the Administration and joined his Catholic rival in prison.¹⁴

Territorial Politics

Though untypical in its consequences, the Kekaru incident shows how mission workers could be used as pawns by the missionaries in the attempt to establish territorial supremacy, or conversely, in the attempt to undermine the territorial claims of rival missions. This form of conflict was a prominent feature of inter-mission struggles in the Highlands - a point which can be illustrated from selected Eastern Highlands examples during the post-war period.

In 1950 Frerichs at Raipinka learnt of rumours that a Catholic station was to be founded in the region. Apparently a government clerk (a Catholic supporter) then working at Kainantu, had encouraged some villagers to support the establishment of a Catholic station in their area. In reporting this to the Mission, Frerichs implies that local support for the venture was motivated by the ease with which Catholic as distinct from Lutheran baptism could be obtained, and the supposedly speedier access to wealth which Catholic baptism would allow. Such assessment of the policies of other, rival missions typifies Lutheran missionary sentiments in the Highlands, and on occasion led to accusations that rival missions resorted to bribery in order to win support away from the Lutherans.¹⁵ This was not a peculiar Lutheran reaction, for in all probability Lutheran motives were equally vilified by other missionaries. To meet the Catholic "threat" in this case, Frerichs re-located six evangelists to the area of the proposed Catholic station.¹⁶

In 1964 Frerichs' successor at Raipinka, 'Hans' Flierl, adopted the same approach to counter Catholic, Jehovah's Witnesses and SDA plans for expansion in the Agarabi, Gadsup and Tairora areas. In response to the purchase of a coffee plantation by the Catholics at Pomase (Agarabi), two 'emergency evangelists' were hastily despatched by Flierl to the area. In the Tairora area, where two European Jehovah's Witnesses missionaries had also started a coffee plantation, plans by these missionaries (and the Catholics) to found English schools, prompted a dual Lutheran initiative. Two 'illiterate' mission workers were hastily withdrawn for a crash teacher training course at the Rintebe Bible School seminary prior to being returned to the area to start a bible school; and a newly-qualified English teacher was sent by Flierl to the same area to start an English school. Similar developments occurred in the Gadsup, with a Lutheran English school founded at Pundebasa. Flierl explains, 'We laid hands on this ... centre because the SDA tried to get it ...',¹⁷

Both Lutheran and Catholic Missions were well placed to effect such ploys, having potentially large pools of manpower in congregations in the Madang region and in the Huon Peninsula on which to draw in establishing territorial claims in the Highlands. It was partly the existence of these resources which fostered the kind of territorial manoeuvres which became increasingly characteristic of the battle for souls among the last major population in the Pacific to be discovered by Europeans. In the clashes which often resulted the Administration sought to be other than an impartial umpire in the struggle between Christ and Antichrist, truth and heresy. Caesar too demanded his coin, and levied this on missionary and Highlander alike. Government intervention and the manner of this stemmed from the fact that it was

also a competitor, one anxious to achieve its own form of control in this new frontier.

If the missions used their evangelist fire-power to establish territorial claims and infringe the claims of rivals, the Administration was also prepared to use the mission workers to achieve its own goals. This was done openly and with the cooperation of Lutheran missionaries in the Kainantu area in the 1930s. Elsewhere the *kiap* might attempt more subtle ploys. Writing of the Kumaram Plains west of the Adelbert Range (Madang District), where the government hoped to re-locate the scattered, nomadic population into new settlements along the road between Bogia and Josephstahl, Downs describes how mission workers could be used to secure the Administration's long-term aims in the area. Following re-settlement, the Catholic

mission workers can be relied upon to do the rest and see there is always a road through. The administration has a glorious opportunity here [to get] something for nothing from the mission which can, with careful [handling], be induced to carry out extensive road work in order to cut out competition from the Lutheran[s]. This has already been done with success ...¹⁸

This tactic was not always fruitful, for the mission workers were dubious partners from the viewpoint of the Administration, as Downs' earlier comments reveal. The problem consistently faced by Downs and other government officers was how to gain the cooperation of the missionaries and the evangelists to achieve pacification in frontier settings, without creating mission ascendancy at the government's expense.

The government presence among large populations in the Highlands was limited to a mere handful of European officials and their small detachments of native police. Embarrassed by such meagre resources the Administration could not hope to impinge on village life in quite the manner of the Lutheran and Catholic Missions, and to a

lesser extent the Seventh Day Adventists. It simply lacked a link between station and village comparable to that represented by the mission workers. But the nature of that link in mission administrations and mainly due in the Lutheran case to consistently poor missionary supervision, presented considerable leeway for mission workers to create their own territorial control.

In 1952 a government patrol from Goroka into the southern Mount Michael area encountered a length of wood with serrations and red markings blocking the bridle path. The patrol officer learnt from villagers that the obstruction had been placed by a mission evangelist active in the Misapi (or Agotu) area. The evangelist had told villagers that entry beyond the obstruction was forbidden as the area lay under his personal jurisdiction. The patrol was unable to locate the evangelist and make further investigation.¹⁹ An earlier government patrol into the Mount Michael area was generally enthusiastically received by the population. However, at Kiseveloka response was notably cool. The patrol officer implies that this stemmed from Lutheran influence there.²⁰ These observations may reflect varying Lutheran impact in the region at the time and show that where Lutheran influence was effective, as at Kiseveloka, local support had assumed a certain anti-government character. In part reaction at Kiseveloka to this patrol is traceable to the 1932 intrusion of Schmidt, who was later thought by Kugutapi and others to have been a *kiap*. Yet, despite the brief residence of Gomai and Sera, Kato influence should not be discounted in local reaction to the patrol. It will be recalled that of the fifty or so Lutheran mission workers stationed in the region between 1949-50, most were Kamano evangelists. These were recent converts from an area less subject to overt Lutheran-Administration conflict. For this reason Kamano influence was unlikely to encourage coolness towards

government patrols, though as Raipinka and Tarabo station reports make clear, the Kamano evangelists had in any case made little impact in the region during the 1950s.

At Kundiawa in 1940 following several run-ins with Kâte evangelists based nearby at Ega, Downs vented his antipathy towards the mission workers in this outburst:

... anything is better than the [Finschhafen] troupe of native helpers, the majority of whom never set eyes on a government officer until they reached Chimbu from the German training at [Finschhafen].²¹

This stereoptye would only have partly applied to Gomal and Sera at Kiseveloka. Though both were products of Lutheran theocracy in the Bulum Valley of the Huon Peninsula and were no doubt promoters of Lutheran loyalty at Kiseveloka, Gomal at least had been exposed to government and generally non-Lutheran European influences. Following the outbreak of the Pacific War, when Gomal was working as a mission carpenter in the Highlands, he somehow became detached from the Mission and joined a small Australian Army unit at Bena Bena. Gomal later left the Highlands, probably as a member of Snook's party which journeyed from Kainantu to Port Romily on the Papuan coast in 1943 (Dexter 1961:236). Gomal spent the remainder of the war at Port Moresby before returning to his home in the Bulum Valley around 1946. Though this experience probably modified Gomal's outlook, when confronted as a mission worker with an outright choice between the needs of Lutheran evangelistic strategy and government demands, like other Kâte mission workers Gomal was prepared to challenge the authority of Caesar.

This is apparent in the confrontation between the two Kâte mission workers and the Lufa patrol officer, Mater, over the growth of the mission settlement at Kiseveloka. Reference was briefly made to this incident in the preceding chapter. Here we expand upon it

in some detail, using Gomal's account of the affair:

Kiap Mater was angry when he saw the large mission settlement at Kiseveloka. He went to Kami and sent a policeman to Goroka to bring the District *kiap*. Later they returned to Kiseveloka and called for me. All the Kiseveloka people joined me and we went to meet the two *kiaps*.

They asked me to stand up and explain who I was. 'Are you a *kiap*, too?' they said, 'for it is the work of the *kiap* to bring the people together to build new villages.' I replied, 'No, I am not a *kiap*, and I have not built a town here. I called the people to come to hear God's word. They came freely to hear this.'

The *kiaps* replied, 'You should not tell these people to build such large villages. Soon they will begin arguing among themselves and end up fighting. It is bad for people to live together here in large numbers, for it brings about illness.²² To this I replied, 'I did not bring the people, it was the church we erected over there. The people saw the church and wished to come and hear God's word. They like the bible stories, so they remain with us.'

Then the *kiap* asked me, 'Where is this God? Have you seen him? We have never seen him. We have flown up into the sky in planes but we never saw this God. Why do you speak to these people about someone you have never seen?' So I replied, 'Is it true that you do not know about God? I believe in God, that he sent his son Jesus Christ to earth, and that he died upon the cross to remove our sins.' The *kiap* said, 'No, you are wrong. We do not believe this. It was some other man who came, not Jesus Christ.'

'Why do you say these things?' I demanded. 'The Mission came first to my country and taught us about God. We did not invent these stories, they came from Europeans like you. I think you must have come from another country than that of the missionaries. If you are ignorant of these things, you must be mad. The missionaries told us about Christ, and we believe this.'

The *kiaps* became angry at this and told me to shut up and forget these stories. But I repeated what I had said about them coming from another country. 'Why have you come here from your country if you are ignorant of God? It is stupid to argue with me about this.'

Then Gope got up and spoke. 'We are angry at what you say about the Mission. Gomal is our father and we support him. We know that God made the ground of Europeans as well as this ground. Here we have good land and plenty of room in which to live. But your country has too many people and the land is bad. I have heard these things from a book. In your country many people starve and are not strong. Yet you

have come here and planted new crops like tomatoes, potatoes and other foods. You have eaten these foods from our ground and drunk our good water, so that you are now fat and strong. Why then do you tell us to abandon the Mission? Before, I fought against the Mission and God. Now I have heard the mission stories and have been baptised.'

The *kiaps* than asked me, 'Where are you from?' I said, 'Finschhafen.' One then said, 'I know Finschhafen. What is the name of your area?' I replied, 'Hube'. 'I have seen that country,' said the *kiap*. 'Why did you leave it to come up to the Highlands?' To this I said, 'You have seen God's work, how he has brought peace and made the new way of the Mission, and the new way of the government too. I did not make this, it is God's way. He has made the new way and now you have come here.'

Kiap Mater said, 'It is true. Fighting and the old, bad ways have gone. Before I did not understand that it was the Mission that brought about these things. I am sorry that I was angry at you.' At this the other *kiap* said to Mater, 'What this man says is true. You should not have tried to oppose him. The work of the Mission is good and helps the work of the government.' The two *kiaps* then said we should shake hands and forget the matter. But I refused. 'No, I can not shake your hands. First you must shake hands with God. You can go up into the sky and shake hands with God and when you come back you can shake my hand. We all work through God's strength, not our own. You also must obey him, for he has given work to the government, the Mission and all men.' When they heard this, the *kiaps* were ashamed.

'You have heard my words,' I said. 'Now we will break a *tanget* and plant it here to mark this meeting. Then you can go. If I wanted to chase you away, I could; for all these people would help me.'

Then one of the Kiseveloka leaders stood up and said to the *kiaps*, 'You have come among us and onto our land. You have planted new crops and drunk our water. Because of this you are healthy and strong. We are glad you have come to help us so that we too can live properly. However, you must not try to deceive us about the Mission. If you wish to return and patrol in this area, you must not speak against the Mission.'

The District *kiap* then replied. 'What you say is true. This man, Gomai, has worked for the Mission already in the Kafe country and now has come here.' The *kiap* then turned to Mater and told him he must not oppose the Mission. He was angry that Mater had deceived him about the good work accomplished by the Mission.

The two *kiaps* then left. Later that night Mater's house at the Lufa station was burnt down and he lost all his possessions. 23

Gomal's account contains obvious exaggeration and distortion. The confrontation with Mater certainly took place, and Kiseveloka people remained intransigent in their support for the Kâte workers and in their opposition to Mater's demands; a circumstance which made it difficult for Mater to pursue the issue, or deal with the clear challenge to government authority. Yet, the dialogue between Gomal and the two government officers could hardly have been of the kind related. It is most improbable that the latter were won over by Gomal's advocacy, that they publicly apologized to Gomal, or that he actually threatened to drive the government officers out of the valley.

The note on which the narrative closes, with the reference to the implied act of divine judgement against Mater, is appropriate given the overt stress on Lutheran-government conflict in Gomal's account. Two points in the narrative deserve some comment. Gomal's reference to the different countries of missionary and *kiap* recall Downs' earlier observations about the tendency among both Catholic and Lutheran evangelists to absorb something of the German identities of their missions. In Gomal's narrative this is expressed in territorial terms. God - missionary - mission teaching is associated with a distinct territory or country and set against that of the government, with its opposition to God - mission. Given the importance of the autonomous territorial group in New Guinea societies, Gomal in common with other mission workers would readily have assimilated such distinctions and oppositions in these basic terms. In turn, this would have applied equally for Kiseveloka people, irrespective of any marked anti-*kiap* emphasis in the teaching of Gomal and Sera. The arrival of Frerichs in 1948 had been in marked contrast to the encounter with Schmidt in 1932. Given this, the growth of strong pro-mission sentiments is understandable at a time when knowledge of the

outside world was still very limited in the valley. In terms of general territorial orientations, the alliance with the Mission meant potential enmity towards the *kiap* and other Europeans.

The reference to the arrival of the Mission preceding that of the government in Gomal's home area, has an implied reference also to the Lufa region. While other Europeans had entered this region before 1948, the Lutherans were the first to establish an effective presence there. At Kiseveloka and elsewhere Frerichs had purchased land to found the evangelist out-stations, and it was on such land that the settlement in dispute at Kiseveloka had been built. Though the Administration did not officially recognise such transactions, this would not have been apparent to Gomal and the valley population. In which case, they would ask: what right had the *kiap* to interfere if the Mission wished to invite the people to live on its own land?

Gomal's account of the confrontation with Mater is couched in terms of mission rights and prerogatives and of his necessary defence of these. This also applied, and in many respects more so, to other missions. Inter-mission conflict, though not reaching the extremes experienced elsewhere in the Highlands, was nonetheless keen in the Lufa area. Another Lutheran pioneer here, Mankefa, refers to an early confrontation with the missionary at the Gono station, founded in the southern Mount Michael area in 1953. According to Mankefa, Lutheran mission workers had been forbidden by the Lufa *kiap* to enter the Gono area. Believing this ban to have originated with the Gono missionary, Mankefa journeyed there to see him. An argument broke out between the two men in which Mankefa threatened to fight the missionary. Mankefa argued that it was the Lutheran Mission which arrived first in the region, therefore the Faith Mission should go to another country.²⁴

Confrontations like this were not exceptional, though there were attempts to avoid them. At Tarabo, Bamler was consistently warning his colleagues of the dangers posed to the Lutherans in the 1950s by the New Tribes and Faith Missions.²⁵ And it was primarily due to this threat that the Rongo station was established in 1958.²⁶ Prior to this however Bamler had attempted to persuade the New Tribes missionaries at Kami to avoid competition with the Lutherans by concentrating on virgin areas in the Lufa region. But this fell on deaf ears.²⁷ Bamler did agree to respect Faith Mission influence in the Gono area, but after 1958 Renck ignored this understanding and placed Lutheran evangelists there.²⁸ However, Renck did manage to reach an understanding with New Tribes missionaries over the vexed question of "sheep-stealing"; New Tribes agreeing not to accept Lutheran converts into their congregations.²⁹ This practice continued despite the 'agreement' and despite Lutheran steps to counter it.³⁰ At Kiseveloka during the early 1960s a baptismal class led by a New Tribes missionary was interrupted by the arrival of a youth bearing a note from Sera and Gomal. This stated that the relatives of members of the New Tribes class would be expelled from the Lutheran congregation if their kin received baptism with New Tribes.

The Kâte Encounter with Highlanders

If the Kâte experience of Neuendettelsau theocracy was important in fashioning the attitudes of Kâte evangelists and teachers towards the government and other missions, that experience was basic to the Kâte encounter with village society and culture in the Highlands. Gomal and Sera were probably second-generation converts and had grown up in an atmosphere of radical change in the Bulum Valley. Here, since the Lutheran intrusion of 1911, the full range of Lutheran prohibitions towards the old culture had been gradually but widely adopted, with

village society re-organised in relation to Mission demands. Neuendettelsau confrontation had ensured the destruction of the male cult and its associated practices, and a new form of village leadership based in the local congregations had emerged. The post-conversion atmosphere was generally one of puritanical zeal and iconoclastic excess. These changes and Lutheran expansion elsewhere in New Guinea created the opportunity for young men like Gomal and Sera to leave their home villages and play their part in the wider mission enterprise. In that enterprise the Bulum Valley experience provided the model in terms of which Highland society and culture was to be transformed.

But the Kâte mission workers also brought with them to the Highlands a measure of that ethnocentrism and cultural chauvinism which generally marks the New Guinean's encounter with other New Guinean languages and cultures. Kâte evangelists and teachers with their more direct exposure to village society came to see themselves as superior to Highlanders, who they regarded as backward and unsophisticated, and who were treated by Kâte evangelists and teachers in these terms. Viewed against Kâte mission culture, Highland villagers were seen as barbaric, ignorant and filthy; the products of a "heathen" culture more suited to pigs and dogs than human beings.

In accounts of early contact with Yagaria peoples the Kâte pioneer evangelists like Gomal and Mankefa stress their disgust and horror at witnessing (or hearing accounts of) cannibalism and other practices. This led missionary and mission worker alike into considerable distortion. Frerichs, for example, gives an account of necrophagy at Kiseveloka in which a local 'chief' is supposed to have commended his body to the mouths of his clan on the grounds that

this would ensure local retention of his power and prosperity (1969: 59). Frerichs elsewhere made great play with the cannibalistic background of Kiseveloka people, to the apparent embarrassment of its prominent individuals.³¹

With the exception of the better known example of *kuru* among the Fore, the ethnography of necrophagia in the Eastern Highlands is limited to Berndt's (1962) account. It is evident from Berndt and my own research at Kiseveloka that Lutheran interpretations of cannibalism in pre- and early contact society in this region are fabricated. The consumption of pork, for which necrophagia was in many respects analogous, though having certain important ritual connotations (especially in connection with exchanges of pork at pig festivals, marriage, mortuary ceremonies, etc.) was not and is not in essence a ritual act. Certainly the consumption of pork, like all foods, makes one strong and foods are ranked in order of importance in this respect. But the eating of pork or human flesh was not expressly concerned with notions about communion with spirits and ancestors, or with a belief in the absorption of the power of the recently departed by the living.³² Such "feasts" were thus not acts of a sacred or diabolical nature, in the literal sense of either term. It is understandable why missionaries like Frerichs would want to find a convenient antithesis of the Eucharist in Yate cannibalism. But Frerichs' 'chief' is as much a figment of his political presuppositions as cannibalism is of his ritual imagination.

Mankefa recalls hearing cases of male consumption of menstrual blood in order to increase male strength and virility. In one such case, Mankefa relates that this followed a bout of sickness in one village. Believing that a woman, then experiencing her menstrual period, to be responsible for the sickness, the men collected some spinach-like leaves (Tok Pisin, *kumu*) and placed this at the door of the small

confinement hut used by women during menstruation and child-birth. The woman took the *kumu* and placed this under her vulva so that her menstrual blood would drop onto it. This was then returned to the men, who cooked the preparation and ate it. Another practice related by Mankefa as general at this time occurred at child-birth. At the delivery of the child men again brought *kumu* to the confinement hut. The blood expelled from the womb and the placenta were mixed with the *kumu*. On receiving this the men again cooked the concoction and ate it. These practices were supposed to make men strong and successful warriors and lovers.³³

Kiseveloka people in common with other Yagaria-speakers hold exaggerated fears about the polluting nature of menstrual blood. It is believed by men that contact with this and other substances and fluids emanating from women's bodies, has a serious debilitating effect on male health and well-being. Domestic segregation of the sexes was a basic feature of pre-conversion settlement life, and this echoed male concern with female pollution. As we noted in an earlier chapter, male-female relations were regulated by prohibitions. A man would not normally have taken food from the hand of another woman other than his wife (or wives), and in certain instances not even from her. This was especially the case during menstruation and child-birth, when wives were secluded in the confinement hut and attended by other women, who brought food to the menstruating woman or acted as midwives during delivery. Once secluded, women ceased to function in the social world. They did not go to gardens or care for pigs, neither could they prepare and cook food for others. It is a measure of abiding male anxiety about female pollution that despite the many changes that have occurred in post-conversion settlement life, and thus in relations between the sexes, confinement huts were still in existence in

Kiseveloka settlements during my fieldwork, and the restrictions associated with these huts were still observed. In addition, though a man now co-resides with his wife and children, he maintains a separate sleeping area within the house from that of the rest of the family. In some cases an elevated platform serves to emphasise the husband's sleeping area, while in a rare case the Lutheran elder, Imara, has his own bedroom.

These modifications continue to express male anxiety about female pollution. Thus *hepa anita* ('polluted hands') is said of menstruating women, and *hepemu* refers to food cooked by women during their menses and only eaten by them. The older and standard ethnography for the Eastern Highlands, and the Highlands generally, consistently points to menstrual blood as the primary source of pollution to men, and this is confirmed and in some respects expanded by more recent accounts. The Hua (a small population in the environs of Lufa station) identify a category of pollution (*siro na*) which, among other things, includes menstrual blood, parturitional fluids, shadows, glances, and air expelled from the bodies of women (Meiggs 1976:401). Faithorn (1975, 1976) enlarges on this for the Kafe (Henganofi area), observing that pollution does not simply relate to sex classes. In certain contexts women may pollute other women in addition to men, while men can also pollute women as well as other men. Here the two central polluting substances are menstrual blood and semen.

Faithorn's qualifications while elaborating the picture, do not alter its fundamental premise (see Langness 1976:100-1); the substances issuing from the internal body regions of women are primary sources of danger to men. Related prohibitions establish spatial and social distance between men and these polluting substances on the

grounds that a man consciously or unconsciously touching, consuming, or inhaling the smell of such substances will immediately weaken and die.

Yet to present a fuller picture, something should be said of the inconsistencies between ideology and practice regarding menstruation and childbirth. Berndt reports that women sometimes entertained their lovers in the confinement hut, even during their menses (1962: 89). While Berndt, for obvious reasons, could not determine the frequency of this, he does give an isolated example (p.350). I know of no such cases at Kiseveloka, but this does not mean they did not occur. One similar incident is known to me, however.

Some years ago during the latter stages of pregnancy of the woman, Damilo, a clansman of her husband found her early one morning in her pig house having given birth to a daughter. Legupe entered the house and seeing that the exhausted mother could not properly care for her baby, he quickly made a fire, and warming his hands at the heat took the baby in his arms to revive it. Later Legupe called out to his wife to come and assist. Legupe's action here occurred in violation of post-natal taboos, for a man avoids contact with a newborn child while the smell of the womb still clings to its skin. In this case Damilo's delivery was probably premature, hence the birth taking place in the pig house rather than the confinement hut and the absence of midwives. Legupe's action was thus prompted by the urgency of the situation, and this must stand as the reason for waiving the normal prohibitions.

Allowing for such deviations, the assertion that men could knowingly consume menstrual blood or the placenta and did so in order to increase their strength and virility, is preposterous. It is possible that Mankefa was misinformed or simply misunderstood the

cases he cites; that he confused, say, the midwives' consumption of the placenta (though it is by no means certain that this was always practised) with a more general custom, practised by women and men. Certainly he could not have directly observed the practices he relates. It is also possible, however, that Mankefa deliberately fabricated these examples in order to provide substance to Kâte stereotypes about Highland culture. Kâte accounts may have influenced those missionaries less interested in ethnographic and linguistic research for its own value, but the reverse was also probably true; the older Lutheran missionary stereotypes forming part of the Kâte mental equipage brought to the Highlands. There has always been a tendency among missionaries, especially in relating the ardours of the mission field to non-informed audiences in America, Australia and Europe, to concoct lurid accounts of the barbarous and depraved nature of the "heathen" world. Some Lutherans have been no exception to this (see Jericho ?1961:63-70, Frerichs 1969:40-60).

I discussed Mankefa's claims with a number of older men at Kiseveloka, all of whom were Lutherans and all of whom angrily rejected these claims. Imara sardonically replied, 'If Mankefa had told this to me I would have said, you eat these things first and then I'll eat them!' It should not be assumed, however, that Kiseveloka people are generally defensive about the older culture. Quite the contrary. An informant's view of the past is significant here:

Our ancestors lived like pigs and dogs. They were ignorant and lacked the sense to accomplish anything important. Our mothers and fathers never washed, but walked around with pig fat smeared on their bodies. They knew nothing of clothes, and our fathers went about naked with only bits of leaves to hide their buttocks. All they thought about was fighting and their customs were no good.

We have been baptized and live as Christians. The old heathen customs are completely gone. When the mission came here we learnt of a new way. Father God changed our hearts and we became ashamed of the old ways. Today we know nothing of eating each other and the other bad things of the past. Now a better and good life has come to us. We follow this new way and live according to the principles of Christianity.

Though among older Kiseveloka people especially this stereotype exists alongside a very different view of the past, the stereotype is typical. It was particularly stressed in conversation with me during the early period of fieldwork, when no doubt Kiseveloka people were anxious to impress upon me as a European their cultural closeness as Christians, and their alienation from their ancestors. There can be little doubt that these attitudes have been influenced and set in the climate of post-conversion change, as the wider experience of European power and wealth worked to devalue and in a sense denigrate village society. But the origin of this stereotype belongs to an earlier period; to the catechetical classes in which Kiseveloka people were subject to the Kâte onslaught against "heathenism".

Indeed, the chauvinism of Kâte mission culture is still apparent. Muhucyuc, the head teacher of the Rongo circuit bible school at Ukunupi, first came to the Highlands with the Lutheran missionary Renck in 1958. Excepting brief periods of residence in the Finschhafen area, Muhucyuc has spent most of his life since 1958 in the Lufa area. In many conversations with him, Muhucyuc consistently complained to me of the indifference and backwardness of Lutherans in the circuit. *Songga* neglected their congregational responsibilities and ignored lapses into "heathenism". Some had become polygynists, while others disregarded church work in favour of business (trade stores, coffee, etc.). In the villages church buildings were dilapidated and left in disrepair. Sunday services were poorly attended. Villagers failed to

support the bible schools and ensure adequate recruitment of children. While much of this picture of apathy and decline is accurate enough, Muhucyuc traces its roots to the character (and thus the culture) of Highlanders. The general stereotype here being that the men are lazy and avaricious, thinking only of eating and making money; the women think only of sex; while youths are allowed to abandon the village to gad about town (i.e. Goroka).

To Muhucyuc conversion to Christianity has been a shallow experience for Highlanders. Acceptance of the mission was never much more than half-hearted, and motivated only by a desire for personal gain. Now that the church cannot offer the opportunities afforded by the government, the people have turned their backs on the church and its teachings. Muhucyuc contrasts this with the devotion of Finschhafen people to the church; their up-keep of church buildings and schools, the regularity of church attendance, and respect for church officials, etc. He adds a specific example to bring out the contrast. 'When I was a youth our *songga* would not permit any breaches of Mission discipline. Once, a boy had been absent from a Sunday service. The *songga* held a court and decided the boy must be punished. He was taken and tied upside down in a tree, and left there during the day. In this way we learnt to respect the Mission and work hard on its behalf.'

Evangelization: The Confrontation with "Heathenism"

If Kâte ethnocentrism tended to denigrate the socio-culture of Highlanders, this was reinforced by theological presuppositions. Both had a major bearing on Lutheran evangelistic policy and practice in the Highlands.

Christianity is predicated on a set of basic oppositions:³⁴

God	Satan
Spiritual/Grace	Natural/Nature
Good	Evil
Sacred	Profane
Church	World
Heaven	Hell

This simple dualism provides the basis for Christian models of salvation. Admittedly, some formulations are not so starkly framed and may considerably modify these oppositions, and various Christian traditions (Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant) are partly distinguishable in these terms. This is also true of sub-traditions within these major streams of Christianity. Broad classification, however, is fairly meaningless without some grasp of the socio-cultural contexts and historical phases in which given formulations emerged between and within given traditions. By and large, the mission field has tended to generate pronounced dualistic emphases in evangelistic strategies, irrespective of the tradition from which a specific mission springs. The reasons for this will be examined directly.

Broadly, the above oppositions bear on society and culture in the following way. Though made in the image of God, man rebelled against his creator. The fall of Adam from a state of grace to a state of nature embraces the whole natural order. Man is indelibly stained with Adam's guilt and this, via procreation, is transmitted through the generations. Natural man is alienated from God and is either partially (Catholic) or totally (Protestant) corrupt. In this condition man is given to the pursuit of evil, being responsive to the wiles and snares of Satan. Man is doomed to eternal perdition.

History is punctuated by God's intervention in human affairs to redeem man from his fallen state and restore the original conditions prevailing in the Garden of Eden. Divine intervention culminated in

the coming of Christ. The Crucifixion was a sacrificial act in which Christ took upon himself the sins of the world. The Resurrection (and Ascension) signifies the divine victory over Satan; life over death, good over evil. Through faith in these acts divine action (grace) is released in the life of man, and faith combines with grace to translate man from the natural to the spiritual state. This transformation (regeneration and conversion) is marked by three things: faith and grace implant and nourish the divine presence (the Holy Spirit) in man; this effects a change of behaviour (the fruits of the spirit - love, faith, hope, etc.); and man's spiritual state is maintained through membership of the Christian community (the church). In most Christian traditions regeneration and conversion is marked in ritual acts like baptism (and in some traditions also by confirmation), an act which simultaneously confers membership of the church.

Conversion has individual and collective dimensions and, therefore, reflects on the individual, society and culture. The church/world dichotomy, for example, can be said to represent regenerated society and culture in opposition to fallen, corrupt society and culture (world). In mission settings conversion has tended to be more directly concerned with the transformation of the indigenous socio-culture than primarily and exclusively with the individual. This is largely because the gospel can be more readily seen by missionaries to apply to socio-cultural specifics; warfare, sorcery, cannibalism, the old cults, etc. For the missionary looking out from the vantage point of his mission station upon a sea of otherness, the desire to order his perception of this scenario in terms of the elementary dualism of the gospel, is a temptation too compelling to be frequently resisted. Given the missionary concern with the absolute necessity of conversion and the, at least initially, exaggerated ethno-

centrism towards other cultures, it was inevitable that the missionary mind would return to basic fundamentals; to proclaim a gospel of change which tended indiscriminately to embrace almost everything connected with the past. This is partly enunciated in a Lutheran annual report (1937) in which the Mission task is seen as liberating

the native from his fear of spirits, witchcraft and magic ... [enabling] him to become a useful member of the large community to which he belongs.

This had to find visible expression in a transformed community life, even prior to the ritualization of conversion and the local creation of the church. For baptisms

are not administered until the people have built decent villages, have made good roads or paths, and have otherwise proved themselves to be diligent and orderly in their habits. We further see to it that the natives establish sufficiently large fields or gardens ... produce new commodities.³⁵

Out of this 'great Christian units' could be formed so that the 'lives and culture' of the people are 'entirely embraced' by the teaching of the gospel. We have seen in Theile's characterization, quoted earlier, to what degree these Lutheran communities were 'entirely embraced' by the gospel.

New versus Old not only became a natural formulation in missionary thought, but the willingness of villagers to accept that formulation and give tangible expression of it in a transformed settlement life, made conversion a concrete reality to missionary eyes. Missionaries, however, were too well drilled in spiritual anatomy not to recognise the distinction between cosmetic and organic surgery, and some came to be increasingly worried that the external operation had failed to remove and cure the inner cancer of "heathenism". A divergent view related to this, and one that has become increasingly popular in missionary thought, is the view that inner transformation was hindered not only by the concern with external change, but more so

by the failure to relate the gospel to the "Melanesian world view" and thus set Christianity within a "Melanesian" cultural framework. The advocates of a *rapprochement* between the gospel (shorn of its European cultural trappings) and "Melanesian culture", were either never themselves field missionaries, or where so their protests belong to a post-conversion stage when the violent wrench from the past had been effectively accomplished in village society and culture.³⁶

These concerns rarely, if ever, troubled missionaries during the actual process of mass evangelization and certainly had no bearing on the Kâte mission workers and other evangelists who actually brought this process to bear on village life. For the Kâte evangelists and teachers the issue of Old and New had long been settled under Neuendettelsau theocracy. In the Highlands they adopted an uncompromising stand towards the past, fusing their own understanding of Kâte mission culture with their stereotypes of Highland cultures to realise the Kâte ideal in Highland soil.

Tableaux

Lutheran presentation of the gospel was usually accompanied by dramatic representation in the form of tableaux; that is, the acting out of bible stories and other themes concerning Christianity and "heathenism". Such performances were public events, mounted before large audiences to mark important stages of pre-baptismal instruction or some other pre-conversion crisis. This evangelistic approach appears to have originated in the Sattelberg area some time prior to 1914 (Keysser 1924:434, see also Harrison 1975:156). Elsewhere, as in the area south-west of Kainantu, local cultural forms were incorporated by Kâte mission workers into these performances (C.H. Berndt 1959:180-1, R.M. Berndt 1965:101-2). Here local response to the tableaux may have been facilitated by pre-existing forms of drama and

village 'farces' (see Berndt 1962:148-50, and plates between pp.298-9; Glick 1968).

An early example of Lutheran use of tableaux in the Eastern Highlands is given in Radford's account of the 'Peace Movement' (1977:49) and is drawn from Flierl's diaries.³⁷ It will be recalled that the Administration's intention to withdraw the Kâte evangelists and close the out-stations provided the backdrop to the staging of this tableau at Wayanofi in August, 1936. At a large meeting of some '1000' people drawn from villages in the Upper Dunantina three Kâte evangelists, disrobed to imitate villagers, were bound by a long white rope held by another evangelist and Flierl, who began to pull the 'natives' in their direction. Suddenly, another evangelist in the guise of an 'evil spirit' or 'devil' appeared. He bound the three 'natives' with a long vine and commenced to pull the captives, still bound by the white rope, towards himself. A tug of war ensued between the rivals for possession of the captives. At one point the captives are hauled close to the 'devil' who encourages them to maintain their traditions; to make sorcery and sorcery divination, to kill and fight, etc. The mission party counter this, pulling the captives to their side and exhorting them to follow peace, etc. The struggle continued along these lines for some time. With the play ended, a Kâte evangelist mounted a pulpit and asked the audience what the drama meant. After a pause, a response was made:

The three men represent us Wayanofira, the white rope is the message of peace you have brought to us. You have tried hard to pull us ... into a life of peace out of our own awful state! ["pigs and dogs"?] The man with the black rope is the evil spirit, Satan, with his black rope, his lies, he pulled us back into his company, into war, sorcery and restlessness ...' 'And what will you do now?' we asked them. A number of men jumped up and said: 'We are going to cut the rope to pieces and will throw it away! We are going to take hold of the new white rope.' They got quite lively (Flierl, quoted in Radford 1977:49).

Tableaux of this kind presented the issues in clear-cut and uncompromising terms, and on the basis of such performances, backed up by preceding mission teaching and the growing exposure of such audiences to contact with alien influence, villagers were asked whether they wished to accept the Mission or pursue the traditions of the ancestors. If, as in the Wayanofi case, the Mission was to be accepted, tangible proof of this commitment was demanded; the delivering up of weapons and sorcery items for public destruction.

But was the issue here simply a matter of warfare and sorcery versus peace? This was the explicit theme of the tableau, but the performance carried other inferences; the opposition between tradition and mission teaching, the issue of dress (semi-nudity versus clothes), black versus white, etc. Underlying these issues was a more fundamental one; the authority of the Kâte evangelists. This matter was more crucial in this case, as the tableau was organised in the climate of the known intention of the Administration to remove the Kâte evangelists. In effect, the tableau was a Lutheran attempt to marshal popular support against the Administration's decision; a scenario to be repeated throughout the area in the following period. Though the movement, initiated at Wayanofi, spread rapidly across much of the Eastern Highlands (east of Rabana) and engulfed villages other than those under Lutheran influence, its major result was the modification of the new regulations, allowing the return of the Kâte evangelists.³⁸ There is a real sense, then, in which the Kâte evangelists were the real victors here. They returned to the out-stations and villages in 1937 with their authority and prestige more clearly defined and as set out in the terms of reference of the tableaux; being accepted by villagers on this basis.

Admittedly, the Administration took steps to curtail Kâte influence, issuing clear instructions governing the conditions under which evangelistic work and schooling was to be continued. The Kâte evangelists, for example, were expressly forbidden to meddle in general village affairs.³⁹ These safeguards were difficult if not impossible to maintain, for evangelistic work and schooling could not be neatly separated out from other village affairs. Neither was it likely that the Kâte evangelists were prepared to seriously recognise or observe the niceties of such distinctions. But even if they were, under the new conditions prevailing in the region in the wake of the pacification movement, it would be surprising if the presence of the mission workers did not lead to requests by villagers for evangelist' intervention in local affairs, and even more surprising if such requests were refused. The occasional government patrol was unlikely to be an effective means of ensuring compliance with Administration regulations, and by 1939 it was being reported that some Kâte evangelists were attempting to undermine government influence and (by inference) develop an exclusive Lutheran loyalty in the villages (Radford 1979:265-6).⁴⁰

Open Door Ceremony

To mark local acceptance of the Lutheran Mission tableaux were organised by the mission workers in which prominence was given to a general attack on tradition and the exaltation of the new way. The Berndts witnessed such a performance at Maira in the Kogu district held in February, 1952.⁴¹

Through the efforts of several native evangelists a small, rather crude church was built at Maira(pa) ... Soon afterwards it was decided to hold an 'open door' ceremony, said to signify the acceptance of Christianity by all district members, as well as the dedication of the church.

People from that district and from others converged on Maira(pa) along one road: all other approaches were blocked. At each side of the village barriers of branches and brush were placed across the roadway, leaving an opening ... guarded by the evangelists. Each district group danced toward the opening, passed through and continued on to the village clearing. All the dancing, singing and decorations were of a traditional nature. When all were assembled the evangelists began to harangue their audience ... This was followed by short dramatic performances or morality plays, designed to emphasise good against bad kinds of behaviour ... After that a church service was held, followed by feasting. (R.M. Berndt 1965:101-2).

The organisation of this ceremony was along traditional lines,⁴² but considerably modified by the evangelists to suit mission teaching.

The rudimentary symbolism of this ceremony reflects on the pronounced dualism which we noted earlier as characteristic of mission policy and practice during periods of mass conversion such as this. The construction of the ritual enclosure at Maira set up a number of oppositions: outside/traditional/evil versus inside/new/good. In the preparatory phase to the ceremony the people assembled outside the enclosure, attired in traditional costume and decorations, and singing traditional songs. The evangelists stood on the inside, guarding the small entrances to the settlement. At this stage the ritual enclosure and the positions of the actors in relation to it, emphasised the basic oppositions involved, enabling a statement about "heathenism" to be framed. In her supplementary account of this ceremony C.H. Berndt points out that as each dancing group passed through the barricade, they removed their decorations, thereby 'symbolically renouncing their "old" way of life' (1959:180-1). Thus outside behaviour in the form of decoration, dancing and singing directly correlated with traditional or "heathenism"; the evil way of the ancestors. Comparable Lutheran "acceptance" ceremonies with identical emphases are described by Vicedom (1961:17-22) in the

Mount Hagen area, and by Lawrence (1964:83) for southern Madang.

At Maira, entry into the settlement plaza was made via the small enclosures guarded by the evangelists, who seemingly organised the divestiture of decorations. The mission workers, then, mediated between outside and inside making possible passage into the plaza. Here, the area had become sanctified by the construction of the church, the dedication of which culminated the ceremony. Prior to this, and now settled within the good space and separated from outside, evil influences, the assembly was subjected to tableaux performances led by the evangelists. The themes highlighted here concerned bad things like 'fighting and quarreling ... gardening and hunting', and homilies were directed against the wearing of decorations (Berndt 1959:181).⁴³ An important point at this stage was the contrast between the activities and exuberance of the outside (dancing and singing) and the passivity and subordination of the people on the inside.

Thus, in addition to the explicit moral oppositions the ceremony carried implicit political statements; the acceptance of new kinds of village leadership and the delineation of the roles of the evangelists in settlement life. The ceremony marked out the mediatory roles of the evangelists in order to secure their future dominance in local affairs. Passage from old to new was to be realised through them, and in their capacities as teachers initiation into the knowledge of the new way was to be achieved. Further, the ceremony underlined the interventory power of the mission workers as arbiters of settlement behaviour and as the guardians of mission regulations.

The main purpose of such ceremonies was the direct confrontation with "heathenism". This was made as dramatic as possible and usually culminated in acts of iconoclasm. The Lutheran missionary, R.F. Hueter, describes how this was done at church dedications in the Monono area (south east Chimbu):

Minor charms (for making rain, raising crops, getting women [i.e. love magic], etc.) were burnt ..., though the flutes ... are being saved for the baptismal day with its public renunciation of the heathen ways.⁴⁴

The reference to the flutes in Hueter's account and Lutheran policy in respect of these objects, will concern us shortly. Iconoclastic displays were organised at "acceptance" and other Lutheran ceremonies in villages (like Maira), at Lutheran out-stations and sometimes at the main stations. They were always directed by the mission workers with the assistance and participation of local Lutheran supporters (at this stage Lutheran village *bosboi*⁴⁵ and later Lutheran *songga*). Though not directly participating in these displays, Lutheran missionaries were in attendance to perform church dedications and administer baptisms. This latter point is of some importance, for it shows that the missionary presence sanctioned this kind of attack on tradition and endorsed the tactics used by the mission workers in these displays. Such tactics crudely exploited a variety of psychological devices.

Heaven and Hell

Writing of the southern Madang area, Lawrence refers to villagers' accounts of tableaux during the inter-war period which, among other things, placed dramatic emphasis on the comforts and opulence of Heaven in contrast to the miseries and torments of Hell (1964:83). That Lawrence's informants were still impressed some two decades later by such performances is partially indicative of their impact: though we should allow for a measure of exaggeration and the role of subsequent Lutheran preaching in interpreting this material. At Kiseveloka (we recall) Mater found the population more fearful of the fires of Hell than of the authority of the *kiap*, and an account by Frerichs may explain why:

There is seldom a baptism without one or more dramatizations. At ... Kou in the Central Highlands the baptismal candidates marching to the church were confronted by a fork in the road. The ... branch to the right led to the church, the other ... to a deep pit in which a fire was burning. Screams of anguish were coming from the pit. A most repulsive devil was dancing near this inferno. At [the road fork] three evil spirits tried to get the candidates to turn off the right road and follow the road which led to the pit. Other good spirits tried to keep them to the right. After a considerable struggle the three evil spirits together with Satan gave up and disappeared into the fiery pit (Frerichs 1969:64).

As Frerichs initially makes clear such performances were standard in Lutheran evangelistic strategy, this example (from the Chimbu region) being illustrative of a wider approach, and one that, presumably, Frerichs pursued in the Eastern Highlands. Again we note the basic oppositions apparent in these tableaux; the 'road' metaphor, coming from/going to, right (both senses)/left, the struggle between old/new influences. But in the Kou example we have an added stress on the manipulation of basic anxieties and fears. Frerichs adds for the benefit of his startled readers; 'You may think the dramatization a bit severe, but it was the Papuan's idea of graphic presentation of the two ways, based on what they had learnt in their catechetical instruction.' The significance of this remark lies in what it reveals of the style and emphasis of pre-baptismal instruction, the tableaux simply being a 'graphic presentation' of what had been taking place day in, day out over the years in catechetical classes. Under mission worker tutelage that style, in addition to exploiting basic anxieties, was characterised by Lutheran denigration of the past.

Ridicule

Berndt gives an account related by Kogu people attending an iconoclastic display organised by the Lutherans at Bamio (ten miles south of Henganofi) in early 1952:

Spokesmen for [Bamio] had expressed their willingness to be accepted into the Lutheran fold. During the dedication ceremony the sacred flutes were brought out on to the village clearing and shown to the uninitiated, the women and children. They were exhorted to eschew their savage ways: fighting, sorcery, adultery. Part of the appeal went something like this: 'See these flutes which you make so much of? They are only hollow pieces of bamboo. The flute is the mother of Satan; it makes poison come up. When you keep it away from women, it only makes them want to see it; and if they do you kill them or work sorcery on them. Take the flute to the village clearing and show to all, and let the women and children play [with the flutes?]. Do away with this pretence, for a new way has come with the mission' (1965:101-2).

We shall shortly consider other examples of this kind. Here it is sufficient to note Berndt's evaluation of Lutheran motives in staging this display:

Native evangelists, along with missionaries, insisted that the indigenous religion must be done away with entirely, and that exposure and ridicule were the best means of bringing this about (p.102).

That Lutheran missionaries encouraged and supported this tactic of 'exposure and ridicule' is evident from Frerichs and the writings of other Lutheran missionaries stationed in the Highlands. Frerichs (we remember) was the Raipinka missionary during the early 1950s, and Bamio formed part of the area supervised by him. Indeed, it is highly probable that Frerichs (and other missionaries) were present at the Bamio display. The thoughts set down in *Anutu Conquers ...* no doubt stood to the forefront of Frerichs' mind as he witnessed such performances. In that book Frerichs manufactures his own performance. This takes the form of a farce in which the "Papuan" is displayed to us garbed in his animistic and Satanic rags. The spectacle is indeed a horror-comedy as Frerichs proceeds by turns to strip off these tatters and subject them to evangelical scrutiny. Two short scenes from the performance will convey its temper:

In some parts of the Central Highlands it was customary to place a bamboo upright in the grave so that the dead person might be able to see when his death was avenged. What a magic periscope that must have been!

Another sketch quickly follows:

In Kerowagi ... it was the duty of relatives to appease the dead man's spirit by slaughtering pigs. Sometimes as many as 15 pigs were killed for this purpose. At the burial feast the relatives ate the meat while the spirits of the departed ate the spirits of the pigs. A convenient and thoroughly satisfying arrangement!⁴⁶

Thus abused, ridiculed and de-nuded, the pathetic object of this farce is shuffled off to baptism and salvation; there to discover that the Christian cross is not just a piece of old wood ...! We need not trouble over the ethnographic accuracy of such examples, wrenched as they are from their socio-cultural contexts. It is enough to note the sarcasm which punctuates them, and point to the motive from which such "wit" derives: a desire to show the childish absurdity of Highlands beliefs and customs and reject them as beneath contempt.

The Terror of the Women, the Anger of the Big Men and the Burning of the Flutes

Lutheran contempt motivated the policy of vilification towards older belief and practices. The style of confrontation was cut from this motive as it was designed to undermine "heathenism" by inculcating a sense of shame and guilt towards the past. To this was added the tactic of shock and terror, one that reached its zenith in the exposure and destruction of the cult flutes.

A statement of Lutheran intent in respect of this policy occurs in an Agotu station report:

A complete breaking with past patterns of behaviour is most effective when begun with a symbolic action. The sorcery artifact burials and flute smashing at each baptism as a 'bridge burning experience', [is] so essential to the new life of every Christian.

The effect of this 'symbolic action' can be judged from further

comments in the same report:

We can hardly understand what it means for these people to break with these things. The fear was written in the faces of the women ... Then Bible school-teacher Yonggerong, from Tarabo, talked to the people at midnight about the power of Satan in their old life. He took one of the flutes and broke it before their eyes. Later on they did the same with all these flutes.⁴⁷

We should note the date of the events described here (1967). The first reference in Eastern Highlands Lutheran station reports to the exposure and destruction of cult flutes occurs in 1951. In other words, this practice relates to the two decades of effective missionization in the Eastern Highlands (1950-70), a process dominated in this region by the Lutherans.⁴⁸

Given the importance of the flutes in fertility and maturation rites associated with the male cult (especially the pig festival complex), Lutheran policy towards these emblems of male society inevitably led to opposition. As one might expect, this came principally from established village leaders. In 1951 a deputation of 15 *luluai* and other big men went to Goroka to complain to the district officer about the destruction of flutes at Jondumo. Here, on the Chimbu-Upper Asaro border, some Kenangi men were persuaded by a Lutheran evangelist to give up their flutes for public exposure and destruction, prior to the administering of first Lutheran baptisms in the area. A dispute followed between Kenangi and Korfena, the latter objecting that as the flutes involved had originally been given by them to Kenangi, Korfena should be compensated for the loss. Tension mounted over this dispute and fighting between the two groups was only narrowly averted (Read 1952b:8-9).⁴⁹ Other groups became involved as anxiety and anger over the destruction of the flutes at Jondumo spread in the area. This led to the visit of local leaders to Goroka to lodge their protest. The deputation complained that their ancestors would be

greatly offended by the destruction of the flutes and the breaking of the customary prohibitions, and feared some disastrous calamity would ensue. During the following government investigation clarification of Lutheran policy at Jondumo was sought from the Lutheran missionaries at Ega and Asaroka.⁵⁰ The investigating officer's report implies that the Lutheran evangelist's action at Jondumo was the subject of some censure from Ega and Asaroka, but this is not the impression conveyed in the mission report dealing with the incident.⁵¹ Though the evangelist in question left the area shortly after, this appears to have been solely due to action by villagers.⁵²

Goldhardt at Asaroka was troubled by the consequences of the Jondumo incident and the 'severe reaction' which it promoted against Lutheran work in the area. The population had become hostile to Lutheran evangelists there and attendance at Lutheran services had sharply declined. But while he probably saw in this reaction an inevitable stirring of Satanic forces against the gospel, Goldhardt was less concerned about the effects of Lutheran evangelistic policy than with the way that local opposition could turn to Catholic advantage. Goldhardt implies that the Catholic Mission was quick to see this and capitalise upon it, for

in this area the Catholics too are working[. They] have told the people ... they [need] not ... give up their old customs if they attend [Catholic] services.⁵³

Lutheran policy, however, was subsequently modified in the Asaroka region (where large numbers of catechumens were then being prepared for the first baptisms since the founding of the station in 1937). Thus, at one out-station

it was decided that since the class was small [they should] disclose their secret things in their own group and before the teachers and evangelists but not before the eyes of the heathen. This was carried out.⁵⁴

Goldhardt clearly anticipated local opposition here, seeking to circumvent this by restricting attendance at the pre-baptismal iconoclastic display. In fact these precautions proved ineffective, for three weeks after baptism had been administered the out-station was raided and eleven houses were burnt down.⁵⁵ Lutheran policy continued along the same lines in the Upper Asaro, limiting attendance at iconoclastic displays at out-stations where local opposition was thought to be likely. However, no such modifications were permitted at the Asaroka station itself. Here

the bamboo flutes were shown and blown openly in the presence of ... heathen men and women. There were several tribes that did not allow their women to be present ...⁵⁶

If at the main station men might only look passively on at the iconoclastic display, in the village opposition to Lutheran practice was more overt. The Agotu station missionaries write:

It was significant ... at the Kusiaibipi baptism in November [1967] that the class members themselves struggled through an extended and heated [argument] with prominent community members outside the class before implementing their decision to break the flutes.⁵⁷

These comments reveal something of the generational cleavage which tended to result from Lutheran policy. At Kusiaibipi opposition came from 'prominent community members' who clearly were not Lutheran supporters. That support probably consisted here (as elsewhere) of mainly younger men and their wives, youths and children.

But the opposition of older men was not limited to the issue of the flutes. Pre-baptismal demands also included a Lutheran prohibition of polygyny, while post-baptismal proscriptions affected a wide range of political and economic activities in which big men had a vital interest for achieving and maintaining their prestige; an interest now even more crucial in the new climate of pacification.

Polygyny gave men certain advantages over others, for more wives, more gardens, more pigs enlarged their resources, extended affinal ties and expanded the range of obligation and debt. Indeed, male status (warriorhood apart) was to a marked degree dependent on the ability to fulfil personal exchange obligations to affines and others, and to assist other men to fulfil their obligations. The network of obligation and debt was the axle force of the social wheel, its spokes representing the flow and circulation of wealth to mark birth, male initiation, female puberty, marriage and death, in addition to the exchange and distribution of wealth at pig festivals. In effect then (if not by intent) Lutheran demands threatened the motion of this socio-economic order and with it the nature of male prestige. Once this was grasped, opposition from those most directly affected by conversion was inevitable.

However, in the long-term the pace of change induced by missionization and wider external influences rendered overt opposition ineffective. Some big men like other aspiring big men looked to the *luluai* system as an alternative to mission membership, while others (where such options existed) joined other missions which made less demands on their converts than the Lutherans. Others again, lacking real alternatives, merely succumbed to the puritanism of the times.

This puritan mood prevailed across much of the Eastern Highlands and led to the rapid demise of the men's house group, the male cult and much of the pig festival complex throughout most of the region. The manner in which this transformation was achieved raises important questions about the nature and goal of Lutheran evangelistic policy. These questions bear on several basic issues: the evangelistic methods used by the Lutherans; the nature of decision-making in local acceptance of Lutheran prohibitions; and the relation of these

prohibitions to Lutheran views about "heathenism". In considering these issues in the following chapter two purposes are served, the clarification both of the nature of Lutheran evangelistic policy and of the role of Lutheran mission workers in relation to it. This will then provide the basis for an analysis of the kind of village leadership exercised by Lutheran evangelists and teachers, the subject of Chapter Eight.

Notes - Chapter VI

1. Berndt (1953), Radford (1972, 1977, 1979) and Munster (no date, 1979) must be partially exempted from this criticism.
2. For a revealing missionary account of station-village relations, see Fountain (1966). Because of the critical nature of this account, Fountain masks the identity of the station, which is referred to as 'Virnum'. From the description given by Fountain the station may have been the Christian Missions in Many Lands station at Anguganak in the Lumi sub-district of the West Sepik (see Lewis 1975:5).
3. Radford (1979:77) gives an early example of how the Lutheran evangelist presence assisted the first government patrol into the fringes of the Eastern Highlands in 1929.
4. Though the Kâte mission workers represented the elite among this number, by this time the majority of Lutheran evangelists were Highland converts brought in from older Lutheran areas in the Highlands to pioneer or consolidate work in the newer circuits.
5. This was not the case in parts of the Madang region, where the Lutheran Rhenish Mission and the Catholic Society of the Divine Word Mission were bitter rivals.
6. This extended also to the Catholic SVD Mission, its work in the Madang region and in New Britain being largely in the hands of German missionaries in the 1920s (Rowley 1958:259-63). Administration relations with Lutheran missionaries in the Madang region were considerably eased by the presence there of Americans (from the American Lutheran Church).
7. See Patrol Reports Madang 55/1939-40 (27.4.39), 58/ 1939-40 (8.5.39), ?/ 1939-40 (10.8.39).
8. Downs, Patrol Report Madang ?/ 1939-40 (10.8.39).

9. The reference here is probably to Catholic rather than Lutheran missionaries. The government officer Nurton found the Lutherans (and their supporters) in the Madang area highly cooperative. This was not so of the Catholics, and Nurton had trouble with one missionary (Aufinger) based near Selial (? Silaul in the Gal-Uta census division), where Aufinger had made unauthorised use of local labour with the aid of the resident native constable, to construct an airstrip. The airstrip was apparently to be used for Aufinger's convenience and had not been approved by the Administration. In the patrol report dealing with this incident Nurton observes: 'I sense an undercurrent of extreme antipathy and obstruction to our government in all Catholic priests I meet. This is also reflected in Catholic natives, who show a greater tendency to insolence, as well as a deliberate neglect to perform public ... works.' Nurton, as he hastens to point out, held no Christian commitment and felt he was thus able to assess the merits of each mission dispassionately. Accepting this, Nurton's criticisms of the SVD Mission cannot otherwise be dismissed as anti-German. In the Kainantu area, where Nurton was based at this time (1934-35), on his own account he had very good relations with the German Lutheran Bergmann. See Patrol Report, Long Island and Rai Coast (7.11.35 to 21.12.35), Patrol Report North and East of Upper Ramu Post (20.4.34 to 28.4.34).
10. Downs, Patrol Report Madang ?/ 1939-40 (10.8.39).
11. See the following patrol reports by Downs from the Chimbu patrol post: Madang ?/ 1939-40 (15.10.39), Madang ?/ 1939-40 (7.11.39), Madang ?/ 1939-40 (10.4.40), Madang ?/ 1939-40 (3.6.40), Madang ?/ 1939-40 (4.6.40); Madang ?/ 1940-41 (4.7.40), Madang ?/ 1940-41 (3.9.40), Madang ?/ 1940-41 (21.10.40).
12. See Patrol Reports Chimbu 3/ 1950-51, 2/ 1951-52 (D.E. Kelaart). In connection with the latter report, see also the following correspondence: Memorandum (DS 30-16-141), Asst. Director (I.F.G. Downs) to Director, Dept. of District Services and Native Affairs (Port Moresby), 18.3.52; letter (30-16-141)

(note 12 continued)

Director (DSNA) to District Commissioner (Goroka), 22.3.52. See also, Patrol Report Chimbu 4/ 1951-52 (K.W. Jones), Patrol Report Chimbu 5/ 1952-53 (B.B. Hayes), Patrol Report Chimbu 4/ 1952-53 (R.H.C. Mellor), letter (30/4/17 - 466), acting District Commissioner (Goroka) to Director (DSNA), 15.8.55, and reference to Chimbu Patrol Reports 4, 5 and 17/ 1954-55.

13. See Nurton, 'Report of patrol to the Ramu River and across it, for the purpose of investigating a complaint of arson by the Lutheran Mission ...' (20.1.36 to 17.2.36), and attached statements regarding this investigation; *Annual Report* (Territory of New Guinea) 1935-1936, para. 39, p.25. See also *Rabaul Times* (issues, 8.5.36 and 15.5.36) for details of Cranssen's trial in Rabaul.
14. See *Annual Report* (New Guinea) 1935-36, para.39, pp.25-6. Details of Foege's trial at Rabaul are given in *Rabaul Times* (issues 5.6.36 and 19.6.36).
15. This seems to have been especially marked in the Western Highlands. Ogelbeng 11 Station Report, 1953 (H. Strauss) refers to 'rumours, lies, and threats' by Catholics to counter Lutheran influence in the Mount Hagen area. To the east at Banz in the same year, the station missionary cites 'bribery' being used by 'certain missions' to attract converts (Banz Station Report, 1953, H. Mansur). In the Ogelbeng area it is claimed that Catholic supporters were 'incited' to harass Lutherans, threatening to burn their houses and attempting to bar Lutheran children from attending schools (Ogelbeng 1 Station Report, 1955, F. Doering). In the Ogelbeng 11/ Ialibu Report, 1955, Strauss refers to free gifts made by Catholics to buy converts, an accusation made a decade later of the SDA Mission in the Tiripini (Southern Highlands) area (Tiripini Station Report, 1965, W. Hertle). In the same year Mansur complains of Lutheran supporters being tempted away by 'manoeuvring missions' (Banz Station Report, 1965), while in the Ralinga area of the Lower Jimi, the Catholics were reported to have undermined the position of a Lutheran evangelist there and forced him out, after promising local people that the Catholics would build a mission station and airstrip at Ralinga (Kotna Station Report, 1967, H. Walther).

16. Raipinka Station Report, 1950. The Catholic station was not built, though whether this was due to Frerich's opposition and counter measures is not clear.
17. Raipinka Station Report, 1964.
18. Downs, Patrol Report Madang ?/ 1939-40 (10.8.39).
19. Patrol Report Goroka 1/ 1952-53. The mission in question is not identified in this report. Lutheran (and possibly Seventh Day Adventist) evangelists were active in this general region around this time. However, it is possible that the evangelist may have been acting on his own account and without mission support. There are a number of examples of renegade and other self-appointed "evangelists" operating in outlying areas of the Eastern Highlands during this period, usually in connection with some form of wealth house cult (see Berndt 1954:220-2, Salisbury 1958).
20. Patrol Report Goroka 5/ 1950-51.
21. Patrol Report Madang ?/ 1939-40 (*Chimbu Post* 3.6.40).
22. The reference here is to government concerns about village hygiene and the outbreak of epidemics.
23. G. Renck, Interviews with Pastors Gomal, Mankefa and Yeme. A possible reference to Mater's general opposition to Lutheran work in the area occurs in a Rongo Station Report (1958). Renck writes that the Mission was being obstructed by 'one special [particular?] man, who is no friend of the missions' and who was feared throughout the region. Not so, it would seem, at Kiseveloka.
24. Renck, Interview with Gomal, Mankefa and Yeme.
25. Tarabo Station Reports, 1953-59 (Bamler).
26. Tarabo Station Report, 1956 (Bamler); letter, Bamler (Tarabo) to Dr. J. Kuder (Lae), 10.8.57.
27. Tarabo Station Report, 1956 (Bamler).
28. Rongo Station Report, 1958 (Renck).

29. Rongo Station Report, 1960 (Renck).
30. Rongo Station Report, 1961 (Renck).
31. See account of Frerichs' meeting with Ugi Biritu at Port Moresby, following Ugi's victory in the Henganofi Open, 'From Cannibal to House of Assembly', *Lutheran Herald* (25.7.64). An extract from this article runs, 'On 7th June, 1964, Missionary Frerichs met Mr. Ugi Biritu, MHA, one of the 64 members of the new House of Assembly which governs Papua New Guinea. "Where are you from?" asked the missionary. "I am from Kiseweroka in the Eastern Highlands." "Do you know that I was the first missionary in your village and that the morning I arrived there, your people had just finished eating a girl?" "You are Frerichs," his eyes dropped and he didn't say a word. He was only a lad at the time.' If little else, the article is in poor taste and tactless in the extreme. The example of cannibalism cited in Frerichs (1969: 59) is repeated here, though with rather different embellishments.
32. Berndt observes, '... over and above the satisfaction derived from eating human flesh, is a series of "good" and beneficial qualities (relating to fertility, and to strengthening or healing or curing the living) to be gained thereby' (1962:287). This should be read in the light of two earlier comments: (a) 'Although we cannot speak here of ritual cannibalism, the eating and disposal of a corpse are significant in terms of fertility. Human flesh [however] is not eaten to absorb the "power" or strength of the deceased ...' (p.271); and (b) 'Dead human flesh, to these people, is food, or potential food' (p.270).
33. Renck, Interviews with Gomal, Mankefa and Yeme.
34. The following oppositions and their bearing on the presentation of Christianity in the mission field, derive largely from Pauline teaching in the New Testament. See especially Paul's Epistles to the Romans and to the Galatians. (see also Chapter Ten).
35. 'Annual Report of the Lutheran Mission', 1937.

36. See, for example, Luzbetak (1963), Koschade (1967), and the two journals *Point* and *Catalyst* published by Melanesian Institute for Pastoral and Socio-Economic Service (Goroka). Luzbetak (though a member of the Society of the Divine Word) was not a missionary in the strict sense, at least not in New Guinea. His work in the Highlands (Wahgi Valley) in the early 1950s was entirely concerned with linguistic and ethnographic research. Koschade (who was born in New Guinea of Australian Lutheran parents) worked as a lay missionary in New Guinea from 1950-57, before becoming a Lutheran pastor in the USA (see Jericho ?1961:118-9).
37. J.C.A. Flierl (sometimes known as 'Hans') was the son of the Lutheran pioneer Johann Flierl, and should not be confused with L. Flierl, a nephew of the Lutheran pioneer. L. Flierl established and supervised the Kâte out-stations in the Eastern Highlands in the 1920s. J.C.A. Flierl came to the Highlands in the 1930s, replacing Bergmann at Onerunka when Bergmann founded the Chimbu station at Ega in 1934.
38. The Seventh Day Adventist Mission also probably benefited in the aftermath of the movement. SDA work commenced in 1934 with the arrival at Kainantu of a European missionary and ten Solomon Islands evangelists, the latter rapidly increasing to about forty the following year. After 1937 SDA was able to nullify the earlier Lutheran advantage in the region, and at one stage, in 1941, actually outstripped the number of Lutheran out-stations, by nineteen to seventeen (see Radford 1979:256-68). SDA work was not maintained at a comparable level with the Lutherans after the war in the Eastern Highlands.
39. See Radford (1979:226). Each returning evangelist or teacher obtained a government permit which limited his range of influence to a given village. Schooling had to include two hours per day of Tok Pisin instruction, while acquisition of land by mission workers and trade between them and villagers was restricted. Mission workers were required to use only specified routes when journeying from the out-station to the main stations, and supervision was to be tightened by regular missionary visits to out-stations, reports of which (where necessary) were to be submitted to the Administration.

40. Radford here quotes from a letter (from Hamilton, OIC Bena Bena to Zimmerman, at Raipinka, dated 28.1.39) in which reference is made to "Beach culture"; that is, presumably, settlement life in villages under Lutheran influence modelled on the lines of coastal villages. Perhaps this phrase might more accurately be rendered, 'Kâte mission culture'.

41. This area, containing a small Usurufa population, is situated some fifteen miles east of Kiseveloka. The Kogu district referred to here should not be confused with the 'Kogu' referred to in Fig.1 in the present study.

42. That is, in terms of dance ceremonies generally referred to by the Tok Pisin term, *singsing*. *Singsing* are still widely performed in the Eastern Highlands, though in the period under discussion they had been prohibited by the Lutherans (see Chapter Seven). Currently, *singsing* have important economic functions in the Eastern Highlands and are frequently organised towards the end of the coffee harvest (around August), when cash income is abundant. These ceremonies are competitive affairs conducted in an exchange idiom through which individual and village prestige is won, and alliances between individuals and villages maintained and ratified. In many respects *singsing* are substitutes for the traditional pig festival, effectively banned by the Lutherans (and SDA) in the Highlands since the early 1950s.

43. The reference here to 'gardening and hunting' probably refers to the magical practices connected with these pursuits. However, Berndt indicates that the pursuits themselves were condemned as wrong.

44. Monono Station Report, 1954.

45. *Bosboi* (literally 'boss native') were a sort of informally-appointed village headmen, who were used by the government and the missions to maintain early contact with other villagers. The *bosboi* represented a preparatory stage to the appointment of official village leaders (e.g. government *luluai* and *tultul*, or Lutheran *songga*).

46. These quotations are from Frerichs (1969:57). Lutheran accounts of New Guinean beliefs are not always so prejudiced, see for example Lehner (1928).
47. Agotu Station Report, 1967 (A.L. Schulz and W. Turschmann).
48. In 1966, the Lutheran church claimed around 54% (109,400) as adherents of the indigenous population in the Eastern Highlands (202,000), while in the national census for that year some 63% (127,400) of the population claimed to be Lutherans (see Appendix A).
49. Read's information about this affair was probably obtained from the district office at Goroka, which was situated close to Read's field site at Susaroka among the Gahuku-Gama. However, it is also possible that Read accompanied the investigating patrol into the Maira Valley, following the complaint.
50. See Patrol Reports Goroka 7 and 7A/1951-52 for details of the government investigation. In Patrol Report Goroka 9/ 1953-54 reference is made to the exposure of flutes to women at Lutheran baptisms in the Upper Asaro. The report specifies widespread opposition to Lutheran practice, commenting: 'At every rest house in the southern and eastern section ... village officials ... expressed the wish to lodge a complaint against those natives who participated in the display of sacred flutes to the women.'
51. See Asaroka Station Report, 1951 (R. Goldhardt).
52. See Read (1952b:9), according to whom the government could do little in the circumstances to take action against either the evangelist or his missionary supervisors. This was because the evangelist was resident at the invitation of the local population. The investigating officer, however, made it clear that the evangelist was there only at the sufferance of villagers. Evidently, once this was understood, local opposition was sufficient to ensure his removal.
53. Asaroka Station Report, 1951.

54. Asaroka Station Report, 1952 (Goldhardt).
55. Asaroka Station Report, 1952 (Goldhardt).
56. Asaroka Station Report, 1953 (Goldhardt).
57. Agotu Station Report, 1967 (Schulz and Turschmann).

Chapter SevenINTERPRETING LUTHERAN EVANGELISTIC POLICY AND PRACTICE:CONFRONTATION VERSUS ACCOMMODATION

The central feature of Lutheran evangelistic strategy in the Highlands was that of confrontation with the traditional order. We have seen how this approach was the product of missionary and Kâte ethnocentrism coupled with the tendency to stress an elementary Christian dualism in this primary evangelistic setting. From this basis the Lutheran aim was to confront and eradicate much of older village culture and revolutionise village society, a process in which Kâte and other mission workers played the key part. To sustain this view of Lutheran strategy it is necessary to come to terms with a contrary and indeed diametrically opposed interpretation, that variously advanced by Lawrence, Pataki and Harrison.

According to Lawrence, Lutheran evangelistic policy in the Madang field after 1919 was one of 'limited change' and was largely based on the 'group approach' devised by the Neuendettelsau missionary Keysser and incorporated into the region from the Neuendettelsau field (1956:75-7). Formally, Christianity gradually replaced the old cults (though Lawrence generally ignores the question of how this was accomplished), but village society remained substantially intact. More drastic change occurred in some areas but this was due (a) to congregational initiatives which the missionaries opposed but were unable to modify (pp.83-4); and (b) to irresponsible evangelists in outlying areas, whose iconoclastic approach violated Lutheran policy (pp.84-5). It should be stressed that the excesses covered by (b) were, according to Lawrence, exceptional and occurred only in 'some cases'. Lawrence's account evidently influenced Pataki,

who concludes that Lutheran evangelistic policy (in direct contrast to Seventh Day Adventist policy) in the Kainantu area, 'at the very least ... refrain[ed] from forcing an abrupt break with traditional customs and beliefs' (1966:99-100). Harrison's study of Lutheran policy from 1886-1942 follows the same line of argument. He asserts for the Morobe and Madang regions (1975), and by implication for the Highlands (1974) that with the adoption of Keysser's evangelistic 'methods' (in the Neuendettelsau field after 1915, in the Rhenish field after 1919), Lutheran policy was thereafter designed to set Christianity within the traditional socio-cultural framework in order to create an independent church, with its own distinctive 'Melanesian' identity. This involved change, but one rooted in the conscious attempt to 'preserve' and 'adapt' the older socio-cultural order, imbuing this with new, Christian meaning (1975:151-72).

Lawrence and Harrison especially attach great weight to Keysser's writings in interpreting Lutheran policy after 1915, though neither Lawrence nor Harrison adduces any real evidence that Keysser's actual approach in the Sattelberg area (between the approximate period, 1904-20) was fully consistent with his later accounts of this, written after he left New Guinea (in 1920). Nor does Harrison convincingly show that Keysser's 'methods' were in practice adopted by other Lutheran missionaries. But what did these 'methods' consist of?

According to Harrison, and partly Lawrence, the 'methods' were based on three principles: 'tribal conversion'; 'congregational autonomy'; and congregational responsibility for evangelism. These notions are enunciated, more or less, in Keysser's single English publication (1924). Here Keysser set out to show why his approach was necessarily more appropriate in the New Guinea setting. Early Lutheran policy, he implies, was misconceived and self-defeating. The

recruitment of youths and children out of the village and into station schools merely succeeded in alienating them from the 'tribe' and encouraged 'tribal' opposition to the subsequent baptism of such converts. At best this approach could only have an indirect (and negative) effect on the village. An alternative approach was required which would effectively ensure a realistic and direct confrontation between the gospel and village society, that is, with the 'tribe'. If successfully managed, this approach, by utilising the existing social fabric, would lead to the conversion of the 'tribe' *per se* and ensure that 'tribal solidarity' provided the basis for the founding of a Christian community (the tribal congregation). Self-management and an understanding of its proselytizing responsibilities, would provide the essential prerequisite for internal Christian growth within the congregation and lead to the spread of the gospel into pagan areas. The role of the missionary in this should be the 'unseen conductor' to the congregational 'orchestra'.

Elsewhere (Smith 1979) in a critique of Keysser's paper I have shown that Keysser's 'tribal conversion' (or the 'group approach') was not quite what Lawrence and Harrison have suggested it to have been. I pointed out that the real issue here (certainly as far as Keysser's "breakthrough" in the Sattelberg area is concerned) was not simply individual versus tribe, but *which* individuals to concentrate on in order to achieve mass conversion.¹ We need not rehearse this point here, but it should be said that the group approach was, of course, widely adopted throughout Melanesia and was not a distinctive Lutheran strategy. For once a given mission (usually through mission evangelists) had achieved some support at village level, it was usual for villagers to be organised into pre-baptismal classes and subsequently to receive baptism more or less as a group. Catholic,

Seventh Day Adventist, Anglican, Methodist and many other missions used this approach, which, it should be noted, owed less to a pre-conceived theory of mission than to the exigencies of the mission field. It would be nonsensical to imply, for example, that the massive numbers of Catholic adherents in Melanesia were all converted "individually". What is distinctive, however, of the Lutherans is the way in which 'tribal conversion' has assumed an ideological emphasis in the Mission's history. This emphasis, as we shall shortly see, rarely if ever found expression in a distinctive mission practice, and there is evidence to show that Lutheran practice in any case violated the stated Keyssarian procedures involved in 'tribal conversion'. What is more to the point here, is that it is not at all clear that 'tribal conversion' or other Keyssarian 'methods' were actually employed generally by Lutheran missionaries.

Using the Neuendettelsau historian Pilhofer² as his source, Harrison (1975:152-4) relates how, following a tour of inspection by the Neuendettelsau official Steck, Keysser's 'methods' were discussed at the 1915 missionary conference at Heldsbach (Huon Peninsula). Apparently Steck in a long report to the conference urged the wider adoption of Keysser's Sattelberg approach. Strong opposition to this recommendation came from Johann Flierl, the senior field missionary and founder of Neuendettelsau work in New Guinea. According to Harrison, Flierl was later won round and gave support to the 'new way', which since 1915 had become the 'official' policy of the Mission. This, however, is not the impression conveyed by Flierl in his short history of Lutheran work in New Guinea (1886-1931). Flierl deals with the Heldsbach conference in only a short paragraph. No mention is made of Keysser and there is no indication that the conference signalled any fundamental shift in Lutheran evangelistic methods. Quite the

contrary. Flierl emphasises that a number of Steck's recommendations to the conference (none of which are specified) 'could not be given effect to, mainly owing to altered conditions created by the war' (1932:126).

Nowhere in his account does Flierl refer to a policy of 'tribal conversion' nor does he infer a tribal as against an individualist approach at any stage in the Mission's history to 1931. There are, however, references to other policies which appear to bear a Keyssarian stamp. Flierl implies the influence of Keysser and Steck in fostering the notion that 'every congregation should have its own mission field' (p.126). This idea seems to relate to the Keysserian principle (as interpreted by Harrison) of 'congregational autonomy', through which the congregation was to assume full responsibility independent of missionary supervision, for the evangelization of other areas. Flierl remarks that this policy had some value for a time (and only briefly),³ but it quickly led to inter-congregational rivalry and created 'a kind of missionary imperialism' among the congregations. Faced with this, Flierl, who could hardly be described as an 'unseen conductor' in such matters, with other missionaries intervened to 'show the natives the error of their ways in this matter.'

Elsewhere, Flierl openly chides Keysser's impetuosity and hurried approach to things. He applauds Keysser's energy and zeal and while acknowledging at various points in the history Keysser's contribution in New Guinea, Flierl wondered if his junior 'may not have been possessed of the necessary patience during the pioneer stages at Sattelberg' (p.47). Indeed, Flierl emphasises that Keysser's success at Sattelberg (where he replaced Flierl in 1904) had been won against a background of a 'decade of patient preparatory work' undertaken largely by Flierl himself, since his founding of the Sattelberg station around

1892. Neither did Flierl fully endorse the character of progress among the Kâte population under Keysser's direction. Flierl (p.135) observes that the 'one accord' about mission methods which had been marked in the Mission during the first two and a half decades in New Guinea, was suddenly breached. 'Sattelberg [i.e. Keysser] and a few brethren' urged the retention of the informal approach to worship among the congregations. These 'Puritans' were opposed by a larger 'Churchmen' faction (led by Flierl) which insisted that with the successful establishment of large congregations, the 'plain and simple rituals in use in our dear Lutheran Mother Church should come into operation also in a Lutheran Mission Church in heathenland.' This issue was argued out at missionary conferences over a 'number of years' (including, presumably, the 1915 Helsbach conference), it being eventually agreed that each missionary be allowed to pursue his own approach in his circuit as he saw fit. Some variation between the circuits apparently resulted, but the trend was towards a 'Mother Church' kind of orthodoxy. Thus, Flierl notes, under Keysser's successor (Flierl's nephew) L. Flierl, 'the old ... Puritanism' of the Sattelberg congregations was apparently gradually giving way to a more regular Lutheran liturgical tradition (p.135).

All this is hardly consistent with the view that Flierl was won over to the 'new way' or that Keysser's approach achieved widespread support and was endorsed as official policy in 1915. Despite Harrison's interpretation based on Pilhofer, Flierl's account shows opposition (and a majority opposition at that) to the very goal which Harrison believes to have been the main concern of Lutheran policy after 1915: the creation of fully autonomous congregations guided at a distance by missionary advice and suggestion, and stamped with a 'Melanesian' Lutheranism rather than the orthodoxy of the European tradition.

Tribal Conversion and Tribal Agreements

Having thus established that some ground exists for doubting that Keysser's Sattelberg methods gained acceptance in the Neuendettelsau field generally after 1915, this point can now be expanded by contrasting the so-called method of tribal conversion (a la Keysser, Lawrence and Harrison) with actual Lutheran practice.

The key factor in this strategy was to gain the support and agreement of the tribal elders or 'chiefs'. Indeed, Keysser was so concerned with the importance of 'tribal agreements' that he advocated the denial of baptism to individuals unless they first obtained the permission of their 'chiefs' (1924:429-30, see also Theile 1940:121). 'Tribal agreement' was the necessary pre-condition to initial acceptance of the Mission and, by inference, this should also determine local acceptance and support for the evangelistic approach adopted (by the mission workers) up to the eve of baptism. The logic of this being that tableaux, iconoclastic displays, etc. should not be mounted without the prior agreement of the tribe, via their 'chiefs' (see Vicedom 1961:17-22). Lawrence asserts that it was this very principle that had been violated in the Madang area, when in the 1930s

some evangelists ... [broke] up the traditional religious ceremonies and [destroyed] the deity abodes of those who had not as yet *signified their desire* to be converted (1956:84, my italics).

Harrison expands on this. He argues that while conversion could not have been achieved without the missionaries (he says nothing of the mission workers), acceptance of Christianity was 'very largely the result of *responsible decisions* made by the native people themselves' (my italics). Thus,

after a decision to adopt Christianity has been made, the ensuing decisions as to what particular aspects of the old culture will have to go are usually, especially in Lutheran areas, made mainly by the "big men" amongst the converts, who are much better acquainted with the subtle religious connotations of the various dances, rituals,

sacred objects and places than the white missionaries are, and in consequence ... more capable of judging what is and is not compatible with their newly adopted religion. In short ... [the] *whites suggest: the blacks decide* (1974:62-3, my italics).

According to these interpretations of Lutheran policy the pace and character of change was ideally (Lawrence) and actually (Harrison) set not by the Mission, but by the villagers acting through their leaders. Lutheran practice in the Highlands does not lend itself to the view that a discrepancy ('sometimes') existed between ideal and actual (that is, between mission policy and 'some' mission worker practice) as Lawrence suggests, nor does it support Harrison's simplistic notion that big man initiative determined the compatibility of traditional customs with Christian belief. It is abundantly evident from Lutheran station reports (e.g. Asaroka, Monono, Agotu), from Berndt (1965) and from Kiseveloka informants, that the exposure and destruction of cult flutes stemmed not from either irresponsible evangelists acting independently of mission policy, or exclusively from decisions of enlightened big men. On the contrary, the iconoclastic displays were a central feature of Lutheran baptismal policy, a policy consistently pursued at Lutheran out-stations and sometimes at Lutheran stations (e.g. Asaroka) under the direction and thus with the full support of missionaries like Goldhardt, Hueter, Renck, Schulz and Turschmann, Frerichs and others. Indeed, as previously pointed out, such missionaries were always present at the iconoclastic displays in order to perform (in accordance with their priestly office) chapel dedications and administer baptism. For this reason alone there could be no gap between mission policy and evangelist practice over these iconoclastic displays.

Certainly, on such occasions, the catechumens had 'signified

their desire' and there were men among them who would have assented to the displays (probably providing the flutes for the occasion) and who, following the lead of the mission workers, participated in the destruction of flutes and other things. But there were others present at these affairs (at least initially at out-stations like Jondumo in the Upper Asaro) who clearly had not 'signified their desire' to accept Christianity. Their presence was no accident, a mere oversight on the part of the Mission. It was intentional, if for no other reason than that the missionaries well understood that the displays (and the baptisms which followed) would inevitably excite great interest among the surrounding population (see Berndt 1965:100-1). Indeed, it may have been this very expectancy in the missionary mind which motivated the early publicly unrestricted performances in the Upper Asaro and the continuance of this approach at the Asaroka station after 1952.

That these displays took place intentionally in the 'eye of the heathen' (Goldhardt), strongly suggests that they were not preceded by 'tribal agreements' and mounted on that basis with the full support of the group involved. In fact, though large group baptisms were organised by the Lutherans, in some cases it is clear that initial catechetical classes were relatively small and lacked the support of the bulk of the surrounding population. This was so at Kiseveloka in 1956, and it was equally so at the Lutheran out-station in the Upper Asaro which was raided and partially destroyed in 1952.⁴ In these cases where a restricted exposure and destruction of the flutes was practised, and at the non-restricted public displays mustered in the 'presence of the heathen', Keysser's principle of prior agreement was clearly breached, probably because the principle never really existed in the first place. Moreover, this principle (at least in one instance) had apparently been breached earlier in the southern Madang region, but

not because of irresponsible evangelists acting on their own account. In 1938 an initial Lutheran baptism was organised at Sumau in the Bagasin (or Gegesin) area. Sumau, it should be noted, is probably the village situated in the immediate vicinity of Iwaiwa, where Lawrence's field site was located among the Garia (from 1949).⁵ The Sumau baptism was preceded by an iconoclastic display performed in the presence of 'about one thousand spectators.' These included, in addition to the Bagasin missionary Welsch and his wife, 'Christians *and heathen* from near and far' (my italics). A variety of secrets associated with male initiation and the male cult were disclosed to the audience. Later a number of secret objects were destroyed, 'Christians *as well as heathen*, observ[ing] very closely to see *what* is burned and *how* it is burned' (my italics). From this account it would seem that the Lutheran approach in the Highlands was merely the continuance of an older practice inherited from the Madang and (probably) from the Neuendettelsau fields.

If the presence of 'heathen' at these displays violated Keysser's principle of 'tribal agreement', this was equally the case and more so of the manner in which local support for Lutheran demands was achieved. Harrison's view (quoted above) relates to an *ought*, an ideal not an actual event, and stems from a non-empirical, fundamentalist reading of Keysser. Thus for Harrison: Keysser stressed that 'tribal agreement' should precede and be the basis for 'tribal conversion'; therefore, the 'tribal' leaders of necessity made all the relevant decisions on behalf of the 'tribe'. This is altogether too simplistic and betrays a crude and misconceived grasp of the actual politics of conversion.

In New Guinea's predominantly egalitarian, acephalous village society leadership normally functions without authority. A big man persuades, cajoles or threatens, but he cannot gain automatic

compliance with his wishes. Lacking institutional criteria⁶ big man leadership cannot be seen in any straightforward way as representative of or standing for the clan or territorial unit. Big men may, in a sense, be 'spokesmen' for such groupings and certainly their views can have an important bearing on group action, but they do not (and normally did not) simply make decisions on behalf of the group. Decision-making is a deal more complicated than this, being subject to constraints which generally curtail, especially, individual dominance within the group. Certainly a big man might have entered into some understanding with a given missionary, but this need not have had any binding force on the clan or the territorial group. Such an understanding and its bearing on clan support was always subject to the counter-influence of other big men, for big men were rivals (within as well as between clans) with a vested interest in challenging and undermining each other's prestige. In these circumstances clan or 'tribal' agreements were relative to individuals, to time and place. They could have no real political force over time for large populations. This is abundantly evident in the Highlands where missionization led to two general tendencies, both of which found expression at Kiseveloka. Here intra- and inter-territorial group rivalry led at one stage to a fragmented response (some becoming Lutherans, some joining New Tribes, some Faith Mission, a few refusing baptism with all three), and at another stage to inter-congregational conflict, which in one notable case resulted in a split in the largest Lutheran congregation at Kiseveloka.⁷

If big man leadership, with its emphasis on individuality and competition, made 'tribal agreements' meaningless as a formal political strategy, these so-called agreements were frequently made by the Lutherans without big man support, and important events

supposedly mounted on the basis of such agreements often took place in the face of big man opposition. As shown in the preceding chapter, in the Upper Asaro opposition to the Lutherans came from *luluai* and big men, and in the Agotu area from 'prominent community members' (Schulz: 1967). In the former case, opposition to the exposure and destruction of the flutes at Jondumo led to the partial modification of Lutheran policy, not because big man opposition signalled the abrogation of 'tribal agreements' in the area, but because of Goldhardt's anxiety about how this 'severe reaction' might benefit the rival Catholic Mission. Again, opposition at Kusiaibipi had no bearing whatever on Lutheran determination to proceed with the destruction of the flutes and administer baptism only on that basis. Surely, if Keysser's principles meant anything, in these cases the Lutherans should have rejected the standard approach in favour of policies which found full approval with local leaders. The fact is, as the above instances imply, the Lutherans were prepared to obtain big man support only where their views conformed to mission policy, ignoring their views when these were opposed to mission policy. Presumably, the missionary rationale here went something like this: one can respect the views of the chiefs providing these concur with our demands, for this shows that their agreement was due to the inner prompting of the Holy Spirit. But one cannot respect views which are opposed to Christianity, for such views can only be the outcome of heathen depravity.

'Responsible Decisions'

The nature of big man leadership on the one hand and this Lutheran version of Catch 22 on the other, exposes the notion of 'tribal agreement' as mere fancy. That decisions to accept the Mission and endorse Lutheran demands (whether by big men or other villagers)

were, after Harrison, '*responsible* decisions', is equally fanciful. It strains credulity by simply asking us to ignore the political context in which conversion occurred.

The political context of pacification and conversion had several general features, as Chapters Four and Five amply show. Local response was predicated on the pragmatic attempt to utilise the circumstances of contact and the new access to wealth and power it allowed, for largely traditional ends; to participate more effectively in exchange and trade networks in order to achieve or enhance personal and group prestige. Correlated with this was an indigenous evaluation of aliens as spirits and ancestors; that is, as powerful beings controlling limitless resources. The advent of these beings was taken to signify at various times prior to, during, and following conversion, the imminent flooding of the village with inexhaustible quantities of wealth. This response provided the basis for local acceptance of the alien presence, enabling the external power represented by that presence to gradually and increasingly impinge on village affairs. The ability of mission agents to openly intervene in such matters as fighting and sorcery and the inability of villagers to resist or in the long-term effectively oppose such intrusion, greatly altered the balance of power in the Mission's favour, thus securing its authority (as in other cases that of the government) to act publicly to proscribe certain kinds of action and mediate in local disputes.

At village level the external impact of the missionary and the mission station was mediated and consolidated by the resident mission workers. They formed the vital link between the village and the external order (as in a rather different way did *luluai*), were largely accepted in the village on that basis, and were thus able to establish

dominance over given elements (sometimes big men, sometimes aspiring big men) among the population. Conversion was engineered out of this, with local support marshalled and organised through the mission settlements, the catechetical classes and, following their establishment, through the congregations. This general climate of change, the increasing and irresistible encroachments of exogenous influence and the nature of local response to this process, obviously had a direct impact on the course of decision-making and the exercising of power among the congregations.

It is nonsensical to suggest that conversion took place in a kind of political vacuum insulated from a variety of internal and external pressure. In Lutheran mission settlements and through catechetical classes (to say nothing of station schools) the older ritual process was systematically abused and ridiculed by the mission workers. This was supported at various key stages by tableaux and the iconoclastic displays, which, as Frerichs reveals, were of a piece with the tenor of catechetical instruction. It cannot be maintained that when the mission workers expounded the story of Elijah's doings with the prophets of Baal on Mount Carmel, for example, that mere guidelines regarding "heathenism" were suggested, with villagers being left to draw their own conclusions.

The resident mission workers represented one element (and a crucially important one) of internal pressure. And there were other local pressures sometimes pulling in the opposite direction, not least big man opposition and other forms of dissension to Lutheran demands in the village and the general area. But external factors too played a direct part. This did not merely exist as something vaguely "out there", it was embodied in individuals whose presence in the village (or at the out-station settlement) on key occasions like chapel

dedications and primary baptismal ceremonies, had a considerable effect on local decision-making. Such individuals included the area or circuit missionary and sometimes visiting missionaries from other circuits, senior Kâte evangelists and teachers from the circuit and also, on occasion, Kâte mission workers from neighbouring circuits. These men represented the elite among the Highland mission workers, having gained considerable prestige among Highland populations largely on the basis of having formed a distinctive community at the mission station (C.H. Berndt 1953:121-2), where together with the station missionary they formed the core of circuit leadership. At baptisms the iconoclastic displays were organised under the direction of the visiting and resident mission workers, and left no doubt as to what was required of the catechumens in receiving baptism.

There were exceptions to this. Writing of the Kusiaibipi baptism the Agotu missionary Schulz remarks that the resistance of the catechumens to big man opposition over the exposure and destruction of the flutes, was all the more significant in this instance as 'no visiting leaders from other circuits were present to spur them on.'⁸ Here the decision to proceed with the display lay with the catechumens (probably here younger Kusiaibipi men and their wives), though the role of the resident mission workers and Schulz himself should not be overlooked.⁹ But Kusiaibipi (as Schulz' comments make clear) was untypical in not having some senior Kâte visitor to 'spur on' the catechumens. At baptisms elsewhere in the Agotu area such roles were performed by Kâte leaders like Yonggerong (from Tarabo), who, we recall from Chapter Six, preached before terrified women on 'the power of Satan' in the old culture, and to illustrate the point 'took one of the flutes and broke it' before the congregation. This action triggered a more general destruction of flutes in which some of the leading catechumens participated. This, then, was the

more usual pattern, and local acceptance of the Mission was made in terms of it; that is, in a political context in which options were circumscribed by the nature of external imposition coupled with the expectations (viz. wealth and power) underlying local response.

Much of what has been said here of decision-making also applied to the acceptance of post-baptismal prohibitions by the Lutheran congregations. The following concentrates on three areas affected by such prohibitions: the wearing of traditional costume and decorations, and the adoption of European-style cotton fabrics; traditional dancing (or *singsing* ceremonies); and, finally, pig festivals. In examining Lutheran policy and practice respecting these issues we will be more directly concerned with missionary attitudes and missionary initiatives regarding the adoption of prohibitions by the congregations.

Decorations, Ornaments and Clothes

In C.H. Berndt's account of the 'open door' ceremony at Maira we saw that ritual acceptance of the Lutheran Mission required the removal of traditional decorations and ornaments, used mainly in dancing displays at *singsing* ceremonies. This occurred as villagers filed into the village plaza and symbolized the rejection of the old life. Similar inferences were present in other tableaux, where oppositions were drawn between traditional costume ("heathenism") and mission dress (Christianity). We have seen this of the peace tableau at Wayanofi (described by Radford, after Flierl) and of the pre-baptismal Heaven/Hell tableau at Kou (described by Frerichs). Lawrence provides a similar description from the southern Madang area, where (in some cases) Lutheran evangelists painted

glowing pictures of the European comforts enjoyed by the saved in Heaven in contrast to the misery of the damned in Hell. They reinforced the point by staging tableaux in which some natives wore Western clothes and other finery to illustrate the one, and other natives wore traditional clothing and ornaments, and were smeared with ashes, to illustrate the other (1964:83).

Lawrence speaks here of extreme cases where such performances were used by the evangelists to promote cargoist doctrine and prepare for the imminent return of Christ and the ancestors, accompanied by the advent of limitless wealth, threatening disaster on those who refused to accept this teaching and join the Mission. There can be little doubt that evangelists (Lutheran and others) used the opportunity permitted by their relative isolation in the village to promote versions of Christianity which were less than strictly orthodox. Cargoism was one such version, though it is probable that evangelists generally came close to this in their teaching without enunciating a full-blown cargoism. Likewise, the attack on decorations and ornaments and the correlated substitution of cotton fabrics for traditional attire, may often have been presented by evangelists (with or without cargoist connotations) as if these matters were absolute mission demands rather than relative mission preferences. Thus Berndt, writing of the Tarabo area in the early 1950s, states that mission evangelists (presumably, both Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist) 'encourage hair-cutting and the wearing of cotton [fabrics], and ... discourage or prohibit the use of pig fat for oiling the hair or body or anointing new-born babies ...' (1962:382). These remarks, however, are prefaced by a rider: that such emphases need not reflect actual missionary policies.

Accepting this qualification, evangelist teaching about decoration and ornaments and the need to adopt cotton fabrics (the male *laplap*, the female frock and blouse) undoubtedly originated

in European distaste of semi-nudity, the sexual overtones which this implied and the self-aggrandisement which accompanied traditional body decorations. And there is also little doubt that European missionaries generally preferred mission converts to adopt a more acceptable kind of clothing. It had long been the Lutheran policy in New Guinea to encourage the wearing of *laplap* by school pupils (Flierl 1932:14,51),¹⁰ and the very fact that the Lutherans and other missions imported cotton fabrics as trade goods suggests certain basic attitudes towards dress. In the Eastern Highlands it may have been a general Lutheran policy to encourage (or insist) that converts purchase cotton attire from the Mission prior to or following baptism (see, for example, Du Toit 1975:155-6, and plates 1 and 2 facing p.148). This policy may be reflected in Renck's disparaging comments of New Tribes converts in the Lufa area: 'they look heathen, they live heathen.'¹¹ The inference here being that unlike New Tribes, which made limited demands on its followers, the Lutherans required of their converts that they "look Christian, live Christian."

In Chimbu in the early 1950s the wearing of cotton clothing was regarded by government officers as distinctive of Lutheran converts, and indicative of the drastic changes associated with Lutheran in opposition to Catholic policy in the region.¹² In addition, some Chimbu patrol officers were critical of the wearing of such clothing owing to its dirty condition and the potential health hazards this promoted. According to the Kerowagi missionary, Hannemann, these concerns coupled with the accusation of the government anthropologist that the Lutherans were needlessly destroying local traditions, led to a government-initiated campaign to persuade villagers not to abandon traditional attire and body decorations. Hannemann points out that while it was so that Lutheran converts unlike other Chimbu people

generally wore cotton clothing, the government campaign did not initially worry him, as 'we are not conscious of ever having told any native that he must do away with his former ornaments and garb in favour of something different.' Hannemann admits his lack of objection to the campaign in principle, even urging that he supported the burning of clothes because of their filthy condition and the danger to personal hygiene. However, the missionary became alarmed over the government action on two counts. First, this generated rumours that the Administration was in conflict with the Mission,¹³ and this led to curtailed attendance at church services and other meetings in some areas. Second, Hannemann believed that abuses might follow the government campaign, with Lutheran adherents resuming the wearing of body decorations. While not important in itself, this could lead to sexual promiscuity and other 'evils' which the missionary believed to have been the main purpose for such decoration in the past. Consequently, Hannemann called a meeting of mission leaders from the circuit to discuss the matter. At this meeting it was resolved

... to do away with all misuses of bird plumes and other ornaments, as in connection with the ancestral cult. We shall, however, use them for dramatizations and processional dances at baptisms, church dedications, and at the arrival of visiting delegations [to the circuit]. The ornaments at these occasions will denote joy and no more. (This is nothing new, as all Finschhafen teachers have practised this custom since the beginning of our work in the highlands). However, the Christians have been warned that they must be alert to possible abuses.¹⁴

These comments bear comparison with those dealing with the same topic from a neighbouring Lutheran missionary. Writing of the area served by the Ega sub-station at Omkolai, Theile remarks that

government officers had been helping our cause by urging the people to more activity in our Mission recognising that we *insist* [my italics] the people rid themselves of their grease and paint, trinkets, superstitions, and getting down to productive effort.¹⁵

It would seem from this that differences in emphasis could exist between even neighbouring Lutheran areas (Hannemann, 'we are not conscious of having ...' insisted; Theile, 'we insist'). Be this as it may, what is common to both areas, and to Lutheran circuits generally, is that conversion for Lutheran adherents involved at one stage or another a prohibition on the wearing of decorations and ornaments, except in some areas, on those limited occasions (initial baptisms, Lutheran station festivals), where Lutheran direction would ensure that no abuses occurred. Abuses were always liable to result (or so the missionaries believed) where mission leadership was unable to operate as a watchdog. Thus the Asaroka missionary in 1964 cites, among other things having a negative effect on congregational vitality in the area, the government-initiated Goroka Show, which, with its traditional dancing and decorations, contributed to a revival of 'paganism' in the area.¹⁶

The adoption of cotton fabrics had no doubt a certain appeal because it was a tangible sign to the missionary eye of conversion, and such practice was partly promoted for this reason. But missionary opposition to traditional decoration lay not in the ornaments themselves (mere 'outward things' as Hannemann calls them), but the contexts in which decorations were used. It was to these contexts that Lutheran proscriptions primarily applied, for haunting the question of decorations was the spectre of *singsing* ceremonies, pig festivals, and other features of the ancestral cult.

Singsing Ceremonies

Harrison (1975:160-4) recognises that Lutheran missionaries generally held negative attitudes and were opposed to traditional dancing ceremonies on the grounds of the relation of these activities to the male cult, and to their association with sexual promiscuity.

Harrison quotes several Lutheran missionaries to this effect, all, it should be noted, from the Madang field. However, Harrison insists that Lutheran missionaries took no direct action against dancing, but left the matter (with others) entirely to the congregations to adopt whatever course they saw fit. The adoption of prohibitions thus stemmed from congregational initiative. Missionaries usually approved of such action, but this was expressed *post facto* to the event. To emphasise the point Harrison refers to opposition from 'some' Madang missionaries in the 1930s to attempts by congregational elders to enforce the prohibition on dancing in areas where dancing, traditionally, lacked overt sexual associations. Harrison concludes:

Once again, this exemplifies the way in which native converts have frequently taken a more rigorous attitude towards the old culture than the white missionaries (p.163).

Harrison's example of missionary opposition is taken from Lawrence (1956:83-4), but not without some slight misrepresentation. Thus Lawrence's 'the opposition of the European missionaries at the time', becomes in Harrison, 'some missionaries were opposed.' Further, while Harrison relates that the missionaries opposed the 'attitudes' of elders, who 'wanted' to impose the prohibition, Lawrence is more explicit, stating that the ban was actually brought into effect despite missionary opposition, and despite the reluctance of the congregations affected to accept this. Indeed, had Harrison rendered Lawrence more accurately, it would have given a firmer cast to his argument (viz. "whites suggest, and even oppose; blacks decide"). But such a view cannot, in any case, be sustained, largely on the basis of the nature of Lawrence's evidence on this matter of missionary opposition and other factors pertinent to it from the Madang field during this period (the 1930s).

Harrison, as a historian should, might have observed several

points about Lawrence's account of missionary opposition. First, the source used by Lawrence. This is merely 'other Lutheran missionaries' who provided Lawrence with verbal accounts (around 1950) of missionary opposition to the dancing prohibition during the earlier period.¹⁷ No other source or sources are used by Lawrence to confirm or question this evidence, which, therefore, must (like any hearsay evidence) be handled with caution. Yet Harrison uses Lawrence as if this evidence is substantive, beyond doubt, and not in need of qualification.

The second point has three parts: (i) the question of the areas in which the missionaries believed the dancing prohibition to have been inappropriate; (ii) the need to determine (if possible) which missionaries were responsible for the supervision of these areas; and (iii) to discover if the writings of such missionaries contain any evidence to suggest opposition to the ban on the grounds that dancing in these areas was traditionally free from sexual excess. Lawrence's account is only of partial help in resolving (i), but of no help regarding (ii) and (iii). Observing that the dancing ban originated with the Madang congregation, to which Lawrence, apparently on the basis of missionary views, believed the ban to have been appropriate due to the 'sexual orgies' that traditionally followed dancing ceremonies, Lawrence merely adds that the ban was extended to 'neighbouring congregations' (pp.83-4). Though not generally identifying the areas involved, Lawrence does identify one area: that 'inland from the River Gogol', and that particularly inhabited by the Garia (p.84, n.38). This area formed part of the Madang hinterland served in the 1930s by the Lutheran mission station at Bagasin (see Lawrence 1964:20, map iv). Now, given that in this area the cultures were 'overtly puritan in matters of sex' (Lawrence 1956:84), a feature supposedly (after Lawrence) grasped by the missionaries, we would expect the Bagasin

missionary at the time to have been to the fore in expressing opposition to the application of the dancing prohibition in this area. The missionary in question was Welsch. Welsch is known to Harrison, to whom we must now turn to resolve the questions posed by (ii) and (iii) above.

Harrison uses a conference paper written (in German) by Welsch to demonstrate the following points:

(a) dancing (according to Welsch)

aroused powerful emotions and was the occasion for much sin and debauchery and [was] pervaded by sorcery ...

(b) for these reasons and because dancing interfered with congregational work,

the Christians declared themselves almost unanimously against the dance, and have abolished it. [...] We are glad that our congregations have got rid of the dance, and hope that it will be dead and buried for ever ...

(c) however, because young people especially still hankered after the entertainment offered by the dancing ceremonies, some suitable substitute should be found. Soccer had been encouraged, but this sport resulted in over-exuberance (the players 'take leave of their senses and become obsessed') and chaos ensued. Perhaps, Welsch suggests, archery contests should be tried, or something else appropriate to the way of life of the people (Harrison 1975:161-2).

Harrison emphasises the positive tone of this latter point from Welsch, for reasons which we will come to shortly. The preceding points made by Welsch appear to stand for the Madang field as a whole, and there is clearly no evidence here that suggests opposition to bans on the grounds of their inappropriateness to some areas. But these comments of Welsch are inconclusive. Though they can probably be dated to the late 1920s (see Harrison, p.268), we cannot be certain that Welsch spoke here generally of the Madang field and thus included in

this reproof of dancing those areas where sexual prudence was supposedly characteristic. Though it should be noted that the reference in (b) above to 'our congregations' probably indicates a more generalised Lutheran judgement on dancing. Another source used by Harrison is more conclusive, for it belongs to the general period under discussion and refers specifically to a Lutheran village in the Garia area. By way of introduction to this source, we should say how it is used by Harrison. Having shown (via Welsch) that the missionaries (in opposing dancing) were alert to the need for suitable substitutes, Harrison, wishing to embellish this positive point, adds that missionary opposition to dancing did not exist without some appreciation of the artistry involved. A publication based on a letter written by the wife of the Bagasin missionary (Mrs. A. Welsch) is quoted to this effect:

It is clearly a remarkable achievement to execute a graceful, rhythmic dance with such an encumbrance [of feathers, decorations, etc.]. The strange white man who sees such a dance for the first time must be enchanted by it ...

Having made his point, Harrison ends the quotation at this juncture.

The article, however, continues in a rather different vein:

but out here these dances form the strongest bulwark of heathenism and the bonds with which the devil has bound the Papuan. How much sorcery and unclean, yes devilish, thoughts and intentions motivate such a dance! The Sumau people, as many other Christians before them, have realized that clearly. This particular dance, "Kaim-kaim", is an uncanny power in the mountains here.¹⁸

We have referred to this account earlier in the chapter. It relates to a baptismal ceremony held at Sumau in early 1938, at which both Welsch and his wife were present. The "'Kaim-kaim'" dance was performed here as part of the iconoclastic display staged prior to the baptism itself. Mrs. Welsch's comments about the nature of the dance generally echo those expressed by Welsch in the preceding quotation from Harrison, and there would seem little reason not to assume that

Welsch also shared his wife's views about the "'Kiam-kiam'" dance at Samau. Thus, in an area where we might expect evidence of a more positive missionary appraisal of dancing and, therefore, grounds for missionary opposition to the dancing prohibition, we find the exact reverse: an insensitive vilification of the dance as polluted and 'devilish', and clear missionary approval for the stance against it adopted by the local congregation.

So much then for the "evidence" that Lutheran missionaries in the 1930s opposed the dancing prohibition in areas like Bagasin. But did the missionaries themselves take direct action to promote conformity with their views among the congregations? We have no way of knowing from Lawrence or Harrison what the actual process of decision-making was in the Madang area. Certainly the missionaries could not simply force their views on dancing and other matters onto the people. And it is possible that in some measure initiatives were taken by some congregations to adopt prohibitions. Allowing that local support was a necessary condition to the acceptance of such bans, we still cannot afford to ignore missionary influence over the congregations any more than we can afford to overlook or gloss the role of the mission workers, who may well have played key roles in such matters.

Elsewhere, missionary influence and mission worker initiative in gaining compliance with Lutheran demands is more evident. This can partly be seen in the Kainantu area in the 1950s. We will look at this evidence briefly before turning to the adoption of prohibitions on pig festivals in the Highlands.

According to Pataki, in villages in the Kainantu environs in the early 1960s, the Lutheran Mission encouraged the maintenance of 'sing sings', 'utilizing them for their own ends by supporting or even

encouraging their occurrence during the Christmas season' (1966:63). This was in direct contrast to the Seventh Day Adventists in the area, who simply forbade *singsing* ceremonies. Evidently, Pataki is mainly referring here to the kind of festival affairs held at Lutheran mission stations (see her reference to Po'nampa), though the inference is that village *singsing* ceremonies were equally approved. This "policy" is taken as a mark of a more sensitive and accommodative Lutheran approach, and the popular support enjoyed by the Lutherans in the area is directly attributed by Pataki to this approach. Pataki, however, apparently knows little of the history of Lutheranism in the area.

C.H. Berndt reports of the same general area a decade or so before, that in 1948 Frerichs (the Raipinka missionary, though not identified by name in Berndt's account) prohibited *singsing* ceremonies in all the villages of the area, maintaining this position despite government opposition and its attempt to rescind the prohibition (1953: 122). Berndt adds that by the early 1950s station policy had been relaxed, though the Lutheran mission workers in the area still continued to oppose dancing in the villages. However, by 1955 station policy had apparently hardened against *singsing* ceremonies. Frerichs' successor, the old Onerunka/Raipinka pioneer "Hans" Flierl, found that lapses into 'heathenism' were current in the area, and cites among other things, a revival of 'Moti dances' and associated 'sexual excesses' in this connection.¹⁹

If this evidence questions Pataki's account, at least for the immediate historical period, it should be added that Pataki's study totally glosses the nature of Lutheran confrontation with the male cult. Indeed, she implies that the Mission tended to ignore the old beliefs and practices by recognising that the transition to Christianity should be made as non-traumatic as possible (see pp.99-100, 102-3).

Nothing is said of Lutheran attitudes to fertility and healing rites, to mortuary payments and pig festivals, or of Lutheran action against these practices.

Pig Festivals

Under the combined Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist attack the male cult rapidly disintegrated throughout much of the Eastern Highlands. A major consequence of this was the abandoning of much of the pig festival complex and its major fertility rites and exchange ceremonies. Elsewhere in the Highlands pig festivals and ceremonial exchange (e.g. *moka* in the Western Highlands) proved more persistent. This troubled Lutheran missionaries in Chimbu and the Western Highlands throughout the 1950s and 1960s, for though they were frequently able to persuade Lutheran congregations to adopt prohibitions against participation in these activities, the bans were constantly violated.²⁰ Here we will concentrate on missionary initiatives which led to the adoption of prohibitions among Lutheran congregations.

At Kerowagi in the mid-1950s we saw that Hannemann, troubled by the government campaign in the area, took action to do away with the 'misuse' of plumes and ornaments. This was merely one aspect of the problem of Lutheran participation in pig festivals. Hannemann had raised the question, '"can a baptized native help with the work connected with the ancestral cult festival and remain in good standing?"', at an elders conference at Kerowagi in 1954.²¹ Some elders argued in favour of the pig festival, urging that they were not Seventh Day Adventists (who forbade even the consumption of pork), and that their standing among the people would be seriously weakened if they did not take part in pig festivals. Most elders, however, apparently agreed that participation should be forbidden in principle, but they

advised caution against an outright ban as this would be divisive, cause considerable opposition and disrupt Lutheran work in the circuit. Hannemann initially accepted this counsel, but he later regretted that he had not taken a more definite stand and raised the matter at the 1954 circuit conference.²² Hannemann, having pondered over Pauline teaching against offering meat to idols (1 Cor. x), believed that Pauline demands applied directly to the pig festival and Christian conformity with these demands was paramount in the circumstances.

The issue was raised in the light of these considerations at the elders conference in 1955. Hannemann, who had obtained from the elders the previous year a summary of the general features of the pig festival, re-stated this as follows in the 1955 Station Report:

1. worship and sacrifice to ancestral spirits
2. adoration of spirit in *bolum* house
3. faith in sorcery
4. heathenish pride
5. ornaments, dancing, and immorality
6. gluttony and foolish waste
7. the social element²³

The crucial point here, according to Hannemann, is the 'worship and sacrifice to spirits', all other features being incidental to this, the main purpose of the festival. Under normal circumstances the Christian should be left to work out his own thinking about pig festivals, but, asks the missionary, how can one expect this when the 'ordinary native' had no real grasp of what the festival actually involved, and, thus, failed to see the perils it posed to Christian purity. Clearly some action was required by the circuit leadership to deal with this. It was therefore agreed that a course of instruction based on the decalogue and Pauline teaching (1 Cor. x) be put into effect among the circuit's congregations. To obtain a sense of what this instruction involved, some extract from Paul's

epistle should be quoted here:

(verse 7) As the scripture says, "The people sat down to eat and drink, and got up to dance." We must not commit sexual immorality, as some of them did - and in one day twenty-three thousand ... fell dead. We must not put the Lord to the test, as some of them did - and they were killed by the snakes. You must not complain, as some of them did - and they were destroyed by the Angel of Death.

(verse 14) So then, my dear friends, keep away from the worship of idols.

(verse 18) Consider the Hebrew people; those who eat what is offered in sacrifice share in the altar's service to God. What do I mean? That an idol or the food offered to it really amounts to anything? No! What I am saying is that what is sacrificed on pagan altars is offered to demons, not to God. And I do not want you to be partners with demons. You cannot drink from the Lord's cup and also from the cup of demons; you cannot eat at the Lord's table and also at the table of demons.

(verse 27) If an unbeliever invites you to a meal and you decide to go, eat what is set before you without asking any questions because of conscience. But if someone tells you, "This is food that was offered to idols", then do not eat that food, for the sake of the one who told you so and for conscience' sake ...²⁴

Hannemann asserts that this course of instruction was not aimed at forcing a given view on the congregations, rather by presenting 'the facts to let them draw their own conclusions.' However, it is difficult to see what other conclusion was possible, given the choice of scripture and seeing that the course itself would have been managed and taught among the congregations by the Kâte mission workers.

It is pertinent and instructive to review the process of events involved here. Due to Hannemann's anxiety about the pig festival, the missionary has the issue raised at the elders conference. Here, despite some disagreement, the consensus is to counsel a cautious, "wait and see" approach. Regretting his acquiescence in this, Hannemann subsequently decides to pursue the issue to a more satisfactory conclusion. The issue is again presented to the elders, and on the basis of a crude caricature of the nature of the festival, a course of congregational instruction is decided upon. Hannemann, as

the expert, determines which biblical passages were most suitable for this course, which is then put into effect under the leadership of the mission workers; the inevitable outcome being a general adoption of a ban on further Lutheran participation in pig festivals. Throughout, Hannemann maintains that there was nothing coercive about this, merely a simple presentation of 'the facts' followed by free and open discussion of 'the facts'. But, then, this kind of interpretation of events is wholly consistent with a particular mode of Christian thought. Obscuring human agency, God is made to move upon the sea of events to chart the heavenward course of men. This may be adequate theology, but it is pretty poor ethnography, and of a piece with Hannemann's reduction of the pig festival to an act of idolatry. Read in this light, Hannemann should be instructive to interpreters of Lutheran policy and missionary practice.

A further matter needs to be dealt with on this topic of Lutheran policy towards pig festivals and ceremonial exchange. Harrison, as we have seen, argues that post-Keysserian policy sought to set Christianity within the traditional socio-cultural framework. He asserts that in pursuit of this missionary practice was to utilise rather than destroy tradition, adapting particular ceremonies into a Christian context and thereby rendering new meaning to old forms. Harrison provides but two examples of this, both from different areas of the Yabem field. The second of these is of some interest. Sometime in the 1920s the Kaiapit missionary, Oertel, instituted a considerably modified version of a traditional fertility festival among the Adzera people in the Upper Markham, transforming this into a sort of Harvest festival, but shorn of "immoral songs" and "mad heathen dances" (Harrison 1975:166). This substitute was supposedly worked out by Oertel and local leaders, and seemingly

proved successful and popular in the area. According to Harrison, this approach 'soon became the norm throughout the Lutheran field: rites, festivals, and services of worship ... were normally carried out in a distinctively New Guinean fashion, worked out mainly by the people themselves' (p.167).

Two questions need to be asked of this: was this approach in fact 'the norm throughout the Lutheran field'; and, in those cases where substitutes of this kind were developed, were they successful over time? There is no evidence whatever from the Highlands that the Lutherans made any attempt to incorporate pig festivals or other forms of ceremonial exchange into the liturgical calendar. Indeed, we find the Alkena missionary complaining of this very thing in the area southwest of Mount Hagen. Here it had proved extremely difficult to maintain the Lutheran prohibition on *moka* exchange ceremonies. In view of which, asks the missionary, would it not be better to develop some acceptable Christian alternative?²⁵ This novel idea was expressed in 1969, some forty years after Oertel at Kaiapit had given expression to the 'norm' in the Lutheran field. The Lutheran norm is more accurately reflected by Hueter, the Monono missionary. In 1968 he enthusiastically reports of the southeastern Chimbu area:

Once more, through direct confrontation, the [circuit leaders] stopped the pig festival celebrations, which had been planned to last for several months. The [leaders] combatted the heathen practices of magical consecration of gardens and the blessing of pigs, which had received some support from the unsuspecting Roman Catholic priest, who had made liberal use of 'Santo water' in blessing the pigs and the sweet potatoes. After a pig choked to death on a specially blessed sweet potato ... the people began to lose interest in the 'Santo water' they had been led to believe as being all-powerful.²⁶

Oertel's Harvest festival in the Kaiapit area in the 1920s was a substitute for the *mugus* festival, which Read observed during field-work among the Ngarawapum (a part of the Adzera population, situated some eight miles from the Kaiapit station) in the mid 1940s.²⁷ The

mugus festival involved harvest rites 'in the yam gardens, the sacrifice of pigs, the purification of the yams, the oblations to the spirits, and the construction of the material symbols of the ancestors. All things were performed openly, in the gardens and in the villages, and the dancing continued through the night.' This was followed by a large pig and food exchange (Read 1958:281-2). The reason that the *mugus* festival was performed openly was due to the demise of Lutheran influence in the aftermath of the Japanese occupation of the area. Oertel's account (quoted in Harrison 1975: 165-6) of how the Adzera were persuaded to give up the *mugus* festival and adopt the Lutheran substitute, differs radically from that provided to Read by Ngarawapum informants. Thus:

The Kaiapit missionaries frowned on any practice remotely connected with the pagan religion and did not hesitate to use force to eradicate the things they disapproved. If they received word that a village was celebrating a *mugus* festival, they would ride hastily to the settlement, tear down the ritual objects erected in honour of the spirits, and scatter the congregation with whips. They abhorred dancing - particularly when the dance took place at night - and they tried to restrict the scale of feasting (Read 1958:278).

It is important to understand the context in which this account was given. The Japanese occupation had been traumatic for Upper Markham people. The removal of Australian and Mission influence fostered local hostility towards Europeans, who it was believed had deceived the people and withheld wealth from them. A wealth cult sprang up in the area in which these views were prominent. Read's account of pre-war missionary action against *mugus* festivals should probably be qualified in the light of local reaction during the Japanese occupation. It is doubtful that missionaries would have been irresponsible enough to take whips to Ngarawapum people, though, as noted in the previous chapter, missionary zeal could on occasion exceed the bounds of the law. If punitive action was taken against

those involved in the *mugus* festival, it would more probably have been carried out by the Yabem evangelists (possibly supported by local *songga*), whose zeal was all too often excessive.

What is more significant of Read's account is that it illuminates Ngarawapum response *over time* to missionization. Read acknowledges that the Lutherans had introduced a substitute form for the *mugus* festival, replete with 'Christian symbols and stripped of any elements ... regarded as licentious.' However:

The Ngarawapum came to see [this substitute] as ludicrous, and when there was no longer any occasion to fear mission displeasure, they returned to the traditional form (p.281).

Now, the clear implication of this is that Ngarawapum people had been induced (on their own account) under considerable pressure to give up *mugus* festivals and adopt the Lutheran alternative. Yet this substitute fulfilled none of the basic concerns with fertility and power in the old rites and festivities, nor did the substitute enable villagers to fulfil their old economic obligations or, by implication, to utilise the exchange component of the new festival as a competitive undertaking to obtain prestige and maintain alliances between individuals and groups. The imposition of an alternative mode irrelevant to these goals had thus proved to be ineffective and hollow - a form devoid of long-term, meaningful content to village life. The imposition had proved in practice to fall well short of a primary condition; that it be powerful in meaningful socio-cultural terms to the Ngarawapum.

Whatever opinions we may hold about the preference of Oertel's missionary approach compared to that of Hannemann and Hueter, in the final reckoning the real judgement is made elsewhere, by the peoples directly affected. The Ngarawapum cast their judgement in the 1940s against the Lutherans, as Kiseveloka people were to do in the 1970s,

an issue which will concern us shortly.

In this chapter we have been largely concerned with the question of sources and the use to be made of these in interpreting Lutheran evangelistic and post-conversion policy. We have laboured an obvious point: that policy must always be judged against practice. Where that practice is not readily reconstructable from informants' accounts we need to utilise a variety of sources to resolve this problem. Here we have drawn upon more revealing Lutheran literature (especially, station reports) or attempted to re-interpret other Lutheran sources in terms of time and place. In some cases, time and place is more accurately established by complementary accounts; government patrol reports, published ethnographic material, etc. This has also assisted to establish the nature of Lutheran practice. Further, and crucially, we have attempted to apply this practice to a political context, so as to better understand how and why the Lutherans were able to deal with local opposition to their demands and to influence local decision-making among the congregations. In this context, decisions, though subject always to direct missionary influence, were even more directly subject to the influence of the mission workers. We now return to this theme, and specifically to the problem of why the Lutheran mission workers were able to obtain and wield considerable power in village society.

Notes - Chapter VII

1. In Smith (1979) I pointed out that Keysser's breakthrough, on his account, was considerably aided by the missionary's close association with an 'influential chief', as Keysser describes him. I take the opportunity here to add further details to the earlier account.

The Kâte 'chief', one Zake (Inselmann 1948:23-24), had not in fact been independently cultivated by Keysser. Flierl, who with Pfalzer reconnoitred the Sattelberg site in 1892, first met Zake at that time, and later formed a close relationship with him; indeed, on one occasion Zake apparently saved Flierl's life (Flierl 1932:19). Prior to their initial meeting and the friendship with Flierl, Zake had been an employee of the (German) New Guinea Company based at Finschhafen (p.18). Zake, thus, had had some exposure to Europeans prior to Keysser assuming responsibility for the Sattelberg station in 1904, and it is probable that, like numerous counterparts, Zake had quickly learnt to use this and later contacts to strengthen his influence in village and area affairs. Zake was baptised by Flierl at Heldsbach in 1906 (p.44).

2. Pilhofer published a three volume history of the Neuendettelsau Mission in German between 1961-63. Pilhofer was a field missionary and the first European to actually enter the Eastern Highlands, if briefly, in 1919. He travelled with the evangelist Kemadi to Binumarien, where he spent the night before returning immediately to Kaiapit. Later he also assisted in pioneering Lutheran exploration in the Upper Dunantina, and with Bergmann in 1929 was the first European to view the broad Goroka Valley from the vantage of Rabana (Radford 1972).
3. Flierl points out that while each congregation continued to be responsible for given mission areas elsewhere (1932:108), direct supervision of these areas by the elders without reference to missionary supervision, lasted only during the 1914-18 war, when the Mission suffered depletion from the loss of missionaries (through deportation and internment in Australia) and other difficulties.

4. Goldhardt (Asaroka Station Report, 1952) writing of this out-station, states, 'Because of the severe reaction ... last year it was decided that *since the class was small* [they should] disclose their secret things in their own group' (my italics).
5. See Lawrence (1964:203, and map iv, p.20). Though Lawrence here identifies his Garia fieldsite as Iwaiwa, elsewhere in the study (see index) this is referred to as Somau-Iwaiwa, the former being about one mile from Iwaiwa.

The account of the 1938 baptism at Samau is given in 'News from both sides of the Equator. Converts burn Heathen Gods', *Lutheran Standard*, 14 May 1938:8-9, from which the following quotations are taken.
6. This point is taken up in the following chapter in a comparative analysis of traditional village leadership and mission worker leadership.
7. See Chapter Nine.
8. Agotu Station Report, 1967 (Schulz and Turschmann).
9. See Pataki (1966:46), who writes of a Lutheran baptism in the Kainantu area:

... throughout the two days of the service the European missionary served merely as [a] ... figurehead, for he played a minimal role in [the public] activities, although he did operate behind the scenes consulting with the native pastors, etc., and throughout his influence was felt.

See also Willis (1974:116 - 22).
10. While the Lutherans appear to have encouraged adherents to purchase cotton clothing, other missions provided free *laplap* to school pupils and converts. Lutheran missionaries occasionally complain of this and its effect on loss of supporters to other missions (see, for example, Asaroka Station Reports, 1949-50).
11. Rongo Station Report, 1958.
12. Patrol Report Chimbu 2/1951-52 (D.E. Kelaart), Patrol Report Chimbu 5/ 1952-53 (B.B. Hayes).
13. In fact, despite Hannemann's comments, there was considerable

footnote 13 cont.

substance to such rumours, for it is evident from several Chimbu patrol reports (see n.12) and related government correspondence of the time, that the Administration was alarmed at the consequences of Lutheran impact in the rapid abandoning of traditional customs. In addition to the patrol reports cited above, see the following correspondence: Memo, I.F.G. Downs, Assistant Director (Dept. District Services and Native Affairs) to Director (DDSNA), 18.3.52 (file 30-16-141); letter, J.M. Jones, Director (DDSNA) to District Commissioner (Goroka), 22.3.52 (file 30-16-141).

14. Kerowagi Station Report, 1955. The 'abuses' Hannemann had in mind here primarily referred to pig festivals, but may also have concerned traditional courting ceremonies (*tanim het*). We shall see below that Hannemann was particularly concerned at this time with the problem of pig festivals and the participation of Lutheran adherents in these activities.
15. Ega 11-Omkolai Station Report, 1954. Theile probably conveys a misleading impression here of government support. The likelihood is that government initiative in cash cropping, road building and settlement hygiene indirectly stimulated local support for other changes stemming directly from mission demands. Thus the sense of Theile's comments might be better read as, "government officers had been *unconsciously* helping our cause," etc.
16. Asaroka Station Report, 1964 (G. Sander).
17. From Jericho's biographical index (?1961:78-157) it appears that only two missionaries with pre-war experience in the Madang field were also present there after the war. These were E.R. Hannemann (not to be confused with the H.R. Hannemann at Kerowagi) and J. Mager. It is probable that these two missionaries were Lawrence's main source.
18. See 'News from both sides of the Equator. Converts burn Heathen Gods', *Lutheran Standard*, 14 May 1938:8-9.

19. Raipinka Station Report, 1955. Flierl lists the following in connection with 'heathenism':
 1. Moti dances
 2. mortuary feasts and exchanges
 3. brideprice
 4. card-playing
 5. polygyny
 6. pursuit of wealth
20. For details of such violations, see Smith (1979:87).
21. The following account is drawn from Kerowagi Station Report, 1954 (Hannemann).
22. The elders conference had advised against bringing the matter up at the circuit conference. This may have been a ploy to circumvent Kâte influence, for the Kâte mission workers in the circuit would undoubtedly have used the conference to urge a total prohibition on the festival in line with Lutheran practice in the Finschhafen district.
23. Kerowagi Station Report, 1955 (Hannemann).
24. These extracts are taken from *Good News for Modern Man. The New Testament in Today's English Version*, American Bible Society, 1966.
25. Alkena Station Report, 1969 (H.D. Klemm). See also Alkena Station Report, 1965 (Klemm).
26. Monono Station Report, 1968 (R.F. Hueter).
27. Read undertook this research while a member of the Australian armed forces, and was based at Tofmora, between 1944-45 (see Read 1965:3).

Chapter Eight

LUTHERAN MISSION WORKERS: POWER AND CHANGE IN VILLAGE

LEADERSHIP

The three preceding chapters dealing with Lutheran policy and practice in the Highlands generally establish the degree of change which resulted from evangelisation and conversion. As we have seen this process was directly spearheaded by the Lutheran mission workers. Their role in the village raises the question of the nature of their leadership and the basis on which this rested. It is to the resolution of this question that this chapter is devoted.

It will be argued here that mission worker leadership, while in a number of crucial ways differing from that of other village leaders either in the pre-contact period (traditional big men) or during the post-contact era (e.g. *luluai* and *tultul*), has to be explained against the background of the older socio-political process and its form of village leadership. This calls for an examination of traditional leadership. However, prior to this another matter must first be dealt with.

The "replacement" theory: Lawrence and Pataki

Lawrence (1956:82) observes that Lutheran mission workers (and elders) had largely 'replaced' traditional leaders in the Madang region. This term is ambiguous, for 'replaced' could mean either continuity or innovation. That is, either a form of village leadership based on or subject to traditional criteria emerged under the Lutheran impact, or an innovatory form of leadership developed which was radically different from the older form, which it 'replaced'. The context of Lawrence's study would seem to imply the former meaning,

thus fitting his interpretation of Lutheran policy as 'limited change' (p.77).

Pataki uncritically endorses this view for the Kainantu area in the early 1960s. Indeed, Pataki is quite explicit that a

consideration of the leadership system and the maintenance of power ... reveals that it is at least possible that change has not occurred to the extent that the repeated assertion of this predisposition by analysts¹ might indicate. That is, there has been no radical shift in the type of leadership in the villages but the change has been located rather in the personnel (1966:103).

This view of a change in personnel rather than a 'shift in the type of leadership' can be sustained only by showing that the new personnel primarily functioned in terms of a traditional leadership "type".

Pataki gives two examples in the attempt to show this.

The first example concerns an aging *luluai*, who seeks to bolster his waning influence in the village by publicly identifying himself with Seventh Day Adventist teaching, urging villagers to support the prohibition of alcohol, tobacco and, especially, the consumption of pork. In fact this tactic proved unsuccessful as mission influence in the village was in decline (pp.68-70). The second example deals with an influential Kâte evangelist, who 'with his extensive family had established himself firmly within the village power hierarchy and seemed to play an important part in directing the affairs of the village ...' (pp.70-1).

Neither example supports Pataki's argument. The first case offers evidence only of an attempt to utilise external factors in the pursuit of prestige, a strategy widely adopted by older and younger men (and in some cases by women) during pacification and conversion. The effective presence of government and missions presented a new set of conditions which bore directly on village leadership. The general

prohibition of warfare, coupled in Lutheran and SDA areas with the proscription of polygyny and other activities related to the maintenance of important exchange partnerships, not only directly altered the basis of traditional prestige, but these external impositions led to the emergence of new forms of village leadership, not least that provided by government and mission appointees.

Pataki ignores the fact that the *luluai* in question was appointed by an external authority and as *luluai* was ultimately accountable to that authority. While it was possible for a modified form of traditional leadership (i.e. big men) to continue to have force in the village, the appointment of *luluai* and mission elders had clearly altered village politics. In the classical Weberian sense such men were officials whose authority rested in their office rather than in their persons. As in Pataki's example, village officials might prove ineffective and have limited actual power in village affairs, but the significant change represented by such officials should not be obscured on this account.

External imposition had in many respects altered the reference point of leadership (from village to station); it had also augmented leadership in the village itself. Even at a gross level three basic kinds of leaders can be identified: a modified form of big man leadership, government officials, and mission officials. Allowing for some overlapping here (an individual might be both a big man and a *luluai*, or a mission elder),² each type deals with a different power base; the former, internally to village society, the latter two variously to external authorities. However, a further, crucial distinction within village leadership needs to be made - that of the Kâte (and other) mission workers.

In her second example Pataki fails to point out that the evangelist here was an alien resident. Though frequently recruiting

their own kin into the village (as in Pataki's example) and sometimes adopting local children, young girls and youths into their households, the Kâte evangelists and teachers generally remained aloof towards the local kinship system. This especially applied to affinal ties. Lutheran policy to use only (or usually) married men as evangelists and teachers virtually ensured this. In some cases Kâte mission workers whose children grew up in the Highlands, later forged affinal ties with Highlanders through the marriage of their sons to Highland women. But it is unlikely that this applied to the daughters of Kâte mission workers.³ Affinal ties, however, occurred at a later, post-conversion stage and tended to hold political significance for sons rather than the evangelists or teachers themselves. Unlike other village leaders, the Kâte mission workers lacked local support that could be marshalled through ties of blood and marriage and thus they had no immediate access to local exchange networks. Moreover, though such men possessed (in village terms) significant wealth, they lacked sufficient resources (gardens and pigs) necessary to effectively participate in the local world of debt and obligation. Indeed, Lutheran teaching (especially regarding pig festivals and mortuary payments) tended to undermine the importance of exchange obligations. Lawrence subsequently recognised the importance of much of this, pointing out that evangelists in the Madang region sometimes took extreme measures to prohibit or restrict exchange payments arising out of kinship obligations (1964:82). For these reasons the Lutheran mission workers cannot be regarded (after Pataki) as a traditional leadership type. On the contrary they represent a fundamental shift in village politics.

The failure in Pataki's account to distinguish traditional and innovatory forms of village leadership stems from the use of a too simplistic "big man" model, one which focuses on the personality of

leaders without much attempt to delineate the socio-political basis of big man leadership. She says nothing of the importance of warfare or exchange (in the traditional or contemporary setting) or of the relation between these matters and the management of support. Her argument is essentially one of maximisation of opportunity by individuals to achieve prestige more or less in traditional terms, a view of leadership broad enough to subsume almost anything and everything. But this is to confuse what leaders do with the contexts in which they do it, a confusion which obscures the vital distinction to be made between the different power processes in terms of which the pursuit of power takes place.

An effective understanding of village leadership during the pacification and conversion period in the Highlands requires a more specific analysis, one that attempts to resolve two problems: the basic types of leadership involved; and the grounds on which such leadership rested. In respect of the first part of this, the existence of three basic types of village leaders (a modified form of big men, government and mission appointees) and a fourth type (mission workers) has already been identified. Here the discussion will be more specifically concerned with one aspect of this dual problem, namely the relation between traditional leadership and mission worker leadership in the village. To establish the unique nature of the latter form it will be useful to briefly summarise and compare the Administration and Lutheran systems of organisation.

Dual Processes of Encapsulation: Contrasting Orientations to Change

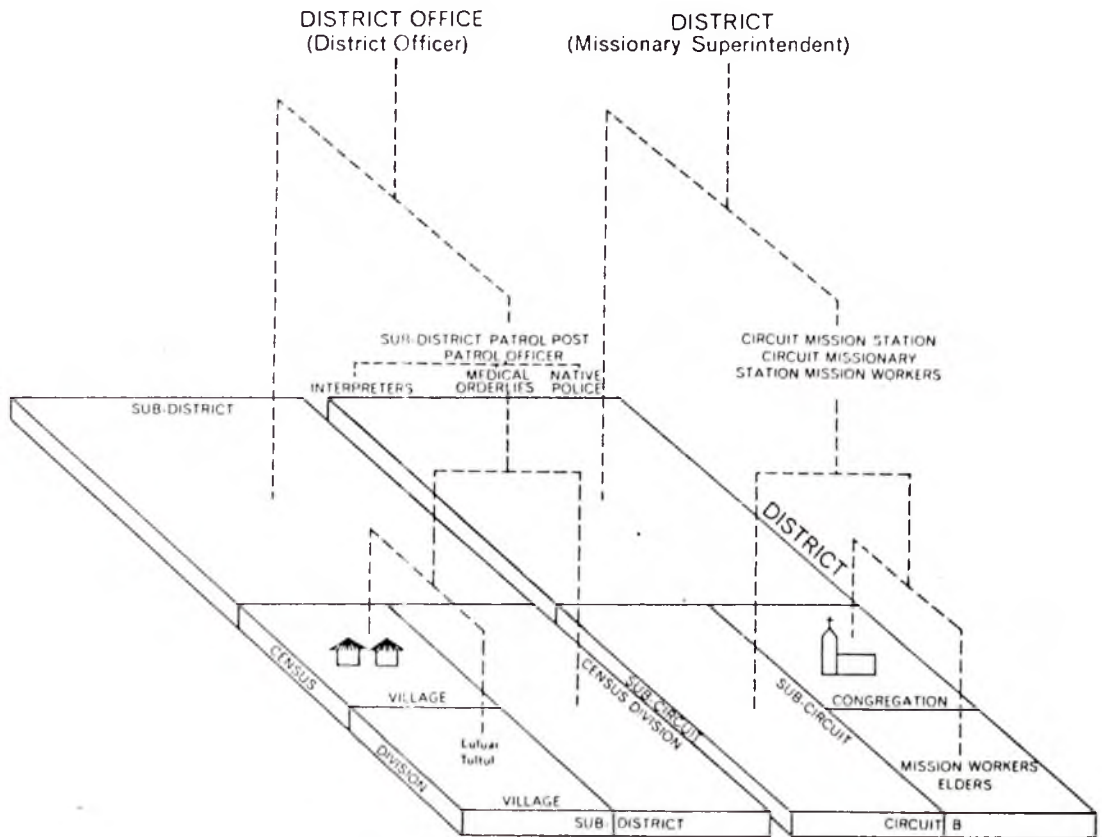
(i) General

At first glance Lutheran organisation appears to closely resemble and parallel that of the Administration. We saw in Chapter Five that

the missions and the Administration were frequently involved in competition in the founding and development of their organisations in the Highlands. Generally, such rivalry stemmed from common territorial concerns and the attempt of each power to secure territorial supremacy. Beginning with the founding of strategic centres (mission stations and patrol posts) manned by Europeans and their New Guinean subordinates, new territorial areas were incorporated into the organisational structure of the missions and the Administration through the establishment of out-stations and government rest houses and the gradual encapsulation of local populations. The large and unwieldy territorial areas of partial control in the pre-war Highlands together with their embryonic administrative structures, were substantially adapted after the war. With the creation of district centres (e.g. Goroka and Mount Hagen) and the proliferation of patrol posts and mission stations, large territorial areas were sub-divided into more manageable units. This development was paralleled somewhat in Administration and Lutheran organisation in the Highlands, with the emergence of district, sub-district, and census division levels of government organisation, and a corresponding district, circuit and (in some cases) sub-circuit structure in Lutheran organisation (Fig.5).

Territorially, these organisational levels approximate each other. At district level the Eastern Highlands district (following its separation from Chimbu, with the creation of the Chimbu district in the early 1960s) corresponds to the Lutheran Goroka district, both powers maintaining district offices at Goroka. The government sub-district more or less corresponds to the Lutheran circuit, an area respectively served by a government patrol post and a Lutheran mission station (or stations). Sub-districts, however, tend to be larger than Lutheran circuits. Thus the Lufa sub-district administered from the

Figure 5: Comparison of Government and Lutheran Administration



Lufa patrol post (established in 1954) includes both the Rongo circuit (established in 1958) and the Agotu circuit (established in 1962).⁴ Sub-districts and circuits were formed from the incorporation of local, pre-existing political units (villages).

(ii) Local

At local level the pre-existing political unit (the territorial group) was incorporated more or less into the government village (later, ward) system on the one hand, and into the Lutheran congregational system on the other. However, for demographic reasons some modification was unavoidable here, with both government and Mission attempting (with varying degrees of success) to amalgamate smaller territorial groups into larger political units.⁵

Encapsulation of the pre-existing territorial unit was effected through the appointment of village leaders: *luluai* and *tultul* (later, elected *kaunsil* and *komit*), and congregational elders (*songga*). Both kinds of appointees were developed from the earlier, informal recognition of "chiefs" or "headmen" and *bosboi*. Frequently the local unit was at one and the same time a "village" with a *luluai* and several *tultul* and a congregation with *songga*. This inevitably promoted confusion and conflict, for the spheres of authority of such officials consistently overlapped. The Lutherans attempted to manipulate government officials in the village to support the work of the congregation and enforce its discipline on villagers, while in other cases *luluai* sometimes used their position to oppose congregational work. The situation was even more complicated where inter-mission rivalry was present and where rival missions attempted to pressure *luluai* to support one mission against another. But if the parallel nature of Administration and Lutheran organisation implied competition between the two powers, rivalry was intensified

also by important differences in the two kinds of organisation and the nature of leadership variously developed in each system.

Recruitment and Leadership

Differences between the local unit (village/congregation) in both systems are manifest in terms of recruitment and leadership. First, and to bring the contrast out, we will summarise the Administration's task at village level. This was primarily concerned with pacification, the prohibition of warfare, sorcery, cannibalism and infanticide (where appropriate). Pacification, however, was only possible where there was considerable local compliance with these demands and an accompanying acceptance of the government's coercive power and judicial authority. In turn, this was dependent on an effective system of communication between patrol post and village. Initially this was achieved through regular government patrols and the establishment of a network of bridle paths and rest houses. Later, government control necessitated the use of village leaders whose local influence could be utilised to achieve grassroot acceptance of government control. The *luluai* system, developed in accordance with these aims, operated as a system of Indirect Rule through which government authority was maintained and strengthened at village level through such things as the compilation of censuses, the imposition of taxes, the development of local courts, and the organisation of labour for public works (chiefly, road construction).

It is crucial to understand what this process of encapsulation actually involved. In essence, a centralised system of government was brought about on the basis of pre-existing political units and their leadership. But the encapsulation of these units did not materially affect their internal structure. Some change was involved here, notably in the prohibition of traditional pursuits (warfare and

related practices) incompatible with the maintenance of public order. This, and the appointment of village officials, had a direct effect on traditional leadership, but government impositions could be generally (and readily) assimilated without drastic restructuring of the internal order of village society. Functioning through a set of individual links (i.e. *kiap* - government interpreter/native police - *luluai* and *tultul*), this new structure was largely peripheral to the village and made limited demands on village society. In the last resort the effective operation of the external structure upon village society required the consensus of villagers generally, but the advantages brought about by pacification (e.g. the way in which political stability fostered trade and exchange) were quickly appreciated and ensured consensus. However, in accepting government control villagers were not generally required to abandon their cultural heritage and social institutions.

The political aims of the Lutheran Mission were quite different. Though the Mission shared the concern with pacification, unlike the Administration the Lutherans saw this as the necessary prerequisite to evangelization and conversion. It was at this point that government and Lutheran aims diverged, as it was in the pursuit of distinct policies at village level that the respective organisations of the two powers differed.

Lutheran evangelistic policy, as we have seen, required considerable social re-organisation of territorial groups; in some cases the founding of new settlements, in others the re-structuring of existing settlements. In Lutheran settlements the resident population was organised into new political groupings: catechetical classes, school classes, and following baptism into congregations. Men, women, youths, girls and children were recruited into these groups

without regard to traditional social divisions (especially between male and female). In other words, under the Lutheran impact totally new institutions came into being in village society.

Recruitment into these institutions was achieved by the mission workers in cooperation with local mission appointees (mission *bosboi*). But successful recruitment and the support of mission *bosboi* required local acceptance of the leadership of the evangelists and teachers, otherwise conversion would have been impossible, or at least of a different kind than that which actually occurred. This support and the subsequent creation of new institutions not only distinguishes government and Lutheran impact at village level, it also isolates the mission workers as a unique and novel leadership type. For the leadership of men like Gomal and Sera at Kiseveloka had no parallel in traditional society or in the *luluai* system. Marked by its alien nature and its antipathy to the traditional order, the innovations in social and religious life wrought under such leadership show it to be a revolutionary type, quite unique in the history of New Guinea village society.

Given the alien status of the Lutheran evangelists and teachers, their sometimes limited fluency in local languages in the Highlands, their lack of access to traditional support based on kinship and affinity, their opposition to the male cult, certain forms of exchange, polygyny, and a great deal more of the traditional order (much of it crucial to traditional prestige) - why were they successful as leaders? To answer this we need to turn to a consideration of the older sociopolitical process in the Highlands and an examination of traditional leadership.

Traditional Big Men

The question of determining the nature of traditional leadership in the Highlands has been a matter of some controversy. The problem largely arises from the fact that fieldwork studies of Highland societies were mainly commenced only when external influence was well advanced. The formative anthropological studies of the 1950s were therefore undertaken in a climate of pacification and change. For this reason researchers were either forced to assume that much of the traditional society was still intact, or attempt to reconstruct this as far as was possible. Some general features seemed clear. Highland polity was small-scale, polysegmentary, and non-centralised. There were no institutions of hereditary leadership (i.e. no chieftainship), no great disparities in economic status and no social stratification.⁶ Allowing for a major social division based on sex classes which excluded women from open participation in a highly competitive political process, Highland political behaviour implied an underlying egalitarian ethos. It became conventional to describe such societies as "acephalous" or "anarchic". Men possessing a forceful, domineering personality emerged through the social process as leaders through their abilities in warfare, oratory, etc. and in managing economic relations, especially inter-group exchange ceremonies. Leadership was thus "achieved" rather than "ascribed".

The controversy about leadership in the 1960s was less concerned with these general features than with the mode of leadership itself. That issue turned on the question of "consensus" versus "despotism".

(i) Consensus

Read provided the first systematic treatment of leadership in

the Eastern Highlands. He argued that among the Gahuku-Gama strength, aggression and self-assertiveness were valued as qualities to be cultivated and respected in men. Yet a contrasting (and in a sense contradictory) set of values was also stressed, those concerned with 'equivalence' and 'consensus'. Clearly, the former values, given free rein, would lead to marked inequality between men and achieve the extremes of dominance and subservience - the strong over the weak. As Read pointed out, the archetypal 'strong man'

is preeminently a warrior, a man who is quick to take offence, to suspect a slight or injury and likely to resort to force. He is a "hard" man, a proud man, an individual who is not likely to defer to others, a person who tends to act precipitately. He expects obedience, is motivated by a desire to dominate and cannot abide opposition. He ... feels threatened by the quality of "strength" in others. Such a man may be admired for his abilities, he will "earn a name", even attract adherents; but he is unlikely to achieve generalised authority and lasting influence (1959:433).

The failure of such men to achieve general influence resulted from their lack of acknowledgement and open espousal of the 'ideal of "equivalence"'; a failure to 'recognise ... the right to parity' of others and to listen to and respect their views.

Against the 'strong man' Read contrasted the '"autonomous" man', a leader whose success in exercising general and lasting influence over other men was directly bound up with maintaining the delicate balance between 'strength' and 'equivalence'. Thus, successful leaders operated within the constraints of consensus or group approval, leading on the basis of agreement rather than by forcing their will on others.

(ii) Consensus and 'Satrapy'

Accepting this emphasis on consensus as a valid account of pre-contact leadership, Brown (1963) discussed its bearing on the *luluai* system. She described a situation for Chimbu in the 1950s of widespread despotic behaviour by *luluai*, asserting that Indirect Rule

enabled *luluai* to achieve dominance in a form and to an extent impossible in a traditional process governed by consensus. Operating apart from group approval and dependent for their authority on the colonial power, *luluai* had in effect become the 'satraps' of the Administration.

(iii) 'Serial Despotism'

Salisbury (1964) criticised this interpretation of the *luluai* system, arguing that while despotic officials had indeed emerged through it, the system also presented ways of dealing with such men. Salisbury cited examples of steps taken by villagers to remove overbearing *luluai* and maintained that the possibility of such action, coupled with the Administration's awareness of the dangers of abuse in the *luluai* system, meant that it could not accurately be termed one of satrapy. But Salisbury went further, attacking the consensus hypothesis advanced by Read and supported by Brown. Wishing to show that 'serial despotism' rather than consensus characterised traditional politics in the Highlands, Salisbury argued that the former mode was both endemic in pre-contact society and under the *Pax Australiana*. This accounted not only for *luluai* despotism but also for contemporary big man despotism.

Salisbury sketched out the following account of contemporary big men which he believed to be applicable to the Siane, Chimbu and, tentatively, the Kyaka (a Western Highlands language group partly studied by Bulmer in the 1950s). A given autonomous polity (i.e. a phratry or cluster of allied clans) contains a number of prominent men. One of these achieves pre-eminence over the others who function as his subordinates (his 'henchmen'). Consciously employing terms borrowed from western capitalism, Salisbury distinguished phratry leaders as a 'director' and 'executives'. Directors in consort with their

executives control the economic affairs of the phratry, regulating through trade and exchange the flow of wealth into the group. Director-executive relations are marked by patronage, executive status and the possibility of advancement being dependent on the personal favour of the patron/director. However, anxious to maintain his dominance and thwart over-ambitious executives, the director may remove a rival at will and promote younger men into the executive rank. Promotion met the ambitions of younger men and served to maintain inter-executive rivalry ("divide and rule"?). Thus 'the intensity of competition at low levels, the vindictiveness of defeated rivals, and the amount of energy consumed by competitive activities means that few individuals ever emerge from the melee as clear challengers to the existing director' (1964:238).

(iv) 'Despots and Directors'

This account was in turn criticised by Strathern (1966). He held that Salisbury's 'serial despotism' was (a) too extreme for pre-contact leadership in the Highlands, and (b) that it was not supported by contemporary evidence. This latter argument was motivated by Salisbury's reference to the Kyaka, which neighbour the Melpa of the Mount Hagen area. For the Melpa Strathern allowed that prior to contact big men may have possessed more power and dealt more arbitrarily with other clansmen (especially bachelors), and this was probably due to big man monopoly of exchange (i.e. *moka*) which was, as it continued to be in the 1960s, the major focus for male prestige. However, such monopoly did not amount to despotism. European-initiated saturation of the shell economy in the 1930s had dissipated exclusive control of exchange and enabled much wider male participation in *moka* ceremonies. In some respects change had weakened the position of contemporary big men.

Strathern pointed in the 1960s to the problem big men faced in managing their support, and while in the polysegmentary Melpa system 'major' and 'minor' big men existed, these leaders could not be described in the sense of Salisbury's 'director-executive' relation. Major big men neither arbitrarily dominated minor big men nor maintained despotic control via them. The former were directors only in the sense that they planned and managed important *moka* transactions, but such activities could not be staged without achieving general approval and support. In conclusion Strathern came down strongly in support of Read, arguing that successful leadership in the Highlands was directly bound up with the ability to compromise. The potential despot consistently failed in the bid for leadership because he lacked flexibility and persuasive powers.

(v) Known Despotism

While Strathern accepts the possibility of a qualified arbitrary dominance by pre-contact Melpa big men, the view that potential despots founder on the reef of consensus fails to account for cases of successful despotism in traditional society. The known cases are admittedly limited, but they still require some explanation.

Salisbury (1964:227) refers to one notable example - Kavagl, a Chimbu big man. Kavagl was the subject of an account written (in German) by the Catholic missionary Schafer in 1938. Apparently, Kavagl achieved great notoriety in part of the Chimbu region prior to 1932 (when Schafer first met the big man). From Schafer's account Kavagl emerges as the archetypal "strong man" and Read's earlier description of this type is apt for Kavagl. Especially during his earlier career, Kavagl readily resorted to violence to quell opposition, and though he consulted his supporters he rarely seems to have felt bound by their opinions. Salisbury believes that Schafer's

description shows Kavagl's career to have been in essence despotic and, allowing for 'temporary interruptions', his effective influence spanned a period of twenty years.

The most detailed study of a Highland despot was published in 1967 (Watson, reprinted in Berndt and Lawrence 1971). Based on oral accounts the case dealt with a Tairora (Eastern Highlands) big man, Matoto, who achieved great prominence over a wide area prior to 1930. Matoto was a renowned killer with numerous slayings to his credit. His fame as a warrior and his tenacity and ruthlessness in the pursuit of personal vendettas led to his recruitment as a warrior by other clans, and he was paid for this service. Though a man of great violence Matoto was also a skilled peacemaker. He was an adept manipulator of support, successfully recruiting in men from other clans to strengthen his own group. Matoto's fame led to the accumulation of a large number of wives (possibly in excess of sixteen), which he kept scattered in surrounding villages. This gave Matoto considerable access to resources (pigs and gardens) and undoubtedly made him a man of formidable economic power.

Some of Watson's informants insisted that Matoto's influence pervaded almost every aspect of village life. He was said to 'own' everything in his home village, marriages could not be arranged without his express approval, and even daily tasks (sentry duty over women working in gardens, fence repairs, and the like) required his personal decision. But his despotic power is notably seen in openly flaunting sexual conventions. According to Watson, Matoto, as fancy took him, frequently copulated with kinsmen's wives and, though this was done openly, the cuckolded husbands would not challenge such violations (1971:248). We shall return to this point.

The cases of Kavagl and Matoto and other examples of despotism elsewhere in New Guinea (see Hogbin 1951, Barnett 1959, Willis 1974:67),

point to circumstances under which the extreme type of leader (the "strong man") could achieve successful and lasting dominance. Probably in the light of Watson's account Strathern subsequently modified his position, suggesting that

as long as the violent man appears to be of greater value to his group-mates than the internal cost of violence, he will be tolerated: as soon as the balance swings, toleration will turn to discontent.

It will be noted here how Strathern directly correlates despotism with violence. He continues:

... in post-contact times [i.e. under pacification] ... the true political leader is not simply a man of violence but a manager of exchanges who has some understanding of diplomacy and restraint (1971:225).

Thus, Strathern opposes violence-warfare with exchange, suggesting that each calls for different modes of leadership: despotism, because it is rooted in violence, can only emerge and have lasting effect in times of warfare, but *not* under conditions of exchange, which require stability and peace between exchanging groups and demand management skills rooted in compromise or diplomacy. But is this really so?

Watson's account emphasises that Matoto *combined* violence with skill as a peacemaker, as a recruiter of support, and with expertise in managing economic resources. Again, Salisbury (apart from his introductory reference to Kavagl) attempts to show that despotic 'directors' function primarily on the basis of the control of wealth, patronage, and the manipulation of 'executives', rather than in terms of unrestrained violence. Salisbury's account raises another objection to Strathern. 'Serial despotism' applies to a contemporary setting (the 1950s) and a situation of pacification, not as Strathern has it only to the pre-contact period of warfare (see also Strathern 1971:224). Thus Strathern is also mistaken in allowing for despotism solely as a pre-contact phenomenon, a view (irrespective of

the weight that should be given to Salisbury's account) which in any case cannot explain the celebrated case of Bumbu, the Busama (Huon Gulf) despot and paramount *luluai*, who achieved unrivalled dominance over a considerable period at Busama while a government official and during the *Pax Australiana* (Hogbin 1951:151-63).⁷

Before pursuing the question of power and its bearing on leadership a little further, some general observations about the debate should be made.

First, the issue as it emerged during the 1960s ranged over too wide a field (the Highlands generally) without much allowance for possibly significant differences between the societies under discussion. Read's "strength versus equivalence = consensus" model should not be applied to Chimbu and Western Highlands societies without some understanding of the variations in polity involved here. Nor is it helpful to overlook the significant differences in the amounts of wealth distributed in major exchanges, and thus the size and possibly even the nature and purpose of such exchange itself across the Highlands. Given such heterogeneity (say between *moka* and the *idza nama* festival), we might expect this to have some marked bearing on related modes of leadership.

Second, we cannot afford to minimise (as so often happens in such discussion) the impact of change. Change is more dominant in Brown, but her contrast between traditional big man and *luluai* is too sharp, largely due to her over-reliance on Read's consensus model as valid for the older political process. However, Read's influential analysis of Gahuku-Gama leadership, which may have merely derived from the study of a single leader (Makis) taken as *the* type, made no allowance for the effects of pacification. In assuming direct continuity with a traditional process during his fieldwork among the Gahuku-Gama

(1950-51), Read made no attempt to test this assumption and the hypothesis of consensus based on it, from a diachronic viewpoint. Moreover, the older political process for the neighbouring Bena Bena, as this emerges through the work of Langness, with its accent on power-politics rather than balance-equivalence strategies (Langness 1971:310), implies at the very least a tendency in Read to overstate (or even romanticise) the importance of parity for Gahuku-Gama, even under the new conditions of pacification. An alertness to change might also allow for variation in the nature of colonial impact across the Highlands during the 1950s and 1960s. For while *moka* (and *te*) exchange and in many areas of the Wahgi and Chimbu, pig festivals were still of central importance as exchange activities during this period, large-scale exchange in the Eastern Highlands had rapidly become a thing of the past under the Lutheran and Seventh Day Adventist impact. We might assume such variation to have had some bearing on a range of related matters, not least the relation between group and individual politics, and leadership. In some respect these questions of the bearing of change on prestige activities and their politics have become increasingly historical ones, though one would not think so from the more recent studies of "traditional" exchange in the Highlands.⁸

(vi) 'Unlimited Power'

Having referred to Langness, we might steer this discussion back on course via him. Written in the light of the despotism versus consensus debate, Langness remarks of the Bena Bena territorial group (the district):

It seems to allow its citizens the right of non-participation even when its own interests are at stake, and it allows its Big Men unlimited power if they can achieve it. Paradoxically, the kind of "despotism" described by Salisbury (1964) and Watson (1967) could probably only arise in such a system of "anarchy" (Brown 1963), and in societies with a relative propensity for recognising physical violence and coercion as legitimate (1971:312).

In part Langness echoes Strathern here in correlating power with violence. There is of course a sense in which this is valid. For traditional leadership in the Eastern Highlands was probably more directed to the pursuit of violence than, say, the management of group balance via exchange. Certainly in this setting we should not understate the importance of violence in "strong man" leadership, for here (as in all societies) physical violence is an ultimate form of coercion and a form of competition in which the outcome can be final in determining dominance and success. This can be finally so because violence threatens the very nature of human existence itself. Yet despite its psychological and social importance, the 'propensity for ... violence' should not be made an exclusive prerequisite of "strong man" power or indeed of despotic or 'unlimited power'.

A consideration of the ways in which power was (and is) perceived of in New Guinea society will enable us later to see how 'unlimited power' could become embodied and thus manifest in particular individuals, like Matoto. Power in the New Guinea setting, especially traditionally, though bound up with strength, covers other non-physical human attributes of the kind brought out in Read's original "strong man" definition. But in addition, and crucially, power has to do with a complex array of relations between man, the environment, and the non-empirical realm of ancestor-spirit forces. These relations bore on leadership generally, and may be said to be focussed to leadership. The pursuit of power, its attainment and embodiment, which underlies much of older socio-economic, political and ritual action has both individual and group (as it has both male and female) dimensions. Older ritual action (e.g. male initiation, female puberty rites, preparations for pig festivals and other fertility-power rites), together with directly associated socio-

economic behaviour (e.g. competitive exchange in pig festivals) was oriented to possession and control of *positive* force or power. We saw in the earlier discussion of traditional society (Chapter Three) how this was especially marked at Kiseveloka and neighbouring areas in the male sweat rite. The corollary of this concern with positive power was the recognition (and thus the attempt at containment) of *negative* power and its potentially dangerous, debilitating and weakening effects. Negative power (classically associated with women and that class of things associated with them) lay on the other side of and therefore was contained by prohibitions, usually applied (to men) in ritual contexts (that is, immediately prior to, during, and immediately following ritual procedures).

These prohibitions were reflected in wider social sanctions and particularly related to sexual relations and male consumption of foods associated with women. Copulation (even between spouses) was restricted by an ideology of power-loss. However, restrictions were not necessarily rigidly observed. The problem here is not simply one of contradiction between idea and practice, so much as an underlying ambivalence in the ideology of power itself. Male power was believed to be threatened by female pollution (especially menstrual blood), hence male anxiety about women and the accent on limited sexual contact. Yet male virility was also expressed by actually confronting this danger of pollution, by taking it on, so to speak, through the demonstration of male sexual prowess and the "conquest" of women. This ambivalence normally led to the maintenance of a kind of fiction about behaviour; the distinction between the two notions of male power in sexual matters being correlated with a distinction between private and public. As sexual relations (usually) belonged to the private domain (conducted furtively and in secret), they were

performer removed from open, public gaze. A man might engage in a variety of sexual liaisons which would (through gossip and rumour) become widely known and therefore redound to his prestige. But such knowledge should not become publicly *seen* to be known (hence the fiction), for this could (and normally would) result in action against the individual, especially if adultery was involved. Male prestige was ultimately valued in open, public settings and accountable at this level. Not only could a man normally not afford to be seen to be a transgressor of social mores, but by doing so he faced the inevitable consequences: public ridicule and probable violent action from the cuckolded husband and his supporters. This can be illustrated from my field notes.

Hagayo is the Kivuluga *kaunsil*. About 35 years old (in 1976) when elected as *kaunsil*, Hagayo belongs to that younger male generation which represents progress. He is a '*man bilong kirapim nupela rot*,' a product of change with some experience of the outside world. Though basically illiterate, Hagayo speaks fluent Tok Pisin. He is popular as a *raconteur* and well known for his *bonhomie*, maintaining a wide circle of acquaintances throughout the Lufa sub-district. In addition Hagayo had prominent allies in several influential Kivuluga men. These factors all assisted Hagayo's successful contesting of the Kivuluga *kaunsil* election in 1976, in which he defeated several important rivals. Hagayo, however, is known among Kivuluga people to default on his exchange obligations, largely due to neglecting his local economic resources (gardens and pigs). He cannot be trusted with money, and fritters away his own income (from coffee) on gambling and beer-drinking. Hagayo's economic standing is weak and his prestige in Kivuluga affairs was liable to suffer accordingly.

An example of this occurred a few months after my arrival at Kiseveloka. The wife of the important Kivuluga man Damamu died suddenly. Though Damamu was a rival of Hagayo (Damamu had previously been successively Kivuluga *luluai* and *kaunsil*, and was defeated by Hagayo in the 1976 election) Damamu maintained a fictive elder brother-junior brother relation with Hagayo (their fathers were agemates). As 'elder brother' Damamu had obtained a wife for Hagayo by providing the bulk of the brideprice. With the death of Damamu's wife Hagayo was expected to reciprocate his debt by contributing a pig to assist with Damamu's mortuary payments. Hagayo attended the mortuary distribution and the mourning period which preceded it, but he failed to provide the expected pig. As *kaunsil* Hagayo was also expected to act as *major domo* at the mortuary distribution.

During the preparation for this, however, Damamu suddenly launched into a bitter attack on Hagayo, castigating him publicly for reneging on his obligation. Hagayo thus publicly shamed remained for the distribution of pork but left to return to his own settlement immediately after. (Normally Hagayo would have remained with the mourners for a week or so out of respect and so as to avoid any suspicion of having performed sorcery and thus brought about the death of Damamu's wife.) At his home settlement Hagayo smeared himself with ashes and dirt as a sign of shame, spending the next few days sitting outside his house weeping.

In the following months Hagayo suffered a series of further reverses, finally falling out with another influential Kivuluga man, Foreda, Hagayo's sister's husband. The morning after this breach with Foreda, an informal court was convened at Hagayo's settlement. This was to discuss a case of adultery involving the wife of Foreda's brother and another clansman, Sipigigi. The adultery was said to have occurred during the husband's recent absence as a migrant worker. As sometimes happens in such cases Foreda and his brother threatened to attack Sipigigi. Hagayo, as *kaunsil*, acting as nominal chairman attempted to reconcile the disputants and fix a suitable sum for compensation. Bullied by her husband's supporters the adultress suddenly alleged that Hagayo too had committed adultery with her during the husband's absence (an allegation later admitted by Hagayo). The court quickly broke up in confusion at this revelation, with Hagayo taking to his heels to avoid the attack of Foreda, his brother and their supporters. Hagayo successfully eluded capture and went into hiding at Goroka, where he remained for several months before returning to Kiseveloka and making some compensation to Foreda's brother.

The events dealt with in this account are closely related.

Hagayo's prestige as the new *kaunsil* dramatically suffered following the open rebuke by Damamu. The break with Foreda closely followed, and this in turn set the stage for the court and the revelation of Hagayo's adultery. However, this revelation was not quite what it seemed to be at the time. I discovered after Hagayo's flight that his adultery with Foreda's brother's wife was generally known among the residents of Hagayo's settlement, and I strongly suspect (despite their denial to me) that Foreda and his brother knew of this long before the court was convened.

The court affair establishes the important distinction between private (widely known) and public (openly seen to be known) domains

and the manner in which sanctions impinge on prestige in the public arena. Though the adultery of Hagayo and Sipigigi was general knowledge, Foreda and his brother appear to have chosen their moment to bring this fully into the open. As such, the court appears to have been stage-managed with the deliberate intention of shaming Hagayo in the most effective manner possible, and thereby undermining his public standing as *kaunsil*.

Under normal circumstances, then, the transgression of social rules and the violation of standard prohibitions was (and is) subject to public sanction operating as a curb on male power. But for individuals like Matoto the normal curbs did not apply, for such men were immune to sanctions and restrictions. In Matoto's case this is especially evident in his open flaunting of sexual rules.⁹ Not only did Matoto effectively challenge the rights of other men in acts of open adultery, but he was openly impervious to the accepted dangers to male power involved in unbridled sexual license. Such immunity to social and mystical forces is demonstrative of unique male power, the kind that enabled Matoto to exist, as it were, on the boundary between positive and negative spheres of power, or move at will between these spheres. If Matoto's success hung on this ability to manipulate power in so extraordinary a manner, he too fulfilled the commonly held stereotype of the man of power so highly esteemed in New Guinea ideology. As a logical manifestation of this stereotype and as the embodiment of 'unlimited power' Matoto out of fear, awe and respect secured a position of unrivalled and arbitrary dominance.

Lutheran Mission Workers: Power and Change in Village Society

It has been necessary to provide an extended account of traditional leadership in order to establish the nature of its relation to power in the old order. In some respects the relation

of leadership to power in traditional society can be seen to apply also to the mode of leadership exercised by the Lutheran mission workers. This certainly affected initial acceptance of evangelists and teachers and had a direct bearing on the nature of their local support. In turn, support was to have an important bearing on the maintenance of effective leadership during the post-conversion period. However, the distinguishing characteristic of mission worker leadership was its innovatory nature, and this theme predominates in the following outline of the major facets of their leadership in village society.

(i) Ancestors and Intermediaries

As we have seen initial response to contact led to speculation by Highlanders about the origins, nature and aims of the aliens. Though this view of Europeans and their New Guinean subordinates was gradually modified under the effect of sustained contact, it continued to surface here and there and is still a feature of current Highland attitudes. The maintenance of this identification of aliens with powerful beings was largely due to Highland concerns about European-controlled wealth and European possession of this in overwhelmingly disproportionate terms. The intensity of these concerns about wealth and power provided the necessary pre-conditions for local acceptance of the mission workers. Not only were such men probably widely regarded as returning ancestors, but some evangelists actually presented themselves as such or, claiming special contact with ancestors and spirits, promoted wealth house cults on this basis (Berndt 1952-53:139, 233; Salisbury 1958).¹⁰

The intermediary roles of the Lutheran mission workers were a key factor in their maintenance of prestige in the village. More than any other agent of change in the Highlands during the early contact

period it was the Lutheran evangelists who established effective communication between Europeans and villagers. Many became conversant (though not necessarily fluent) in Highland languages, and for many years were among the few residents at village level who could converse fluently (in Kâte or Tok Pisin) with Europeans. Moreover, the mission workers in linking village and station facilitated recruitment from the former to the latter. This was especially so of more able youths, who were selected and encouraged by the mission workers to attend station schools as boarders. Many of the current educated Highland elite now holding responsible positions in education and the public service were the products of early recruitment of this kind.

(ii) Innovation

As we have seen in Chapters Five and Six the location of mission workers among "pagan" populations was designed by the Lutherans to establish an initial base from which to engineer radical change in village society. Initially, the evangelists and teachers were to effect change by example; that is, in terms of their domestic life styles (co-residence with wife and children), their novel house styles, their industry and personal hygiene (including the wearing of cotton fabrics), their use of new crops, and their daily recitation of prayers and the singing of hymns. At this stage the mission workers usually lived apart from existing settlements. By example and through increased knowledge of local languages (or via interpreters), the mission workers were expected to gradually intervene in local affairs and where possible organise the re-settlement of the local population.

Effective pacification and the founding of new settlements dominated by the mission workers rather than the men's house, was a key factor in creating local support. Settlement recruitment (or in

other cases the re-organisation and expansion of existing settlements) tended to undermine the standing of older, established leaders.

This process was considerably advanced (throughout the Eastern Highlands) by the collapse of the men's house group. Mission worker support in mission settlements like that at Kiseveloka, stabilised around younger and middle male generations, who with their wives and children provided the bulk of catechetical class membership and later the basis of local congregational organisation.

Village-based support coupled with the backing of the external order (the station) enabled the evangelists and teachers to embark upon a direct confrontation with the male cult. As has been amply shown, this was accomplished by openly attacking and ridiculing the beliefs and practices of the cult, a tactic which culminated in public acts of iconoclasm. In this way major innovation was brought into effect by the mission workers.

(iii) Knowledge and Ritual

In pre-baptismal instruction, worship and the village schools the Lutheran mission workers established themselves as teachers and ritual leaders in the local community. Conversion not only meant the replacement of one form of knowledge and ritual by another, for Christianity claimed to relate to knowledge in a markedly different manner from "heathenism". Mission teaching aimed to explain the New Guinean's world in a fundamentally different manner from that of his ancestors, and to translate the villager into a new order of things. Lutheran dogma demanded different beliefs and behaviour from its converts, the kind that would revolutionize village society in accordance with Christian values. In the process much of older knowledge and ritual expertise was regarded as erroneous by the mission workers (and increasingly by their converts), and became redundant.

But in achieving this transformation the teaching and ritual leadership of the evangelists and teachers is not merely to be seen in integrating the village into a wider political structure in which previously autonomous units came to share a common ritual pattern. Within the village itself the mission workers as teachers and ritual experts were frequently able to achieve a range of dominance which impinged widely on community life. Thus, given the character of change demanded by the Lutherans, the independence of action widely enjoyed by evangelists and teachers, and their claim to possess unique knowledge and ritual expertise, the tendency to extreme and pervasive forms of dominance was inevitable.

(iv) Coercion

Though village church courts were developed by the Neuendettelsau Lutherans with policing and disciplinary powers, such courts were apparently limited to the Finschhafen interior. Lutheran organisation did not theoretically have recourse to force, neither did it possess judicial power in the Highlands. Yet from the viewpoint of villagers a failure sometimes to distinguish between mission and government, encouraged a local belief that the coercive force of the latter applied equally for the mission. This was especially true during the early period of pacification and missionization. In part such misunderstanding (in the Eastern Highlands) stemmed from the close cooperation between the Lutherans and the Administration in achieving widespread pacification after 1936; in part from the limited experience of villagers of the external order; and in part from possible attempts by Lutheran mission workers to maintain such confusion.¹¹

We have seen in Chapter Six that in the Kainantu area during the 1930s Lutheran evangelists used the punitive powers of the government by reporting local incidents of fighting, murder, etc. to

patrol officers at Kainantu. In itself this was a legitimate tactic and served the combined interests of both Mission and government. Later, Lutheran elders (like other villagers) had recourse to this measure and used it to combat wealth house cults in the 1940s (Berndt 1952-53:61). In the 1960s, however, the Lutherans sometimes took independent action to deal with such cults. In 1962 at Genembe (Upper Asaro) a mission party led by Jacobsen (the Asaroka missionary) burnt a cult house and others in nearby villages. This led to a government investigation following complaints by the cult leader at Genembe that his property had been forcibly entered and destroyed without his permission. Though the Administration did not uphold this complaint, Jacobsen was cautioned over the incident.¹² Though such action clearly breached the law, more generally recognition of the Administration's coercive power opened up numerous possibilities, not least that of the use of threat by the mission workers to utilise punitive action by the government in order to achieve local compliance with what were strictly Lutheran (not government) demands.

In the final resort evangelists and teachers had recourse to supernatural sanctions to achieve coercion. C.H. Berndt refers to the Lutheran mission workers use of threats of illness as a visitation by God (Anutu) upon villagers disobeying or opposing Lutheran demands (1953:122). Given the fears which R.M. Berndt (1952-53:52ff.) describes in connection with the Ghost Wind movement of dangers to health thought to emanate directly from the alien presence, such sanctions were bound to be powerful weapons in the hands of the mission workers (see also Munster 1979:161).

(v) Power and Dominance

The Lutheran mission workers were frequently seen as fearless and uncompromising men, and the Siane phrase 'a big man walks unarmed

up and down the valley' (Salisbury 1964:236) can be justly applied to many of the evangelists and teachers. As "strong men" who sometimes displayed great courage in the face of violence, they also showed in a variety of other ways their immunity to normal sanctions. The mission workers did not observe sexual or related dietary regulations, nor did they observe menstrual prohibitions or maintain women's confinement huts for this purpose. The nature of their intervention in village society and especially their excessive iconoclasm, challenged the very basis of established notions about power and its relation to social organisation and male prestige. In some important respects the mission workers resemble the extreme despotic behaviour of traditional leaders like Matoto.

In common with Matoto the Lutheran mission workers challenged accepted convention and existed beyond reach of the sanctions which made convention possible. They were able to do so because they dealt with power in a totally unique way and at a level impossible for other villagers. Yet the evangelists and teachers are clearly distinct as a type from Matoto and Kavagl. For the latter despotic acts were solely aimed (as far as it can be judged) at personal aggrandisement. No attempt was made to encourage or force similar behaviour upon others, indeed to have done so would have cut at the very heart of 'unlimited power', which of necessity existed as a wholly personal phenomena. In so far as traditional despots fulfilled and (in a sense) reinforced exaggerated notions of male power, their mark was of necessity exceptional and logically, therefore, restricted to them as individuals.

But for the mission workers manipulation of power was not merely in terms of the positive/negative polarities mentioned earlier in connection with Matoto. The evangelists and teachers claimed access to a new order of power which they manipulated to supercede

the old power structure of village society. In addition to their known access to the tangible symbols of that new order (their external relation to Europeans and the latter's economic power), the mission workers controlled through knowledge and ritual performance the Anutu spirit symbol and appealed by threats to its power to punish and otherwise wreak havoc upon the village to quell opposition. But if this represented the means of mission worker dominance, its end was the creation of the new order. In taking steps of the most drastic kind to give social expression to the shaping of the new order, the mission workers represent an innovatory or revolutionary mode of leadership quite distinct from that of traditional despots.

If despotism is an apt description of mission worker dominance, the concern with sweeping social change is the hallmark of their leadership. Yet the behaviour of Matoto hints at change. Indeed we should not dismiss out of hand the possibility of pre-contact transformation in this or other connections. But despotic leadership in and of itself was probably incapable of achieving marked social change. It required a set of conditions exogenous to itself and society, of the kind provided by crisis or that found in the drama of contact with Europeans and their agents.

In sum then, there are two basic points to be made. First, though mission worker dominance differed from that of individuals like Matoto, the fact that the latter could occur at all is suggestive of an implicit or latent despotism in the traditional order. It is possible that the mission workers activated, as it were, latent mechanisms of personal despotic power and this may in part explain their success in the village. But this was only one plank (though not necessarily an insignificant one) in their platform. The second point is that of change. To effectively carry out major social reconstruction of the village required special conditions. This was

provided by contact. The alien presence, the context of pacification which rapidly followed, and alien economic intervention represented new and powerful forces. These forces, coupled with the fears and expectations they generated, were all focused on the mission workers. Their unique placement in village society enabled them to co-ordinate these factors in a special way and thereby to effect change.

(vi) Person and Office

This discussion has helped to explain *how* and *why* Lutheran mission workers were successful in directing the course of change in the village. One major issue remains: the problem of continuity of mission worker impact upon congregational leadership.

The adaption of big man leadership in the absence of warfare, the emergence of other modes of leadership (*luluai*, *songga*, the mission workers) was the result of change. Yet, despite changes in village leadership its character at village level remained greatly subject to traditional criteria. This was primarily because of the context in which leadership functioned and the degree to which *personal* rather than *institutional* factors continued to have force in the village. The congregations were the creation of the mission workers and in essence comprised their personal followings. The attempt to translate this support into an institutional structure with its distinctive symbols of incorporation (baptism and confirmation) and symbol of membership (holy communion), its officers (mission workers, *songga*) with disciplinary power to withdraw membership privileges, was bound to be problematic given the alien nature of political institutions of this kind in Highland societies. Equally, the fact that the mission workers resided in village settings made them subject to constraints imposed by a political process still governed by open,

face-to-face relations. Given this, the mission workers, like other village leaders, could not effectively achieve social and symbolic distance or a degree of personal anonymity from other villagers via their offices. To be effective as leaders and maintain their influence such men were consistently forced to rely on their personal *power* rather than on the *authority* of their offices.

For these reasons major difficulties resulted in achieving continuity of leadership and support through the congregations. During the later post-conversion period when the early enthusiasm for the Mission began to abate, Lutheran evangelists and teachers and elders found their support crumbling. The break-up of mission settlements like that at Kiseveloka, falling attendances at services and village schools, problems of maintaining the intake of the schools, competition from rival missions, the introduction of local economic and educational programmes by the government, increasing male absenteeism through labour migration, and the long-term inability of effective enforcement of Lutheran prohibitions, were all contributory factors to the problem of maintaining village support. In some Highland areas a rapid turnover of mission worker personnel (or a failure to replace departing evangelists) accentuated the difficulties of maintaining congregational support. Moreover, because of the personal nature of support, that built up by one mission worker was not easily transferable to a successor. We shall take up this problem and others concerned with the management of congregational support in the following chapter.

It is perhaps ironic that those traditional processes which in part were instrumental in the creation of mission support in the village, should also have been partly responsible for the evaporation of that support in the post-conversion period. In this sense the mission workers were as vulnerable over time to the shifting sands of village politics as were big men before and since.

Notes - Chapter VIII

1. Pataki nowhere identifies who the 'analysts' are who make such 'repeated assertions'.
2. Compare Morauta (1974:129-45).
3. The two daughters of Gomal (the Kâte evangelist stationed at Kiseveloka) both married men in the Ogeranang (Bulum Valley) area. Gomal's son has settled at Kiseveloka, having married an Henganofi woman with the brideprice raised by a Move supporter. This woman deserted her husband (Vion) or was forced by him to return to her village, and he subsequently married a Lufa woman. The second brideprice was raised by some Kivuluga men. Later, the first wife voluntarily returned to Vion and he accepted her as a spouse. Thus Vion had become a sort of accidental polygynist (an occurrence not unusual at Kiseveloka). Gomal was apparently greatly embarrassed at this turn of events. Kivuluga informants say that the Rongo missionary (Renck) pressed Gomal (then in his sixties) to retire as the Kiseveloka pastor and return to his home near Ogeranang because of this incident. However, I was unable to verify the accuracy of this assertion.
4. With the creation of Provincial Government, other Eastern Highlands (previously a 'District') has become a 'Province', and what were previously 'Sub-Districts' have in turn become 'Districts'. Thus the old Lufa Sub-District is now the Lufa District.
5. Examples of such amalgamation are given in Chapter Five, where some consideration is also given to the local ward system and the congregational and sub-congregational structure of local Lutheranism.
6. There are some difficulties here. The first major ethnography of a Highland society was published (in German) in several volumes between 1943-48. Its authors (Vicedom and Tischner) point among the Mbowamb (or Melpa of Mount Hagen) to the existence of both hereditary leadership and a system of male stratification (see Strathern (1971:204-8) for a brief summary of this early account). Reay (1959) refers to a form of hereditary leadership among the

Note 6 cont.

Kuma, but not in terms of a system of male stratification. Strathern, who worked among the Melpa in the 1960s, found that leadership was non-hereditary, though he allowed that a pre-contact system of social stratification and chieftainship may have existed. If so, pacification had considerably modified Melpa society. Ross (the Catholic pioneer in the Hagen area) also refers to chiefs and social stratification at Hagen, and this is confirmed in Gitlow (1947). However, Gitlow's treatment is rather superficial and his interpretation is clearly heavily reliant on Ross. Much of this evidence is ambiguous and thus inconclusive for Hagen society during the late 1930's and early 1940's.

7. Bumbu's despotic career seems to have commenced with his appointment as *luluai* in 1926. See also Willis (1974:67) for a brief reference to another despotic *luluai* in the same region.
8. See Strathern (1979) for a pertinent criticism along these lines.
9. See Hogbin (1951:154, 158) for similar examples of sexual excess by Bumbu, including a case of incest. Unlike Matoto's excesses, Bumbu's behaviour did provoke local opposition and led to complaints by villagers at Busama to the Lutheran Mission and the District Officer at Salamaua. Though the Mission investigated the complaint, censuring Bumbu and suspending him from church membership, Bumbu was exonerated by an independent government investigation. This seems to have been largely due to Bumbu's intimidation of the key female witnesses against him. Later another complaint was lodged with the Administration, but Bumbu was again successful in establishing his "innocence". Thereafter local opposition evaporated.

What is significant here is the total reliance of internal opposition at Busama on the external powers. Incapable of coordinating itself beyond this point to take independent action to suppress Bumbu by force, indicates the weakness of such opposition. Bumbu, it should be noted, subsequently dealt with Mission opposition by simply banning Lutheran workers from entering the village and forbidding villagers to hold services

Note 9 cont.

or support the Lutheran school in the area.

10. Salisbury's account of a wealth house cult in the Siane area relates how this was initiated by a 'mission evangelist' from the Kainantu area. This man, having travelled the considerable distance from Kainantu (somewhere between 60-70 miles), was active among southern Siane groups in 1947. Salisbury provides little detail about this 'evangelist', but he must have been a Lutheran or Seventh Day Adventist supporter, possibly an early convert from the Kainantu area recruited as an evangelist or mission *maus boi* (see also Berndt 1952-53:139; 1954:220-2).

11. C.H. Berndt hints at this in the following comments:

Other changes stem more or less directly from mission control. These may have the support of the Administration as such, or of its officers; in any case, they are not subject to regulation, nor to *officially* valid punitive sanctions. Moreover, granted a common basis [?], mission (like Administration) policy is inevitably affected, in its translation into practical terms, by the way in which this is *interpreted* by its agents (1953:123-4, my italics).

The stress here on 'officially valid punitive sanctions' and the need for policy to be locally 'interpreted', suggest that the degree of interpretation involved may well have led (either by the mission workers or those under their influence) to the threat of sanctions which were in fact unofficial or even illegitimate.

12. See letter, Assistant District Commissioner (Goroka) to District Officer (Goroka), 20.11.62, and attached report by Revd. W. Jacobsen, 'Cargo Cult Activities in the Asaroka Circuit', (no date), (file 51-1-2, Goroka).

Chapter Nine

DECLINE AND CONTINUITY

This chapter deals with the contemporary setting at Kiseveloka and in the Rongo circuit at the time of my fieldwork (the mid-1970s) and focuses on the problem of continuity in the mission impact of the two preceding decades. First, we consider Lutheran education, tracing its course into a contemporary state of decline and virtual collapse, showing this to be symptomatic of wider trends in Lutheranism. An account of Lutheran village schools leads into a discussion of leadership in the church, principally at congregational-village level. Here we examine the problem of localization; that is, the replacement of the older non-Yagaria Lutheran mission workers by Yagaria church workers.¹ The discussion of congregational leadership returns to the point on which the preceding chapter ended, namely the difficulties of transferring support built up by the pioneer Lutheran evangelists and teachers to their successors. Finally, we look at the impact of village society and the prestige system on leadership and congregational politics.

Lutheran Vernacular Bible Schools

The Lutheran commitment to the ideal of a vernacular Christianity - a religious life grounded in a vernacular bible, liturgy and hymnody - inevitably had to be modified by the actual language situation in New Guinea. Of the 700 or so major languages spoken in Papua and New Guinea (many being sub-divided into dialects) most are spoken only by small populations. Faced with this problem the Lutherans in common with other missions² selected a given language (or languages) and fostered these as mission vernaculars.

In New Guinea three Lutheran vernaculars were developed; Yabem and Kâte in the Neuendettelsau field, and Graged in the Rhenish field.

Yabem (an Austronesian or "Melanesian" language) and Kâte (a non-Austronesian or "Papuan" language) were originally spoken by only small populations on the Finschhafen coast (Yabem) and the immediate hinterland (Kâte). As Lutheran work expanded in the Huon Peninsula Yabem was fostered among other "Melanesian" language groups and Kâte among other "Papuan" language groups. In line with this policy Kâte was later introduced into the Highlands, where it was widely used as a Lutheran vernacular for Christian instruction. This policy in the Highlands as in other Lutheran fields reflected a long-standing Lutheran opposition to the use of English (and earlier, German) and especially Tok Pisin, as unsuitable vehicles for instruction in Christian belief (see Flierl 1932:118-23).

However, in the Highlands there was considerable variation in Lutheran practice, with use made of local and other Highland dialects in addition to (and in some cases, instead of) Kâte. Thus, in the Lufa area some of the pioneering Kamano evangelists (from the Kainantu area) avoided the use of either Kâte or Yagaria dialects, preferring to instruct villagers in Kamano (or Kafe, as this is more widely known among Yagaria people) through Yagaria interpreters, or even to teach the Kamano language to their Yagaria adherents as a precursor to catechetical instruction (Renck 1977b (iv):1025). Elsewhere Tok Pisin was used alongside (and in some cases, instead of) Kâte.

The late 1950s saw a fundamental shift in Lutheran attitudes to education, and led in the 1960s to considerable re-organisation of Lutheran schooling. A more open attitude towards English education had led (despite opposition in some Lutheran quarters) to a Lutheran decision to introduce English at third-year level in village schools

(where this was possible).³ But changes in Lutheran education in the 1960s were largely due to government initiatives. Prior to 1960 education had been almost entirely in the hands of the missions, with the Administration providing some financial assistance for mission schooling. In the late 1950s the government proposed major changes; the integration of mission schools into a comprehensive and standardised English education system for which the government would assume total financial and primary management responsibility. In discussions with the missions the government made it clear that no further financial aid would be provided to schools which remained independent of the new system, and only those schools with an English programme would be permitted to join the government system.⁴

These proposals presented major difficulties to the Lutherans with their heavy commitment in vernacular education based in numerous village schools. In response to the government scheme the Lutherans initially attempted to convert many of the village schools to an English programme, despite the fact that many of the teachers were barely (if at all) conversant with English.⁵ The situation thus created in the schools was often confusing if not farcical (Renck 1977b (iv):1026). By 1962, however, a revised Lutheran policy inaugurated a plural school system, comprising the government-aided English schools and the independent vernacular bible schools.

Another major change in Lutheran policy at this time was the general replacement of Kâte by Tok Pisin (supplemented somewhat by local vernaculars) as the main medium of instruction in Highland vernacular bible schools. The general introduction of Tok Pisin served to standardise education throughout much of the vernacular bible school system,⁶ and thereby more effectively link the village schools into the circuit, district and national bible school programme in the church. Thus, following four years primary education at a

village bible school, a further two years of 'middle' schooling was offered at a circuit bible school. For example, in the Rongo circuit there were at various times something like nine bible schools distributed throughout the circuit, serving the local congregations. One of these schools also functioned as a middle school (Ukunupi). From here students could receive secondary education at the district bible school (Onerunka), and in turn train as bible school teachers at the Highland teacher seminary at Rintebe (in the Bena Bena area). Alternatively, district bible school graduates might pursue further education in one of the following programmes offered at various national church institutions: for women, training in domestic and village hygiene; for men, training in technical trades, training as medical assistants, or theological training at a pastor seminary. Instruction at all levels of the bible school system was primarily in Tok Pisin.

With limited resources the bible schools could provide only the barest school facilities and maintain minimal educational standards.⁷ But these limitations must be viewed in the light of the basic Lutheran aim: the provision of a general if rudimentary Christian education for the local congregations. Conscious of the negative effects of the initial Lutheran experiments in education in the Finschhafen area around the turn of the century which, based on station boarding schools, only served to alienate the pupils from the village environment, the mission subsequently sought to overcome this by the provision of village schools. This modified policy was aimed at building up a vigorous congregational life, and, via the schools, to create the basis for Christian leadership in the village in the succeeding generation. For, following the early decades of pioneering toil, the Lutheran missionaries had come to realise that it would take the passage of several generations of converts to effectively eradicate

"heathenism" in village life. But though designed to achieve these aims the village schools often achieved contrary results; the depletion rather than the effective creation of Christian leadership in the village. There were two main reasons for this.

Despite the increasing congregational (and thus, village) orientation in Lutheran policy after 1914, Lutheran organisation was also developing as a centralized structure with emerging circuit and district organisation. In many respects the congregational orientation was in conflict with these wider organisational developments, for with the development of circuit and district organisation there was a strong tendency to concentrate mission resources at the centre (the station), or to channel resources via the centre. Thus, the need for teachers, evangelists and other workers (non-skilled and semi-skilled labourers) resulted in creaming off the more promising and reliable village youths for further education or employment at the station. Admittedly those youths and young men recruited as mission workers later returned to villages, but this was rarely to their natal villages or even to their home areas. In this sense, the gain of one village was another's loss.

But many products of the Lutheran bible schools were "lost" to both village and Mission. For while Lutheran schooling offered to some a direct avenue out of the village, more generally it stimulated a desire for migration. The attack on the old culture via the classroom tended to foster negative attitudes towards village life, a dissatisfaction which found its counter expression in a growing orientation among village youth towards the station and urban life. This was an unintended effect of the bible schools, for the Mission, like others, had long been an opponent of labour recruitment and youth absenteeism (see Flierl 1932:101-6). Mission opposition to European exploitation of village labour was probably not altogether altruistic,

in that migration interfered with mission control of the village by removing young men to situations where they were less subject, if at all, to mission influence. Yet the Lutherans, not less than other missions, contributed directly and indirectly to migration, and there is more than a little truth in the generalization that the missions helped to create the desire while the government (through such initiatives as the Highland Labour Scheme) and other agencies provided the effective means for migration.

The desire and the means however have not been matched by the skills necessary to effect successful and generally permanent adaption to secular employment and urban life. Vernacular bible school-leavers have suffered in finding their education to be not readily convertible in the labour market. In the 1960s, on the contrary, such schooling up to district level specifically lacked any secular orientation, being primarily aimed at serving the needs of the circuits in training a new class of young church workers via the teacher seminary and the district bible school. Yet full-time church work itself does not in fact represent a viable alternative to secular employment. We shall shortly examine the reasons for this. First, we will briefly consider the current decline of the bible schools in the Rongo circuit and identify the main causes of this.

Decline

Of the nine vernacular bible schools which at various times have been active in the Rongo circuit only two now (1978) remain in existence. Both face grim prospects due to the combined difficulties of recruitment, absenteeism, and lack of congregational support.

The majority of the bible schools were started in the circuit in the 1960s and a few in the early 1970s. Several had only a brief life span, periods of two and three years not being uncommon. For

example, a bible school was founded at Laukeli, a Nupagaveda clan settlement in the Kiseveloka Valley (see Fig.4) around 1972. This venture was initiated by Laukeli residents, partly for reasons of settlement prestige and partly to provide alternative educational facilities for Laukeli children and those of the neighbouring Havi clans; Nupagaveda and Havi being somewhat isolated in terms of the existing Lutheran school at Kiseveloka. Though the new school was initiated by Lutheran supporters at Laukeli, a substantial number of Laukeli residents are nominal adherents of the New Tribes Mission. Moreover, Havi people generally maintain allegiance to the Faith Mission. As both of these missions have developed schools only at main stations, like Tagai and Haero (see Map 3), outlying supporters of both missions have been educationally disadvantaged in relation to Lutheran supporters. In supporting the new school at Laukeli and in promising to allocate a teacher, the Rongo circuit leaders were probably keen to seize the opportunity of gaining a foothold among supporters of these rival missions. Thus, following the building of a small and rudimentary school building constructed of bush materials, a teacher was appointed and sent to take up residence at Laukeli.

This venture, however, was short-lived. After some two years the teacher (a Bena Bena man) abandoned Laukeli and a failure to secure a successor led to the permanent closure of the school. According to Nupagaveda people the teacher's departure resulted from his belief that sorcery was being practised against him by local residents, a view which has been overtly responsible for many disaffections by Lutheran teachers and evangelists in the Highlands.⁸ Underlying this problem is the more fundamental one of the authority and status of the teachers and other Lutheran church workers in village affairs, a matter which we shall consider below in a discussion of contemporary congregational leadership.

As we shall see this is largely a problem of securing effective local support. Initial support for ventures like the Laukeli school has been common enough, especially where there was a dearth of alternative educational facilities in the area to meet the widespread desire for schools. But the provision of such an alternative and, in the event, a much more prestigious alternative, has dealt a severe and sustained blow to the bible schools. Faced with the development in the 1970s of government English schooling in the area, the bible schools have simply been unable to compete with a system that in individual schools can offer more places to local children than the local bible school, and which in addition contain superior facilities and more highly trained teachers. But the principal advantage of the government schools is their provision of education in a language now widely regarded as more prestigious than Tok Pisin. As we saw above the experience of bible school-leavers leads inevitably to the realisation of the limited potential of Tok Pisin education in a world where occupational status is increasingly identified with competency in English. There have been sufficient successful products of English schooling at Kiseveloka to bring this point home to Kiseveloka people generally, with the result that parents now only send their children to the bible schools at Kiseveloka and Ukunupi provided they cannot first secure them a place at the Yagiloka English school.⁹ One anticipates that general developments in English education will lead to a rapid demise of the vernacular bible schools throughout the Highlands, a consequence recently recognised by a Lutheran investigation of problems facing the Lutheran church in Papua New Guinea.¹⁰

Congregational Leadership

The following discussion deals successively with Lutheran

teachers, evangelists, pastors and congregational elders. The first three form a special category in that these officials normally work among congregations (and thus reside in villages) other than their home congregations and natal villages. Congregational elders or *songga* differ in that like elected local government officials (*kaunsil*) their leadership is more directly based in the local clan structure. I choose to deal with teachers and evangelists first before turning to the pastors for the reason that the former have been more subject to localisation in the Lutheran church. This has been much less so of pastors, the majority of whom in the Rongo circuit are not indigenous to the area.

(i) Vernacular Bible School Teachers

The case of the Laukeli school is indicative of a more general problem facing bible school teachers, namely the difficulty of establishing and exercising authority in an alien village setting. A variety of factors contribute to this problem and together operate to weaken the position of teachers in village affairs.

On completion of the two-year course at the Rintebe teachers seminary, graduates are usually assigned by their home circuits to teaching posts. These positions however are usually in areas other than the teachers' home villages. Here teachers are expected to maintain only a subsistence livelihood from garden-land provided by the hosting village where the school is located. In some cases the teacher may be able to plant coffee as a cash crop, but such grants are by no means automatic. In common with other Lutheran church workers, bible school teachers receive only a small annual gratuity from the church rather than a fixed stipend. This gratuity probably rarely exceeds K 20, though more senior circuit workers may receive double this amount.

Economically, then, bible school teachers are in a weak position, being heavily dependent for subsistence on the continued good graces of the hosting villagers. Such dependency throughout the Highlands characterises the position of bachelors in the community, who own neither gardens nor pigs. Such men are sometimes referred to as *rabisman* or *pasindia*,¹¹ terms which are essentially pejorative in denigrating low status in village affairs. Though not necessarily applied to teachers *per se*, these terms express the importance attached to (usually) male control of economic resources, and the relatively independent economic status on which such control largely rests.¹² Marked economic dependence on other men not only robs the teacher of an effective power-base in the village, but makes him extremely vulnerable. For the teacher cannot afford to alienate other villagers without seriously endangering his position of dependence. Loss of local support or outright opposition from important men in the village may well result in the teacher's departure.

Conscious of his educational standing over others and his church responsibilities, a teacher naturally expects (and seeks) to exercise influence in the village and surrounding area. This extends beyond the immediate orbit of school interests, for as a church leader the teacher is expected by the circuit to ensure local compliance with Lutheran teaching. Yet the youth of the new crop of bible school teachers is a major handicap, as attempts to intervene in local affairs are liable to be rejected by other villagers merely on the grounds of the youth and inexperience of the teachers. Ideally, the teacher should cooperate closely with and be supported by the local congregation and especially its elders. But such men may either lack effective influence in the local community or may themselves be guilty of the very lapses which the teacher is required to openly oppose.

Lack of congregational support is often compounded by poor circuit supervision. The supervision of village-based church workers is an inherited problem in the Lutheran church and stems from the earlier mission period. Government patrol reports for the Highlands draw attention to missionary neglect of the out-station workers, a criticism which is occasionally independently borne out from Lutheran Highland station reports.¹³ We may briefly review the reasons for this neglect. Lutheran expansion in the Highlands after the war placed great strain on the missionaries in coping with rapidly expanding frontiers. In the heyday of the Lutheran impact a given missionary might be supervising upwards of fifty mission workers spread widely over his general area of responsibility. These numbers alone made adequate supervision difficult, but the problem was compounded by two other factors; the terrain, and the increasingly station-bound orientations of the missionaries. New Guinea is a difficult country to traverse by foot and this is no less true of the Highlands with its rugged landscape. Until the advent of roads and motor transport in the 1960s many Highland areas, despite their apparent proximity to stations, remained relatively isolated. With a few notable exceptions (especially among the Lutheran pioneers) missionaries have tended to seek the comfort of station life and shun the rigours of patrol. Usually, missionary energies are expended in maintaining the station facilities developed by predecessors, an activity rationalised on the grounds that the effective management of station resources serves the long-term interests of the congregations. Such rationalisation however merely clouds over the contradictions inherent in the professed aim of creating strong local congregations and the trend towards centralisation. The main consequence of the latter has been general missionary neglect of the out-station mission workers. Despite better

road communication and the availability of motor transport this history of neglect continues to be a prevailing problem. The station-bound attitudes of the past have now crystallised in current circuit management with the effect that Rongo circuit leaders consistently fail to make regular visits to the congregations or support them. Later we shall see how this also bears on pastor supervision of the congregations.

This dual problem of lack of congregational support and the neglect of circuit leadership generally helps to place bible school teachers in an untenable position in the village. Left to fend for themselves many become quickly disillusioned and lethargic in their posts. Increased teacher absenteeism becomes marked with a resulting interruption and suspension of school classes. Eventually a teacher may leave the village to pay an ostensible weekend visit to relatives never to return to the school, which subsequently closes.

Two examples from Kiseveloka will serve to round off this part of the discussion. Kivuluga has produced two bible school teachers, Kokoruma and Haiya. In 1978 Kokoruma was in his mid-thirties and Haiya was twenty-eight. Both men now reside on Kivuluga land and maintain small land holdings. Like other married men Kokoruma and Haiya are subsistence agriculturalists with small interests in cash-cropping. They belong to that younger married male generation which is old enough to be relatively independent but too junior to make much mark in local affairs. Despite their education and experience in church work, neither holds any office in the local Lutheran congregation, and beyond taking an occasional Sunday service neither expresses much interest in church work. Both graduated from Rintebe and completed an initial teaching post (two-three years) before they abandoned this work. They returned to Kivuluga where they joined other young men recruited by the government as migrant labourers. Since their return to the Highlands

in the mid-1970s neither Kokoruma nor Haiya has held any church post in the circuit. Both are critical of their experience as teachers and especially of the poor financial rewards received for this work. Yet both men maintain overt support for the church, saying that they are prepared to accept teaching posts in the circuit or elsewhere if offered. Apparently, since no offers have been made, the circuit leaders have concluded that Kokoruma and Haiya have proved unreliable and unfit for further church responsibilities. Despite a critical shortage of trained manpower in the Rongo circuit there seems little likelihood of either man being offered further church posts, a prospect which neither man displays much concern about. For both have come to understand that Lutheran church work carries little prestige and this largely explains their withdrawal from teaching and their subsequent apathy towards the local congregation.

These general circumstances and the apathy they give rise to among former teachers like Kokoruma and Haiya, also apply for other Lutheran church workers and congregational elders.

(ii) Evangelists¹⁴

During my period of residence at Kiseveloka there were two Kivuluga men working as Lutheran evangelists. The problems attendant to this form of church work are well illustrated by these men and we will take them up as examples.

Yugu is a married man in his late thirties and only partially literate. He seems to have secured his position as an evangelist less on the merits of education than his eagerness for this work coupled with a general lack of competition among younger men for such positions. In 1972 Yugu was appointed as evangelist at Yaro, a village near the Faith Mission station at Haero (see Map 3). On arrival Yugu was given a small disused bush hut for his use, but received no help from the

villagers in repairing this dwelling, a circumstances which also applied to the Lutheran chapel, then in a major state of disrepair. In fact it is uncertain whether repairs to the chapel were ever carried out as the building was in a virtual state of collapse when I visited the area in 1977.

In an area more subject to Faith Mission influence Yugu's period of residence at Yaro was, on his own account, dogged by lack of support. Lutheran services (probably held in Yugu's house or that of a local *songga*) were poorly attended, if at all, and Yugu seems to have been totally dependent at Yaro on the sponsorship of the elderly *songga*, a man with only limited influence in the village. After several difficult and unsuccessful years the *songga* died, leaving the evangelist in an impossible position. His need for land to plant new gardens was rejected by other villagers¹⁵ and Yugu was forced to make regular visits to Kiseveloka to obtain food denied to him at Yaro. In these circumstances, and despite fruitless appeals to the circuit leaders for assistance, Yugu felt he had no option but to quit Yaro and return permanently to Kivuluga to take up his own land and coffee holdings there.

Yugu's ineffectiveness at Yaro was confirmed to me by a missionary at the Haero station. Apparently for many months prior to his departure Yugu had not taken a religious instruction period allotted to the Lutherans at the nearby English school. The missionary added that Yugu was often to be seen sitting with other younger men by the roadside near the station playing cards and drinking beer. While the missionary would have his reasons for emphasising the evangelist's inactivity and his participation in activities of doubtful moral value, the picture is no doubt expressive of the pointlessness of the

evangelist's task in the face of widespread apathy and lack of support for the church.

In the event Yugu had abandoned Haro to return to Kivuluga in late 1977. At a Lutheran circuit meeting held at Kivuluga in early 1978 Yugu (who had already refused an offer to become the evangelist for the Kigemu-Kivuluga congregation) rejected the suggestion that he go to Kasale to assist the sub-congregation there. In failing to make any headway in church work Yugu, who in any case is a man of no outstanding abilities, now exercises the only real option available to him - residence among his own clan in order to concentrate on his affairs and pursue the relative independence which this allows. In the process Yugu, like the ex-teachers Kokoruma and Haiya before him, has to all intents and purposes abandoned church work.

The other Kivuluga evangelist, Domane, is a recently married young man, about twenty-two years old in 1977. He is the son of the senior Kivuluga *songga*, a long-standing Lutheran supporter in the area. Like the ex-teacher Kokoruma, Domane received primary English education at the Rongo station school, but failed to gain a place at high school. Later he was appointed as evangelist at Kasale, which like other Lutheran sub-congregations in the area, is more or less permanently inactive. The chapel there is in a dilapidated condition and has evidently not been in use for a considerable time. If Domane's appointment was designed to remedy this decline, he has been a poor choice. Apart from the obvious disadvantages of his youth, Domane constantly suffers from poor health; factors which have combined to render him completely ineffective at Kasale.

Despite this record, with the departure of Yugu, Domane was moved by the circuit to Yaro. There he merely encountered the same set of difficulties which had defeated Yugu. Domane complained to me that

in the months he had been at Yaro no services had been held as the Lutherans in the village simply refused to attend. He began to spend more time away from Yaro, complaining of ill-health and a preference to be at home with his father until he had properly recovered. Though still officially evangelist at Yaro when I left the area in mid-1978, Damane had indicated to me that in view of the situation at Yaro he was considering abandoning the place to return permanently to Kiseveloka.

These examples are not exceptional of Lutheranism in the Highlands and are widely supported by cases cited in government patrol reports and Lutheran station reports, and especially among the latter during the 1960s.¹⁶ Such evidence reveals a marked contrast between the impact of the pioneering Lutheran mission workers and that of the Highlanders who succeeded them. If the early contact period was conducive to the acceptance of the mission workers and their teachings, in the post-conversion period village conditions had altered to the general disadvantage of the missions. The widely held expectations thought to attend conversion were unfulfilled and the prestige achieved by the early mission workers suffered alongside the tangible evidence of government initiatives in economic development. The result of this was a rapid decline in congregational vitality and increased indifference to the missions.

Operating in a different climate of response is a major handicap for the new class of church workers, but they are also disadvantaged by their youth and the fact that they are less of an unknown or alien quantity to villagers. Usually the natal clans and dialect groups of the young church workers are known to the hosting villagers, who are always liable to be conscious of the fact that acknowledgement of the status of a teacher or evangelist of some

neighbouring group is tantamount to acknowledging their subordination to that group. Admittedly, in terms of local, inter-village politics, there were occasions when a group out of fear or obligation acknowledged the superior power of an outstanding man (e.g. Matoto) and his clan. But in the post-conversion period this could hardly apply to a young man, solely on the basis of his church status and education. In the wider context of inter-clan and inter-district rivalry, which continues to be a prominent feature of Highland politics, the youth of the new class of church workers has proved to be an insurmountable obstacle to the exercising of effective influence in local affairs.

(iii) Pastors

The Lutheran pastorate has been less subject to localisation than has been the case with teachers and evangelists. The difficulty of achieving a more rapid localisation of the pastorate stems from the nature of this office in the Lutheran church. Lutheranism retains an essentially (but modified) Catholic model of the priesthood, though with less episcopal emphasis than is found in either Catholicism or Anglicanism.¹⁷ The Lutheran pastor is a priest, whose office carries exclusive rights within the church. Such rights are conferred through ordination and are primarily bound up with exclusive control of the sacraments. The rights of passage (baptism, confirmation, marriage, and, to a lesser extent, burial) are dependent on the priestly role of the pastor. Moreover, the pastor alone can consecrate and dispense the sacraments of baptism and holy communion, and pronounce absolution from sin.

This view of the pastorate has probably been the principal reason for Lutheran missionary caution in ordaining Papua New Guinea. For while the Mission was prepared to extensively recruit New Guineans

into lower categories of mission work, this only rarely extended to the pastorate, which for years remained almost an exclusive European preserve. This has only changed with the more recent founding of pastor seminaries; Logaweng (1956), Ogelbeng (1960), and Lae (1966). Between 1962-77 some 490 men graduated from these institutions, bringing the total strength of the indigenous pastorate in the church to 455 in 1977.¹⁸ Prior to this development and to some extent concurrent with it, ordination tended to be given only to older men with long experience of mission work and with proven loyalty to the Lutheran enterprise. Mission workers like Gomal and Mankefa in the Rongo circuit graduated into the pastorate in this way.

With the retirement of Gomal and Mankefa around 1975, the number of pastors in the circuit was reduced to five. Three of these have some seminary training, while the other two are elderly men. Only two of the pastors are Highlanders; the elderly Yeme, one of the pioneering Kamano evangelists in the area, and a younger seminary graduate who comes from the Rongo area. The other pastors are non-Highlanders, originating from areas as diverse as Wantoat, Madang, and the Finschhafen area. The preponderance of Kâte pastors has been reduced since the retirement of Gomal and Mankefa, yet Kâte influence in circuit leadership is still marked through the presence of two other men, Muhucyuc and Yowing. Neither are pastors, but it is useful to mention them here because of their important influence in circuit affairs.¹⁹

Muhucyuc is the head teacher at the Ukunupi bible school and the circuit treasurer. He comes from a village near Finschhafen and first arrived in the Lufa area in 1958. Excepting several brief periods of work in his home circuit, Muhucyuc has spent the bulk of his adult life as a teacher in the Rongo circuit. Yowing, though born in

the Eastern Highlands, is the son of an old Kâte pioneer evangelist. Following education in Lutheran English schools Yowing trained as an English teacher, and is currently the head teacher at the government-aided Lutheran English school at Rongo and the circuit secretary. The Kâte connection is a strong bond between Towing and Muhucyuc. They are allied through marriage and have closely cooperated in building up substantial coffee holdings in several areas in the circuit. Kâte influence is a continuation of that established at an earlier period. Death and retirement have thinned out the ranks of the old Kâte pioneers, though, as in the case of Yowing, their sons have sometimes been able to maintain the prestige won by their fathers in the Highlands.

Of the five pastors in the circuit two reside in the Frigano area, while the remainder are distributed in the area between Rongo and Lufa. Though resident among a given congregation pastors are responsible for other congregations in the general vicinity. The Lutheran pastor at Habaru, for example, serves a number of congregations in the Frigano area, which, since the departure of Gomal, includes the Kiseveloka congregations.²⁰ In these circumstances adequate pastoral supervision requires a mobility rarely evident in the circuit. Pastors are generally reluctant to spend time away from their villages of domicile and this seems largely due to an overriding concern with management of local economic resources. We have seen that pastors receive no stipend from the church, and though the church generally frowns on attempts by pastors and other church workers to acquire wealth,²¹ the nature of village society makes such pursuits essential if a church leader is to command much influence in the village and the general area. In consequence, pastors attempt in a modified way to compete with other men, even if they generally abide by Lutheran demands and eschew major participation in local exchange networks. Economic interests are

mainly tied up with coffee holdings, though supplemented in some cases by ownership of a trade store. Pastors gain some prestige from these interests, and the widespread misconception that they with other senior circuit leaders control large circuit finances, also contributes to their standing in area affairs. Interests in locally-based economic resources impose constraints on pastor mobility, as can be partly judged from the refusal of the pastor at Habaru to transfer to Kiseveloka following the departure of Gomai. The Habaru pastor rejected the circuit's invitation on the grounds of his reluctance to abandon his coffee investment at Habaru.

Pastor mobility is more directly affected by the rhythm of daily life in the village. Settlements are usually deserted by day and only inhabited at night. Women spend much of their day in the gardens, while men drift around the area pursuing a variety of interests or merely pass the time in relative idleness. Thus to fulfil an effective pastoral role in a variety of individual and family matters the pastor would need to spend a great deal of time on evening visits to different villages. As most folk do not like to travel at night, such visits would require the pastor to sleep regularly away from home. Apart from the obvious inconvenience to their personal and family life, pastors, no less than other men, would be reluctant to sleep regularly away from home and thus risk exposure to sorcery attack.

If these factors lie at the root of pastoral neglect of the congregations, neglect leads to other problems. Infrequent visits drive a wedge between the pastor and congregational leaders, largely because the visit of the pastor, when this does occur, is associated with attacks against local Lutheran leaders for neglecting their duties and thereby contributing to the malaise among the congregations. This tactic is counter-productive and causes much underlying resentment

against the pastor. *Songga*, who are singled out for criticism, are usually simply alienated as a result of being subjected to public rebuke and their support for the congregation is usually withdrawn. Yet the *songga*, especially if an older man with influence in village affairs, is potentially a vital pillar in maintaining congregational support, even if in reality the contrary has often been the case.

(iv) Songga

There have been two leading *songga* at Kiseveloka, Imara and Upe. Imara is a Move man, while Upe belongs to one of the Kivuluga clans. They were the first to receive baptism at Kiseveloka in 1956 and were appointed as joint elders of the Kiseveloka congregation shortly after. Both were prominent among that younger generation of men attracted to Gomai and Sera, and around whom local support for the mission crystalised, a process which made possible the changes of the next two decades. Because of their relative youth men like Imara and Upe were less directly affected by Lutheran prohibitions on polygyny,²² exchange payments, and the male cult. Indeed, in many respects these demands were advantageous to younger men, for the mission impact attacked a system dominated by older men in which younger male generations were in a subordinate position with limited opportunity to achieve much influence. Membership of the Mission presented new avenues to power and created new opportunities for participation in a wider political world. Both Imara and Upe have been successful in using their positions as *songga* to build up prestige in the area. In this they have functioned like traditional big men, but have utilised a new context (which they significantly helped to create) for political action.

The Yagaria terms for big man (*legepa de*, *sowe de*) are applicable to elders like Imara and Upe. That they are regarded as such by other

Kiseveloka people is not merely because each has been *songga* for over twenty years; Imara and Upe are big men because they are men of proven economic substance. This has traditional and contemporary aspects. Both elders have utilised wealth much in the manner of their forefathers to fulfil and create exchange obligations. Moreover, each has also used wealth, especially cash, to initiate business and other enterprises. Both have owned or been involved in trade stores, while Imara now owns a truck which operates as a local pmv ('passenger motor vehicle', a kind of taxi) and which serves to transport vegetables from Imara's gardens for sale at the Goroka market. Upe's major prestige symbol (for Imara's truck is also that) is a permanent chapel for which Upe provided the bulk of the finance. We shall hear more of this venture directly.

The combining of traditional and new means to maintain and enhance male prestige is not limited to *songga* but is true of other Kiseveloka men. The old Kivuluga *luluai*, Damamu, was successful in this way, though he steadfastly refused up to his recent death to receive baptism. While membership of a given mission has been advantageous for some, non-membership has not been a serious obstacle for others. But if *songga* made more direct use of the Lutheran Mission, this is to say no more than that individuals like Imara are men with old aspirations applied to new conditions. Many of the problems faced by elders as leaders of local congregations arise from this fact. Fundamentally, the problems revolve around the competing claims of *songga*-ship and the pursuit of personal prestige in a socio-political context which, despite modification, remains substantially geared to traditional goals.

Though the mission impact successfully changed a great deal of the older society and culture of Kiseveloka people, two important

institutions have continued. The first of these is the clan structure. While this has been modified by both mission and government impositions, the clan and the territorial group retain central political importance at Kiseveloka, and individuals are highly conscious of the need to maintain clan interests and enhance clan prestige over against their rivals.

The Lutheran attempt to override territorial group allegiances in the creation of the Kiseveloka congregation fused out of Move and Kivuluga clans, proved unsuccessful. One example can be cited to bring this out. In the early 1970s when cash cropping was beginning to bring significant income into the area, the Kiseveloka congregation proposed to erect a permanent chapel to replace the older building constructed of bush materials. This was almost entirely a prestige project, for the new chapel would have no wider social usage than the staging of weekly services and the occasional congregational meeting. Imara and Upe played crucial roles in this project and planned to provide the bulk of the finance required to purchase building materials (some planed timber, but principally galvanised roofing, nails, etc.). The construction of the chapel was to be supervised by Vion, Gomal's son, who had been trained by the Mission as a carpenter. However, an argument broke out about the siting of the new building. The old chapel was located somewhat midway between Move and Kivuluga territory on the land originally made available to Frerichs and on which the mission settlement had been established. Sometime after the break up of the settlement and the founding of new Move and Kivuluga settlements, Gomal also abandoned the mission settlement to establish a small compound immediately below the Kivuluga settlement (Hegotogaveda clan) at Krigoguma (see Fig.4). This development may reflect on Move-Kivuluga rivalry. It is said of this time that Gomal now "belonged" to

Kivuluga, while Sera (then operating the bible school at Kiseveloka) "belonged" to Move.

Imara with strong Move support within the congregation wished to have the new chapel erected in the vicinity of his small compound and near the bible school; a location more favourable to Move generally. Upe objected on two grounds: that Imara's plan would disadvantage Kivuluga, and that the chapel should be sited close to the residence of the pastor. It is not clear what part Gomal actually played in this dispute, though he probably supported Upe.²³ With the issue still unresolved, Upe went ahead with his own scheme. Some financial support coming from other Kivuluga men, Upe went to Goroka and purchased the necessary materials. Vion supervised the construction of the chapel on the site chosen by Upe, with Kivuluga people providing the necessary labour.

The completion of the building led to a split in the congregation. Under Imara's leadership the majority of Move Lutherans refused to attend services at the new chapel, holding separate services at the bible school. This dispute continued during 1976-78. Indeed relations between Move and Kivuluga were generally strained during my fieldwork by land disputes and the concern with territorial boundaries. The new chapel is now referred to by the circuit as 'Kigemu-Kivuluga', but Move people from the nearby Kigemu settlement do not participate in services at the chapel.

The split in the Kiseveloka congregation along territorial group lines is a predictable outcome of the attempt to create what in the circumstances has proved to be an artificial political grouping. If this stemmed in this particular case from a Lutheran failure to understand the political importance of the clan structure, a related failure has been the hope that *songga* would subordinate both personal and clan interests to the demands of Christian brotherhood and

congregational solidarity. The many difficulties that the Lutheran church has faced in maintaining support for Lutheran teaching, stem directly from a missionary failure to understand or to sympathetically grasp the abiding importance of the older socio-economic complex and its bearing on male prestige. This brings us to the second major institution that persists at Kiseveloka - exchange obligations.

The overwhelmingly negative Lutheran evangelistic approach in the Highlands was based, as we saw in Chapters Six and Seven, on religious grounds; it being objected by the Lutherans that the role of ancestors and spirits in the male cult ("ancestor worship") was inimical to Christian belief, and especially to God's exclusive role as creator, sustainer, provider and redeemer of the world. But Lutheran moral objections also embraced a range of socio-economic and political behaviour related to the male cult. An example given in Chapter Seven bears this out. Hannemann at Kerowagi took the view in the early 1950s that in addition to "ancestor worship" Chimbu pig festivals also encouraged such things as 'gluttony' and 'Heathenish pride'. While the former clearly refers to the general consumption of pork distributed in the course of the festival, I take it that 'Heathenish pride' refers to orations at the festivals in which big men engaged in much boasting about the superior wealth of their own clan which made possible such generosity. In condemning this behaviour Hannemann in effect condemns the pursuit of male prestige. It is highly significant in this connection that Hannemann's opposition to the pig festival was partly motivated by the participation of some Lutheran *songga*, who did so in order to overcome the taunts of rivals that the elders were mere *rabis* men, who previously avoided participation to cover their shame at having few pigs to contribute. This predicament of how to maintain local prestige while adhering to Lutheran strictures, has been a

general problem for Lutheran *songga*. Admittedly, in the Kerowagi case the elders were induced under circuit pressure initiated by Hannemann to accept prohibition on subsequent involvement in pig festivals, but demands of this sort have by and large proved ineffective in the long-term, as the Lutherans have found to their cost in Chimbu and the Western Highlands.

Despite the more effective prohibition of pig festivals and the curtailment of mortuary payments in the Eastern Highlands, the basis of inter-personal exchange continued. Indeed in some cases exchange obligations were extended to meet the new conditions prevailing in the post-conversion period. Thus at Kiseveloka, a child is usually sponsored at Lutheran baptism by the 'mother's brother',²⁴ who subsequently receives gifts of food (and on occasion a small cash payment) from the child's father. This can in part be understood as a continuity of the former fulfilment of obligations incurred at male initiation.

The adaptation of exchange is especially evident in current brideprice payments at Kiseveloka. In this part of the Eastern Highlands brideprice did not traditionally involve large, divisible quantities of wealth other than pigs. In addition to pigs (which varied in number from two to eight, though the majority of the latter were probably piglets) a typical brideprice payment in the immediate pre-contact period included the following items:

- one stone axe
- one bow and arrows
- bush vines
- several lengths of *girigiri* shells
- several Bird of Paradise plumes²⁵

It was not until the late 1940s that various shell items (especially mother of pearl and large egg cowrie) became a significant and widespread feature of marriage payments in the Lufa area.²⁶ Later, as

cash became more plentiful in the area, money gradually replaced shell. This process was rapidly accelerated in the late 1960s and early 1970s at Kiseveloka with the possession of larger income from coffee. Thus, whereas it was rare for cash payments to exceed \$A50 in the late 1960s, brideprice during 1976-78 ranged between K 400-600.

The Lutheran attitude to brideprice is essentially negative and based on the view that such payments belittle the status of women and girls. It is frequently argued by Lutheran leaders that as Adam paid no brideprice to God in obtaining Eve there is no justification for Christians to do otherwise. Nonetheless the Lutheran church has not attempted to institute a prohibition on brideprice. According to Flierl (1932) the Mission had come to an early understanding with the government not to interfere with traditional marriage customs on the grounds that this might lead to unnecessary disruption of village life. If this accurately reflects the basic Lutheran stance, mission policy towards marriage was probably also influenced by two other factors: an absence of any overt religious element in arranging marriage, and the relatively limited amounts of wealth involved in brideprice in the older society. Thus, with the exception of polygyny (prohibited to baptised members on moral grounds), the encouragement of spousal co-residence, and the largely unsuccessful attempt to gain acceptance for church weddings, the Lutherans have probably tended to ignore brideprice in the hope that it would naturally decline under the influence of the ideal of Christian marriage. Only in the post-conversion period in the Highlands when brideprice became subject to serious inflation did the church attempt to influence the congregations to fix a maximum figure on cash payments.²⁷

The steady inflation of brideprice in the Lufa area up to the late 1960s and the rapid inflation which followed, correlates with important changes to the brideprice system. In the absence of pig

festivals and the restrictions on mortuary payments at Kiseveloka, the system of exchange has become increasingly focused to brideprice. There are three major and related factors at work here. First, the means by which men gain control of a girl's brideprice has become subject to considerable manipulation, with such control frequently passing to men outside the girl's immediate family and clan. This is usually the result of obligations that the father had early contracted towards such men. Second, whereas traditionally brideprice appears to have been generally distributed among men of the girl's clan (her "brothers"), a given brideprice is now more directly controlled by one or two men. Third, the greater amounts of cash currently involved in brideprice substantially increase the degree of obligation of an individual towards those men raising the brideprice for his wife.²⁸

It would be misleading to say that prominent men at Kiseveloka control the brideprice system. Yet it is nonetheless so that *sowe de* tend to make more substantial and more frequent contributions to the brideprice payments of other men, while retaining a wide interest in the potential brideprice of female children and young girls than other men. In these circumstances male prestige has become more directly linked with brideprice as a principal means of using wealth to create and extend obligations. Though tacitly supporting Lutheran attempts to limit the size of cash payments in brideprice settlements, elders like Imara and Upe are no less active than other men in manipulating a system in which they hold a vital interest.

Judged against Lutheran requirements and the expectation that *songga* be exemplars of Christian leadership in the community, it must be said that Imara and Upe have proved inconsistent. But the fault here lies with the model rather than the men. Lutheran teaching makes impossible demands on congregational elders, asking them to forgo the pursuit of prestige yet expecting them to exercise influence within

the general community. At Kiseveloka as elsewhere a man with no social obligations is a man alienated from society and thus unable to influence its affairs.

The problem of combining wider social obligations with the responsibilities of eldership can be seen in the example of Upe's polygynous marriage to Fua. This apparently occurred when Upe was then a young elder. A kinsman had died and in accordance with the usual procedure governing the remarriage of widows,²⁹ Upe accepted the widow (Fua) into his own household as his second wife. Obvious advantages to Upe stemmed from this. In addition to the more wives - more gardens - more pigs principle, Fua was considerably younger than Upe's first wife (Sune) and therefore potentially more highly fertile than Sune; it being understood that a man's prestige is also reflected in the number of children he can sire or otherwise acquire. Upe's polygynous status led to censure by the Mission, for he was reluctant to give up his new wife. He was suspended from office, and though permitted to attend worship was not permitted to receive holy communion. Upe remained obstinate for a time until he was able to find a solution to his predicament. He arranged to divorce his first wife, allowing Sune to remarry a low status bachelor kinsman. This device enabled Upe to fulfil an obligation to provide a wife for this junior kinsman and thereby place him in Upe's debt, while at the same time enabling Upe to retain his younger wife, who subsequently bore him seven children. In addition, this opened the way for Upe's reinstatement as *songga*. Baptised as a monogamist, Upe would undoubtedly have preferred to remain a polygynist when this lot fell to him. That he succumbed to mission pressure to give up a wife is indicative of the degree to which his interests were then bound up with eldership. Upe's acquiescence is also indicative of the effectiveness of congregational sanctions at the time. More recently, in four cases of Kivuluga men

becoming polygynists³⁰ congregational censure has been nothing more than a paper tiger, being treated by the offending men with disinterest.

The laxity of *songga* in the current climate of congregational apathy makes them, as we have observed, a prime target for criticism by visiting circuit leaders. This has recently had a pathetic and completely ludicrous outcome among the Kigemu-Kivuluga congregation, leading to the forced retirement of Upe and another old Kivuluga elder. This farce was played out at an impromptu meeting held at the termination of a rare communion service in late November, 1977.³¹ About one hundred Kivuluga people attended this service, but only some twenty or so actually received the sacrament from the pastor, assisted on this occasion by a recently appointed deputy-pastor.³² The large number of non-communicants was the result of widespread default on the payment of the annual church tax (or *kristen fi*, 'Christian fee'), currently fixed for adults at K 2.50 per member. The pastor seized on this neglect in a meeting which followed the service. The upshot of a tirade directed at the congregation (many of which had departed at the end of the service) was an uncompromising demand for the removal of Upe and his fellow elder, on the grounds of ineffective leadership and old age. The pastor called for the election of new leaders, a man to assist the deputy-pastor and the appointment of a new elder. Having been sprung upon the congregation without prior notice, the meeting was allowed no opportunity for consideration of two basic issues: the kinds of men that should be appointed, and the nature of their duties. Indeed the affair was despatched by the pastor in the most peremptory fashion and with no other formality than that of speedily endorsing the four candidates nominated by the meeting. The meeting was little more than a farce and in its own way a tacit admission of the moribund state of Lutheran affairs in the area.

Despite its seeming importance the meeting contributed several ludicrous touches. Originally nominations were called for only two positions. However, receiving four nominations the meeting was asked to vote for each candidate. This was conducted in an atmosphere of jocular irreverence with numbers of children actually participating in the voting. This was drawn to the attention of the pastor after an informal counting of votes, who responded by simply ignoring the voting and urging the appointment of all four candidates to share the two positions. The standing of the candidates capped the absurdity of the proceedings.

The four candidates were all young bachelors. None holds any social influence whatever in local affairs, for none of these youths controls any independent economic resources. All are products of bible schooling, but none has progressed beyond middle school. In the Kiseveloka community these youths (like many others of this general age group, 16-30) are little more than social drifters. Unsuccessful in gaining permanent employment outside the area, each youth oscillates between Kiseveloka and Goroka, sometimes being absent from the valley for months on end. The unsuitability of such men as congregational leaders is all too clear. But given that the congregation suffers from lack of participation by older men and has been totally devoid (Upe apart) of any support from established Kivuluga big men (most of whom maintain a vague identification with the New Tribes Mission), with the dismissal of the old *songga* there was probably little option than to turn to these young products of bible schooling.

Following their appointment the new elders ostentatiously indulged themselves in their roles, demanding of the few faithful Lutheran supporters a prompt start to worship and making a great show during services of attending to unruly children and giggling maidens.

As the novelty of their vacuous authority quickly eroded, the new elders became disinterested. Each began to spend longer periods absent from the valley, usually with relatives or friends at or near Goroka. At the time of my departure (April, 1978) and only some four months after their election, this absenteeism had become more or less permanent. The character of these new leaders, their ineffectiveness and rapid disinterest in the congregation is itself a strong indication of the depths into which Lutheranism in the area had sunk at the time of my fieldwork. In the circumstances it is difficult to see how the Lutheran (and other) congregations can be resurrected from their current moribund state.

Factors of Decline

To conclude this account of Lutheran leadership at Kiseveloka and in the Rongo circuit, it will be useful to bring together the main factors contributing to Lutheran decline and point out their significance in the demise of Lutheran influence in the village.

Pacification and missionization created new conditions in village society and provided a new context for political action. The kinds of village leaders to emerge during this period of change, though displaying considerable variation (a fact of great significance as an index of change), had a basic common feature. Village leadership was now less exclusively concerned with traditional ties within and between territorial groups as the main avenue to prestige. A new external dimension represented by the government and the missions had become an important reference point for village leadership generally. Expressed in terms of village-station relations, this aspect of the changing political spectrum assumed central importance, no less for government appointees than for congregational leaders.

But even under these new conditions village leadership remained subject to village-based support, for while a man might secure appointment as a government or mission official, to be effective in village (and inter-village) affairs he still needed support from other villagers. In a modified way the leaders to emerge during pacification and missionization, like their "strong man" predecessors, retained a strong interest in the immediate social world of exchange in order to mobilize support from others through ties of obligation and debt. Due to the effective prohibition of warfare, pig festivals and large-scale mortuary payments, pacification and missionization had considerably altered the politics of exchange and alliance. But through marriage the basis of exchange continued, and, in the absence of pig festivals and restricted mortuary payments, brideprice assumed an increased socio-economic and political importance. Successful leaders, then, were those able to adapt to change; to utilize the external powers and through the modified exchange system create village-based supporters among their own and other territorial groups.

A partial exception here should be made for Lutheran *songga* like Imara and Upe. As the principal supporters of the influential mission workers, *songga* were able to make use of congregational support. Indeed, Imara and Upe probably relied heavily on the alliance with Gomal and Sera and, at another level, with Lutheran missionaries, to establish an initial power-base in the congregation and thus achieve influence in the community generally. The prestige associated with eldership was, however, strengthened through elder participation in the secular world of exchange and through development of local economic resources which made effective participation possible. Such diversified interests had important long-term consequences, for this enabled *songga* like Imara and Upe to retain their standing as big men

despite the decay of the Lutheran congregations and the waning political influence of the church generally in the circuit. If, over time, the success of Imara and Upe stemmed from their ability to stand with a foot planted in both religious and secular spheres, their ability to shift their weight in accordance with changing circumstances from one foot to the other, is a measure of their essential adaptability and thus of their success.

Understandably, such adaptability and diversity of interests was bound to be characteristic of leadership during the transitional stage when the congregation was a mere fledgling. Only when this totally novel form of institution had taken root in village soil and become an essential part of the community, could it be expected to present an effective and continuing power-base for congregational leaders, and in the process lessen the need for *songga* to supplement their support through participation in the exchange system. To obtain a specialized political function that would clearly delineate the authority of congregational leaders within the wider community, the congregation required time. But time was denied to Lutheranism in the Lufa area.

In this respect Lutheranism in the Highlands can be distinguished from the older Lutheran fields in New Guinea. It is evident from Lawrence (1956, 1964) and Morauta (1974) for Madang, and from Hogbin (1947, 1951), Willis (1974), and Adams (no date) for Morobe, that Lutheran congregational organisation has proved durable and allowed a more stable power-base for church leaders.³³ These distinguishing features undoubtedly reflect the distinctive colonial histories of Madang and Morobe from that of the Highlands. Indeed, an evaluation of mission impact generally in the Highlands (a matter beyond the scope of this study) will need to be made in terms of its unique colonial history. Here colonialism occurred late in the piece and was condensed into a fairly brief period of time (approx. 1934-75). Two

major consequences for the missions followed from this. First, because of intense inter-mission rivalry (also exacerbated on occasion by competition between the Administration and the missions) in the Highlands, it was impossible for a given mission to achieve the kind of exclusive and long-term supremacy characteristic, for example, of Lutheranism in Morobe. Second, widespread conversion to the missions occurred as government and commercial interests were about to take major initiatives in the region. From 1960, large-scale recruitment of wage labour and government initiatives in road construction, cash-cropping education, together with the development of commerce, industry and the growth of urban centres, considerably altered the world of Highlanders. A principal consequence of this was the rapid devaluation of the earlier prestige and influence built up by the missions in the village. This devaluation of mission power occurred before the new congregations could take root and stabilize in the village, and therefore directly contributed to rapid congregational decline; a feature which, judging from Lutheran station reports for the 1960s, appears to have been widespread across the Highlands.

These accelerated changes in the Highlands between 1950 and 1970 materially augmented the options available to the village, and especially its leaders, in dealing with the external powers and utilizing the new and varied avenues to power they allowed. For congregational elders, as noted, these circumstances prompted the adoption of alternative strategies in the face of an eroding congregational life, by which to retain their standing in local affairs. This only served to compound the problem of decline, for the church was now robbed of the full support of the very leaders to whom it looked to sustain the mission impact, and on whom a viable and stable congregational life largely depended. The process of decline

and an associated resurgence of pre-conversion practices (e.g. polygyny, large-scale mortuary payments, *singsing* ceremonies, and more openly expressed fears of sorcery and sorcery accusations) could be partly arrested where the pioneering evangelists chose to remain in areas where they still commanded some influence, as at Kiseveloka. More generally, however, the congregations were already in a marked state of decline, and it was in this context that the process of localization took place in the Rongo circuit.

Localization actually began with the founding of the congregation and the appointment of *songga*. Such men were usually the ablest among the young converts and for a time were probably effective enough as congregational leaders. But, if in the Highlands this aspect of localization proved in the long-term to be problematic, the localization of teachers and evangelists lacked even short-term effectiveness. The difficulties here, as shown earlier in this chapter, were of the following order. The loss of prestige associated with church work meant increasingly less competition among younger men for positions as teachers and evangelists. The more promising youths and young men who might normally have been expected to graduate into the ranks of the church workers, were creamed off (ironically enough, by the church itself) into English schools. Due to the greater opportunities, especially in secular employment, allowed by successful English education, its graduates were generally lost to the Lutheran congregations and the circuit generally. In the absence of competition, the less able products of bible schooling could readily secure positions as church workers by default. But such men generally proved unequal to the tasks demanded of them. However, given the difficulties faced by new teachers and evangelists handicapped by youth, lacking in prestige and with virtually no means available to establish a local power-base and create support in their villages of domicile, it

is doubtful whether a more competent class of young church workers could have fared any better. To have done so would have required great political capacities of teachers and evangelists, but capacities that could only be exercised in accordance with actual village conditions and not in accordance with Lutheran ideals. In other words, an effective role in local affairs continued to be determined by the requirements of big man-ship, in its post-contact modified form; that is, a personal political style of individualism at odds with institutional political processes on the one hand, and incompatible with the church ideal of congregational leadership on the other.

The current difficulties over leadership in the circuit are rooted in this dual problem. But leadership is only one aspect of a more deep-seated problem, namely the essential incompatibility of Christian teaching with village society and culture. The general erosion of Lutheran support in the area had been largely due to this fundamental opposition between an imposed mission culture and the older culture of village society, and it is to this issue that we turn in the following, concluding chapter.

Notes - Chapter IX

1. The distinction here is largely one of convenience and refers to successive stages of Lutheranism in the area. At Kiseveloka, for example, 'mission' covers the approximate period 1949-64, and 'church' the post-1964 period.
2. See various contributors under 'Missionary Lingue Franche' in Wurm (1977:833-989).
3. See 'Education, Missions: Lutheran' in Ryan (1972:335).
4. See G. Smith (1972). Some missions already operating English programmes in their schools (notably, the Seventh Day Adventists), opted for complete autonomy from the proposed government scheme.
5. This was probably prompted by the Administration's threat to close all non-English schools. This threat, however, was never carried out.
6. See Renck (1977b (i):664-5). Tok Pisin was supplemented by Kâte in the Finschhafen district, where a teacher seminary (at Heldsbach) was located.
7. Financial costs of operating the bible schools have been assessed as follows on a "cost per pupil" basis:

village/circuit school	\$3 per year
district school	\$50-55 per year
teacher seminary	\$150-300 per year

Only a small part of these costs is met by pupil fees, the bulk being met from church budgets. The figures therefore indicate something of the meagre educational facilities provided (Zinkel 1977:694).

8. See Chapter Five. A related problem was the reluctance of the wives of church workers to live too far away from their natal areas (see Finintugu Station Report, 1965, H. Bamler).

9. See Chapter Five.
10. 'Report and Recommendations of the International Evaluation Team to the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea' (1977:20).
11. *Rabis* ('rubbish') has obvious connotations here. *Pasindia* ('passenger') has a range of meanings. Used in this context it might be rendered as 'sponger' or 'parasite'.
12. This statement requires some clarification. In an exchange system no less than for other forms of economic relations it is by definition impossible for an individual to be economically independent of others. Throughout his life a man successively contracts obligations to others, as in turn others become obligated to him. To participate effectively in exchange and to assist others to do so a man must possess access to and maintain some control over basic economic resources. As gardens, pigs, etc. are in a sense (but *only* in a sense) individually "owned" in the Highlands, one can speak of independent economic status. However, the qualification 'relative' is necessary so as not to exaggerate the individualism involved or to over-emphasise what are, for Kiseveloka people at least, weakly defined notions of "ownership" and "rights".
13. For example, compare the admission that not all out-stations in the area were visited during the year, with a later remark that much time was taken up with 'building and repairing of chicken house, cattle trap for main road, laundry, goat house, kitchen and girl's house and some furniture' for the missionary's house at Raipinka (Raipinka 11 Station Report, 1956, J. Flierl). Another missionary complains that to visit the sixty-six 'church villages' in his circuit, he has to spend '68 days and nights' in the bush (Tarabo Station Report, 1967, H. Gericke). While another Lutheran admits only one third of the Lutheran villages in his area were visited during the year, and some evangelists had been neglected for months on end (Karepa Station Report, 1966, K. Walz).

14. Currently in the Rongo circuit evangelists engage less in work among non-Christians than in functioning as a kind of local pastor, being responsible for conducting church services and some teaching.
15. This problem has already been referred to in the preceding discussion of bible school teachers. The refusal to allocate land to mission workers is sometimes mentioned in Lutheran station reports, though this was probably a more general problem; see, for example, Sumburu Station Report, 1965 (H. Norden); Agotu Station Report, 1965 (A.L. Schulz); and for other attempts by villagers to remove evangelists, Bena Bena Station Report, 1964 (L. Philippi).
16. For the Eastern Highlands see: Asaroka Station Reports, 1964, 1965, 1966 (G. Sander); Raipinka Station Report, 1967 (J. Flierl); Tarabo Station Reports, 1967, 1968 (H. Gericke).
17. The Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea has only one bishop, the Rt. Revd. Zurewe K. Zurenuo.
18. These figures are taken from the 'Report and Recommendations of the International Evaluation Team' (Appendices C, D, E, F; 1977:73-7). The discrepancy in the two figures given here probably reflects a dropout rate among graduates of the three pastor seminaries. In fact, this rate is certainly higher than the two figures suggest, for the 445 pastors in 1977 does not simply comprise the 490 graduates, less 45 dropouts. The former figure includes non-seminary graduates (i.e. ex-mission workers) ordained prior to 1977. Though, from the figures given in the Report, it is impossible to determine what proportion of the latter were included among the 445 pastors, the general dropout rate among seminary graduates may be substantial.

The 1977 figures are based on information supplied by each Lutheran circuit. In some cases this information appears to have been incomplete, and estimates were used. Thus in addition to the 397 reported pastors, a further 48 were 'estimated'. In addition, the former figure (397) contains further anomalies, viz. 341 'ordained' plus 56 'not-ordained' pastors (p.77). It would seem from this that the National Office (at Lae) is not fully aware

Note 18 cont.

how many pastors the church has, or of the actual status of the pastors in all cases.

19. Circuit leadership has been officially localized for some years. Thus in addition to other officials, the current Circuit President, Bino, (an elected official) is a villager from the immediate area of the Rongo station. As a prominent Lutheran Bino has been a leading figure in area affairs, and stood as an unsuccessful candidate for Lufa Open in the 1972 House of Assembly election.

With the departure of the circuit missionary (Renck) in 1976, circuit affairs have functioned without European leadership. Currently, a new German missionary, based at Tarabo, performs some supervisory and supportive role for the Rongo (and Agotu) circuit. Understandably, this is limited given the inexperience of the young missionary and the fact that he is based in another area.

20. As indicated in earlier chapters, these local units are better understood as sub-congregations, though this term is not used by the Lutherans. This distinction should be kept in mind in this discussion.
21. 'Report and Recommendations of the International Evaluation Team ...' (1977:18). It should be noted that the Report here calls for the introduction of a system of pastor stipends.
22. However, see below for further discussion of this in regard to Upe.
23. Sera left the area some years before, following a serious accident which damaged his health.
24. The kinship term *dono* ('mother's brother') frequently includes men having no genealogical link with ego's mother, and who stand in an important exchange relation with ego. In some cases such men do not even belong to the same clan as the mother, yet they have managed to gain certain "rights" in her and her children. Some aspects of the difficulties in rendering the kinship relation MB-ZC among neighbouring groups, are given in Glasse (1967:30 - 5, 36 - 7) for Fore, and in Langness (1967:52 - 3) for

Note 24 Cont.

Bena Bena (see also n.28 below).

25. These details are based on accounts of brideprice obtained for pre- and early contact marriages at Kiseveloka. Bush vines have many uses, but are chiefly employed in housebuilding and garden fencing. *Girigiri* shells (small white cowrie) were stitched to a fibre rope to form single lengths of six to eight feet. Bird of Paradise plumes were optional and their use depended upon availability.
26. See Patrol Report Goroka 3/ 1951-52 (Bena Bena, D.W. Eisenhower). Commenting generally on the Lufa area Eisenhower gives a detailed list of brideprice items in the early 1950s, comparing this with payments made in the area a decade earlier. The details need not concern us here, though I intend to provide some account of them in a later paper.
27. See, for example, Ogelbeng 1 Station Report, 1964 (F. Doering); Banz Station Report, 1965 (H. Mansur).
28. These comments require much fuller treatment than is possible here, and I intend to do so elsewhere. Briefly, the situation at Kiseveloka is as follows: A maiden's father cannot receive any portion of her brideprice. This is always in the control of another man or men. Ideally (at least for the first daughter) this control should be exercised by the father's elder brother (her *aku*), but in practice brideprice is often controlled by a man or men with no actual kinship relation to the girl (see n.23 above). If there is a discrepancy here between "ideal" and "real" this is probably because obligation constantly overrides kinship in male affairs. Thus (allowing for considerable variations) a man gains control of a girl's brideprice not because he stands as her actual *aku*, but because the father is obligated to this man; usually due to the latter's substantial contribution to the brideprice of the girl's mother.
29. This is usually in accordance with the junior levirate; a widow passing to her husband's younger brother.

30. Of the four men, like Upe one inherited the widow of a senior kinsman, while in two cases husbands who had previously rejected their first wives and remarried, later accepted back the former at their initiative. The remaining case involved a man who simultaneously married two sisters.
31. Communion services are rarely held more than two or three times per year, and usually at or around festivals like Easter and Christmas. The infrequency of such services partly reflects on the small number of ordained pastors in the circuit and their lack of mobility.
32. This "official" is a young Move man of the nearby Kigemu settlement. He is not ordained, nor has he previously undertaken any other church work. A dropout from English primary schooling, he was later trained at a government vocational school as a carpenter and has spent most of his adult life absent from Kiseveloka as a migrant worker. The new deputy-pastor's role is largely unproductive and almost entirely limited to taking a weekly bible class at the Yagiloka Community School. If his appointment was aimed at giving Kigemu residents some representation in the congregation and thereby encourage their participation in congregational affairs, the appointment has not produced any response from Kigemu people. They continue to shun services held at the chapel.
33. This does not mean that the Lutheran church in these regions has not encountered major difficulties. Cargo movements and other related cults have punctuated Lutheran history and at times have made serious inroads into Lutheran membership in both Madang and Morobe. Nonetheless, the Lutheran church retains a prominent role in regional affairs and continues to present a viable road to power in village, area and regional politics.

Chapter TenCO-EXISTENCE AND INCOMPATIBILITY

The failure of Christianity to penetrate the lives of Kiseveloka people in such a way as to become an essential part of the local culture, stems from the nature of Christianity itself and the manner of its presentation to Kiseveloka people. At a number of crucial points Christian doctrines and ritual practices are incompatible with the socio-cultural ethos of village life, and this inevitably leads to a rejection of Christianity by villagers. This rejection, however, is *de facto*, for like many Western European peoples Kiseveloka villagers claim Christian allegiance while being apathetic about church membership and remaining indifferent to church teachings and practices. This *de facto* rejection of Christianity means that in so far as church organisation and an understanding of Christian doctrine persist at Kiseveloka, this does so at a level separate and distinct from the dominant concerns and orientations of the population. Thus, the process of missionization of the past two decades has brought about a situation best described for Kiseveloka as one of co-existence between two worlds which are essentially incompatible and inimical to each other. This point will be dealt with more fully later, where I shall provide some account of the major features of such co-existence and explain why this situation has come about.

It is important at the outset to stress co-existence rather than syncretism as the dominant feature in the relation between Christianity and the socio-culture of village life at Kiseveloka. Other writers dealing with Melanesian response to colonialism have stressed the positive and adaptive nature of this response. This is particularly

apparent in accounts of cargoism, where weight is given to its integrative and syncretic role in village response (e.g. Worsley 1970, Lawrence 1964, Burridge 1960, 1971). While such features have unquestionably been pronounced in cargoism generally, the attention which this phenomenon has received in Melanesian studies has created the impression that the "cargo cult" and associated behaviours have been *the* central feature of Melanesian response to the colonial encounter, and its integrative and syncretic trends *the* hallmark of response generally. The attention given to cargoism by anthropologists and more recently by theologians (see Strelan 1977, Steinbauer 1979) is disproportionate in respect of Melanesian response as a general, historical process, and for this reason such attention is misplaced and misleading. This is not to minimize the importance of cargoism or to suggest an absence of integrative and syncretic elements in both cargoism and more general Melanesian response. The point to be made clear, however, is that cargoism is an *aspect* of response and merely *part* of a more varied and complex process. Cargoism does not of itself give the complete picture, nor is it necessarily a dominant or basic figure in the post-contact scenario.

The concern with integration and syncretism in Melanesian response is pronounced in Lawrence's study of cargoism in the Madang area. Lawrence's triadic approach made the motivations, means, and effects of cargoism to turn upon the old "religion", and particularly its twofold 'epistemological and technological functions.'¹ As the source of all knowledge the older beliefs gave explanation and meaning to the 'totally conceived cosmic order.' All material wealth was created and given to man by cosmic deities, spirits and ancestors and through ritual techniques the living harnessed the cosmic powers to increase material resources (agriculture, manufacture, trade, animals). The epistemological function of traditional knowledge led directly to

the assimilation of Europeans, their material culture and power into the cosmic order, enabling Madang people to explain who Europeans were (cosmic deities or spirits-ancestors, or agents of these powers), where their material culture came from (created by Europeans as cosmic powers or received by Europeans from the cosmic powers), and thus why Europeans possessed such degrees of power. If this underlying and basic epistemological concern provided the ideas which motivated cargoism, the cults which developed stemmed from the materialist (or technological) functions of the old rituals; that is, the cults became the means by which the living sought to ritually manipulate cosmic powers-Europeans to obtain European material wealth. The integrative and syncretic effect of this process was further encouraged by missionization and a corresponding incorporation of Christian teachings into cult ideology and practice.

While not objecting to this interpretation in general, at certain points it contains emphases which if taken without major qualification are liable to result in considerable misunderstanding of Madang response and by extension of Melanesian response generally, and thus to a misleading impression of what this response involved. The principle points requiring qualification are the accent given by Lawrence to 'epistemology', the 'totally conceived cosmic order' and the systematic nature of knowledge which this implies. It is necessary to examine these points at some length.

Knowledge: Epistemology and System

Strictly speaking (as Lawrence 1964:5, n.1 implies), epistemology refers not to a body of knowledge as such, rather to a 'theory of the method and grounds of knowledge' (Concise OED). In Greek philosophy a crucial distinction is made between *episteme*, knowledge of the concrete or immutable world of being, and *doxa*, an acceptance of or

belief in things as they appear to be. Knowledge in the former sense is subject to demonstration only in accordance with strict rules of logical discourse, while knowledge in the latter sense belongs to the 'domain of opinion' and is governed by argumentation grounded in persuasion and rhetoric (Gurwitsch 1978:81). This distinction, with its tendency to oppose knowledge and belief, paved the way for a critical philosophy of science, in which increasingly from the 16th century on in Western philosophy science emerged as an open-ended system of thought, in contrast to closed and dogmatic philosophies - those characteristic of theological orthodoxy - and distinct from those popular worldviews of European peoples, which philosophers and scientists variously shared in their capacities as persons or social beings.

Given that epistemology derives directly from a particular cultural tradition in which it has been necessary to make crucial distinctions between differing and, indeed, rival philosophies (and popular worldviews), the application of this term to describe ideas about knowledge in other cultural traditions should be made cautiously. This is especially so where such traditions posit no rigid or systematic distinction between knowledge and belief, between empirical and non-empirical domains of existence. This feature is in fact characteristic of traditional ideas about knowledge in Melanesia generally, as Lawrence and others have observed.

Lawrence remarks of Madang societies (principally, the Garia and Ngaing) that, traditionally, "religion" does not exist as a discrete cultural category, and that this reflects an inability to clearly separate supernatural and natural (1964:12). He accepts this to be characteristic of non-literate peoples, and the clear implication of this is that for Melanesian societies generally no systematic distinction is made between knowledge and belief, empirical and non-empirical realms of being (Lawrence and Meggitt 1965, Lawrence 1972).

When using the empirical/non-empirical dichotomy in accounts of Melanesian societies writers usually indicate that this is made primarily for heuristic purposes; that 'point of view' referred to by Berndt in his use of this distinction for knowledge among southern Kainantu peoples in the Eastern Highlands (1965:85). Heuristic purposes may be justified when made with sufficient qualification, but the very need for qualification indicates some lack of consistency between the nature of knowledge under study and the kind of heuristic used in interpreting it.

If these alone are grounds for regarding the term 'epistemology' as inappropriate for Melanesian societies, such inappropriateness forms part of a more general problem. As is made clear above, epistemology functions in relation to a certain philosophical tradition and deals theoretically with the rules and procedures of that tradition. Now, while Lawrence has been virtually alone in using epistemology of Melanesian (and especially Madang) views of traditions of knowledge, other writers, with one or two exceptions, have generally shared the assumptions about these traditions which prompted Lawrence to talk of epistemologies in this connection. That is, many anthropologists like Lawrence choose to regard these traditions of knowledge as if they are philosophies; worldviews which purport to systematically explain the nature of cosmos and determine the grounds on which such knowledge rests.

But are Melanesian traditions of knowledge *systems* in this philosophical sense, do they possess a *theory* of the 'method and grounds' of such knowledge? Certainly, a body of knowledge in any culture will include some account of the origin and status of knowledge, and Melanesian societies are not peculiar in this respect. But such an account does not of itself constitute a *theory*, still less an epistemology. Again, while knowledge in any culture exists as a corpus,

a set of related categories which together can be meaningfully said to comprise a worldview, this body need not be a system, a philosophy. To warrant treatment in these terms a given corpus of knowledge should manifest certain essential and inalienable attributes; that it be fully systematic, coherent, and internally consistent. Given the existence of these attributes certain consequences follow. A genuinely systematic body of knowledge should not only be able to account for and thus assimilate other knowledge on its own terms, it should also possess the facility to reject knowledge which is alien to and incompatible with its own presuppositions. In other words, a systematic body of knowledge is partially adaptive, but only within certain limits. These limits are determined by the self-regulating and critical nature of the system, understood, in accordance with its theoretical ground rules, as a pretention to complete knowledge. So, if such a system has the propensity to re-interpret knowledge which it did not already possess, it is also able to evaluate knowledge which challenges its own presuppositions and pretentions, and judge this to be false knowledge - heresy. Such a system distinguishes itself as an orthodoxy (usually in reference to other, competing orthodoxies) and does so in categorical and dogmatic fashion.

This raises crucial questions about the nature of traditional knowledge in specific socio-cultural settings, and the role of this knowledge under conditions of drastic change induced by contact with exogenous forces. The second of these matters is of more direct concern to the present discussion, but some comments on the former issue should first be made.

Lawrence has argued that as informants' statements about religion in Melanesia tend to be 'unreliable', such statements cannot be taken at their face value but should be examined 'within the *system*

to which they refer: the cosmic *structure* of deities, ancestors, and human beings co-existing in a defined physical environment' (1971:151, my italics). The major difficulty with this statement - and one that Lawrence fails to confront - is the relation between the subjective account and the objective reality, the 'system'. While one would not quibble with the obvious need in evaluating informants' accounts for the ethnographer to subject this to a wider context, it is difficult to see how this procedure in and of itself necessarily overcomes the problem of 'reliability'. This problem would not exist where the objective reality - the 'system' or 'cosmic structure' - is beyond dispute, existing in respect of an independent body of knowledge with its rules and procedures clearly laid down; independent, that is, of *both* the informants and the ethnographer. Such independent status is characteristic of only a specific kind of development within language - written codification. Where such codification exists the objective body of knowledge (and the system of ideas implicit or explicit within this body) can be readily consulted when evaluating the accounts of specialist-informants. Informants as specialists in such cultures may indeed dispute the proper interpretation to be made of some aspect of knowledge within the corpus, and variations of interpretation can exist on this basis; informants, however, do not dispute the existence of the corpus itself. This, traditionally, is not the case for pre-literate societies in Melanesia. Here, the 'system' can only be inferred from informants' accounts of knowledge - accounts that, on Lawrence's admission, tend towards unreliability. If a system can indeed be constructed from critical analysis of these sources, it would seem that in giving inaccurate, misleading, or simply erroneous accounts informants are not rendering this information in the light of a system of which they are themselves conscious. The 'system' would rather

appear to be entirely of the ethnographer's making.

The problem of reliability also reflects on two important features of Melanesian societies; the first political, the second the nature of knowledge itself. Traditionally, important knowledge is secret and exclusively controlled or "owned". This relates especially to ritual procedures, to magic and sorcery, etc. Thus virtually all knowledge of the modes of manipulating hidden forces and entities (that is, knowledge of power in respect of these forces and entities) is organised so as to be unavailable to society generally. It is not an open book, freely accessible to the public. This feature accounts for significant variation between informants' knowledge, for some make pretensions to knowledge which they do not possess, while others have a vested interest in keeping their knowledge secret and so attempt to mislead the ethnographer. But there is another important factor here. Knowledge has a highly personalized nature and in consequence indigenous interpretation and exegesis is liable also to be personalized; relative to person rather than to group.

This does not mean that such knowledge is assembled in a totally random or chaotic fashion. Rather, it is rooted in an experience of the world and so reflects a worldview. But this experience is conditioned by the differing degrees of knowledge possessed by individuals as inherited from older men and the deceased, and by the differing experiences which individuals accumulate during the life process. We must beware of assuming that uniformity of experience is a primary characteristic of village life in Melanesia or elsewhere. There is a valid sense in which traditional knowledge exists as a body, and though its details may not be fully shared by the society, it operates for its general purposes. Yet, the corpus of knowledge and its social functions are never fully explicit as a corpus but remain implicit and

tacit in given activities, especially in rituals.

Lawrence has recognised the principal implication of the 'problem of reliability' in informants' accounts to be an absence of 'complete doctrinal orthodoxy' in respect of knowledge (1971:151). This observation is crucial, for, as I indicated above, orthodoxy is an essential attribute of a systematic body of knowledge. Because traditional bodies of knowledge in Melanesia do not generally appear to behave as orthodoxies, this, I contend, is strong grounds for regarding them as other than systems governed by self-critical and self-regulating ground rules.

An understanding of the nature of Melanesian traditions of knowledge is generally less apparent in Melanesian ethnography than the politics of these traditions; their availability to and use by members of a given society. This general deficiency in accounts of Melanesian societies need not completely defeat an understanding of the nature of knowledge as this related to traditional or partially traditional settings, as I have partly shown of Lawrence's discussion of Madang societies. But in terms of the qualifications I have made, we are left with a negative view of these traditions of knowledge - what they are not rather than what they are or were. This can partly be rectified in more positive fashion, for an important means to understanding the nature of these traditions is also to ask how they behave under conditions of change; a question which, despite its obvious and immediate importance - given the circumstances under which anthropologists have encountered such knowledge - is largely ignored by anthropologists. The single exception to this has been when the question has cropped up in some accounts of cargoism (notably those of Lawrence and Burridge). Prior to presenting some general remarks about knowledge and change in Melanesia as a precursor to a fuller discussion of this aspect of Kiseveloka response to missionization,

it is necessary to introduce several further qualifications about traditional worldviews and their relation to given societies. It will be useful to start from a point already made: the personalized nature of such worldviews.

Douglas (1970:90-113)² has emphasised this characteristic of 'primitive worlds'. Such worldviews are man-centred. The world exists only in relation to man and functions primarily for human ends. Things come to serve human needs and in such views personality is imputed to things, in the sense (and especially in the ritual sense) that things are expected to behave as if they are persons: things respond to spell and action and are therefore subject to manipulation partly in the manner that human beings are subject to manipulation by other persons. It might be added here that the reverse is also true, persons being subject or amenable to the influence of the power in things. Magic and sorcery provide endless examples of this mode of thinking about the inter-relation between what we would distinguish as things and persons. Understood in this way, in traditional worldviews things exist as extensions of persons.

In developing this argument Douglas questions the anthropological vogue for regarding such worldviews as systems and in essence explanatory modes; that traditional worldviews should be understood to originate and function in order to systematically explain for a given society the existence of general problems like misfortune. Two examples from the early ethnography of the Eastern Highlands can be introduced here in support of Douglas' criticism.

Ancestors served important functions in the *idza nama* ritual-exchange complex among the Gahuku-Gama, the fertility of pigs and gardens and thus the strength and well-being of society depended on the rituals addressed to ancestors during the preparatory stages of the

idza nama festival. Ancestors controlled special, exclusive powers on which the living depended. Yet, paradoxically, Gahuku-Gama possessed no elaborate and systematic way of defining the place of ancestors in the cosmos, to explain their role in the life process or to render explicit the source and nature of their powers. To put it in Read's own words:

... although the fundamental religious belief of the Gahuku-Gama may be characterized as a belief in an unnamed ancestral power, this power itself is impersonal³ and is more readily inferred or felt than expressed or described in words. It is not formulated in any dogma, and the living state that they have no knowledge of its source or the manner in which it operates (1955:269).

This lack of shape to that ancestral portion of the Gahuku-Gama world is equally evident in the vagueness which surrounded Gahuku-Gama notions of the *nama* flutes. As the primary emblems of the male cult and thus of male dominance, the flutes had important associations with ancestral power and were primary representations of fertility, featuring prominently in ritual action. Yet, there was no mythology or specific knowledge connected with these objects. Much of their considerable importance stemmed not from informants' accounts but from what Read could infer from behaviour associated with the flutes. Read concluded that the powers of the flutes lay less in the objects themselves than in the sounds (or tunes) reproduced in blowing them (1952b:5-10).

The general thrust of Read's interpretation of traditional knowledge among the Gahuku-Gama is confirmed by Newman for the neighbouring Gururumba. Newman's account of what might be loosely termed the Gururumba cosmic order, rejects the notion that this order operated as a system or that its main purpose was explanatory. Thus, while Gururumba recognized the existence of cosmic powers - ancestors, ghosts, lightning and other entities - the inter-relation between these powers was unknown to the living (1964:261). They were under-

stood simply to be there. Moreover, though these powers exercised a direct role in human affairs, they

are not important as creators, as forces that control the natural order, nor as guardians of the moral order. They are important rather because they affect an individual's capacity to cope with the demands and opportunities he meets in daily existence (p.260).

This latter observation is particularly important and is borne out in Gururumba beliefs about ghost attack and illness. Newman continues:

'The fact that ghosts cause illness is not meaningful primarily because it explains illness, but because it robs a woman of the strength necessary to carry out her daily tasks in the garden or deprives a man of the vigour needed in sexual intercourse.' Here, then, we are not dealing with a belief that attempts to explain illness as a general causal phenomenon and as a persistently problematic feature of the Gururumba world. In so far as explanation is operative for the Gururumba it deals with the individual, the actual event and its consequences, but not with a general cosmic process.⁴

Knowledge and Society, Response and Change

In much of this discussion so far the emphasis has been on ways of *thinking* about the world, although at several points reference has been made to the ritual and political aspects of knowledge. It is vitally important not to lose sight of knowledge *and* action, for worldviews do not have an independent existence: they are geared to the business of living in society, and so have a direct bearing on the manner in which society is organised. In other words, worldviews are intimately bound up with social institutions. Douglas (1970:108-12) has drawn attention to this in administering a necessary corrective to the tendency to detach thought from its social contexts when embarking upon comparisons of differing modes of thought; usually of the pseudo "scientific"/"primitive" kind. Bodies of knowledge cannot

be adequately grasped apart from the institutions to which they belong, and it is essential in evaluating such knowledge to do so in terms of the character of its institutions. Whether dealing with a specific society or a comparison between societies, sociological considerations are paramount. But comparison especially must also allow for historical considerations. This is basic when attempting to determine the absence of orthodoxy in Melanesian traditions of knowledge compared, say, to the existence of this very feature in Christianity and comparable orthodoxies like Hinduism, Islam, Buddhism, etc. In these latter examples the development of systematic knowledge finds its complement in the evolution of distinctive institutions - Christianity and church, Hinduism and caste, for example. In Melanesia male-female residential segregation and its accompanying view of pollution is in no way identical or even similar to caste differentiation based in a systematic philosophy of pollution and expressed in elaborate dietary rules, which in addition to delineating intra- and inter-caste relations, to a great extent determines caste occupations. This form of institutionalized differentiation and stratification is foreign to traditional social organisation in Melanesia.

The character of social institutions has an important bearing on response to colonialism and particularly to the missions, for orthodoxy (where this exists) is ultimately expressed in an institutional form. To a large extent varied patterns of response to Christianity are in this way. In Hindu, Islamic, and Buddhist cultures, where Christian missions made only negligible inroads during the colonial period, the claims of rival orthodoxies were not in the final reckoning dealt with at the level of philosophy and theology, and judgement cast in terms of the incompatibility of Christian and, say, Hindu thought. Doubtless, many Indian villagers possess a limited grasp of the systematic nature of

Hinduism, let alone of Christianity. But these villagers are members of institutions (caste) pervaded by Hindu thought, and their response to Christianity was largely determined by this fact.⁵ Here the basic problem confronting the missions was how to win converts out of the caste system and into novel institutions, and the lack of success of the missions in doing so is a measure of the conservative and durable nature of caste in its function as an orthodoxy.

This is partly true also of Melanesia, but only partly so and with markedly different consequences. In this study I have shown that response to contact in the Highlands was determined by two general factors: trade and exchange relations; and the tendency to regard Europeans and their New Guinean agents as spirits and/or ancestors. In other words, Highland response was fashioned by pre-existing institutions and beliefs about ancestral power. However, though formulated in this way, Highland response was in essence positive not negative, and this provided the grounds for significant innovation to village society. A major feature of change, as shown in preceding chapters, was the collapse of many of the older institutions and the modification of others. By and large, traditional Highland institutions, especially in the Eastern Highlands, proved to be highly vulnerable to exogenous pressure and were unable to offer significant resistance to the missions. Their demise or modification occurred because these institutions lacked an orthodoxy sufficient to cope with missionization from a position of strength.

Interpretations of cargoism with its integrative and syncretic features should be made against this wider process of colonial change and particularly of missionization, and not extracted from it as has often been the case.⁶ Two features of cargoism are crucial here. Though certainly influenced, as has been Melanesian response generally, by pre-existing traditions, cargoism is at root not a conservative response

governed, as Lawrence implies, by a prevailing and all-pervading epistemology geared to materialist ends. It is rather a response mounted in the climate of change (frequently drastic change) and is itself innovatory and adaptive. Thus, secondly, cargoism is not a measure of institutional durability and orthodox reaction to exogenous pressure but the reverse. Cargoism cannot be meaningfully said to be an old cult, and therefore an older institutional form, dressed in newer garb, for the distinctive feature of wealth cults has been the general failure to evolve a permanent organisational form.⁷ Nor is it generally helpful to think of cargoism, after Lawrence, as the new face of an old mind. Rather, cargoism, especially in its later forms, should be seen as a response mounted against the widespread collapse of the old cults and related institutions in the process of missionization.

While it is true to say with Worsley that traditional beliefs 'profoundly effect the Melanesians' understanding of 'Christianity' (1970:248) and of European material culture generally, it is quite another to say with Lawrence that this effect is the product of epistemological assumptions underlying the old "religion". The issue here, as I have been at pains so far to point out, concerns the character of response and the nature of the effect upon this of older traditions. Certainly in the Highlands response stems directly from what may be called an exchange ethos - a traditional concern with wealth and power, manifested in competitive behaviour and carrying implicit egalitarian undertones of ideal relations between men (see Burridge 1971:4-14). It is this ethos rather than cargoism *per se* which has been the prompting factor in Highland response to colonialism. Yet the concern with exchange has played a paradoxical role in Highland response, due largely to the fact that the relation of an exchange ethos

to a capitalist mode, of an implicit egalitarianism to institutionalized political authority, and the distinctive notions of power variously involved here, have not been systematically worked through in the mind of the Highland villager, for big men and lesser mortals alike. This is why response through time looks at one point to be innovatory (conversion to Christianity and all that is involved in negating the past), at another conservative (the persistence of exchange behaviour and attitudes); to bear adaptive features (Christian ideas linked to traditional ideas of power), and to involve at one and the same time a tacit acceptance of Christianity and a *de facto* rejection of it. In short, we see in this response the elementary paradox of change and continuity.

It is necessary now to look at such response more closely, and we commence with a brief outline of cargoism in the Eastern Highlands.

Cargoism in the Eastern Highlands

Cargoism has been a widespread and in some measure a persistent feature of response to colonialism in the Eastern Highlands. With the exception of the well documented early movements like Ghost Wind (Berndt 1952-53, 1954, Salisbury 1958, Worsley 1970:208-15), we possess no detailed accounts of subsequent (that is, post-1950) cargoist practices in the region. Finney (1973:137-45) has summarised some known cases drawn from Goroka patrol reports (see also Strelan 1977:41-2, Steinbauer 1979:64-6, 177-80), but these and other cults in the Lufa and Okapa areas are described with minimum detail in government records. On this basis only the most general form of interpretation of these cults is possible.

The post-1950 cults do not appear to form part of a wider movement, but are sporadic, unrelated to each other, and command limited

support. Usually, the cults appear to be of the wealth house variety noted of the latter stages of the Ghost Wind movement and like these cases and the earlier Kere cult (Chapter Four), deception by cult leaders is sometimes pronounced. These later wealth house cults have generally been less concerned with obtaining "cargo" than with the acquisition and increase of money. Unlike the earlier cults, the later versions have had a peripheral impact, due probably to the opportunities created by economic development from the late 1950s (Finney 1973:142-4), though cults among more isolated southern populations in the Eastern Highlands, where economic development has been more limited, will require some qualification to this view. The lack of action taken by government officers against cult leaders, except in cases where fraud could be clearly established, is partially indicative of the peripheral nature of the cults.

Virtually nothing is known about the ideology of these later cults. They may be linked to cargoist rumours connected with the early stages of economic development and especially with investment campaigns among rural populations mounted by district 'Progress Societies', and indigenous-based companies like Namasu (see Fairburn 1969).⁸ Certainly in the Lufa area rumours connected with notable events have sparked off widespread cargoist speculation, as in the case of Ugi Biritu's return to Lufa, following his first visit to Port Moresby in 1964 as the first local *membra* of the House of Assembly (Chapter Five, n.36). However, this kind of reaction has rarely been channelled into cult organisation and practice. This would imply the existence of a set of widely held attitudes and expectations towards wealth and especially money, which prompt a general response to certain events but which generally fail to produce organised cult activities at village level. A specific case can be given to provide substance to the attitudes

and expectations referred to here.

Kafe's Dreams

I recorded the two following accounts in Tok Pisin. The first was related impromptu at an informal *singsing* gathering (of some twenty people) at Laukeli shortly after I arrived in the area. The second account was recorded many months later at Krigoguma during a private conversation with Kafe. A free English translation of the two dreams is given here, omitting some minor details. In addition, some points related in the original narrations were later clarified for me by Kafe, and I have incorporated some of these clarifications into the texts.

Dream 1

While visiting his sister at Bopu, a village near Haero, Kafe fell ill, apparently lapsing into a coma. In this state he was visited by the spirit of his dead father, Aito.

My father, who died when I was a small child, came to me as I lay ill. He arrived in a landrover and drove me back to Kiseveloka. There I went to the aid post to tell the medical orderly that I would come again the following morning for an examination, for though my heart was beating my skin was dead. However, some evil spirits prevented the orderly from answering me, though he understood what I said to him. So I went back to my father.

He said to me, 'You see this red truck. Well, if you stay with me, I will give this to you and show you how to look after it.' My father also showed me [the secrets of?] reading and writing, as I had never been to school. Then, I was able to read my name and that of my son⁹ as well as the [registration] number of the truck. My father also showed me fashionable European clothes, which I put on. I was overjoyed at these things.

I looked at my father and saw how attractive his skin was. In fact, he looked just like a European, with blue eyes and soft, straight black hair.

I noted that the wheels of the truck were buried in the ground. However, I sat in the vehicle and started up the engine. My father explained that the truck was in good order,

but that its wheels were hidden because our reunion was still only partial. Only when I stayed permanently with him, he said, would I see the wheels.

We left the truck and walked along the road. Shortly, we met my father's dead elder brother, Kioro. Kioro had been the main leader among the men of my father's generation, and now was the leader of their spirits. He spoke to me. 'I don't want you to come and stay with me. You must go and be with your brothers and look after your own things. Now, my son, Damamu, cannot receive all my cargo when he dies. He is a sorcerer and an evil man. Rather, I will give you all my cargo - trucks, aircraft and everything - when you die. For you are not a sorcerer and don't make trouble.'

There was a large clubhouse nearby with many Europeans inside. I went up and stood by the open door and the Europeans called out to me to come inside and eat. I went in and they showed me a table on which a place had been laid for me. A knife and fork and food was waiting there ready for me to eat. Nearby I saw a huge mail bag containing thousands of letters and a large safe nailed to the floor. The safe contained more money than I could count; five thousand, ten thousand or many thousands of kina, I don't know. The Europeans told me that all this belonged to me. I wanted to eat the food and stay at the club, but my father took the food and threw it away. 'This is not yours' he said, 'you must come away from here with me.' So I left. My father was very angry with me. He took me back to the truck, and again showed me how to maintain and repair the vehicle. Then he said to me, 'If you want to start your own business, a trade store, take this small book and build the store first. When it is finished you must wait by the road. Later a big lorry will arrive with all your trade cargo. You can check off all the cargo items from the book and put the goods in the store.' I wanted to get to work there and then and prepare for the arrival of my cargo, but Kioro interfered. He took all the goods that were coming and locked this up in a big iron trunk. My father saw this and cried. He then took me away and along the path back to Laukeli, he left me.

Later my spirit returned into my body and when I had recovered from my illness I told my story to all the people, who were happy at hearing it.

Dream 2

Some time ago when two of our old people died, I helped with the burial. That night in a dream I was visited by the spirits of the two dead people. First they sent word that I should clean the house and prepare everything, then they would come to see me.

I saw two pools of water and two roads leading to each pool; one was the Christian road, the other the heathen road. The two ancestors were walking along the heathen road. I noticed how they had changed since dying. Their skins were partly 'dirty' and partly 'clear' and seemed to be becoming 'clearer', and I saw that they were young and attractive.

The two ancestors came to me and spoke: 'When we died we went to a wonderful place. But there were many people there and we could not find room; so we had to find a place on the borders of this place. It is a place where the sun shines all the time. We have come back to tell you of these things.' At this they left me and returned to their new place.

I was thinking about what they had told me, when my father came to me. 'I have come to take you to my place,' he said. So I went away with him along the road. We came to the pool and went down into the water. I thought that I would get wet, but it wasn't that kind of water; it was dry, like snow. We went through the water and continued along the road, passing several crossroads along the way.

At the fourth crossroad we came upon a wonderful place. It was a large airport lined with huge sweet banana trees, and a long motor road ran alongside the airstrip. Many planes were landing and taking off, while the road was busy with motor cars. I stood there in awe of these things. But my father was very frightened and became agitated. 'I don't understand what all this means,' he said. 'I cannot stay here; these things are bad and will harm me.' So he left. Later, I made my own way back to the pool, came above it and returned home.

I was truly happy at all I had seen. Was this place I had visited the true place of the ancestors? I think so. Compared to this place, us who live here are much worse off. We don't live properly like the ancestors, but stay in a dirty place. When we die perhaps we too will go to this better place.

I have never forgotten this dream and often think about it; the way the ancestors had become young again and so on. Now I tell this to you so that you can understand something of these important matters.

Dreams (*himota*) are an important means of revelation and knowledge among Kiseveloka people. Some men are known to be expert in interpreting dreams, though they do not necessarily command special influence in wider social affairs on this basis: such men need not be ritual experts and shamanism is more implicit than explicit in local society. Kafe's popularity in the wider Kiseveloka community and to an extent in the general district, is due less to an acknowledged skill in deciphering dreams, than to his standing as a *raconteur*. He tells a good story and thus is a source of entertainment to other villagers.

A few biographical details are necessary as a background to the analysis of the dreams. Born around 1940, Kafe has grown up in a climate of change. His father, Aito, died when Kafe was small, and he was adopted by a Kamano evangelist or interpreter who assisted Gomal and Sera during the early stages of their work at Kiseveloka. Kafe was taken by his new father to the Henganofi area, where he received some bible school education (insufficient to achieve literacy), and later worked as a labourer on gold-diggings in the Kainantu area. He returned to Kiseveloka some years later and, excepting periods of absence as a migrant labourer, he has settled among his Kivuluga kinsmen. Like many men of his generation Kafe pursues a modified, traditional way of life as a subsistence-cash crop small holder, but he does so by default. While active in local affairs and ambitious to achieve local political influence, his orientations are also directed towards urban centres like Goroka and Port Moresby, where he would prefer to live with, as he sees it, the advantages and attractions of town life. For this reason Kafe attends to his economic affairs (gardens, coffee, pigs) at Laukeli with limited enthusiasm. He is a frequent visitor to Goroka but even when present at Laukeli he passes much of the time at cards and at the end of the coffee season in beer drinking parties. In common with others of his age, Kafe has conflicting attitudes to his world. In the two dreams these conflicts come to the fore.

Commentary

It should not be thought that in reducing the dreams to a written text they exist in this form in the real world of Kiseveloka people. The dreams are not, as is sometimes implied of myths in pre-literate societies, frozen narratives which are related in the manner of a standardized litany. On the contrary, the narratives are dynamic and

adaptable, varying in emphasis and in content from one setting to another. Indeed, the context in which I recorded Dream 1 was rendered especially significant by my residence at Laukeli, and this fact is reflected in this account. Although I was unaware of it at the time, a hidden equation was drawn between Airo and myself in the account - a significance readily appreciated by the audience in the climate of speculation accompanying my early period of residence at Laukeli. In addition, the account of the meeting with Kioro harks on Kafe's contemporary rivalry with Damamu, and was mainly designed to warn me to be wary of any major involvement with Damamu, then the most prominent of Kivuluga men. These implicit references carried definite political undertones, and in being worked into the account were motivated by Kafe's concern to establish an exclusive relation with me and thus to stake a special claim in the general prestige associated with my presence at Laukeli.

Three closely related themes predominate in the dreams: the relation of ancestors to Europeans; the ambiguous nature of the ancestor world; and the nature of wealth variously controlled by ancestors and Europeans. As one might expect these themes are dealt with in terms of their bearing upon the living.

In Dream 1 Aito returns and reveals himself as a European. As noted, this characterization refers directly to myself, though the belief that Europeans are ancestors and that ancestors undergo metamorphosis of this kind is not uncommon at Kiseveloka. This notion is also present in Dream 2 - an account less directly influenced by my presence - where the two recently departed ancestors appear to have undergone partial metamorphosis into Europeans. Both narratives, then, commence with a statement that seems to clearly identify ancestors with Europeans. Ancestors possess cars and clothes (Aito), cars and aircraft, etc. (Kioro). In addition, they have

access to prestigious European knowledge, literacy and car maintenance skills (Aito), and inhabit a place which is the antithesis of village life (Dream 2 ancestors). But the apparently reversible equation, ancestors *equal* Europeans, is shown to be more complex, and is ultimately denied. This finds its strongest expression in the incident at the European club. The manner of his reception by the Europeans is an antithesis of Kafe's actual knowledge of such places in Goroka and Port Moresby, for until recently these clubs practised a form of apartheid and comprised an exclusive European membership. In the dream, however, not only is Kafe made welcome at the club, he experiences the ultimate expression of social acceptance - commensality. (Subsequently Kafe explained it to me that his presence produced much excitement among the white women, and he was led to believe that one of these women was intended for him as a wife.) But at this point Aito intervenes to oppose Kafe's presence in this world, throwing the food onto the floor and so denying the commensal act and its social implications. This negation of the ancestors *equal* Europeans equation is possibly hinted at in Kioro's earlier instruction to Kafe that he must return to his own people and eschew sorcery if he rather than Damamu is later to inherit Kioro's wealth. But if these directions deny Kafe's place in a world apart from the village (and in this sense Kioro's directions may be said to presage the main point of the club episode), the meeting with Kioro also reveals an elementary conflict between the two ancestors and their intentions towards Kafe.

Set in the context of Kafe's illness in which he hovers, as it were, between life and death, Dream 1 shows that Aito wishes to take Kafe to the place of the ancestors. Kioro's intentions are the reverse of this. Kafe is to stay with the living and first fulfil his responsibilities to his brothers before he should join the ancestors

and gain access to their wealth. Moreover, Aito's later intention to assist Kafe to found a trade store is thwarted by the intervention of Kioro, and his confiscation of the store goods. Thus Kafe's encounter with Aito and Kioro shows that ancestors do not act in harmony and have varying intentions towards the living. Indeed, these intentions may be quite distinct and, as here, at odds with each other. In Dream 1, then, distinctions are drawn between ancestors and Europeans, and between ancestors themselves. A further distinction is also made between the nature of the ancestors' world and that of their living descendants on the one hand, and between the ancestors' world and that of Europeans on the other.

This brings us to the second major theme of the two dreams; namely, the ambiguous nature of the ancestor world. In Dream 2, the two returning ancestors, partly metamorphosized into "Europeans", find in death a better existence. However, they exist only on the periphery of their new world, and as such the superiority of this world is highly qualified. The nature of this qualification has already been brought out in Dream 1, i.e. in the opposition between the worlds of ancestors (Aito and Kioro) and Europeans (the social club). The Dream 2 narrative elaborates upon this through the metaphor of the two pools and the roads associated with each pool. This metaphor is clearly derived from Christian teaching and refers specifically to baptism. The after-life made accessible through baptism and that visited by Kafe and Aito in their journey, is the world of Goroka and Port Moresby - an urban environment vibrant with the hustle and bustle of business. It is an ideal world which Kafe aspires to be part of, one that he finds compelling and irresistible. Yet it is a world which disturbs and alienates Aito, the experience of which separates father and son by forcing Aito to abandon Kafe.

At this point in Dream 2 a clear distinction is made between the ideal after-world of urban power and the world of ancestors like Aito. But this is a tentative disclosure, for the dream ends with a partial denial of this distinction, with Kafe's expressed belief that this urban "heaven" is probably the true place of the ancestors. Such ambiguity about the ancestor world is a prominent theme of Dream 2. By turns ancestors are shown to be peripheral to their world, repelled and alienated by its modernity. Yet, nonetheless, this world is theirs. Given that the ancestors also control considerable power and possess such things as cars and aircraft (Dream 1), the propositions of Dream 2 appear as contradictory. This is partly resolved in Dream 2 by the presence of an implicit qualification, that of baptism, which separates ancestors from the living, the past from the present. The two pools with their separate Christian and heathen roads, lead to distinct after-worlds. Baptism distinguishes Kafe from Aito and, by implication, estranges Aito from a world in which he has no place. But the distinguishing marker of baptism is generally at odds with the thrust of both dreams - the immediacy of contact with ancestors, and the potential importance of this for the living.

The tension underlying the tradic set of relations, *living-ancestors-Europeans*, is ultimately focused upon wealth and the implications of this for the living. Dream 1 is more directly concerned with this problem. Initially, the question of how the living are to obtain access to and control of wealth is formulated in the following manner. Aito controls prestigious wealth and intends that Kafe should share this. An indication of the nature of this wealth is revealed to Kafe by the immobile vehicle. But to obtain this it is necessary for him to return with Aito to the ancestral world. That such wealth is to be inherited only in the after-life is

confirmed by Kioro, though in this case Kioro apparently opposes Aito's intention and instructs Kafe to return to the living at Laukeli.

Yet some indication that ancestors are able to assist the living to acquire wealth is suggested by the circumstances following the club episode. As a kind of consolation for Kafe's disappointment in losing the wealth intended for him at the club, Kafe is instructed by his father in some of the rudiments of trade-store ownership. In addition, there is the inference that Aito will subsequently furnish the goods needed to start this venture. In the event Kioro intervenes and confiscates these goods, due to his (undetermined) opposition to the project. In a later clarification Kafe confirmed that the goods had been sent by Aito and that his father still intended that Kafe should receive this wealth. He had instructed his son to construct the store and place a red croton by the roadside. Aito would then send the goods. I later asked whether Kafe had complied with these instructions. Lamely replying no, he explained that he was not sure if he had properly understood Aito's intentions.

From this it is clear that ancestor wealth (vehicles, aircraft, etc. and the knowledge of how to maintain and service such things) belongs to the ancestor world and is to be possessed only after death. This apart, the role of ancestors is ambiguous in providing partial wealth, for they may assist as well as frustrate the business ventures of the living.

Such ventures and the related problem of achieving power in a world dominated by European prestige symbols, forces the living to look to Europeans rather than ancestors if full participation in a modern world is to be gained. The result of this is twofold. A distinction is drawn between ancestor wealth and European wealth and, correspondingly, ancestors are seen to be opposed to Europeans. These

propositions take us to the heart of the two accounts. While ancestors appear to be like Europeans and in possession of European wealth, they do not apparently have access to the real source of this wealth. They are therefore not Europeans in the full sense and their power is only partial. The question of how ancestors obtained vehicles and aircraft, etc. is not dealt with in the dreams. There is a notable absence here of a common cargoist theme - all wealth originates with ancestors, Europeans possess wealth because they are ancestors, or have received this from ancestors. Rather, it would seem that ancestor possession of this form of wealth is explained simply as an expression of their power, the contemporary symbols of power for Kiseveloka people being displaced into an ancestor world.

For the living, vehicles and aircraft, etc. exist as secondary wealth that can be gained in the pragmatic world only through money. Money as primary wealth is controlled by Europeans, and this ultimately defines the nature of their power. The recognition of this and the subordination of New Guinean villagers to a European-controlled capitalist economy¹⁰ implied by it, qualifies and in the end relegates the position of ancestors. This implication underlies Aito's aggression in the European club, the insistence of his prior claim upon Kafe, and his negation of the claim of Europeans and of Kafe's necessary dependence upon them.

A major point should be made of this analysis. The two accounts show something of the local process of assimilation, in the sense that they deal with the relation between past and present, old and new, and therefore attempt to place new elements into older contexts. But there is little indication here of any systematic concern to integrate the two dimensions coherently. Rather, the essence of the two accounts lies in the manner in which ambiguities, inconsistencies, and contradictions

arising from the process of assimilation emerge and stand to the fore without much attempt at resolution. This is so because ambiguity, inconsistency, and contradiction form a central part of the experience of Kiseveloka people. Especially from men of Kafe's generation, whose lives have been directly affected by the changes of the past three decades, this experience has been one of alienation both from the past and, in the present setting, from the external capitalist power structure. Alienation from the past is the direct product of a process of missionization in which, particularly in Lutheran practice, the old culture was villified and ridiculed. Such devaluation of the past found its complement in the increased exposure of Kafe and others to an external world and its new relations of power - relations in which villagers and migrants experienced real political and economic subordination to Europeans and to other New Guineans. Its power symbols created new aspirations to gain access to this world and secure a full place within it, but actual experience has taught otherwise.

Like thousands of Highlanders Kafe has learnt that at best he is allowed only marginal access to the new world or at worst that he does not belong to it. Yet this has been learnt in relative and not in absolute terms, for contemporary boundaries between village and town are imprecisely conceived. If this gives rise to ambiguities, it does so because villagers inhabit a contradictory world, one in which this contradiction finds its sharpest expression in the relation of aspiration to actuality.

Neither is the breach with the past made with finality for villagers like Kafe. Despite change, the village setting and its immediate social world have affinity with the old world of Aito and Kioro. It is still a world of subsistence and exchange - a world of gardens and pigs, but now also of coffee and cash (this latter,

however, utilised more for exchange than for anything else). The struggle for success and prestige, though having reference to an exogenous power structure, is undertaken against this local backdrop and in the immediate arena of inter-personal rivalry and clan identities. Success and wellbeing, the notions of fertility and strength which stand behind these concerns, and their potential negation in the form of sorcery, are all of paramount importance to Kiveloka people. Though no longer insular, this world is still one with which ancestors are readily identifiable. The welfare and the misfortunes of individuals are still affected by ancestors and as such ancestors continue to have their ambiguous place in local affairs.

Assimilation: Syncretism and Differentiation

I have attempted in this interpretation to show what Kafe's dreams reflect of a general process of assimilation of new knowledge and experience. The trend of this process has been towards increasing discrimination between two worlds in respect of which villagers maintain contradictory postures. An implicit view of the process of assimilation and its effects underlies the accent I have given to this trend. This view should now be made explicit.

What I have called assimilation should be distinguished from two other processes - syncretism and differentiation. Assimilation means more or less what it implies; the acceptance of new knowledge and experience, and the general, if haphazard, assimilation of this into an existing frame of knowledge, or worldview. In respect of Christianity for Kiseveloka people, a traditional lack of concern with ideas of creation, an absence of a systematic theory of misfortune and sin, a prevailing indifference to the after-world and ideas of salvation, all led to an unquestioned acceptance of Christian doctrines. The Lutheran deity, Anutu, gradually replaced an older, rudimentary

deity-figure (Aogano),¹¹ but the bulk of Christian ideas were accepted at face value without much attempt at re-definition or rejection in terms of pre-existing knowledge. Broadly, this was as I see it the nature of assimilation at Kiseveloka; an initial stage of acceptance of innovatory ideas which is probably characteristic of small-scale, pre-literate societies. In such cases, however, assimilation gives rise to one of two different processes - syncretism or differentiation.

Syncretism arises from the need to fuse old and new to create a novel configuration of ideas. This process is long-term and probably the outcome of a certain form of domination characteristic of the expansion of imperialist cultures. Long-term exposure of subordinate populations to dominant and exogenous religious institutions (e.g. the Christian Church) may result in local adaptation of the dominant ideology, and thus to a synthesis of exogenous and local ideas. This produces the kind of popular Christianities found in South America, Africa, and Oceania, though in some cases, and especially in southern Africa, syncretism has often produced or become characteristic of independent churches and sects. In some settings syncretism appears to be the result of Christianity (or certain aspects of it) lending itself to local adaptation; e.g. Catholic hagiology adapted to developed ancestor traditions. Alternatively, syncretism occurs by default of available options. This is especially so where colonialism has been primarily mediated through mission institutions and where such institutions have exercised a monopoly or theocratic control over subordinate peoples. Under these conditions, long-term exposure to monopoly control and the systematic promulgation of Christian dogma through congregational organisations, schools, etc. and where there is an absence of local religious and

political autonomy or of alternative access to other colonial institutions, the full penetration of Christianity into the local community becomes inevitable. Given this, a marked synthesis between Christian ideas and the legacy of an older tradition becomes pronounced of popular worldviews.

By contrast, differentiation is that process where the dominant trend is towards separation rather than fusion of old and new. The situation of co-existence which I observed at the beginning of this chapter to be currently characteristic of Kiseveloka, is the product of this trend towards differentiation. In introducing the notion of co-existence I stressed that this was marked at Kiseveloka by an essential incompatibility between two worlds. Much of this has been seen to underlie the analysis of Kafe's dreams. But it is important now to qualify my use of the terms differentiation and co-existence by showing how they relate to the Kiseveloka community.

As indicated, during the early stages of assimilation at Kiseveloka Christianity was largely accepted at face value and without re-interpreting Christian dogma against an older body of knowledge. Something of this was directly observed by Read among the Gahuku-Gama during 1951. He saw a pronounced contradiction in parallel activities among some groups in preparing simultaneously for the *idza nama* festivals and for baptism into the Lutheran Mission (1952a:229). Though the Gahuku-Gama well understood that the Mission opposed the former activities and that baptism involved an open rejection of the *nama* cult (p.234), the tendency was for Christian ideas (as far as these were then understood) to sit alongside older beliefs (p.236ff.). Here, as for Kiseveloka people, the question of direct incompatibility between specific Christian teachings and specific aspects of older knowledge did not arise, or at least was not pronounced. This was

mainly because Christian dogma dealt with matters of limited or no concern to older knowledge. This does not mean that Kiseveloka people during the early stages of missionization were indifferent to Christianity. They, like Gahuku-Gama groups in 1951, eagerly sought baptism (Read 1952a:234) on the basis of the relation of Christianity to a new order of power. This not only led to the acceptance of mission teachings but also to a partial rejection of old knowledge, which was increasingly regarded to be devalued by missionization and a growing exposure to a new and larger world. As amply documented in this study, the social manifestation of these trends occurred in the wholesale collapse of the institutions to which the older tradition of knowledge belonged - the male cult and its practices - and in the development of novel social institutions.

Yet part of this older tradition has persisted in the form of garden and pig magic, some curative practices and, especially, sorcery. Today garden and pig magic is regarded as of marginal importance in economic pursuits and in consequence is less generally practised by individual villagers, though among older people spells and ritual techniques are still known and are probably more regularly used by them than by younger generations. Some curative knowledge and practices are kept up, usually for the treatment of infant ailments, but this has suffered from the development of medical facilities in the area. If these practices tended to persist under mission pressure to eradicate them, this has been mainly due to the private nature of such activities. Performed by individuals (in gardens and in pig houses, say) or by small numbers of people in the case of curative rituals, such practices were more difficult to suppress than the more socially explicit activities of the male cult, male initiation, pig festivals, etc.

Mission progress in the Kiseveloka area has been dogged by the persistence of sorcery and the failure of both missions and government to eradicate it. Indeed, despite demonstrations at Lutheran baptisms and on other occasions of public disavowal of sorcery beliefs and practices, accompanied by public destruction of sorcery items, sorcery has remained almost entirely immune to these pressures. Magic and curative techniques tend to be private and secret, but this is much more pronounced of sorcery, making it difficult to suppress. But unlike the former techniques, sorcery has not suffered from devaluation and thus fallen into partial disuse. On the contrary, it has retained much of its full traditional power. The reason for this is that sorcery bears directly on inter-personal and inter-group relations. Political change at Kiseveloka, while somewhat augmenting and re-directing the goals of male prestige, has not removed the conflicts and rivalries that comprise the essential human dynamic of local politics. Serious illness and death continue to stand as ultimate measures of success and failure, and those men suffering the loss of a kinsman fly immediately to sorcery accusations against their rivals or enemies - accusations that always carry the threat of counter-sorcery.

The persistence of sorcery and of other forms of knowledge and practice is partly an index of differentiation. This is so because the experience of missionization was primarily one of overt and unambiguous Lutheran opposition to the older knowledge and its institutions. This experience and the choices it demanded of Kiseveloka people forced a sharp break with the past, one which led to a recognition that the world of the past was distinct and different from the dawning world of the present and the future. The post-conversion experience, then, inherits a marked sense of mission opposition to the past, a legacy which is partly expressed in a current feeling of shame about the "ignorance" and

"backwardness" of the old ways - an attitude that might be termed the "pig-dog-dirt" or *kanaka* complex.¹² But the experience of mission opposition to the past, while contributing to the process of differentiation, does not of itself explain why differentiation is accompanied by an underlying sense of incompatibility between co-existent worlds.

Differentiation and the Roots of Incompatibility

The trend towards differentiation is not made without confusion at major points. As I emphasised in the analysis of Kafe's dreams, such confusion results from an understandable inability to draw definite boundaries between village and town, between past and present, or to accept, let alone attempt to resolve, the contradiction between aspiration and actuality. Such confusion or ambiguity, a tendency also to blur the edges of experience and thus of the boundaries of the worlds to which that experience relates, finds its complement also in a tendency to seek compatibility, even to attempt partial synthesis, of elements which are otherwise distinct (e.g. ancestors and Europeans, the ancestor world and heaven, etc.). Differentiation and an underlying sense of incompatibility are not to be understood to exist with clarity at this or that point of experience. That sense is sharper rather at the level of totalities - distinct worlds, experienced as such.

Admittedly, such an overview is sharper to the observer (myself) than to those to whom the experience of these worlds is subjective. And it is also true that Kiseveloka people do not by and large articulate their experience in overtly critical terms. They do not in the main state that their existence is incompatible with beliefs in ancestors or with mission Christianity. On the contrary, many are anxious (though

usually in different contexts) to identify themselves with both, though more readily with the latter: 'We are Christians', it is frequently stressed, 'we follow mission teachings.' The interpretation I have advanced so far, while not actually echoing the stated sentiments of Kiseveloka villagers, nonetheless is fully consonant with the inferences which underlie current attitudes and behaviour.

To conclude this argument it is necessary to show how incompatibility between co-existent worlds underlies current Kiseveloka response in the wake of missionization. This can be established at two levels: in the implicit incompatibility of the distinctive concerns and goals of older knowledge and Christianity; and more explicitly, in a growing sense of the implications of these distinct concerns and goals among Kiseveloka people.

In an early contribution to the important question of the concept of person and the bearing of this upon morality in a Highland society, Read (1955) drew a basic parallel between Gahuku-Gama and Christian concepts of person. He showed, as indeed can be done of all societies, how person is apprehended as an inalienable and distinguishing property of man. For Gahuku-Gama man is constituted of distinct yet inter-related and inseparable parts, that is, body and an animating and psychic essence (pp.265, 268-9). This constitution or fusion of body and psychic essence distinguishes man as person from other organisms, and in turn distinguishes one individual from another; that is, distinctive personality is ascribed to individuals. In society, individual behaviour is made conditional upon a recognition of other as person, and out of this a whole set of obligations towards others is fashioned. In turn this recognition of obligation to others constitutes the body of prescribed behaviours or "oughts" that we term morality.

Read goes on to show how a marked interest in the human body and personality was manifested in a variety of Gahuku-Gama behaviour, providing several examples of this. Some of these examples and others can be generalised here for adjacent Eastern Highland societies, including Kiseveloka. The enhancement of bodily attributes and physical development generally were prominent themes in ceremonies punctuating male initiation and female puberty rites. Much of this was concerned with emphasising aesthetic values of the body (beauty and strength), qualities also accentuated by body decorations worn by dancers and others at pig festivals and on other occasions. Read also notes that close physical contact between persons was a marked feature of social life among the Gahuku-Gama (p.268), and that the general euphemism "skin" had important moral connotations, evidenced in evaluating the relative "goodness" or "badness" of others (pp.266-7). These two features are still marked of Kiseveloka society. For Kiseveloka villagers, and Highlanders generally, the antithesis of bodily values - beauty, strength, goodness, in a word, *power* - is aging, illness and finally, decay and death. These debilities are manifest in skin conditions (that is, in terms of the exterior of the body), but are taken as indications of an interior bodily condition - power-loss. Such anxiety is harked upon in Kafe's second dream, but here it is partially resolved by the hope that in an after-life the living may undergo rejuvenation and, by implication, experience regeneration of body power - characteristics imputed to the two returning ancestors at the beginning of the dream.

This thumbnail sketch of views of the body in Eastern Highland societies hardly does justice to its importance. Despite many shortcomings, this summary does enable a general point to be made, one which was stressed in Chapter Three in an account of the relation of body and power, and the bearing of this on the political and economic goals of

the old ritual complex. The basic concern of this complex lay with fertility and maturation, qualities directly related to body and personality development. The acquisition and manipulation of male power in terms of the body was an explicit object of some rites; the sweat ritual, for example, where male competition was also accentuated. But in addition to validating the body and enhancing bodily power, the old ritual complex, and particularly the pig festival, was concerned also with economic resources; the improvement of the quality of pigs and gardens, and the increase of pig herds and garden produce. The increase of wealth to enhance the power of the territorial group and its prominent individuals in respect of others - allies and rivals alike - was the primary aim of pig festival preparations. Thus, the ritual complex had overt economic and political objectives and as such was geared to the dominant concerns of society - the competitive struggle for group and individual prestige. This found its fullest expression in the public, inter-group and inter-personal exchange of wealth which culminated the pig festival.

These economic and political aims of the old ritual complex, its knowledge and institutions, stand in stark contrast to the central orientations of Christianity, its dogmas and institutions.

In introducing Read's account of Gahuku-Gama concepts of person and Gahuku-Gama morality, it was seen that he drew a basic parallel with Christian concepts of man. Read did not ignore important differences on this matter, noting that Christian notions of sin and universal brotherhood were absent in Gahuku-Gama morality, as was a concept of a deity to whom morality (in the Christian schema) is ultimately directed (1955:272-3). However, in drawing attention to a 'literal correspondence' between Gahuku-Gama and Pauline notions of the body (as expressed in 1 Corinthians xii:12-26), Read tended to

obscure important differences on this point. He might have attended more fully to Pauline anthropology, for rather than validate the body and enhance bodily power, Pauline teaching emphatically negates this, and more of human nature.

In a brief account in Chapter Six attention was given to a pronounced dualism underlying the Christian doctrine of salvation. This dualism was seen to be based in an opposition of natural and spiritual, an opposition regarded as a direct consequence of the fall of Adam and his expulsion from the Eden-paradise. Adam's disobedience (the "original sin") is an inherited human condition, being transmitted through the act of procreation. Thus, man inhabits a fallen world which is alienated from its creator and corrupted by sin. The human condition is one of spiritual death. This nature, however, does allow a re-awakening of dormant spiritual faculties, the corrupted legacy of the creation, leading to a regeneration and, finally, a redemption of man's nature. But this process cannot be self-generated. Salvation is initiated solely by the creator. As the Pauline view has it: '... it is by God's grace you have been saved, through faith. It is not your own doing, but God's gift. There is nothing here to boast of, since it is not the result of your own efforts' (Ephesians ii:8-9). Man may not desire or will his salvation as these faculties are corrupted by sin.

Elsewhere, Pauline teaching recognises man to be constituted of two natures - the natural or lower man, and the spiritual or higher man. These natures are opposed and inimical to each other, at war in a struggle for ascendancy within man (Romans vii:14-25). But such is the power of the corrupted, lower nature that it constantly threatens to assault and strangle spiritual desires. For 'man is mortal, ... a slave to sin.' In a supposedly autobiographical section the writer of Romans remarks:

I do not understand what I do; for I don't do what I would like to do, but instead I do what I hate. When I do what I don't want to do, this shows I agree that the Law is right. So I am not really the one who does this thing; rather it is the sin that lives in me. I know that good does not live in me - that is, in my human nature. For even though the desire to do good is in me, I am not able to do it [vii:15-18].

So I find that this law is a work: when I want to do what is good, what is evil is the only choice I have. My inner being delights in the law of God. But I see a different law at work in my body - a law that fights against the law that my mind approves of. It makes me a prisoner to the law of sin which is at work in my body. What an unhappy man I am! Who will rescue me from this body which is taking me to death? [vii:21-4].

It should be understood of this that the apostle wrote here not of man in general, but of Christian man already spiritually awakened, and in whom the regenerative, redemptive process had begun. For the Christian, who looks by faith towards the final act of his delivery in the promise of eternal life (Romans viii), the inner struggle of his warring natures is acutely sensed. Unlike other men who remain dead in sin, the Christian perceives that while he exists in this body, in this world, he belongs to another. His hope firmly set on a spiritual world, he strives to disentangle himself from a corrupt existence to which his natural drives still impel him. He is thus at odds with himself and his existence, alienated within and without.

In this classical statement of religious schizophrenia, it is the body itself, the human corporeality which the individual shares with others and in terms of which social identity is ascribed, that is the locus of sin and the essence of corruption. This negation of the body and of human nature in Pauline anthropology has inevitable social consequences. For that which the individual shares with others and which identifies him with others, is both a communality and an identification grounded in a common corruption. As the Christian must struggle under grace to liberate his spiritual faculties from his baser, bodily instincts (the desires of the flesh), so he must struggle also to

liberate himself from a society and world governed by carnal drives. It is this sense of the Pauline view which Bunyan elaborated in the Protestant classic, *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Here, in Christian's flight from an evil world of self-gratification and compromise, Pauline alienation finds powerful expression, and is in the process revealed for what in essence it is - a-social, a-worldly.

The logic of this is clear. What at root identifies man with other men is sin. Society, then, is not only the context for sin, it facilitates and produces sin, for without society the sinful motive and the sinful act would not be possible. Such is the corrupting power of this body corporate, its temptations and seductions, that the earnest Christian must have no part of it. He must fly headlong from its wiles to the safety of heaven.

In Bunyan's classic, as in Romans vii, Pauline alienation is couched in individualist terms - the Christian man against the world. This view, however, has collective implications and these are on occasion stated clearly as such in the Pauline writings. Thus, 2 Corinthians contains this short section dealing with relations between Christians and non-Christians:

Do not try to work together as equals with unbelievers, for it cannot be done. How can right and wrong be partners? How can light and darkness live together? How can Christ and the Devil agree? What does a believer have in common with an unbeliever? How can God's temple come to terms with pagan idols? For we are the temple of the living God! As God himself has said, "I will make my home with my people and live among them; I will be their God, and they shall be my people." And so the Lord says, "You must leave them, and separate yourselves from them. Have nothing to do with what is unclean, and I will accept you. I will be your father, and you shall be my sons and daughters ..." [vi:14-8].

The import of this is self-evident. The Christian community, the church, must be careful to separate itself from the world of paganism and its polluting influences. If necessary, the basic social bonds of kinship should be negated, for the Christian's true familial ties are

found only in God the father, and in the brotherhood of the Christian community. Jesus' denial of family ties and their obligations might be cited in this connection.¹³

Admittedly, much of this stark Paulinism is distinctive of Augustinian Christianity, interpreted through Lutheran, Calvinist and other Evangelical traditions. But an a-social, a-worldly trend derived mainly from the Pauline writings has exercised a much wider impact on Christianity generally, and is not restricted to selected traditions within the wider whole. The monastic tradition, the Christian hermits and desert fathers who preceded it, and more generally pietist quietism and even theocracy, are all in their ways manifestations of an a-worldly Paulinism. And in their different ways the desire to spurn the world (Catholic monasticism and Protestant pietism), or to conquer it (the Papacy and Calvin's Geneva) are united in the attempt to secure a common goal - to give social expression to boundaries which emphatically separate out sacred/profane, good/evil, church/world, etc. These boundaries, like the walls which separate church-space from world-space and their respective activities and goals, are drawn in all Christian traditions in accordance with Pauline dualism. The delineation of sacred/secular, religion/politics, as we know from Durkheim, reflects on the general trend towards institutional differentiation and specialisation in Western European history. But, at least for Christianity, that trend arises from and may indeed have been primarily re-inforced by the Pauline legacy. Moreover, this bears directly on the distinctive goals of Christian ritual. Though more explicit in some traditions than in others, sacred and a-worldly preoccupations negate the natural, social order as these preoccupations seek to invalidate and judge human endeavour in a secular, political and economic world.

Pauline influence must also be seen to stand directly behind the missionary endeavour, for Christianity has made St. Paul the missionary apostle *par excellence*, and his writings have been, as they still are, basic reading for student-missionary and practising missionary alike. Because this writing, which comprises the bulk of the New Testament canon, arises directly out of a missionary setting and deals with basic problems of evangelistic strategy and nascent congregational organisation, it is an immediate and primary reference point for the missionary mind. This observation provides a link to the argument of Chapter Seven, as this account of Pauline dualism provides a necessary basis against which to evaluate the interpretation of Lutheran evangelistic policy and practice advanced in that chapter. Lutheran missionary attitudes to body decorations, to dancing and pig festivals can now be seen to stem directly out of the Pauline missionary legacy. For it was Pauline anthropology rather than any other to which Lutheran missionaries first had recourse, and it was primarily in these terms that the missionaries, and by extension the mission workers and elders, framed their attitudes and policies towards "heathenism". The fact that Hannemann at Kerowagi in the early 1950s sought to evaluate Chimbu pig festivals in the light of Pauline missives to the Corinthian church was no accident. Nor is it insignificant that Hannemann's "exegesis" of the pig festival relegates the 'social element' to the bottom rung in his understanding of the important features of the festival. Admittedly, in some Lutheran practices elsewhere in New Guinea the hand of St. Paul is less apparent. This is so of the Kaiapit area in the 1930s (as in the Yabem field generally, see Willis 1974:60-1) and the Lutheran attempt to adapt the *mugus* festival into the Lutheran liturgy. But Pauline influences, even if in a less exaggerated form, are still detectable here. It will be

remembered that Ngarawapum rejection of the Lutheran substitute was mainly due to the lack of social value of this substitute; that is, its essential incompatibility with the specific political and economic objectives of Ngarawapum society, goals directly realised through the old *mugus* festival.

This brings us finally to the second stage of the argument: the growing sense of incompatibility between mission impositions and the village society of Kiseveloka people.

Incompatibility and co-existence are to be seen in the marginal role of Christian ritual, and the general failure of Christian ideas to penetrate the lives of Kiseveloka people. For neither Christian ritual nor Christian belief now hold any immediate concern for the population. Here we need only take some general examples of this.

While the Lutheran liturgy is now printed and conducted locally in the Yagaria language and draws upon an indigenous tradition of songs, the form and content of worship belong directly to Flierl's 'Mother Church' Lutheranism rather than to anything recognisably "Melanesian". The same is true of Lutheran chapels, which, though containing in some cases the odd decorations worked in a local style, in form and function derive directly from the European tradition. The weekly grind of chapel services finds limited response from villagers, to whom "worship" is an alien concept. In some outlying areas (at Kasale, for instance) chapel services are rarely held, while regular services at chapels like that of the Kigemu-Kivulugu sub-congregation, rarely attract more than a few dozen folk, most of whom are women, young girls and children. The old *songga* Upe apart, few men ever attend services there or anywhere else. In Upe's case, it will be recalled from Chapter Nine that he initiated the building of the Kigemu-Kivuluga chapel, and as the 'father of the chapel' regards the building more or less as his property.

The Lutheran attempt to encourage household devotions each morning and evening, though apparently observed among Lutheran converts during the early post-conversion period, has now fallen into total disuse. On two or three occasions I observed Christian prayers performed (in Tok Pisin) at the beginning of communal feasts. This practice was extremely rare, however, for I must have attended dozens of such feasts in the general area where no prayers were offered. The rare exceptions can be attributed to my early period of residence, which tended to promote Christian and other European-oriented postures among the population. These proved to be mere affectations, and were quickly dropped once the novelty of my presence wore off and it was realised that I was neither a missionary nor a government officer.

The life cycle at Kiseveloka, though affected by infant baptism and Christian burial, moves through much of its course without reference to Christianity. The rite of confirmation has little local impact, despite its importance in the Lutheran calendar in conferring full congregational membership and allowing access to holy communion. Some baptised youths and maidens have been confirmed, but others have not. Indeed, some youths completing several years at Lutheran bible schools were entirely ignorant of the confirmation rite, and could not say whether or not they had been confirmed.

Marriage is entirely a secular affair. Traditionally, the marriage ceremony organised by the groom's relatives to receive the bride and her party contained no religious component. This is still the case, for the Lutheran attempt to encourage chapel weddings has failed in the area. The negotiation of brideprice and, following agreement of this, the marriage ceremony and its associated feast and exchanges of pork between the new affines, are undertaken without reference to Christianity, even when prominent Lutheran supporters in the area are involved. Lutheran impact upon marriage has been

mainly restricted to the banning of polygyny and the encouragement of co-spousal residence. Though the latter is now the accepted norm throughout the valley, the Lutheran ban on polygyny no longer finds general acceptance, and a number of Lutheran converts live openly as polygynists.

Death is one of the few events affected by Christian teachings. Burial is usually accompanied by prayers conducted at the graveside by a church worker or some other man knowledgeable in church matters. Local acceptance of burial is largely explained by government regulations forbidding any other form of disposal of the dead. These regulations, accompanied by mission proscriptions, were primarily aimed at the prohibition of cannibalism, which was generally practised in the area prior to 1950. The recent tradition of necrophagia is important here. Lacking any ritual or religious component (see Chapter Six), the practice shows no particular beliefs or sense of respect towards the corpse. The later adoption of burial thus involved no real clash with older beliefs.

Christian burial, however, stands alongside other practices forbidden by the church. Today, burial usually takes place not in communal cemeteries as required by Lutheran teaching, but in plots close to gardens associated with the departed, or at old house sites. These locations are preferred because they are ancestral places, and it is felt that the dead should be returned to a place with which they or their fathers were associated. This practice often has an important bearing on land disputes. In some cases small ancestor shrines are secretly erected over the grave, with small food offerings left there to placate the departed spirit. But even where a wooden cross serves as a grave marker, food offerings are frequently left by the cross.

In addition, two other practices related to death are observed despite church opposition. Sorcery divination is normally undertaken following death. In the case of the death of an important man or a close relative of his (say, brother, wife, or child), men of the territorial group assemble at the house of the departed person. Each man enters the house and stands before the corpse. Should the corpse urinate or defecate in the presence of a visitor, this indicates his complicity as a sorcerer in the death. This more public form of divination is accompanied by less open practices. A group of close kinsmen of the corpse meet together to discuss the likely origin of sorcery attack. A number of dead rats are then cooked together in a fire, each rat having been given the name of a suspected clan or settlement. Later, the fire is opened and an uncooked rat reveals the identity of the guilty group. This procedure is then repeated with the names of individual men (of the identified group) substituted for clans or settlements. Several variants of this technique exist, including the use of sweet potato or arrows instead of rats. The fact that both forms of divination described here were employed and widely known to have been employed (though in every case with negative results) during my period of fieldwork at Kiseveloka, is a measure of the waning of church influence in such matters and a now open disregard of church teachings against sorcery.

The same applies to mortuary payments made to relatives and allies of the dead, a matter which cannot be discussed in detail here. At the height of Lutheran impact such practices were strictly curtailed, the killing of only a single pig being permitted on such occasions. With the decay of Lutheran influence large-scale mortuary payments have come back into vogue; in some cases as many as thirty pigs being killed and the pork distributed in connection with a given death. I

witnessed three large-scale affairs of this kind among Kivuluga clans, two of which were retrospectively organised to meet outstanding obligations for important men who had died many years before. In one of these cases the Lutheran *songga*, Upe, played a prominent part as a donor.

Sorcery divination is primarily concerned with inter-personal and inter-group relations, for its accompanying threat of counter sorcery against those held to be responsible for a given death, reflects upon continuing political conflicts and is not primarily (if at all) motivated by a desire to appease the spirit of the departed. In more positive fashion the same holds for mortuary payments, which relate directly to the fulfilment and ratification of political alliances among the living. Though affected by death, these alliances and the mortuary payments made in respect of them, have little to do with relations between the dead and their living kinsmen.

Kiseveloka people generally profess ignorance about ancestor existence and the nature of an after-life. The spirits of the recently departed are believed to inhabit areas of the land associated with a territorial group, and can have a disruptive influence in human affairs, bringing illness to children and pigs, or making gardens infertile. In some cases, rituals are performed to placate a spirit believed to be responsible for one or more of the above, offering it gifts of pork or cooked rat meat. Such gifts, however, are made with the express intention of permanently evicting the spirit from the territory. Recently dead ancestors are known by name and dealt with (if occasion arises) on that basis. However, the long dead whose names can no longer be recalled belong to an amorphous category. As such they are vaguely associated with the interests and well-being of the territorial group or clan in much the same way as in the pre-

contact era, though there are now no ritual or other occasions at which a strong sense of identity with the long dead ancestors is expressed.

Though identification with named ancestors and a concern with the nature of their existence are important to some individuals like Kafe, and contact with such spirits through dreams is widely accepted as an important means of revelation and knowledge to individuals, these matters exist alongside a prevailing indifference and professed agnosticism towards belief in an after-life. Christian views of heaven have minimal impact here. Discussions with many Kiseveloka people about the meaning and significance of an after-life were usually perfunctory and quickly terminated, often by asking what I knew of heaven. My agnostic response was generally echoed by a given informant and frequently in the following terms: 'The Mission has told us of these things. Perhaps there is a heaven, a good place with plenty of wealth, where everyone lives amicably in European-style houses. But we have never seen this place ourselves nor have we learnt about it from anyone but the Mission. If you, a European, do not know if these stories are true, how can we?'

From this overview of the life cycle it is evident that an implicit rejection of Christianity underlies current Kiseveloka response to the church. In some cases (marriage, for example) church preferences have been resisted, while in others (polygyny, mortuary payments, sorcery divination) church demands are openly opposed. It is not difficult to see in this general response an accompanying sense of the incompatibility of Christianity to the dominant secular concerns of the population. Though this view is rarely stated as such, it is occasionally articulated, and in one notable case from an unlikely quarter.

Imara has been the most prominent Lutheran supporter in the valley, and was the first Kiseveloka man to receive baptism. In addition to his early ties with Gomai and Sera, Imara has forged relations with Lutheran missionaries and for several years worked closely with the Rongo missionary as a language informant. Some of this work was done at Imara's small settlement at Kiseveloka, where accommodation was maintained for the missionary. As a leading Lutheran *songga* in the area Imara was for several years a regular participant in Lutheran conferences, and claims the distinction of being the first Kiseveloka man to fly in a (mission) plane. His current standing in community affairs has been largely due to his alliance with the Lutherans and his ability to utilise the opportunities this created.

Two of Imara's sons have received tertiary education and one is a recent graduate of the University of Papua and New Guinea. If these and other young Move men have been variously successful in establishing themselves in a European-dominated, urban world, Imara remains a village man and as such is highly conscious of the gap between himself and his sons, between his world and theirs. This produces some pointed criticism of the young educated elite from Imara. They are *kiseve yave*, the small, swallow-like bird that darts here and there, seeking refuge in small holes in rocky cliffs. Or, more abusively, they are *oliva* (flying fox) and *usu* (small bat), which come and go at will and exist, as it were, on the scraps of life. In voicing this criticism Imara has in mind the relation of such men to the village, their disavowal of any obligation to village society and clan interests.¹⁴ Imara traces this to the European values of urban life, contrasting these with the values of the village. On one occasion he spelt this out to me in the company of a number of

prominent Kiseveloka men. 'Europeans do not understand the importance to us of exchange, the obligation to repay what one owes to others. They know little of the responsibilities of fatherhood, the need to feed one's children, to buy wives for brothers and sons. Europeans are ignorant of these things because they have money and can buy and sell as they wish. They have business but they have no clan. So they keep their wealth and do not distribute this freely to others.'

This is essentially a caricature, for it tends to romanticise the obligations underlying exchange, making them appear more altruistic than they are. Also, the view of Europeans presented here, though hardly objective, understandably reflects the fact that Imara has had little experience of European society or of European family life, seeing Europeans as he has experienced them - authority-figures in control of considerable wealth and power.

The sharpness of the contrast drawn here by Imara has other implications. Despite his long-standing support for the church, he has come to the view that Christianity does not and never can relate to village life. Rather, it belongs to the European way of life and in the final reckoning can only be a part of that existence. Imara draws on his own knowledge of Christianity to support this conclusion, the gist of which can be summarised in the following interpretation.

The missionaries came to Kiseveloka to tell the people about God and Jesus. Initially, the people thought the missionaries would give everyone large amounts of wealth, and this was the main reason why the missionaries were accepted. Only later was it understood that the missionaries had other intentions. The bible stories were learnt, and from this it was understood that God and Jesus were the ancestors of the Europeans, for Kiseveloka people were shown pictures which depicted God and Jesus as whites.¹⁵ The main purpose of teaching these stories was

not simply to explain about God and Jesus, the creation of the world and other things, but to explain who the missionaries were and why they possessed such great wealth and power. (Imara sees this as the underlying meaning, the *root* of the bible stories.) Though belonging to Europeans this knowledge also has implications for New Guineans. The bible stories explain why villagers must always be subordinate to Europeans. To sustain this view Imara attempts to re-interpret the story of Adam's fall. He believes this alone of the bible stories applies directly to New Guineans. They are the true descendants of Adam, the inheritors of his sin and its consequences. This is why they do not have God's favour, for unlike Europeans who stand closer to God and Jesus and so enjoy a life surrounded by wealth, with machines to do their work, New Guinean villagers will always be strangers to such comforts. Villagers will always have to work hard, tending gardens and caring for pigs. They can have no share in salvation as this is intended only for Europeans. This Imara believes to be God's will, and he adds: 'When we die we shall go to be with our ancestors in a place quite different from heaven, which is a place only for Europeans, and they will live there with their ancestors - God and Jesus.'

The sense of incompatibility between Christianity and the village could find no clearer expression than this, nor could its implications for Kiseveloka people be stated with more negative finality. Imara was never taught this; it grows directly out of his inner experience. He has spent most of his adult life under the promise of salvation held out to him by the church, and has patiently awaited the coming of a better way of life. Now in old age he knows this will not be, and in realising this the old *songga* struggles to make sense of the meaning of Christianity. He believes he finds this to be a negation of village life and its separation from a dominant European world.

Coming to terms with his own reality Imara offers more than mere acceptance of things as he finds them. Reviewing the course of change brought about by the Lutherans, which has spanned his adult life, he attempts to balance the account of gains and losses. He accepts unequivocally that much of the pre-contact life was wrong, and has no regrets at the passing of warfare, cannibalism, or the cruelty and deception of the past. Against this, however, he rues the loss of the strength of his forefathers, what might be called their self-pride and autonomy in personal and clan affairs. 'The mission and government have made us weak. We have lost the knowledge our forefathers had. Our gardens no longer produce the strong foods like their gardens did, and our pigs lack the strength of their pigs. Today our young people ignore their elders and are too much influenced by the new ways. They are weak and the clan is weak. Yes, the missionaries have helped us, but they took from us our knowledge and our power.'

Conclusion

A concluding comment might be thought superfluous in the light of this judgement. But this judgement is partial, and, though an authentic indigenous comment upon the process of missionization and to be accepted as such, it requires interpretation in the context of this study. Imara's view reflects the conservatism of an older generation - a generation, it should be remembered, that was mainly instrumental (and Imara no less than others) in opening the door of change, the consequences of which Imara now criticises. This fact must not be lost sight of in evaluating Imara's view, and though he may not see it Imara's judgement is a judgement also of himself. This may appear harsh, and in a way it is. It may be softened by the following observations.

Anthropologists would not find it difficult to sympathise

with Imara's situation. In doing so they might be accused, as they sometimes are, of being too romantic about the past, of valuing tradition for its own sake and seeing change only as a cancer at work in a once healthy and vigorous culture. But if Imara's comments strike a sympathetic cord in this study, it is not for these reasons.

The old Kiseveloka society was no Golden Age, the passing of which should be regretted on that account. But it was a society, with its distinctive institutions, knowledge, skills and values - a society in which autonomy, self-sufficiency and independence were prized, and a world in which individuals possessed considerable freedom to exercise control over their own affairs and destinies, to make themselves and their world. These are the values which Imara sees to have been lost to change and the subordination of villagers to an external order that resulted from change.

Change, however, occurred not despite these values but because of them, and particularly because of the accent given to the pursuit of power and the means (alliance, control of wealth, exchange) of achieving this. Attracted to whites by their wealth and power Highlanders eagerly sought relations with Europeans and their New Guinean subordinates to gain access to wealth and utilise this for purposes of male prestige. In the process attitudes and beliefs about Europeans were fashioned which only served to bring about economic and political dependence to white power. Highlanders never fully understood this consequence until it was too late to adopt an alternative way of dealing with Europeans. And some individuals, like Imara, clearly benefited from their relations with missionary, *kiap* and others, and their apparent success in using these alliances set the pattern for other villagers. Generally, however, Highlanders were too conscious of the values of self-reliance and independence to fully accept the reality of subordination, and sought

to manipulate their dealings with Europeans for personal and clan advantage. But this was a relation unequally joined, for though it allowed Highlanders to exercise options, to play off one European against another, choice was restricted by context and circumstance.

The context was a colonial one, and the forces represented by missionary, *kiap*, and white entrepreneur, by mission workers and native police, were in the long-term too economically and politically powerful to be effectively resisted by villagers. The circumstance was cultural and partly of the villagers' own making. For the importance of exchange and trade to village prestige ensured a generally positive response to contact, and the exchange ethos helped to create misunderstandings about the nature and intentions of Europeans.

Choice restricted by context and circumstance, the underlying role of assumption and misunderstanding, made change inevitable. But if missionization changed the face of village society, it did not materially alter its internal drives and goals. For villagers have modified somewhat the impact of change, and effectively rejected Lutheran excesses. They continue to deal with the world in terms of the older competitive values of exchange, and are still in essence strangers to the capitalist motive and marginal to the economic and political structure of capitalism.

What makes marginality possible is social distance from an urban world and its power structure, and social distance in turn means that the village retains a degree of autonomy. Independent control of land, and the abiding importance (despite cash-cropping) of the basic concern with a subsistence-exchange economy, are the main measures of marginality and village autonomy, and as such indices of independence and self-sufficiency.

In a sense, then, Imara is mistaken to see these features to be lost. Yet, autonomy, self-sufficiency and independence are not real for villagers do not see themselves and village existence in these terms. Rather, they see themselves as subordinate to Europeans and urban life, and perceive village culture to be accordingly devalued. This sense of devaluation and loss of self-reliance has been the real cost of change, and the mission impact must be judged in terms of its special contribution to this. In this study my judgement has been made, but this is one which was learnt from Imara and other Kiseveloka people. In rendering this judgement I have sought, in part at least, to be their amanuensis.

Notes - Chapter X

1. For Lawrence's basic interpretation of Madang cargoism, see Lawrence (1956:80-9, 1964:1-33, and 1971:140-1). For his treatment of "religion" generally in Melanesia, see Lawrence and Meggitt (1965:1-25), and Lawrence (1965:198-223, 1972:1001-12).
2. It should be stressed here that much of the foregoing account is heavily indebted to Douglas' account of 'primitive worlds'.
3. This term should not be taken to imply that the Gahuku-Gama world-view is not personalized. Here Read's 'impersonal' means that ancestors are not individually distinguished and as such they lack anthropomorphic definition.
4. Allowance should be made for variation in Melanesian societies. In some cases the corpus of knowledge may be more elaborated than Read and Newman found for Eastern Highland societies. However, elaboration need not mean system, as I have already suggested for Madang societies, where by comparison the traditional cosmic picture appears to be fuller.
5. This is not to say that Hindu beliefs were irrelevant in the general rejection of Christianity by Indian villagers. It is also pertinent here that at village level Christianity appears to have been successful only among lower caste groups (see, for example, Beals 1962:37).
6. While Lawrence's *Road Belong Cargo* sets Madang cargoism against the background of colonial change, his account of missionization in the region is limited and at a number of points tends to obscure the degree of change which stemmed from the mission impact (see Chapter Seven of this thesis, and Smith 1979).
7. A partial exception here is Yali's *Lo bos* cult of the Astrolabe Bay (Madang) area. *Lo bos* has proved to be more durable than any other comparable cult, developing its own inter-village organisation, local leadership, and rituals. However, the cult seems to have been heavily dependent of Yali's personality, and it is not clear what the implications of the founder's death in 1972 have had for the cult. See Morauta (1974).

8. Organisations like the Yagaria Progress Society were set up in rural areas by the Administration to encourage economic development, especially small-holder cash-cropping. Usually under the control of prominent villagers (appointed as president, treasurer, etc.), recruitment drives were mounted to extend organisational membership and obtain funds. Peanuts and, later, coffee trees, were distributed to members of the organisation.
9. These names were painted on the truck door in the usual manner of vehicles owned by villagers.
10. Obviously, this does not mean that villagers like Kafe understand what a 'European-controlled capitalist economy' amounts to. If I failed to find indigenous philosophers, particularly of a structuralist bent, at Kiseveloka, neither did I find any indigenous economists. Ancestors do not apparently take the *Economist* or the *New Left Review*, and are thus unable to apprise the living of the views variously expressed therein. Kiseveloka people, however, have an understanding of the practice of capitalism, and their experience of subordination to it and to those who are its immediate instruments of control, has been an accumulated one over the past three decades.
11. Berndt (1965:102-4) provides an identical example and observes an early tendency for traditional knowledge to become eclipsed by Christianity.

The term Aogano is now hardly known except to older Kiseveloka people. Among such people it is said, 'Papa God (Anutu) is to us now what Aogano was to our forefathers.' Aogano appears to have had some of the attributes and functions described by Berndt of the deity-figures Jugumishanta and Morufonu among adjacent populations (1965:41ff.), though there has been a tendency (but not an important one) among older Kiseveloka people to read back into Aogano certain attributes generally associated with Anutu.

Renck renders Aogano as 'friend' (1977:20), identifying Ube as the traditional deity-figure throughout the area: Ube also referring to myths (p.195). I found no evidence at Kiseveloka to support the interpretation that Ube was the name of the old deity-figure. Those few informants conversant with these matters insisted that

Note 11 cont.

that Aogano was the correct name, while Ube means simply 'story' or myth.

12. *Kanaka*, literally 'villager' or 'bush man' in Tok Pisin, carries overt derogatory connotations.
13. See Mark x:39-40, where Jesus denies a priority to the family ties of his disciples, and Matthew xii:47-50, where he also denies any primacy to his own family. In Matthew vii:21-2, the mortuary obligations of the living are also denied in so far as these interfere with the demands of discipleship.
14. This criticism does not apply to Imara's eldest son, Veyamo, who is an English school teacher in the area. Veyamo is closely associated with his father's affairs and, unusually for an educated man, is strongly identified with village life.
15. The reference here is to pictorial representations of bible stories in the form of the familiar sunday school picture role.

APPENDIX A

Table 3. Lutheran Adherents in New Guinea, 1940-62

	LMNG	NGLM	ALM	Total Lutheran	Catholic	All Missions	Lutheran %	New Guinea Indigenous Population	Mission %
1940	161818	--	--	161818	186196	410465	39.4	684836	60.0
1948	145000	--	5000	150000	143630	317846	47.2	-- ¹	--
1949	105000	-- ²	5000	110000	164500	416400	26.4	-- ¹	--
1950	105000	-- ²	5000	110000	182000	463650	23.7	1071105	43.3
1951	106000	-- ³	5000	111000	186500	362900	30.6	1094014	33.2
1952	109300	12000	5000	126300	206471	413670	30.5	1090332	37.9
1953	121400	12000	5000	138400	215750	438750	32.3	1143564	38.4
1954	143719	13000	6000	162719	254280	500035	32.5	1195307	41.8
1955	143719	12000	6000	161719	345200	634666	25.5	1241615	51.5
1956	150037	15000	5000	170037	320185	605922	28.1	1273837	47.5
1957	163222	15000 ⁴	5000	183222	349500	627032	29.2	1297174	48.3
1958	180000	20000	6000	206000	354600	676800	30.4	1326195	51.0
1959	194000	16500	6000	216500	365700	712650	30.4	1360639	52.4
1960	197746	18000	5600	221346	321600	658756	33.6	1386808	47.5
1961	227051	20000	6000	253051	300408	695542	36.4	1433383	48.5
1962	248754	30000	10500	289254	334085	772294	37.4	1469320	52.6

Cont.

Table 3 Cont.

LMNG: Lutheran Mission New Guinea
NGLM: New Guinea Lutheran Mission
ALM: Australian Lutheran Mission

1. Annual Report gives 1940 figure.
2. Annual Report gives '85000', but this cannot be correct as NGLM was only established (in Enga area) in 1948. For this reason NGLM figure is excluded.
3. No figure given for this year.
4. Annual Report gives '3000'. The figure given here is adjusted in line with 1956 figure.

The figures presented here and, with the noted exception, in the following table are taken from New Guinea Annual Reports (Appendix XVI 1940, 1948-52; Appendix XXV 1953-67), and are based on figures supplied to the Administration by the missions. In most cases these figures are little more than rough estimates and do not accurately show actual baptised members, though LMNG figures generally appear to be more accurate in this regard. The grossness of mission figures generally (especially apparent of Catholic figures) explains annual fluctuations. These are sometimes considerable (e.g. mission totals, 1954-56) and reflect a tendency to drastically over-estimate numbers of adherents (see Catholic figures for 1954-56, and 1959-61).

The variation in Lutheran adherents between 1940, and 1948-49 probably reflects the disruption to mission work caused by the Pacific war. The 1948 figure is probably estimated in the light of the 1940 situation, and it was not until 1949 that Lutheran missionaries were able to gain a more accurate picture of Lutheran support.

The Lutherans command by far the largest Protestant support in New Guinea, and are second only to the Catholics. The latter have been included here (and in the following table) for broad comparative purposes. Lutheran/Catholic comparison is, however, a little misleading, apart, that is, from the grossness of Catholic statistics. Catholic work had been in the hands of seven mission orders (six commanding substantial support), and, unlike Lutheran work which is restricted to the New Guinea mainland, substantial Catholic support is also found in areas other than the mainland (i.e. New Britain, New Ireland and Bougainville). For example, of the 334085 Catholics in 1962 about one half (166000) were distributed between New Britain, New Ireland and Bougainville. On the mainland Lutheran support in 1962 (298254) easily surpassed that of the Catholics (168085).

The bulk of Lutheran support belongs to LMNG (since 1956 the Evangelical Lutheran Church of New Guinea, and now the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Papua New Guinea), and is found in the Morobe, Madang, Eastern Highlands, Chimbu and Western Highlands provinces. Smaller Lutheran support belonging to NGLM (now the Wabag Lutheran Church) is found in the Enga Province in the Highlands. As indicated elsewhere the NGLM was an American mission body of the Missouri Synod. This was a separate church from that of the Iowa Synod (or American Lutheran Church), the latter supporting LMNG. In New Guinea the two missions have cooperated, especially since the 1960s. The small Australian Lutheran Mission (now amalgamated with ELCPNG) maintained work only in the Menyamya (Morobe) area and on Rooke Island (off the Huon Coast).

Allowing that mission statistics are rough approximations and sometimes highly exaggerated they do indicate the trend of mission impact and of the Lutheran contribution to this. Overall, the Lutheran share of mission support in New Guinea is stable in the post-war period at around 30 per cent, while general mission support stabilises at around 50 per cent of the indigenous population. This latter statistic has to be read against the considerable rise in the indigenous population from 1940 to 1962. This increase is mainly explained by the fact that the New Guinea Highland population (some 706390 in 1966, see table 4) was only being censused during the post-war period. Thus, the ability of the missions to maintain the figure of 50 per cent to 1962 reflects substantial mission growth in the Highlands. Certainly on the basis of the figures alone mission growth in the post-war period is phenomenal. The Lutheran figure dramatically increased by 263 per cent (110000 to 289254) between 1949 and 1962, while mission adherents generally increased by 185 per cent (416400 to 772294) during the same period. Lutheran growth during

and after this period was undoubtedly affected by the Highland impact. For of the 105000 estimated Lutheran converts in 1949 only a few hundreds would have been highlanders. It is impossible to accurately determine the Highland contribution to mission figures as presented in the Annual Reports to 1962. For 1963, however, the Annual Reports provide a breakdown of mission support by region, and the following table is based on these figures.

Table 4. Lutheran Adherents in the New Guinea Highlands1963-67¹

	Lutheran	Catholic	All Missions	Lutheran %	Indigenous Population	Mission %
1963 EH	84840	51000	177330	47.8	358038	49.5
WH	28940 ²	70000	156800	19.0	288836	54.3
Total	113780	121000	334130	34.0	646874	51.6
1964 EH	96818	50000	195250	49.6	362243	53.9
WH	36610	80000	174882	20.9	291718	59.9
Total	133428	130000	370132	36.0	653961	56.6
1965 EH	97820	43500	198690	49.2	372713	53.3
WH	47420	55000	151820 ³	31.2	295509	51.4
Total	145240	98500	350510	41.4	668222	54.5
1966 EH	109411	60000	225442	48.5	381266	59.1
WH	54456	64221	180903	31.0	301882	59.9
Total	163867	124221	406345	40.3	683148	59.5
1967 EH	110000 ⁴	55000	213676	51.5	388767	55.0
WH	50117	65431	182998	27.4	317623	57.6
Total	160117	120431	396674	40.4	706390	56.1
1966 ⁵ EH	129099	5290	192774	67.0	201987	95.5
Chimbu	65106	72675	141172	46.1	166923	84.6
WH	91284	112025	277549	32.9	289452	95.9
Total	285489	189990	611495	46.7	658353	92.9

EH: Eastern Highlands (including Chimbu)

WH: Western Highlands

Cont.

Table 4 Cont.

1. This does not include the Southern Highlands, which is dealt with separately in Annual Reports for Papua. Mission figures for this region have been excluded here mainly because Lutheran work has been limited in the Southern Highlands.
2. This figure comprises LMNG and NGLM supporters, a procedure followed throughout in this table.
3. This total is affected by incomplete figures for this year.
4. The Lutheran figure is given as '72,720' in the Annual Report. This seems too low and has been adjusted to the approximate 1966 figure.
5. These figures come from the *Population Census 1966* (see Bibliography 1.A(iii)). Unlike the other mission figures provided by the missions, these statistics derive from census returns and show mission allegiances (or preferences) as indicated by the indigenous population (see below for further discussion).

The reservations made of the figures in Table 3 equally apply here, though, again, Lutheran figures (especially for the Eastern Highlands) appear to accurately reflect baptised members. Allowing for a tendency to exaggerate mission adherents by the missions generally, the figures still provide some broad indication of mission impact in the Highlands.

Obviously, the Lutheran figures for the Eastern Highlands should be read against the detailed discussion of the preceding study. However, a general point should be underlined **here**. The 1963 figures (both for the Lutherans and other missions) are the product of only a decade or so of effective evangelisation in the Highlands. Given this, the rate of growth up to 1963 is startlingly rapid, and it would be difficult to find a comparable rate of evangelisation for such a substantial population anywhere in Christian mission history. The steady Lutheran growth after 1963, allowing for "mopping up" in older areas, is probably accounted for by Lutheran additions from newer areas of work among outlying populations.

Lutheran totals for New Guinea are not included in this table, but can be readily consulted from Annual Reports for the period. It will be seen from these totals that the Lutheran contribution from the Highlands is substantial; 37.7 per cent (of 301450) in 1963, 45.5 per cent (of 360396) in 1966. This helps to explain much of the rate of Lutheran increase in New Guinea during 1948-62 as given in Table 3.

The second set of figures for 1966, given at the end of the table, derive from the 1966 Population Census. The considerable discrepancy between these figures and earlier mission statistics arises from the fact that the 1966 Census figures derive from indigenous sources rather than from the missions. These figures cannot be taken as an accurate index of mission allegiance. Allowing for the possibility of considerable inaccuracies in obtaining and compiling

this data, the figures probably reveal little more than area (or, possibly, clan) allegiances and identities. If a given mission has been generally identified with a certain area it is likely that local populations will consider themselves to "belong" to that mission, irrespective of whether they were baptised members of that mission or even of some other mission. The census returns probably reflect this tendency and this data might better be understood as "votes". Nonetheless, the returns by region show a consistent 90 per cent or so identification with Christianity for the Highland regions and elsewhere in New Guinea, and this must be said to show changing village identities and orientations towards the outside world. The significance of this cannot be judged from figures alone but needs to be explored in village-based studies of given areas, of the kind attempted here.

Finally, it should be noted that mission statistics in Annual Reports after 1967 merely reiterate in summary form the 1966 Census figures. In 1977 the Lutheran church estimated its effective support at around 200,000, though the total baptised membership is given as 476,000 (see 'Report and Recommendations of the International Evaluation Team ...', p.37).

APPENDIX B

TABLE 5. Yagiloka (English) Community School: Pupils per
Village, 1975-78¹

Village	Grade I			Grade II			Grade III			New Intake 1978			Totals			% M	% F	% Total
	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total			
Havi	2	-	2	3	1	4	2	1	3	2	5	7	9	7	16	10	14	11
Kivuluga	7	6	13	5	3	8	9	1	10	6	3	9	27	13	40	28	26	28
Move	5	6	11	12	6	18	7	4	11	6	10	16	30	26	56	31	52	38
Yuguguto	-	1	1	4	-	4	3	-	3	2	-	2	9	1	10	10	2	7
Yumi	5	-	5	2	-	2	5	-	5	1	-	1	13	-	13	14	-	9
Others	3	-	3	3	-	3	1	1	2	-	2	2	7	3	10	7	6	7
Totals	22	13	35	29	10	39	27	7	34	17	20	37	95	50	145	100	100	100

¹ The table deals with pupils attending Yagiloka School at Kiseveloka in early 1978, and includes the provisional intake for July, 1978. The Grade III pupils represent the first intake at the opening of the school in July, 1975; Grade II the 1976 intake, etc. With the 1978 intake the school will complete the expansion to 4 grades or classes. Those pupils completing Grade IV of the primary stage will, if successful in passing an examination and the payment of a small enrolment fee (K6.00 per year), be able to attend secondary education at Rongo.

TABLE 6. School pupils as percentage of Child Population
per Village

<u>Village</u>	<u>Child Population</u>			<u>Pupils</u>			<u>%</u>		
	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>Total</u>
Havi	40	56	96	9	7	16	23%	13%	17%
Kivuluga	138	129	267	27	13	40	19%	10%	15%
Move	111	109	220	30	26	56	27%	24%	25%
Yuquguto	44	28	68	9	1	10	20%	4%	14%
Yumi	82	64	146	13	-	13	16%	-	9%
Totals	415	386	801	88	47	135	-----		

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ADC Acting or Assistant District Commissioner

DC District Commissioner

DSNA Department of District Services and Native Affairs

PO Patrol Officer

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1951-52, 1/ 1952-53, 9/ 1953-54, 10/ 1961-62. *PA*Lufa 3/ 1952-53, 2/ 1964-65, 11/ 1972-73. *PA*Madang 55/ 1939-40, 58/ 1939-40, ?/ 1939-40 (10.8.39). *NA*Madang (Chimbu Post) ?/ 1939-40 (15.10.39), ?/ 1939-40
(7.11.39), ?/ 1939-40 (10.4.40), ?/ 1939-40 (3.6.40),
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