EDITOR'S FORUM

TO LIMLIMBUR, THE "WANDERERS." REFLECTIONS ON JOURNEYS AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN PAPUA NEW GUINEA

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> Thus there passed to rest a spirit which had ever been turbulent in the cause of the people, one who in life had been aptly named *To Limlimbur,* the Wanderer, for in his time few men, white or black, could match the restless grandeur of his vision.[1]

What is fascinating in these words about Sumsuma by a historian of the "Rabaul Strike" of 1929 is the writer's vision of the man as a hero. This paper focuses on innovators of the colonial era in Papua New Guinea such as Sumsuma, Mambu, Yali, and Anton Misiyaiyai, as well as some recent urban migrants. My argument has three elements. First these innovators, and their struggles to bring about change within the confining structures of a colonial order, echo each other across generations, particularly when seen as "wanderers"--men who journeyed beyond their own people, beyond the horizons of their "traditional" world and its moral order, who in their journeys had their own vision of the world transformed, and then returned and sought to bring new worlds into being. Despite differences off historical context and local

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culture and traditions, these common threads of journeys, transformations, and returns are woven through these wanderers!' life histories.

A second element lies in the details of the wanderers' narratives and their reflections of the richer, more complex, and more ancient narrative traditions of Papua New Guinea. Our understanding of the narratives and the lives of the wanderers is enriched and extended by locating them within the precolonial oral traditions about heroes, heroines, founders, traders, migrants, and initiates and their varied journeys and transformations. This premise has two corollaries. The "modern" wanderers, their narratives, and struggles echo and build on the preexisting narrative traditions and suggest that there are continuities in the history of innovation and change between the precolonial and colonial eras. This would suggest that historical interpretation of colonial events that draws upon insights from indigenous precolonial traditions instead of relying upon sources from the colonizers adds new dimensions to our understanding.

The final element of the argument, which is underlined by the detailed investigation of Anton Misiyaiyai's narrative that begins this paper, is that this and the other wanderer narratives can be seen as paradigms for understanding the process of innovation and change in colonial Papua New Guinea, and perhaps beyond, in other contexts.

Anton's Narrative: A Paradigm?

Anton Misiyaiyai, a man from Moseng, an inland Sepik village, told his story to B. J. Allen in the 1970s.[2] In many ways his narrative captures the life of a generation of young workers who signed labor contracts in the 1920s and 1930s that took them far from their home village and landed them, from 1942, in the midst of a vortex of destruction and change; they survived as men transformed and restless to bring about a new world. Perhaps Anton, like a few others, is remarkable among the men of that generation for the clarity of his dreams of change and the fierce and persistent will with which he sought to make those dreams reality. For these reasons his story is worth hearing.

He was born about 1920 and was still a small child when the first white man, a government officer, visited Moseng. Anton was recruited as a laborer in the mid-1930s. He recalled that he was then merely a boy with "no beard and no hair on my genitals." Once recruited Anton set out from home on his first journey, to the coast. He was not to see his home again for another ten years, and then in changed circumstances. He and his young fellow recruits walked to the coast, signed on, and

sailed to Rabaul. His first contract was served in Kavieng where he "cut grass underneath the coconuts," for three years. The work was hard, but the manager of the plantation was harder still and the workers revolted. Company officials investigated, and removed him. Anton then worked as a domestic servant in the house of the new manager.

He was deeply impressed with the glimpse he caught of the foreigners' way of life.

> When I came out of the bush I was like a fool. When I saw how the whitemen lived my head went around. I saw their houses. When I became a servant I saw inside their houses. I saw their beds and their chairs and tables. Their food and clothes. I thought all these things were good. I saw the stores too. I was amazed at the things in them. The knives and clothes and all the different sorts of food. I thought this was good too. . . . (353)

After two years' work as a domestic servant on his second contract, the Pacific War began in New Guinea in the early months of 1942. The invaders came and Anton met a new group of foreigners, some of whom were prepared to teach him new ways.

A new and significant chapter had begun in this young man's life. Anton was made a garden *bosboi* by the Japanese. He began learning new methods of cultivation from some of these strangers who learned to speak a little *tok pisin.* Anton and his fellow workers learned to plant sweet potato, arrowroot, Chinese taro, pumpkin, melon, corn, onions, and rice. He gained some ideas from these new men; in particular he began thinking about the importance of rice cultivation.

> When I was with the Japanese I got my first ideas. When I saw this rice, I thought, what is this? We eat rice. But what is this stuff? I watched. We planted it. I watched it come up from the ground. I thought, ah, the rice we eat, this is the way it is made. . . . I saw the other things too, the tapioca, and the corn, but my thoughts stayed with the rice. . . . I thought rice would be best. I thought, this is the way to get money. I took it into my mind. I didn't write it. I don't know how to write. (354)

Anton also gained practical knowledge about rice planting and milling. His detailed memory of this process showed that he had learned well.

The war came to an end with the Japanese defeat and surrender of August 1945. Now it was time for Anton to return home after many years away. His initial return was to be brief, He saw with his own eyes what had happened to his home, Moseng, and his people under the Japanese invader. After only a three-month stay he returned to the coast, taking with him other village men. They were employed clearing up Madang after the War. Again he was a *bosboi* for one year and like many workers at that time he made a lot of money for this work.

His experience in the foreign plantation enclave in New Ireland, with Australians and then with Japanese, had sown a vision of change in Anton's mind. That seed was to mature in this other enclave, the town of Madang. He went with his employer to a large meeting addressed by the bishop, who made promises that Anton sought to fulfill.

> The bishop held a big book. He spoke to us. He said the war is over, there will be no more fighting. We are very worried about all the Papuans and New Guineans who died. . . . Men from all over New Guinea stood together with the Americans and the Australian soldiers. I saw them fighting and I was proud and happy. I have seen the strong men and women of New Guinea. Now I have some advice for you. If you follow it you will get the same standards of living as Europeans have. If you take no notice you will stay like your ancestors. (356)

Also in Madang, Anton was taught the elements of banking by his employer. Now, after his time in Madang, he was armed to put his vision into action in order to improve the living standards of the people of his area. On his journey home with his ideas and money he stopped in Aitape. There began his long struggle with colonial authorities. The *kiap* (government field officer) was suspicious of Anton when he deposited his savings and challenged him roughly about what he planned to do with this money. This testing of his ideas helped Anton to clarify them. He resolved to begin by building a house like those he had seen out in the foreign towns and stations.

Anton began his program for improvement by trying to win over the village people to his vision and plan for change. In particular he told them that, like so many other young men before the war, he had followed the common path to the new world outside the village: working on a plantation. But that was a bitter road to follow, So he had searched for another road inside his own village and now he had found it. "I have seen the way," he claimed, and he offered it to them. His own people,

his own clan, seemed to him to be the people with whom he could best begin.

> So I told my clan, the wild taro clan, *samas,* I told them to go and cut the timber and we built the house. Then the house was finished. There were no roads then, no roads anywhere. No road to Wewak. No road to Maprik, A patrol officer came to Dreikikir. . . . I thought I will take this money and go and ask him to help me. . . . (357)

By seeking support from the local colonial official, Anton made a grave tactical error in his plan for reform. Another briefer journey to the government station at Dreikikir led to a bitter confrontation rather than support from this officer *(kiap).* When Anton asked for his help, the man was uncertain whether he should side with a man who seemed to be a troublemaker.

> He said, I don't know about this. I asked, why not? I have been to Rabaul and Madang. I have seen the way it works. The ships bring the cargo and it goes into the stores. It is lined up and sent to the other stores and they sell it and get money. I know about this, And he said, so you want to do the same eh? I said, I want to try that is all. (357-358)

When he said this the *kiap* became afraid and angry. He refused to have anything to do with Anton. Anton too became angry and returned home. But his anger did not lead him to abandon his vision. He was even more convinced that he must gain cooperation, if not support, from the colonial authorities. This time he set out from home on a much longer journey, first to Maprik on the Sepik river, and then to Wewak, the district headquarters. This was to be a decisive journey. It brought unexpected victory in his struggle with the authorities, and new knowledge that gave substance to his dreams. The *kiap* at Maprik, Havilland, was more sympathetic to his pleas for help. Though he had no resources to help with, he sent Anton by plane to Wewak with a letter for the District Officer, Niall. The meeting with this powerful official was decisive. He, unlike others, listened to what Anton was saying.

> He got his book and said, alright, I want to hear what you are thinking about. I want to see if you can do it. I told him and he wrote it all down. All my thinking he wrote down. We talked

> for three days. Then it was finished. He asked me questions. He said, you put goods in your house, what will you. do with them? I said, I will get this cargo and I will sell it to the people. They will buy it. Okay, he said, how will you sell it? He got some tinned meat and some fish. Now, he said, for this meat, if it cost you four shillings how much will you sell it for? I said, for five shillings. . . . He explained it all to me. . . . So I knew these things. This District Officer and I talked and talked. He asked me, where is the money going to come from? He said there was no money in my area. It was then I told him about the rice. (358)

So they discussed how Anton had gained his knowledge about rice from the Japanese in Kavieng. He told Niall: "I planted Japanese rice during the War, now I want to try Australian rice"; and how he had already begun the task by planting some "along the edge of my yam garden." He also told how be planned to put aside what he harvested to plant a larger area the next year. Niall made up his mind to support this self-help scheme: "At last he said, alright I will give you a letter. When you start this work, if any man wants to take you to court or if the Patrol Officer wants to stop you, show them the letter. . . " (359). Then Anton returned home.

This decisive encounter with the District Officer not only brought Anton the covering support of his letter, which he later invoked for his protection, but as with the previous exchanges of knowledge with the Japanese in Kavieng and the Australians in Madang, he acquired more knowledge as a result of his entry into another foreign enclave, Wewak. This new knowledge fed and matured his vision still further. He was even summoned to Maprik station again to receive a guarantee from the *kiap* there that, if he produced a good quality rice in his first crop, he would be helped in seeking support from the Department of Agriculture. Anton told him how his idea of planting spread along links of kinship and affinity through the villages of the region. In other words, a new idea, an innovation for improving living standards, followed ancient pathways in its diffusion from Anton throughout the community. While it spread along these links, others not tied to Anton and his clan waited and watched before they chose to follow the new ways. He and his people joined up with Kokomo, an innovator from the other clan group in the region. These two worked together in their efforts to spread the idea of rice production and marketing as a means of self-help for their people. They were also in contact with what grew into a larger

postwar experiment in self-help under the leadership of Pita Simogun, who emerged from the Pacific War as a highly decorated soldier-hero and who championed schemes that drew upon the skills and ideas of local innovators like Anton.

Opposition came soon from local leaders, "stone knives from the old times," disturbed by challenges to their authority and by what they saw as revolutionary effects upon their traditions and ancestral heritage produced by these innovations in production. These entrenched opponents knew they could appeal to conservative colonial officials to contain the power and influence of "new men" such as Anton. Again, opposition served to challenge the innovators to refine their goals and strategy. The time was ripe, not only for a refinement of Anton's ideas and plans, but for a large-scale and public confrontation between reformers and conservatives. "Now, many of the big-men were afraid of this rice. They said, it is no good. What if this rice destroys our gardens, our yams, our *tambaran, yera' engai,* our annual feast? They shouted at us. Get rid of this stuff! Hurry up! But we would not, so they ran to the Patrol Officer" (359).

The case put to the *kiaps* by local opponents was that this new business would cause the people to "lose the way of our ancestors." This struck a sympathetic chord with officials, who summoned Anton and his men to appear before them. The *kiap* warned Anton that if he threatened people to get them to join his scheme, he would go to jail. In the face of this threat Anton began a new strategy.

> I looked for smart men in each village. I told them, I want a man who can stand up before all their eyes, who can work, who can speak well and who is intelligent. No smart clothes or a nice shiny skin. Smart thinking. So I looked and when I saw one I said, you are the committee for this village. You can organise this village, organise the rice planting here. And I told them, take only those who want to. Show them how to plant rice and leave the rest. (360)

Mobilization of such lieutenants brought another angry response from the *kiap* and trouble boiled over. The *kiap* saw rice planting as a direct threat to his colonial power.

> The Patrol Officer sent word for all of us. We lined up. He said, ah, you are Anton's *luluai* and *tultul* are you? Well you can work for him and he can pay you. They were afraid and said,

> yes sir, yes sir. But I was strong. I said, *kiap,* what is this? You want us to get rid of the rice. Where will we get money from? The whitemen and the government don't give US any. . . . (361)

The *kiap* saw the reality of Anton's vision and scheme. In a colonial situation any viable program for self-help and independent income based on local production was a direct challenge to colonial authority. Threats hung in the air. Anton's lieutenants stood firm even though the *kiap* "cooked" them. These innovators all spoke the same dialect, but others outside their language group weakened and "ran away from the argument." In this trial of strength between Anton and the *kiap,* the District Officer's letter proved a talisman which protected Anton from imprisonment as a rebel and contained the *kiap* in his angry despotism:

> Then he shouted, alright! I don't want to see your faces again. Clear! Get off the station! He is your *kiap* now! So I said, if that is what you want, alright, but look at this. And I showed the letter from Niall. . . . He looked at it. Then he said, alright, but look out. If you break the law I will finish you. (361)

As if this challenge were not enough, another public testing of Anton's ideas awaited him, this time from officers with higher authority than the local *kiap.* Once more he was required to refine and defend the dream and new knowledge he had won so long ago by his journey away from home. But his name had gone so far and the rumors against his innovations were so strong and widespread that Anton no longer needed to journey out into the enclaves of foreign power and influence to gain more knowledge. The colonial officers journeyed from their stations to Moseng to challenge him. In particular, the *kiaps* charged Anton and his followers with "destroying all the old ways." Anton and his men argued that the two, old ways and new, could go together; they were not trying to "throw away the old ways" because that would be foolish. They were working "to bring money here." And Anton persuaded the officials that his enemies had misinformed them about their aims. "We have said, the things of the ancestors can stay, but we must think about working business." And so they won more official support in their struggles. They also reached agreement with the *kiap* about modifying the forceful methods they had used to control local rice planters and about persuading people to think more realistically about returns on their investments.

A new crop of troubles arose, both from personal entanglements resulting from his growing fame, and from problems of marketing, business management, and milling the rice. A deeper source of trouble came from the gap between the growers' expectations of income and what they actually earned from a small-scale inland scheme that had few effective outlets for the sale of produce. "Now all the people thought they would get a lot of money for one bag of rice. Ten pounds or something like that. But I said, no, the Agricultural Officer did not say ten pounds for one bag, he said two pounds. But the people thought if they planted rice they would get a lot of money. . . . Many men went to the Patrol Officer" (363). He took their hulling machines away. To save the scheme, to keep the dream from withering so early, Anton attempted to keep some of the money he was ordered to return so that he would have reserves with which to begin again when opinion was more favorable. While some government officers said, "this is the way of people new to business. They do not understand," and sought to protect the people's interest, others saw the wisdom of Anton's society holding onto a reserve of capital. But, in the end, the conservatives won the day. He ended the story of his struggles with mixed feelings. Looking back on those days of journeys, dreams, and struggles, he recalled:

> The agricultural officer said this work was finished. I sat down and thought about this. I was very upset. I said, it cannot finish now. I thought, they have taken the machines but we still have the rice seed. They have only got the machines. . . . But we kept on going to the meetings. All the time. We walked to Supari and went to the meetings. We would not give up. Later they said, so you are still here. We said yes, we are ready to make another Society. And we did. Now we have the Sepik Producers' Co-operative Association, and I am the Dreikikir director. (364)

* * * *

Anton did not stand alone in the history of the people of Papua New Guinea. He was only one of a larger generation, and his journeys, dreams, schemes, and struggles stretched back in time to earlier generations of workers who, through their travel experiences, made far-reaching discoveries about themselves, their worlds, and the possibilities for innovation and change. Many young men traveled away from their home villages to work in foreign enclaves and saw this other world.

After the Pacific War Anton was part of a much larger wave of reformers who swept through the villages seeking to challenge the ways of their ancestors in order to plant the seeds for a new life. In some areas of the country such goals were more attainable and the people more receptive because much of what remained from earlier times had been destroyed in the holocaust of modern warfare.

There are many elements in this remarkable and moving story of Anton Misiyaiyai's struggles to bring about economic change among people living in a remote area of the Sepik. I have related it in detail here because it tells much about the forces at work for and against economic change among ordinary villagers during the postwar generation. His story is a paradigm of the manner in which "new men" sought to achieve change when they returned home to their villages after their wartime experiences. The most important elements should be noted.[3]

First are Anton's ideas and wishes for bringing about change. His early experiences of life on plantations and the ways in which the foreigners lived led him to compare their lives to those of people in villages. As a result, he began searching for means by which he and his people could live more like the foreigners. His journey away from home, his experience of foreign life on plantations and in towns like Rabaul and Kavieng, gave him a new view of village life and sowed in him this urgent desire for change. That shift in thinking by young men like Anton was a basic and necessary beginning to bringing about change.

Next Anton found a road to change, what he called "the way." On the plantation he saw the importance of money as a way to give his people new opportunities for raising their standard of living and improving their lives. But then came the war, an important turning point in the lives of so many young survivors of Anton's generation. What he discovered, as a result of his earlier search, was a particular "road' to change: the production and sale of a crop that would bring the people steady, regular income, unlike the small and irregular incomes they gained from sending their young men away to work on foreign plantations. Some reformers chose this kind of road, others different ones. But it was not simply finding a road to change that began the process for Anton's people. Anton brought home a body of knowledge, together with some particular techniques and the means needed to put a program of change into action: knowledge about rice planting and growing, about its husking and milling, its sale and marketing, as well as some ideas about the management and use of capital and basic elements of banking, savings? and investment. Other men, following different paths and programs, gathered different knowledge and techniques, as has been recently noted by historians:

> In the 1950's Papua New Guinea could look back to the War as an awesome disruption that brought few permanent changes. But for many there was no return to the 1930's. Communities on Manus, in Madang, the Sepik and the Gulf of Papua took their own initiative. Paliau, Yali and Kabu were revolutionaries who conceived plans in varying degrees of knowledge about the economic situation that they hoped to change. The soldiers returning to Toaripi had been aware that the foreigners had power not just through wealth and knowledge, but through organisation. The Toaripi were determined to do more for themselves by combining into larger units and drawing on more manpower and capital. . . .[4]

Anton's story also shows clearly that this young man of Moseng, no matter what his experiences had been, needed to win his people over to his ideas if he wished to bring about change among them. Much of the central part of his story is filled with these struggles. He tells of his conflicts with local leaders, "stone knives from the old times," men who were disturbed by this challenge from young men. These elders assessed his challenge as guardians and conservers of their ancestral heritage. They imagined that new ways of production would turn the people away from that heritage and tradition. Some postwar reformers were also radicals in that they wished to break with their past and its traditions, to overthrow traditional elders and sweep away the ways of the ancestors. Tommy Kabu--a soldier returning home to the Purari Delta after war service--was one of these. He believed that it was necessary for the people to burn their ancient *ravi* (sacred mens' house) and masks, to abandon their riverbank settlements, and to embrace Christianity and the Motu language if they were to enter the modern world.[5] Anton chose differently. He argued with the elders that he wanted only to mix old and new together and have them working in harmony. To spread the new ideas, and help the people to work together growing rice, Anton used the ties already there. Other reformers would try to bring the people together into new societies, closing their eyes to or breaking with existing ties.

Anton's greatest struggles were with colonial officers, but some of his most effective allies also came from the ranks of the *kiaps.* Men like Niall listened with care and sympathy to ideas like Anton's because they were living through their own time of questioning and rethinking, a time of searching for new colonial policies, Colonial administrations, now viewed within a larger context of events and ideas, were being reshaped and new ties were being shaped between villagers and *kiaps.*

It was also a time in which many *kiaps* were trying to force the people back into the old colonial roles in existence before the Japanese invasion, but which the invaders and then the new defenders had swept away as they battled for control over country and people in the campaigns of the Pacific War.[6]

If we view Anton's story as a paradigm of innovation and change, the elements that make up this process are: a vision of change born from contrasts discovered through a traumatic journey away from home; the discovery of a "way," a path to change; the acquiring of a body of knowledge and techniques to make change possible; the winning over of people to the new ways and the struggle with those who resist change; and the larger context in which the process and struggles unfold.

Precolonial Hero Traditions

These insights on innovation and change in the postwar decades come from reflections on a single individual's story. But men of earlier generations had also journeyed away from home and discovered the bitter realities of working life; for some, their experiences had similarly opened their minds to new possibilities and new ideas. These were the travelers, the culture heroes and village founders -who, according to tradition had come from another world to bring new gifts, new techniques, crops, and possibilities for change. Whether men such as Anton will themselves become transformed in the oral traditions of their people and be immortalized as culture heroes is a question worth pondering. Its answer depends partly upon what kinds of changes are now taking place and will take place in the near future in the villages to which they returned.

The Antons of modern Papua New Guinea and these earlier generations of voyagers, as well as the migrants of postwar generations arriving in new towns and cities, are all part of a stream of travelers in the colonial age. They join and blend with another stream of travelers, the foreigners, who came by sea and later journeyed overland and along rivers searching for new places to "discover" and map, new wealth to draw into their treasuries, new lands, resources, and people to control or conquer, new heathen souls to convert. These recent travelers and their journeys cover several centuries of recorded history, beginning, at least for writers of European documents, as far back as the early decades after Portuguese and Spanish mariners sailed into and across that vast ocean to which they gave the name Pacific. These voyages to the coastal and reef-strewn edges of what became Papua New Guinea,

islands that these sailors, at the end of long journeys, believed to be "the last unknown," continued intermittently and then, in more recent centuries, frequently, until the islands were declared to be spheres of European influence and control. In the last one hundred years, journeys along rivers and over harsh landscapes have become far more frequent than the earlier journeys across the seas surrounding these islands.[7] But Melanesian travelers--workers, police, evangelists, and migrants of Anton's and other generations--have far outnumbered the foreigners. They too have made new discoveries, and have been carriers of new ideas.

The scattering of written records, and the more recent narratives of travel and experiences of villagers and workers, cover only 450 years. They tell much about journeys and the transformations such experiences bred in the travelers. That time span is brief in a country where remains left behind by hunters and gatherers, who rested on their journeys through high valleys at Kosipe, date back 28,000 years.[8] Echoes and glimpses from that very long history of human migration, settlement, and change, which resulted in a great diversity of languages, cultures, and local histories, can be found in rich oral traditions and ceremonies recorded in more recent decades. These sources tell of journeys by culture heroes and heroines and by lineage, clan, and village founders, who while journeying far and bringing new cultures and peoples to life, were also the bearers of significant innovations. They tell, along with the fragments of the past studied by archaeologists, much about an ancient history of trade, and journeys of migration and settlement. Finally, they tell of initiation rituals in which young people journeyed out, often into terror and the unknown, to return enlightened with ancestral knowledge and transformed into mature and productive men and women.

Before returning to the colonial context within which Anton and other modern wanderers journeyed, I will draw briefly on this rich treasury of oral tradition that contains evidence of journeys and transformations from the precolonial era. From these three strands of tradition about journeys--by founders and culture heroes, by migrants and settlers, and initiates--I will consider one example.

* * * *

Many versions of the legend of the culture hero Manarmakeri (the one with the scabby skin) have been recorded. It may have originated in Biak Island, but has been recorded along the coast to both the east and

the west of that island and into the hinterland of Irian Jaya, deep in the Mamberamo River valley.[9] Its main elements can be paraphrased as follows:

> An old man living in a mountain village pursued a pig that he discovered was despoiling his taro garden. He wounded the animal with his spear and followed its trail of blood into the high mountains until he was led into a great cave. There he was confronted with challenging voices and given a glimpse of the spirits of ancestors living the perfect life, Koreri. He was also told some of the ways in which Koreri could be achieved.
>
> He returned to his village, neglected his gardens and himself, and became a scabby-skinned old man (Manarmakeri) who failed to convince his people that he could give them knowledge of a better life. Driven out by their scorn and their lack of concern about changing their ways, he left his mountain village for a beach village.
>
> At this village he helped the local chief win a beautiful bride from the cassowary because he was endowed with his new knowledge and power. But once more the scabby old man was rejected by people whom he helped.
>
> From this village of Sopen, Manarmakeri set out on a long sea voyage, sometimes bringing islands and reefs into being with his power, often rejected by villagers when he offered them the new knowledge and life.
>
> At last he settled down on Meokbundi Island. There he became addicted to drinking palm wine, but discovered that he was again a victim of thieving. The thief was caught in his trap and proved to be the Morning Star. To free herself from the withering power of the Sun, she promised the old man anything he desired. His wish was to know more fully how he could achieve Koreri. Morning Star told Manarmakeri that if he threw a special fruit at the breasts of a beautiful maiden, she would bear as her child his son who would be the bringer of true peace.
>
> Once more Manarmakeri faced ridicule and disbelief when the villagers discovered, through the child's revelation, that he was indeed the offspring of the beautiful woman and the scabby old man. In their horror and shame, the villagers abandoned the family and fled with all their possessions to another island a long distance away. Manarmakeri and his small family

> then began to live the Koreri life. The old man burnt off his diseased skin in a bush which he had set on fire. He was transformed into a handsome mature man and his scabby skin and sores became changed by the fire into wealth and decorations. The hero brought his family wealth by simply striking the ground with his walking staff; and so new crops were introduced to this island.
>
> Finally they set out to visit many communities and offer them the Koreri which he had now fully acquired. Each group was tested by Manarmakeri and each ended by failing to recognize what he was offering them. So he journeyed from one rejecting people to another until he penetrated far into the interior along the Mamberamo River. In disgust he finally left the people of Irian Jaya to their old ways and went off to another world in the west.

In the complex cycle of epics from which the main elements of this legend have been extracted, Manarmakeri enacts a widespread and familiar role as a Papua New Guinea culture hero. Like so many others, he is an ambiguous, enigmatic figure with a range of hidden powers; like them he engages in a dangerous journey into the unknown, where he acquires new knowledge and power; like them he journeys from people to people, sometimes bringing landscapes and cultures into being, offering new knowledge and potential, only to be rejected by many until he eventually moves away into another world or life beyond the horizon of human perception. Manarmakeri's offers of a new life and cultural endowments and his exploits during his great journeys were, according to these traditions, for the most part rejected by unenlightened and ungrateful people, but his unfulfilled promise, as well as his knowledge and achievements, was immortalized in many different places. Over the last hundred years these traditions about his vision, achievements, journeys, and promises--partly in response to pressures from Dutch colonizers and Japanese invaders--became changed into ideologies for resistance movements and a form of regional nationalism among the peoples of Biak and the surrounding areas of Irian Jaya.[10]

Although the details of the journeys, transformations, and achievements of heroes like Manarmakeri differ in accordance with the diversity of environments and cultures from which the tellers of these legends came, the basic elements of new knowledge and life that they bring to or offer people on their journeys are similar. Recently the anthropologist Roy Wagner found some important common elements in a group of tra-

ditions about culture heroes (he has called them "Papuan hero tales") that cover the deeds of a wide range of heroes from a large number of cultures in the region. These are Wagner's findings:

> The tradition or series of myths known as "Papuan hero tales" is among the most impressive features reported for the flamboyant coastal cultures lying between the Purari Delta and the Kumbe River in West New Guinea. Many ethnographers dealing with the area have commented on the legends, and a number of texts are available, but it is unlikely that the anthropological literature represents anything but an irregular sampling, geographically as well as textually, of the total complex. . . .
>
> An important feature of these myths is that the hero is generally portrayed as journeying across the known world in some significant way, and that this movement is linked to the major action of the plot; he travels across the sea seeking women and bringing vegetable food, or journeys to the land of the dead, or flees from a pursuing woman with whom he has shamed himself. Landmarks and curious features along his route are often linked to his passage, and at Karamui (in a Highlands version) he is said to have created many of the prominent land forms. . . .

Wagner goes on to trace what he calls "a set of homologous mythic elements" associated with the journeys and achievements of heroes such as Iko-Sido-Hido and Souw.[11]

Only a few examples from this rich treasury of traditions from Papua New Guinea have been explored here. These strands can best be drawn together by pinpointing the main elements in another famous legend, that telling of the achievement of Edai Siabo.

Edai Siabo was the founder, perhaps the "discoverer" of the trading voyages (called *hiri*) between the Motu of Port Moresby and their partners living in villages scattered along the beaches and around river mouths in the Gulf of Papua. He was to discover the knowledge that made the *hiri* possible, with all its positive benefits for Motu and Gulf participants. Many versions of the Edai Siabo legend have been recorded.[12] Their main elements can be summarized as follows:

> Edai Siabo and his clan brothers went out in a fleet of canoes on a fishing expedition. They came from Boera village on the

> south coast near Port Moresby. Few fish were caught and toward the end of the day's work Edai Siabo's canoe became separated from those of his brothers. Suddenly the canoe was overturned and Edai Siabo was held in the strong grip of an underwater monster, which dragged him headfirst into a cave. There he was introduced to a whole new world and taught new knowledge, including that about the making of the many-hulled *lagatoi* canoes and the secrets of the long and hazardous trading voyages that would take their builders and owners annually into the Gulf of Papua to exchange their pots and shells for sago and timber.
>
> His brothers searched in vain for the lost Edai Siabo, only to return home to Boera with a poor catch of fish and the tragic news of his loss at sea. Next day they went out to search again, while mourning for him began. Eventually his upturned canoe was found. They dived near it and found what they thought was their brother's dead body wedged tightly in a deep cave mouth. After a long struggle, his brothers released the body and brought it to the surface; then they brought him home for his funeral rites. Shortly after, Edai Siabo awakened, as if from a sleep or trance, and told his brothers what had happened. He then taught them about *lagatoi* making by using a model of what he had been given under the sea. He also taught them how to make the trading voyages. Thus began the 'voyages of the *hiri.*

A number of journeys are contained in the legend of Edai Siabo. The first is the fishing expedition away from the security of Boera village; the men cross a beach boundary, entering onto the dangerous sea from which they seek food for survival. Edai Siabo's plunge into an underwater cave deep in the sea is a second journey. There he is initiated into the knowledge that transforms him into a culture hero: the making of the *lagatoi* and the secrets of the trading voyages. This journey to the deep is linked with his funeral journey home over the sea, back across the beach to Boera, where he emerges from his death-trance-dream to communicate to his people the new knowledge taught him in the depths of the ocean These journeys then open the way, once *lagatoi* have been built and pots made, for the great annual ocean-going trading voyages of the Motu which link two contrasting environments along the Papuan coast in highly complementary, beneficial, and productive ways. So the kernel of this tradition is contained in the theme of a culture hero

who, through a dangerous and death-like journey across a boundary out into the unknown, acquires significant new knowledge, which he brings back and teaches to his people. At first, the tradition tells us, there is questioning about Edai Siabo's true identity, resistance to knowledge that brings with it the dangerous innovation of sailing through hazardous seas on long voyages, and opposition toward the acceptance of the new crop, sago. Finally he wins his people over and other Motu also accept these innovations. These changes improved their living conditions and, in their turn, they immortalize the hero and his gift of knowledge in legend, song, and institution (the *hiri*).

In winning acceptance from the people for the knowledge he brought back from his journeys, Edai Siabo was unlike a number of the other journeying heroes and heroines of Papua New Guinea. Manarmakeri, for instance, was so consistently misunderstood that he finally left men behind and traveled to the land of spirits in the west. And that, more often than not, was the fate finally of the "Papuan Heroes," those prodigious beings who set the world of ordinary men and women on its ears, but who were shamed into flight.[13]

Even a brief taste of the exploits of these heroes shows their actions, powers, and achievements to be on a different plane from Anton's struggles to improve himself and his people's living standards in the 1940s and 1950s. But is this really the case? Certainly Anton did not slough off his skin, nor take on a fresh identity. As a member of *samas,* the wild taro clan, he claimed ties with his clan brothers. Until recently, the emblem of the wild taro gave clan members their name and identity, and was claimed by them as the totemic spirit who founded the clan. He was not snatched from a boat and taken down into the depths to be taught new and vital knowledge. But for a village youth of no more than thirteen years--a boy with "no beard and no hair on [his] genitals," not yet initiated--to go away to the coast and then over the seas to strange new places like Rabaul and Kavieng was to court death, or at least to venture into an unknown from which he might never return There were many villages, like Moseng, in the Papua and New Guinea of the 1920s and 1930s, as well as in earlier and more recent decades of colonial history, that were remote from the scattered foreign enclave with their puny networks of tracks and sea or river lanes, which barely made an imprint on the huge island landscape. Often youths recruited from these remote settlements did not return, or only briefly many years later when they could hardly be recognized or understood. It could be argued that Anton's departure from his home in Moseng in the 1930s was little different from Edai Siabo's crossing the beach and entering

the sea in his fishing canoe, or his descendants' journeying into the Gulf toward the land of the dead in their cumbersome *lagatoi*. Both Manarmakeri and Edai Siabo did more than this on the journeys by which they were transformed and through which they acquired new knowledge. But the same was indeed true for Anton Misiyaiyai who, like Edai Siabo, reappeared in Moseng almost ten years after leaving; he must then have seemed to his clansmen and fellow villagers to have come back from the land of the dead. Also like Edai Siabo and Manarmakeri, he returned home burning with a vision for a better way of life and seeking to win his people and the *kiaps* to his way. These parallels suggest possible continuities between what the hero traditions teach and reflect of the precolonial societies in which they were formed, and events like Anton's journey and return recorded in colonial times.

What is missing from this pursuit of echoes from the ancient past is a structured and recognizable chronological framework. Is that possible to achieve? In his recent book on the Marquesas, Greg Dening has made an arresting point in reflecting on "history at the edges of culture":

> . . . Claude Levi-Strauss drove a wedge between anthropology and history by imagining that primitive cultures, the object of study of anthropology, are timeless, outside of history in their isolation from the European intruder. Primitive cultures enter time, become the objects of study of history, through the changes that contact made. There is only one way in which this totally other primitive culture can be known and that is by contact--by the anthropologist's contact if he is the first, by all the other intruders' contact if the anthropologist comes late. The totally other is either not known or in the context in which it is known it is changed. Ethnohistory's preoccupation with cultures beyond the European frontier had meant . . . the pursuit of an "ethnographic present" as an imagined moment prior to the impact of intrusion. It is a moment that *historically* has never existed. It is a moment that existed in the past--these cultures had an existence before European intrusion. *Historically* --that part of the past which is knowable because of historical records--there is no "ethnographic present" of traditional societies which is not post-intrusion. . . . Even myths and legends which purport to be about pre-intrusion reality are collected, indeed rendered lifeless, unchanging and permanent, by translation of the living word to paper, a metamorphosis that comes only with the intruder. The *historical* reality of traditional

> societies is locked together for the rest of time with the historical reality of the intruders who saw them, changed them, destroyed them. There *is* no history beyond the frontier, free of the contact that makes it.[14]

What messages are the hero traditions carrying? Only messages from the contexts in which they were recorded or written down by foreign intruders? If that were so, then this could explain why their echoes are heard so clearly in Anton's narrative. My conviction--gained from dialogue with wise Enga informants who taught me their traditions--is otherwise. The conversations took place in their high valleys in the early 1970s when these men were deeply affected by the changes taking place in their lives and societies, changes that had occurred in their fathers' generation as a result of the arrival of foreigners. (The issues they talked about and the ways in which contexts and experiences shaped their memories and testimonies have been explored elsewhere.)[15] The evidence of their culture, the shape and content of the traditions they communicated, and more crucially, the links between elements in their testimony and material remains that can be dated scientifically all point to the fragments these traditions carry from the past; all suggest that, while there "*is* no history beyond the frontier, free of the contact that makes it," all evidence is not simply a total product of that contact. Oral cultures do contain mechanisms enabling evidence from the past to be transmitted down many generations into the particular present when they are recorded to become sources used by historians. Their unraveling, their "decoding" as Vansina would call it, requires sensitivity to the cultures from which they come and specialized interpretative skills, something true to a lesser extent of all historians' work.[16]

Sumsuma and the "Black King"

The historical record offers evidence of many journeys by Melanesians. Markings in a temple in Java, dating the arrival of "Papuan" slaves in its workforce to one thousand years ago, are the oldest surviving evidence of an early diaspora of young Melanesians into a wider world.[17] Later, in the period ushered in by the arrival of the earliest for eign voyagers, myriad other journeys took place. Around 1600, adolescents captured by the Spanish at Mailu were voyaging to Manila or Spain in the ship of Captain Prado.[18] Other Spaniards and captains of other nations in this and later centuries may also have taken New Guinea captives back to Europe on their return voyages, in line with the

practice of bringing home living human proof of their visits to unheard of places. Then, as shipping contacts with the islands grew, a trickle became a tide. By the 1870s, some beach villages, strategically located near major shipping lanes, found a good portion of their youth siphoned off. A few instances are known in detail.

The first comes from the island of Murua (Woodlark)[19] and belongs to the diaspora phase, when Australian colonial influences had not yet begun to close off the area to wider contacts. It is the 1850s, a generation before the first continuous settlement and the beginning of either British or German colonial administration. As part of a rapidly expanding French missionary and political frontier in the Pacific Islands, Marist priests had arrived in 1849 on the beach at Guasopa in the south of Woodlark Island to begin the task of evangelizing the people. They had been led there by advice from whaling captains in Sydney, and were met on the beach by a man (Pako) who had served on whaling ships and spoke some English. Relations between the islanders and the missionaries, as recorded in the writings of these Frenchmen, were touchy and tense. In their arrogance, the missionaries assumed these "heathens" were awaiting enlightenment at their hands. So they were disappointed with the unbending resistance of the Muruans to their teachings. The Muruans also had their minds and energies absorbed in conserving their dwindling resources during a severe year-long famine. In an attempt to shatter the Muruans' stubborn resistance the missionaries took several young men with them on a voyage to Sydney in 1850.

The record of what these young men gained from their journey out into "civilization" shows how shocked the Frenchmen were. The Muruans saw a number of things that fascinated them, but nothing that really impressed upon them the superiority of the lives and culture of the citizens of Sydney, nothing to suggest to them that Europeans had anything better to offer them than what they had received from their ancestors. The missionaries did note some enthusiasm for "building Sydney at Murua." They also recorded that by mid-1852 the metropolis had become "not a town but an entire world." These were the only discernible ripples. The journey by these young Muruans beyond the known horizon into a new and unfamiliar world and their safe return home seems to have brought no real disruption or challenge to their existing village culture.

It is not surprising that the pathway that led the French missionaries to Murua in the 1840s, as well as the previous experiences of Pako, the mediator who met them on the beach, were both products of the whaling industry. American whaling ships out of New England ports began

visiting beach villages in the islands of the Bismarck Archipelago as early as 1799. The number of visits by whaling ships increased in the 1830s and 1840s, SO it is no wonder that the Frenchmen came to Guasopa on this whaling tide, which lasted until the 1880s. That later tide brought Herman Melville into the Pacific and gave birth to his "dream of islands."[20]

Foreign visitors were also greeted by English-speaking men who had worked overseas in the Duke of York and New Ireland Island groups. The first recorded visit by an American whaler to this area took place in October 1799. The pattern was the same as in other islands of the Bismarck Archipelago, with the number of visits increasing in the 1840s. So it was not surprising that traders and missionaries in the 1870s and 1880s were greeted by men who had this overseas experience and could speak English.[21]

At the same time as some young men in the islands around New Guinea were working with whalers and other crews in search of marine products--such as pearl shell and bêche-de-mer--sandalwooders out of Sydney and ports in New England were gathering this timber to exchange for tea in China. The busy period was between the 1830s and 1850s in Melanesia, and in some cases these sandalwood gatherers came into the islands in the Bismarck Archipelago. When they found the wood, they set up camps for treating it, and often young village men gained work experience in these camps, rather than sailing the seas as did those who worked with whalers.[22] Sometime between the 1850s and 1870s, according to one source, young men from New Ireland were taken in ships from their homes right across the Pacific to work saltpeter mines in South America.[23]

From the 1860s, when plantations were being established in Samoa, Fiji, and Queensland, young men from the Loyalty, New Hebrides, and Solomon Islands were recruited as laborers under contract to develop these industries. By the 1890s, when it was effectively outlawed, this labor trade had extended further afield into islands of New Guinea. There has been much written on what used to be called "black birding." One recent study concluded that, throughout a total of fifty years' operation, this trade touched the lives of many young men from the islands. From 1863 to 1914 "about 100,000 islanders went as indentured labourers to Queensland, Fiji, Samoa and New Caledonia from the New Hebrides, Solomon Islands, Banks and Torres Islands, the Loyalties, the Gilberts and New Guinea and the adjacent islands and archipelagoes"[24] A more recent study of the movement of island laborers into Queensland sugar plantations has shown that between 1863 and 1904 a total of 62,475 laborers were brought from the islands into the cane fields.[25]

During the German period the flow of Chinese, Malay, and Indonesian laborers into New Guinea was matched by an outflow of islanders into German plantations in Samoa and elsewhere in the Pacific, In fact a handful of the survivors of these journeys, exiles from their island homes for at least sixty years, were encountered recently by a Samoan historian. The Germans also had New Guinean police troopers working for them and it has been claimed that some of them may also have served the Germans in East Africa during the Maji Maji rebellion in Tanzania. They certainly were among the German forces that put down rebellions in Ponape between 1908 and 1912.[26] There also developed an expanding network of regional traveling, a feature of the spread and growth of a colonial system and the plantation and mining economies in these islands. From the time of the first mission stations close to the mainland in the 1870s and the first plantations of the 1870s and 1880s, Papuans and New Guineans, in increasingly large numbers, have traveled away from their homes to work for missionaries, be educated by them, or more frequently to work on plantations. If we were to tabulate the journeys away from home taken by villagers over the last century, we would conclude that the most frequent, involving the greatest number of people, were those leading to work in the foreign system and that the routes most often taken were not overseas, but from one part of the island to another. One historian who analyzed the German sources concluded: "At the very least, . . . 85,000 Islanders went as indentured labourers to plantations in German New Guinea in the 30 years 1884 to 1914 from villages within that colony: from northeast New Guinea or "Kaiser Wilhelmsland," from the Bismarck Archipelago, and from the German Solomons. A further 15,000 or more New Guineans worked for the Germans as day labourers."[27]

The whole scale of labor recruitment expanded greatly under the German colonial system. The volume of labor recruitment in German times was not equalled during British rule in their colony nor under the Australians in Papua. But, guided by the annual statistics for laborers under contract in Australian New Guinea (an average of about 32,500 per annum), it would seem that, over twenty years of rule under the League of Nations Mandate, from 1921 to 1942, perhaps a total of 650,000 contracts were made. Again, these young men came from villages in the German and Australian co1onies.[28] So, while the distance covered in the journeys taken by young men away from their home villages may have contracted with the growth of colonial enclaves, this diaspora of Melanesian youth expanded in volume from a trickle to a flood in the century between the 1840s and the Japanese invasion of 1942, and in the years of the Pacific War. Journeys by young laborers far

outnumbered in quantity and certainly outweighed in quality and effects, the journeys made by European foreigners.

The meaning of Anton's journeys, transformations, and struggles is deepened by this context of diaspora, this new pattern of migration, The quality of his visions and achievements can be seen in a clearer light when contrasted with the journeys of another worker, Sumsuma, born a generation earlier. Sumsuma's story--now being pieced together more surely by those investigating his involvement in events in the colonial town of Rabaul in 1929[29]--contains many levels of meaning.

* * * *

Sumsuma was born in Sasa village in the Tanga island group off the east coast of New Ireland around 1903. Sometime during the first two decades of the century Sasa people moved from strategic hamlets scattered in the hills to the beach. This pattern of migration, involving the movement and consolidation of villages, was common in colonial times. When he was around twelve years old, Sumsuma ran away from home because of a dispute with his mother. Like so many of his and Anton's generations, he embarked on his first journey away from home as an adolescent, prior to his initiation. He stowed away on a trading vessel and the captain took him to a plantation in Namatanai on the central west coast of New Ireland. In going to work in Namatanai, Sumsuma followed a path to the outside world taken by Tanga youths for a number of decades. Some had gone to Queensland in the 1880s and whaling vessel logs show that some ships made trading visits to Tanga some decades earlier. Sumsuma served his contract time as a plantation worker and then took on seaman's work, at which he would excel. Within a short time, he became the captain of a coastal vessel and, by the mid-1920s, was the master of one of the vessels owned by Captain F. R. Jolley, who founded his own trading company in 1927 and made Sumsuma the master of his motor schooner.

> By 1929 Sumsuma had an impressive record. He was still only in his late 20s, and although not the only New Guinean boat's captain he was exceptional among them. He was earning £5 a month plus bonuses which raised his pay to around £12 in some months--an astronomical sum for a New Guinean in the 1920s --and by 1927 he had banked at least £70, possibly in the hope of buying a boat of his own in time. . . .[30]

The "strike" of January 1929, in which Sumsuma played so significant a part, has been carefully investigated in a recent study.[31] It was a movement, highly organized and disciplined, in which three thousand indigenous workers and police in Rabaul town left their work places and moved to mission stations outside the town, demanding from their employers a much larger share in the foreign economy in which they labored as the condition for their return to work. There is much debate on the sources of the ideas and organizing principle by which these workers acted. Seamen like Sumsuma and Bohun of Buka were clearly catalysts and organizers, though they won the necessary support of key leaders in the police force. While this peaceful attempt to change the colonial system failed and met with a fierce response from the entrenched white *mastas,* it is significant that seamen played so important a role in applying ideas gathered from a wider world during their sea voyages.

For his part in the events of January 1929, Sumsuma was condemned to serve three years' imprisonment in Aitape and Kavieng. He returned to Sasa in 1932 on completion of his sentence and married a second time, since his first wife had left him while he was in prison. He then vigorously set about working his way back into the life and economy of Boang island. We catch glimpses of his energy and enterprise in a thriving economy in those first few years after his return from prison, and see reflected the same great talents he displayed in reaching so high a position in the colonial economy in the decades before January 1929.

The ethnographer F. L. S. Bell lived among the people of Boang island from April 1933 to February 1934. He noted, in June 1933, less than a year after Sumsuma's return, that this man owned one of the biggest gardens in Boang. This is echoed in villagers' recollections in 1973 of Sumsuma's energetic enterprise forty years before: "He worked hard in his gardens often by lamplight at night, clearing land and planting coconuts. . . ."[32]

Sumsuma's concentrated outlay of work served a dual purpose: he won for himself a prominent place among his fellow villagers in the fierce competition over feasting (recorded in great detail in a report by Bell),[33] and he secured a role as an important participant in the cash economy by investing in coconut planting. He achieved his position of eminence in feasting and exchange shortly after his return in 1932, even though he belonged to a family that had not been very influential in the Boang polity when he ran away to work years before.[34]

His achievements in the cash economy can also be glimpsed from other records. The district officer, on a census and tax patrol in August

1934, noted a shortage of tax funds in Tanga. On Boang he received payments amounting to £37.10.0 from various hamlets. He reported that "The natives of practically all these places were very short of cash and many natives had no money at all. The deportee Sumsuma together with a few other natives eventually financed all those who were short of cash."[35] Sumsuma had by then won for himself a stake in the exchange economy of Boang; but here is evidence that he had money at his disposal from his stake in the colonial cash economy. With it he could protect his fellow villagers from tax demands. In later years he sought to win over the village government officials, the *luluais,* into involving the people in a cooperative venture of coconut planting and copra production.[36] Earlier, in October 1929, while on a visit to Tanga, the administrator had noted the need for adequate trading links between the island and the port of Namatanai in order to encourage the Tanga islanders to engage more fully in copra production.[37]

At that time Sumsuma was in prison, and it seems that these links were not yet in operation in August 1934, since so many Boang villagers could not find the money to pay their taxes. Perhaps Sumsuma's later scheme to organize a cooperative venture was his solution to that problem; and perhaps he was still aiming to have his own trading vessel. His plans were frustrated by the suspicions of government officers against him. During the Japanese occupation between 1942 and 1945, Sumsuma's power and influence continued to rise among his people, so that the *luluais* sought to make him a "king" in the 1940s. When implacable Australian government officers returned to Namatanai at war's end, Sumsuma had once more to face trial and imprisonment at their hands.

On his second return from prison he founded, in 1953, a Copra Marketing Society. It seems his dreams for a place for his people in the cash economy now bore some fruit because this scheme prospered. Tragically, the Society's vessel was lost at sea soon after. Sumsuma, now nearing the end of his life, continued unabated in his search for ways to improve his people's standard of living. The historian of the strike closes his narrative with these words:

> He died of asthma on 20 August 1965, after a lingering illness . . . and he was buried under a plain concrete slab in Filamat (clan) ground near Rambamur village, in inland Boang. Thus there passed to rest a spirit which had ever been turbulent in the cause of the people, one who in life had been aptly nicknamed Tolimlimbur, the Wanderer, for in his time few men, white or black, could match the restless grandeur of his vision. He deserves to be remembered in Papua New Guinea, for he

> saw what others could not see, and he trod a path which only in recent years his countrymen have begun to follow.[38]

Thus he is cast as a hero of Rabaul, 1929. He joins Anton, Manarmakeri, Edai Siabo, and other visionary wanderers who journeyed into the unknown, acquiring new experiences, new knowledge and vision, and who sweated and struggled, in many different ways, to make those dreams into reality.

In the 1930s, the same decade in which Sumsuma was establishing a place for himself as a mature and productive participant in the society and economy of Boang, another wanderer was treading a different path to renewal and innovation. This man would be called the "Black King." The major eyewitness account of the rise of this prophet, Mambu, on the coast north of Madang town comes from the pen of a German Catholic missionary, Reverend George Höltker, who was working in that region. His record has been translated and added to by K. O. L. Burridge, who worked in the area in the early 1950s.[39]

As a young man Mambu returned to the mission station at Bogia after working on contract in Rabaul. A series of strange events unfolded on the station toward the end of 1937 that won him the reputation among the missionaries as a fanatic and a troublemaker. For instance, he engaged in a public outburst of intense prayer and was suspected of being the silent marauder who had once crept close to the bed of a sleeping missionary sister, After these strange happenings at the station, Mambu launched his career as prophet, first in his home village of Apingan. Winning few followers there, he traveled into Tanga villages where he was more readily accepted. There he persuaded people to refuse payment of taxes to government and mission and to make their payments to him, When the resident missionary discovered this, he forced Mambu to return the money to the people. The prophet then moved to more remote villages further inland where he was more easily accepted, The gist of his message, as summarized by Höltker, was as follows:

> At the present time [villagers] were being exploited by white men. But a new order . . . was at hand which was dependent on no longer submitting to white men. . . . The ancestors had the welfare of their offspring very much at heart. Even now some were in . . . the volcano [on] Manam island, manufacturing all kinds of goods for their descendants. Other ancestors, adopting the guise and appearance of white men, were hard at work in the lands where white men lived. [In fact] the ancestors

> had already despatched much cargo to [the people]. Cloth for *laplaps,* axes, khaki shorts, bush-knives, torches, red pigment, and ready-made houses had been on their way for some time. But white men, who had been entrusted with the transport, were removing the labels and substituting their own. In this way [the people] were being robbed of their inheritance. Therefore, [they] were entitled to get back the cargo from white men by the use of force. The time was coming, however, when all such thievery and exploitation would cease. The ancestors would come with cargo for all. A huge harbour would be created in front of his [Mambu's] house in Suaru, and there the ships of the ancestors--laden with cargo--would make fast. When this time came, all work in the gardens should cease. Pigs, gardens--everything--should be destroyed. Otherwise the ancestors--who were going to bring plenty for all--would be angry and withhold the cargo.[40]

Mambu urged the people to refuse to pay taxes. They were to tell the *kiaps* that they had already made this payment to "the Black King" and therefore they could not pay. Neither should they attend mission schools nor go to church. If they disobeyed these orders from the prophet they would be consumed by fire when the new age dawned.

> Mambu used to pray by the graves of the deceased, and he demanded payment for doing so. He introduced a form of baptism which, he said, would give full dispensation in the rights of the new days to come. Men and women in couples--two men or two women, but not a man and a woman--would stand before Mambu, cast off their breech-clouts or grass skirts, and have their genitals sprinkled with water. Mambu said, too, that it was not fitting that [villagers] should wear native apparel. Instead, they should wear European clothes, throw away their breech-clouts and grass skirts and bury them. By doing these things the ancestors would be pleased. And seeing the cast-off breech-clouts and grass skirts, they would say, "Ha! Our children are truly doing well."

These new rituals were presided over by Mambu, who would often use Christian rituals and ritual objects, such as the crucifix, as part of them.

> In some villages Mambu [had small buildings erected]. Nothing is known of the purpose of these buildings, but it is perhaps rel-

> evant that from the top of the conical roof of palm thatch there emerged a small pole to which was affixed a cross and red flag. Mambu said of himself that he could not be wounded, he was immune. He liked to call himself "King long ol Kanaka, the King of all Kanakas," and chose the title "Black King." On a parting his closest associates used the formula "Goodbye King!" Mambu also said that marriage was not for him, and although at the peak of his power he might have taken any woman he fancied there does not seem to be any evidence that he actually did so. Like a priest, he remained celibate. Finally, it is recorded . . . that Mambu once distributed rice and fish as from the ancestors as an earnest of their good intentions.

His preaching and rituals caused much trouble for missionaries and colonial officials. For instance, there was a drop in attendance at schools and churches and much resistance to the *kiaps* and their enclaves. As a result Mambu was imprisoned first in Bogia and then taken in chains to Madang.

When the chained prophet did not return from prison, as he had promised, his followers became disillusioned, and, according to the missionary, the movement had entirely collapsed after about three months. By June 1938 "things had returned to normal." But the anthropologist Burridge, during his fieldwork in the region in the early 1950s, recorded an oral tradition in the making about a most significant journey that Mambu had taken. This was related to him after the people had suffered the effects of the Japanese invasion, the collapse of the colonial system, the bombardment and terror of modern warfare, and the return of their prewar colonial *mastas*--all of which gave them new perspectives on the impermanence of the old colonial system, and opportunities for building new ways of living, questioning their ancestral inheritance, and forming new relationships with foreigners, whether from overseas or from other parts of Papua New Guinea. Here is Burridge's record of the legend of Mambu and his actions and promises from a different perspective than Höltker's account.

> Mambu, say Tangu today, . . . had been working in Rabaul. When he finished his contract he stowed away in a steamer bound for Australia. He was, however, discovered and hauled before the captain of the ship. The captain was very angry with Mambu for stowing away.
>
> He was about to have Mambu thrown overboard lest by

going to Australia he should chance upon the secret of the white man, when Mambu's former employer, his "master" who was on the same ship, intervened and saved him. The same man, an Australian, saw Mambu safely to an Australian port.

Arrived in Australia, Mambu was clothed and fed. His master showed him the sights, gave him rice, spare clothing, beads, knives, canned goods, razor blades--heaps of good things. All this cargo was packed into cases and sent to the quayside for loading. The master's sister, wrote a letter, stuck it into Mambu's hair, and told him to go down to the quay where he would find all his cargo marked with such-and-such a sign. Mambu was to board a certain ship together with his cargo and return to New Guinea. If there was any trouble, or if anyone questioned him, Mambu was to produce the letter.

Mambu boarded his ship. He survived several attempts by the captain to have him thrown overboard, but eventually he reached Bogia. If it had not been for the letter probably he would have been killed.

In Bogia, Mambu claimed that he knew the secret of white men, and that they, being jealous, were preventing Kanakas from obtaining it. Kanakas, said Mambu, should not submit to things. They should be strong and throw the white men out of New Guinea into the sea. And to make themselves strong Kanakas needed money. To this end Mambu travelled around the countryside collecting pennies and shillings. But for doing so Mambu was reported to the administration by a missionary and then gaoled. He was dangerous to white men and might destroy their over-lordship.

When the policemen came to arrest him, Mambu said to them: "You can hit me--never mind! You can maltreat me--never mind! Later, you will understand!"

The policemen were awed, but took him to gaol. That night, though supposedly behind bars, Mambu was seen chewing betel in a nearby village. In some mystical way he had slipped out of his chains. The policemen--who knew of this escape--were too frightened to report the nocturnal excursion--and some informants say that there were several such forays--lest they be accused of neglect of duty. Nevertheless, Mambu could not escape his fate, and he was taken away to Madang. Before he left, however, he prophesied the coming war.

Mambu also performed another kind of "miracle." He pro-

> duced for an informant, who had gone to "try" him, a banker's packet or "stick" of money out of thin air--money, moreover, that was actually used to buy an axe and some beads. He said to my astounded informant: "You do not understand. You are like a child who has yet to learn much. You do not understand the things that I know." Mambu then went on to claim that he was able to get more (money) whenever he wanted to.

* * * *

In telling of Mambu's journeys from the colonial enclave in Rabaul town to the metropolitan center in Sydney, and then his successful return home again to Bogia, the Tangu people were, in the 1950s, lending a two-fold legitimacy to the Black King's revolutionary claims and teachings about a new way of living for them in the 1930s. His journey to the source of wealth meant that Mambu became transformed in the mould of the ancient culture heroes of the region, becoming part of the process by which the people were reshaping and extending these hero traditions in a colonial context in which they were effectively cut off from participating in the wealth and power manifest in the actions and enclaves of the foreigners. Secondly, Mambu's claim that he had journeyed from Rabaul to Sydney, and had survived that journey and the return home, meant that he had seen with his own eyes the secrets and knowledge that foreigners were withholding from the villagers, few of whom could claim to have traveled beyond Madang or Rabaul.

Anton of Moseng spoke of the acute transformation of his perceptions and understanding that took place in the 1930s when he journeyed out into enclaves in New Britain and New Ireland and even into the houses of the foreigners. These transformations of his mind made him receptive to the idea of rice cultivation and marketing as the "new road": "When I came out of the bush I was like a fool. When I saw how the white-men lived my head went around. I saw their houses. When I became a servant I saw inside their houses. I saw their beds and their chairs and tables. Their food and clothes. I thought all these things were good. . . ."[41] The Muruan youths in the 1850s, taken to Sydney town by French missionaries to be exposed to "civilization," were also transformed by this journey into the metropolis, though on their own terms. They resisted the implication that they should embrace the new religion and reject the old, though they did desire to "build Sydney at Murua," and Sydney became for them "not a town but an entire world."

Other wanderers in the diaspora, workers and seamen, from Murua

and other islands in the Louisiade Archipelago, from New Ireland, the Duke of York Islands and others in the Bismarck Archipelago, and elsewhere in Papua New Guinea followed the paths of the "Papuan" slaves into Java and the young Mailuans into Manila, the workers into Chilean mines, as well as the troopers to Ponape and East Africa, and those numerous laborers into plantations in Samoa, Fiji, and Queensland. Few records remain of the return home of these wanderers; fewer of the transformations they underwent through their journeys into foreign and sometimes distant enclaves; or of the ideas, visions, dreams, and plans they brought back from these encounters. Perhaps Mambu became the Black King because he did indeed stow away on a ship from Rabaul to Sydney and back again. Perhaps he did carry a letter back from the enclaves as proof and talisman, just as Anton did. Or perhaps, instead of journeying to Sydney himself, he heard tales of such journeys in Rabaul from seamen.

In this context, it is very important for understanding the life, the struggles, and the achievements of that restless wanderer Sumsuma to note two things: he was a sailor and he lived and worked in the town of Rabaul. Being a sailor on a coastal schooner not only gave him the opportunity to prove himself--on this "ship," this foreign enclave--as a master mariner. It also gave him the mobility and opportunities for coming to know other enclaves and for meeting sailors from elsewhere. Since Rabaul was a port open to shipping from Australia, the Pacific, and from Europe and America, he and his fellow seamen "conspirators" could mix with black seamen from these places even within the confines of this colonial town. In his trial after the strike failed in 1929, he claimed under questioning that he took the idea for organizing concerted action for improved wages from seamen who were from the port of Samarai. They had organized a successful strike in that port a few years earlier. These two experiences, being a seaman and a town worker, came together in Sumsuma's life in 1929.

The journeys and transformations experienced by wanderers moving in and out of colonial towns and, sometimes, metropolitan cities is a major theme running through the final chapter in the long history of the Melanesian diaspora. It is an experience and theme linking the lives and achievements not only of workers like Anton, Mambu, and Sumsuma, but extending into the lives and achievements of prophets and reformers who survived the Pacific War, and it embraces a new generation of migrants on the move in more recent decades. I have chosen two examples from the many experiences that make up this recent history of movement, change, and innovation: the journeys of Yali, a postwar

prophet in Madang and the Rai coast to the south of that town, and the story of "Tali," the alienated, town-dwelling son of a migrant worker, written by a member of the emerging educated elite.

War and Beyond

Recent studies of the Pacific War, fought on the soil of Papua New Guinea between 1942 and 1945, estimate the loss of life at about 200,000, of whom about 50,000 were Papua New Guineans. At least a further 61,000 were forcibly removed from their villages to make way for airstrips, roads, army bases, and installations. At the height of the recruitment of laborers to support the armed forces, nearly 50,000 young men were taken from their homes into military bases and battle zones, to reshape the landscape for modern warfare and carry supplies into battle on nightmare journeys along the Kokoda trail and the Bulldog-Wau track. These carriers sometimes formed stretcher parties to carry wounded and dying soldiers back to safety and they earned the praise and gratitude of these men who transformed them mawkishly into "Fuzzy-Wuzzy Angels." Often these young villagers, drafted into a meaningless and terrifying foreign war, tried to escape back to their homes again, some fleeing all the way through hostile mountain forests, from Kokoda or Bulldog back through swamps and along beaches to their homes in Mekeo or the Gulf. Armed units, manned by Papuans and New Guineans--of whom a substantial proportion had carried the government's rifle as policemen before the Japanese invasion--were assembled to fight special campaigns. In addition, over 3,000 men were in the police force during the war, some of whom also took part in military actions.[42]

Besides all these men absorbed into the Allied war machine, or villagers killed or moved because of battles, there were those who lived under Japanese occupation in New Guinea, whose villages were destroyed, resources swallowed up, or whose men were pressed into serving the invaders. Some, caught by the sudden arrival of Japanese forces, sought to escape to more friendly or familiar places. Here is a record of the adventures of one such Manus islander:

> Choka . . . , the *bosboi* on Lagenda Plantation, Talasea New Britain, assisted in the collection and evacuation of Australians after the fall of Rabaul. Captured in 1943 while working for coastwatchers on New Britain, he was sent to Kavieng to man a schooner fishing for tuna to supply Japanese troops in Rabaul.

> After deserting in Rabaul Choka found more congenial employment cutting firewood and doing odd jobs at a house for geisha girls in Chinatown. Paid five shillings a week in invasion notes which he could sometimes spend in a tradestore, he had a little freedom to wander about town but none to consort with the Japanese and Korean geisha girls. Transferred to a whaleboat crew he helped transport pit-sawn timber from the Duke of York Islands to Rabaul. When bombing became intense he took refuge on Mioko in the Duke of York Islands for four months. Again rounded up by New Guinean police working for the Japanese, Choka dug and cemented air-raid shelters. Joined by other Manus Islanders in another escape attempt, he set up camp in the bush. When the Manus refugees learnt that the Allies had returned to Talasea, they spent a fortnight building a canoe. In spite of Paliau's request that they stay and the Japanese who opened fire on them as they passed Saragai Plantation, they rejoined the Australians in June, 1944. Choka gave the allies one of their few accounts of life in Rabaul with its bombings, brothels and talk of European, Chinese and New Guinean prisoners being bashed and executed.[43]

A fierce and uncompromising sense of independence and desire for survival mark the stories of epic journeys and escapes from battles by men such as Choka. Their struggles and experiences expanded their horizons; fierce journeys of initiation brought them quickly to maturity and radically altered their earlier perceptions of colonial ties. Any assessment of the nature of this holocaust's influence on the recent history of the people of Papua New Guinea must be measured in terms of the journeys, experiences, and transformations of people such as these.

Unlike Sumsuma and his fellow conspirators, who sought entry to the fortress of power, privilege, and caste in order to bargain for a greater share of wealth, men who served in the armed forces were warriors no longer outlawed by colonial authorities but accepted and praised for their skill in this new white man's war--men who broke through the fortress to fight as equals with white men in battles on their own soil. Like the workers who embarked on epic journeys of escape, these soldiers covered a much larger landscape and met and fought beside a much wider variety of strangers and foreigners than was conceivable or possible in the prewar colonial world.

The experience of one famous soldier, William Metpi, who died in Manus in the late 1970s provides more details of the wartime environ-

ment. In 1972 he told his story to Kakah Kais. Nelson has used that personal testimony, along with evidence of his achievements from surviving military records, to piece the following account together--an amalgam of his hopes and achievements, as well as those of other members of the Pacific Islands Regiment. Metpi had been captured by the Japanese when they landed in Rabaul in February 1942, and taken by them with six hundred other New Guinean workers as part of their invasion force to Buna later that year. He escaped behind Japanese lines to join a small Australian guerilla force, proving himself an adept jungle soldier. Drafted into the Papuan and later the New Guinea Infantry Battalion, he traversed large tracts of a hostile landscape in special strike forces (it is claimed that by February 1944 he had a tally of 110 enemy dead to his credit). He led a strike by soldiers in Bisiatabu Camp when they sensed that the return of the old colonial system was robbing them of their dignity and identity (he asserted that "he had been a good soldier, and should have a proper uniform like the Australians and Americans with whom he had fought side by side"). Finally, he was decorated and returned home at the War's end. Nelson writes:

> The accumulated experience of war made Warrant Officer Matpi [an official version of his name], awarded the DSM at a final parade in 1946, a different man from the one that signed his first contract as an indentured labourer and left his home in Lorengau, Manus Island, in 1940. Like the 3,500 others who volunteered for the PIR he had been given opportunities to demonstrate abilities that allowed him to believe that he was equal to other sorts of men in the world. . . . Yet now when old members of the PIR meet what do they choose to remember? . . . As well as remembering the praise and the photographs, they probably also talk about the promises. Some were promises that they made to each other about making a better life for themselves and their home communities after the war; other promises they believed were made to them on many parades. Always there was the suggestion that they fought now for a reward to come; blood and sweat would be paid back with a "good time." But like all the other promises of better uniforms, pay and food they came to little. . . . [44]

It is no wonder that in the turmoil on Manus in the 1940s and 1950s, from which Paliau Maloat and his reform movement would emerge, one of the key "trouble makers" was William Metpi himself. It is in this

context--of shared journeys and triumphs as a new breed of warriors; shared promises and dreams should they live till tomorrow; and shared frustrations, hopes, experiments, and visions of change--that Yali's life assumes some of its meaning. His life history and the shifting context of the series of popular movements into which he was moved on his return from the Pacific War have been detailed by Peter Lawrence. The prime focus here will be on two events in his experience as a serviceman in that War: his journey to Madang from Hollandia in Irian Jaya and a number of journeys to Australia. But first, a brief sketch of his prewar life, particularly as policeman and local reformer-prophet .[45]

* * * *

Yali was born around 1912 in a bush village in Ngaing, inland from the Rai coast, south of Madang. His father was a respected man of knowledge and a warrior. Yali was fully initiated into the Kabu ceremony "but was never properly trained in garden ritual, sorcery, or other similar skills." He left home as a youth to seek work, remaining away for a long period, and so never filled this gap in local education. The mission, government, and plantation enclaves, developed on the coast from German times, were beginning to spread their influence into the hinterland soon after Yali's birth, so that at the close of the 1914-1918 war (which marked the end of German rule) young Ngaing men were being regularly recruited. But his people were not so willing to be drawn into the spreading sphere of the Christian missions. This was largely because the Lutheran evangelists and elders in the region had decided that villagers should renounce the Kabu ceremony and dance as a prerequisite for taking on the new religion. The Ngaing village elders were not prepared to follow such a road.

Journeying away to work in a growing mining enclave put Yali in touch with a whole new network of influences and ideas, One early influence came from workers exiled to the goldfields from Rabaul town. These men expressed their antagonism toward Australian rule and some also spread "cargo" rumors.

> One of [these workers exiled from Rabaul] was Tagarab of Milguk, who for a while cultivated Yali's acquaintance on the grounds that they were both from the same general area and virtually trade friends. Tagarab had a great deal to say about the Rabaul Strike. Although he did not emphasize its religious background, he described the general feeling among the police-

> men and labourers that their European employers were both underpaying them and holding back the cargo sent them by their ancestors. . . .

On his return from this first contract, the young man Yali followed a path taken by many homecoming workers. He became a middleman between the new and the old systems. Sumsuma had become a ship's master, Anton had briefly worked as a plantation *bosboi* after the War, and Mambu seems to have been a mission worker. They were all members of a growing group of young men who went beyond being simply contract workers in plantations, mining, or domestic service. In 1931 Yali himself became a *tultul* (a colonial village official, usually an interpreter). He is remembered as a close ally of the *kiaps* in this work. He accompanied them on a number of patrols, some involving confrontations with cargo cultists and prophets. In another sense he became a mediator and go-between for his people: faced with increasing pressure from Lutheran missionaries, the Ngaing people still resisted their coming; Yali negotiated for the entry of another mission, largely because of what he had heard of their policies while away at the mine in Wau. So, like so many of these men who trod that dangerous middle path as mediators, Yali assisted in the process by which his people were drawn into the sphere of colonial influences, The study of this process and the consequences of decisions taken by such mediators and interpreters is a theme of some importance in the colonial chapter of Papua New Guinea history. Yali bowed to the inevitable in that he persuaded his people to accept the coming of missionaries into their lives. But, these missionaries were permitted access because they had shown that they, unlike the Lutherans, would be tolerant toward the Kabu ceremony and dance.

Yali himself did not become a very active participant in the new religion. He continued his work as a local official until tragedy struck. At the end of 1936 or early 1937 his wife, to whom he was deeply attached, died, This led him to another series of mind-opening journeys and a significant occupation: he decided to become a policeman.

While engaging in this new career, Yali had two kinds of experiences that greatly influenced his later life, First, he learned the power, and the potential for its corruption, that came to those wearing the government's uniform and carrying the government's rifle. He openly divulged to Lawrence in the 1950s a number of instances where this potential was demonstrated, particularly the policeman's power over property and women. The second experience to which Yali was exposed came from the general ferment of ideas and dreams in this region in which

Mambu, transformed into the Black King, was preaching his doctrines of rebellion against the new religion and government taxation, and in which the people generated their own heroic traditions of his journeys in search of wealth and knowledge. Echoes of the cargo rumors and talk that he had heard first from exiled Rabaul workers in Wau were revived in the police force. Some policemen spoke openly of ridding themselves of their Australian rulers as news of the war in Europe spread.

While still serving as a policeman in the new colonial town of Lae (which was being transformed into the colonial capital after the destruction of Rabaul by the 1937 volcanic eruption), he heard more and more predictions of the impending destruction of this town in the coming war. He also became curious about the news he was receiving of cargo movements among the people of Madang. Wanting to see the prophets at work first hand, he took another journey home when granted leave toward the end of 1941. He returned to work in December 1941 in Madang and took part in the arrest of cargo leaders on Karkar. There he heard prophesies that Madang would be bombed. But he had been posted back to Lae by the time of the Japanese raid on Madang.

In the chaos and anarchy that followed the bombing and swift occupation of colonial towns like Madang and Lae on the north coast, Yali emerged as a highly skilled leader and organizer, helping workers to return home in an orderly and safe way. He now launched into his series of war journeys and exploits, from which he emerged a new man and a hero in the eyes of Madang people. These included visits to metropolitan cities and towns. First he fled from the captured capital to Finschhafen along with a small police party. From there he traveled to a number of trouble spots in the Bismarck Archipelago. After courageous exploits with coastwatchers he was promoted and sent to Brisbane for special training in jungle combat.

> In Brisbane and Cairns, Yali saw things which he had never before even imagined; the wide streets lined with great buildings, and crawling with motor vehicles and pedestrians; huge bridges built of steel; endless miles of motor road; and whole stretches of country carrying innumerable livestock or planted with sugar cane and other crops. He was taken on visits to a sugar mill, where he saw the cane processed, and a brewery. He listened to the descriptions of other natives who saw factories where meat and fish were tinned. Again, he suddenly became more aware of those facets of European culture he had already

> experienced in New Guinea: the emphasis on cleanliness and hygiene; the houses in well-kept gardens neatly ordered along the streets; and the care with which the houses were furnished, and decorated with pictures on the walls and vases of flowers on the tables. In comparison, his own native culture . . . seemed ridiculous and contemptible. He was ashamed. But one thing he realized: whatever the ultimate secret of all this wealth . . . the Europeans had to work and organize their labour supply to obtain it. . . .

Here were echoes of the experiences of Anton of Moseng when he "first came out of the bush." Yali then resigned and took on a new occupation in the Australian Army as a member of the Allied Intelligence Bureau (A.I.B.). In this new life he achieved great distinction and heard those promises about a better life that were to ring true in the ears of so Imany Papua New Guinean servicemen. When they returned home to their villages, their minds and hearts were filled with visions and hopes for improvement.

Around June 1943 Yali and his close associate, Captain G. C. Harris, returned to New Guinea and worked in a number of posts. Later that year they went back to Queensland for more training. Yali also trained other New Guineans for A.I.B. and was made a Sergeant Major. A new strategy was drawn up by which attacks would be launched by a special commando force in Hollandia, the capital of Dutch New Guinea. They would be preceded by the landing of a special coastwatching force near Hollandia. It would be made up of twelve men: Harris in command, Yali the senior New Guinean N.C.O., plus six other Europeans, three New Guinean soldiers, and an Indonesian interpreter. Late in March 1944, they were landed from an American submarine but walked into a Japanese ambush after losing much of their equipment in the heavy surf. Harris and four others were killed. Three Europeans, the Indonesian and the three New Guinean soldiers, including Yali, escaped. He would later recall his journey with one of these soldiers for Lawrence.

> When it was obvious that further resistance was useless, Yali and Buka [a Manus soldier] got away from the battle into the jungle. They had neither food nor matches. Buka was unarmed, but Yali had a carbine and about fifty rounds of ammunition, a bayonet and a compass, in the use of which he claims to have been proficient. Both had wristwatches and could tell the time. With these slender resources, Yali managed to return

> from Hollandia to Vanimo and then Aitape by an inland route, arriving after the landing of the main American forces. Buka failed to reach Allied lines. He became very ill . . . and although Yali supported him to the end, he was lost somewhere in the hinterland of Vanimo. Yali's escape was, and still is, regarded as one of the native epics of the war in New Guinea. It won him great respect among European troops at the time and . . . had an even more significant effect on the natives of the southern Madang District. The distance of the journey was about a hundred and twenty miles, and the time spent in the bush about three months. Yali and Buka existed on the hearts of black palms, bush fruits, any vegetables they could find in gardens, and the few animals they were able to shoot. At one stage, they came upon a Japanese outpost under bombardment by Allied aircraft. They made use of the temporary absence of the Japanese in their slit trenches to rob a house of matches, taro, and other necessities.
>
> Yali appears to have reached Aitape about June or July 1944. After reporting to A.N.G.A.U., he was sent at once to Finschhafen. . . .

In Finschhafen he made a detailed report of his experiences and recuperated in the hospital for two months, Then followed another journey to Brisbane where he learned more about life in the metropolis, visiting in particular the museum where he saw and reflected upon collections of artifacts from Papua New Guinea. In February 1945 he took another journey, this time to Sydney. Here he was shown over the Harbour Bridge, an aircraft repair shop, and the Burns Philip stores and warehouses. Then came a posting to New Britain, followed by a few months' home leave and service in Madang, Lae, and Nadzab. His war service came to an end in November 1945.

Long after the journey from Hollandia to Aitape his experiences were to haunt Yali. His account to Lawrence of two very important episodes in that journey helps explain why he believed that he survived while Buka perished.

> On the journey they slept each night under a shelter of boughs. . . . [Their] only food was what they could find in the bush, until one day they came upon an opened tin of fish by the road. Yali's first reaction was that it was a Japanese booby trap and that the fish had been poisoned. But, as there were no foot-

prints nearby, he decided to try it. Buka, who was a practicing Catholic, tried to dissuade him, saying that Satan had put the tin there to deceive them. But Yali risked drinking the fluid from the top of the tin, and, as he found it palatable and suffered no ill effects, they both shared the fish. 'Iwo days later, as both of them were still quite well, Buka decided that God had put the tin there to help them.

Some time afterwards they saw a man. Thinking he was a Japanese they ran off but the man did not follow. Yali claims that he vanished and that all they could see was a dog. That night Buka said he saw a man who appeared to turn into a cassowary. He had the same experience the following night also. At first they were mystified but later interpreted what they had seen as the spirit of one of their companions killed at Hollandia, who had followed them to see how they were faring on their journey.

Then occurred the most important episode of the whole adventure. Yali and Buka found a crocodile. Buka at once wanted to shoot it for food. Yali, however, remarked that it was odd that there should be a crocodile in the bush with no river nearby. It was probably, he said, a local deity and they had better respect it as such. Buka replied: "Let us think only of God. This is meat. You and I must not think about local deities." Yali gave in. Buka shot the beast in the head and then Yali shot it through the heart. They had cut up the animal and were making a fire to cook the meat when, Yali claims, it became quite dark. They could no longer see each other. Then wild pig, wallabies, cassowaries, possums, and other animals surrounded them, and bared their teeth as if to attack and kill them.

When at last the sun rose, they packed up the crocodile meat --although neither of them had dared to eat any--and went on, walking all day. But at sundown they came back to the same shelter in which they had spent the last terrifying night. They did the same thing next day, and now Yali was convinced that the crocodile had been in reality a local deity. They threw the meat away. Yali reproved Buka for thinking only of God and having no respect for the local deities, and Buka became very frightened. Thereafter things went from bad to worse. Buka, now positive that the local deities would kill him for shooting the crocodile, became so ill that Yali had to carry him. They staggered on for several days and by this time were in the

> hinterland of Vanimo. They heard the sound of shooting nearby and Yali, in the hope that Allied forces might 'be in the area, left Buka under a tree and went off to get help, marking the trees so that he would know the way to return. He met some retreating Japanese and immediately ran away. But he avoided going back at once to the place where he had left Buka because he did not want the Japanese to follow and capture him. Later, when he judged it safe, he went back to look for Buka but he had disappeared. He searched everywhere but could not find him and at last was forced to give up. He then made his way to Vanimo and finally Aitape. Subsequently he concluded that the local deities had devoured or carried off his companion as punishment for having insisted on the shooting of the crocodile, one of their number. He himself had been saved not by his wits or physical endurance but because, although he was not entirely blameless, he had shown some respect for the old religion. . . .[46]

Yali's nightmare journey from Hollandia, his encounter with the mysterious crocodile, and the loss of his wounded and fearful companion Buka all echo the hero traditions. Similarly, Manarmakeri, the old scabby man, pursued the marauding pig he had wounded and thus journeyed out of the ordered existence of his settlement into dangerous mountain passes to come in the end upon the cave where the secrets of Koreri were revealed by ancestor spirits. Edai Siabo, seized by a *dirava* sea spirit, was dragged down into an underwater cave where the secret and beneficial knowledge of *hiri* and *lagatoi* were communicated to him. The echoes are not simply there in the telling, in the discourse and narrative by which Yali communicated his remembrance to Lawrence. News of his return from Hollandia spread through communities in Madang and the Rai Coast, which were being torn by the turmoil of the Japanese occupation and were already receptive to the dreams and promises of the return of their ancestors with the secret knowledge that would open the *rot bilong kago* for their people. At war's end, when he returned home with his great fame, he was seen as a ghost who had journeyed out of the land of the dead, as a prophet and reformer who could help the people improve their lives, and as a culture hero, returned to open the way, In his own mind, he emerged from a journey in which Buka had succumbed to the power of hostile spirits and powers, but he had survived their onslaughts. He returned at once deepened in his faith in the ancestral heritage, yet committed to build a

new world in the image of what he had seen and heard in the foreign cities. He drew memories and perceptions together into a program for reform and renewal.

Just as Sumsuma sought reform in the colonial town and then in the rural village, so Yali sought a marriage between a vision gained in his journey through the forests and his journeys to colonial towns and Australian cities. These two men belong to two generations of wanderers, caught up in the Melanesian diaspora and the holocaust of the Pacific War, which left memories and deep scars on Yali and his generation of soldiers, reformers, and prophets. The experience of the Pacific War is what separates these two generations. The new generation, born generally after the end of the war, but inheriting ideas and dreams from Sumsuma's and Yali's struggles, was marked by urban migrations and entered into a new age of independence and nationhood after September 1975. Much research has gone into the study of this new phase in journeys and migrations into towns and cities, and it confirms the impression that this is perhaps the largest migration in the history of the people of Papua New Guinea. Though a large portion of a population that has expanded in size in the thirty years from 1945 to 1975 still lives in villages and still gains a living from those ancient arts of agriculture developed so long ago, the movement to cities and the impact and spread of ideas and dreams coming from the cities already are shaping new societies.

Tali and the Migrants

Papua New Guinea is not alone in this new diaspora; just as its people were not alone drawn into colonial spheres in the 1880s, nor alone invaded by a new imperial force from Japan in the 1940s. Port Moresby, Panguna, Lae, and Mount Hagen on a smaller scale join other cities in the Third World such as Calcutta, Tokyo, Djakarta, and São Paulo growing apace and draining manpower and resources from villages in the countryside. The focus here, in this most recent phase of journeys and transformations, is a modern narrative that pictures the life and struggles of the son of a town migrant--a story that is itself an image of the people of Papua New Guinea.

A vignette from a study of Mount Hagen migrants in Port Moresby captures something of the urban migrant's struggle. The writer is Marilyn Strathern; the book is called *No Money on Our Skins: Hagen Migrants in Port Moresby.* Her opening words are pertinent: "Hagen migrants say they come to Port Moresby to make money; some go home

with small amounts; others stay because they cannot save enough: 'We have no money on our skins.' This is how they explain it. In fact people migrate to town for many reasons and many things about urban life hold them there. . . ."[47] She notes that one of her purposes in using this title for her study was to record and analyze what the migrants had to say about their experiences. The book is rich in migrants' testimonies.

Some songs which she recorded capture the ideas and dreams of the mountain dwellers who have undertaken long and dangerous journeys out of their valleys down to the major city on the seaboard.

> As I climb up on the big plane's back
> I forget my elder brother
> As we cross the river Wahgi
> I forget my younger brother.
> My brother, he said no to me,
> I would not listen to him.
> I went against his will and so
> I'll stay and see it through here.[48]

Men such as the singer of this song are full of thoughts of the world they are leaving behind and of fears that perhaps the city will have so strong a pull that they may become permanent exiles. They also give hints of the ties of kinship, emotion, and loyalty binding the migrants into larger networks, so that in some ways, with modern communications systems at work, the village is extended out by its sons going into the city. Those tics and networks were much harder to build and maintain in the earlier colonial phase because the landscape proved so difficult to bridge: it was by foot or by canoe and schooner that links between villages and enclaves were maintained.

These enigmas, lures, and tensions resulting from migration to towns are caught in a tragic light in the story called "Tali," written by Jim Baital.[49] There is much sociological and economic evidence and some testimonies available on urban migration, which show how close to reality this story is.[50] The writer's own life provided a rich context which germinated this story. He was born in February 1949 into a large Finschhafen family. Like many of his generation he grew up in a foreign enclave. His father was *nambawan bosboi* on the Lutheran mission plantation where Baital grew up. Being a man in the middle, his father believed that his children should have as many opportunities as possible in the newly emerging postwar society. So his son went to local Lutheran schools and then traveled to Rabaul where he received an education

in the Australian syllabus at Gaulim College. In 1965 he was chosen to travel on a scholarship to a Lutheran College in Australia, an overseas journey echoing an ancient and varied history of voyaging, Baital and his generation of young scholars went to the metropolis along a network of mission pathways out from their enclave in search of learning and knowledge with which to build a new nation, He returned from Australia three years later to complete his schooling in the Lutheran High School at Asaroka in the Highlands. In 1969 he returned to the coast and began studies for the ministry at Martin Luther Seminary in Lae. After his graduation he moved with his wife to Port Moresby, where he wrote this tale.

The story of Tali opens in Port Moresby when the hero was a youth of about sixteen. His father was being paid off as a house servant by the Australian family that had employed him for a number of years because they were returning to Australia at the end of their term of colonial service. The father had left his village on Siassi Island when he was a youth and had lived and worked on the edge of expatriate and town communities ever since. Now he felt that it was time for him and his family to return home. Once the formalities of receiving gifts and saying farewell to his employer were over, he set off with his family on the first stage of their own homeward journey.

They arrived first in the town of Lae where they were complete strangers, but there Kanek, the father, set out to find *wantoks* (people from the same village or cultural region) from Siassi who would assist and guide him on his journey. Soon he met a long-lost clan brother from his village and they were reconciled to each other in a tearful and beery reunion. Through this man's help the family found itself on a boat bound for home.

Their reception in their village, after so long an absence, was cool at first and then quite ambiguous. Kanek, as a man of the city who had lived for many years in the white man's world, was received as a bearer of new wealth and knowledge, but the basis for his place in the village society and economy was uncertain since he had never cultivated gardens as a mature man. To the young people, Tali was most attractive, with his shining white teeth and smart city clothes; yet he was uncertain about his people's customs or whether he was outside the powers of their law.

A crisis soon grew around Tali. He seduced or was seduced by a village girl, who warned him too late that she was his clan sister. News of their liaison broke over the village like a thunderclap: Tali's parents were publicly shamed, he was rejected by his father, and a curse fell

upon him for his incest. Because Kanek still had no firm base in the economy and had rejected Tali, he did not attempt to lift the curse by organizing a feast of reconciliation between his family and the aggrieved family of the girl.

Tali fled to town, acquiring the ways of the modern world at a high school in Rabaul. His life away from home and parents in Siassi was torn by dreams and visions about what he had left behind. He did well in this new life, succeeded in his studies, and was offered a career in business. He shunned these offers and possibilities to take up instead a career in the Army as an ordinary soldier. His decision to seek this life, and possibly death, was confirmed by the successive shocks of hearing of the deaths of his father and mother in Siassi.

Tali did well in this career, even becoming a decorated hero because of his bravery in a campaign inside New Guinea against secessionist forces. He also found a wife in Port Moresby where he was stationed and launched into family life. When his term of service came to an end Tali decided to retrace his father's journey and return to make his own way on Siassi. The first journey through Lae to Siassi was repeated but disaster awaited Tali there.

The curse against him had not been lifted because his parents were no longer there to bring peace. His attempts to find a place and to cultivate land were firmly resisted by the unbending villagers. Because he could not provide for them, tensions mounted between Tali, his wife, and child until she finally escaped to her people's home in the city. The last glimpse we catch of Tali, that young man so full of promise, is of him stumbling through the village in a lonely and abandoned state of madness, homeless at home.[51]

* * * *

The tragic picture of Tali's end, homeless on Siassi, is not only a contemporary portrait of the fate of those wanderers who lose their roots by a too easy movement across the gulf between two worlds of village and city; it may also be a moving commentary by a writer of a new generation on the course and character of innovation and change in the ancient and more recent history of Papua New Guinea.

These explorations into journeys and transformations have now run full circle, for Kanek and Tali together bridge Anton of Moseng's generation. The stark contrasts between Anton's vision of some hope and Baital's portrait of the disintegration of dreams and promise point up the truism that there is not one pattern appropriate to one particular

generation or context of these journeys and struggles. In fact in this, the final generation before the achievement of political independence, the experiences chosen catch some sense of the great varieties and contrasts at work among the many wanderers making up the full tide of this Melanesian diaspora. The landscape, scope, frequency, and framework of journeys undertaken by Kanek and Tali, Anton, the urban migrants, and the wartime workers and soldiers like William Metpi and Yali, are all larger than those of earlier generations of wanderers like the Rabaul workers. In that earlier stage of the growth of colonial rule and control in two separate colonies on each side of the Central Highlands valleys, mobility was severely defined and restricted by the colonial authorities. That definition and those restrictions were products of financial shortages, colonial perceptions and policies, and the resulting difficulties in building anything but primitive infrastructures and transportation systems in what was seen as a harsh landscape. Only exceptional men in exceptional circumstances--such as seamen who met sailors from across the borders or on international ships, or who themselves went to other ports (men like Sumsuma); or those who went with prospectors beyond the boundaries of colonial control; or sought new lands and fame with explorers--ventured beyond these severe limitations on mobility in the early colonial age. Most workers,, within the plantation and mining economy or mission and government enterprises, followed familiar and defined pathways and sea lanes between regions. The original journeys and careers of Sumsuma, Mambu, and before the Pacific War, of Anton and Yali, followed these patterns--they went out of their home regions to serve in more "developed" enclaves around Rabaul, Samarai, or elsewhere.

The Pacific War shattered these familiar, limited patterns and pathways. During the war and in the new postwar world men could, on the whole, journey more freely in search of work, cross boundaries between colonial territories, and penetrate into situations of work and living that brought them closer to the centers of power and wealth in the enclaves. And not only was there opportunity for wider mobility; equally significant was the growth in opportunity in terms of the volume and number of participants in the diaspora.

Finally the writer Baital, in his particular creation, "Tali," expresses another contrast growing out of the thirty short years from 1945 to 1975, a contrast marked in the difference of opportunity for Kanek and Tali; or in that between Sumsuma and his son, a graduate from the University of Papua New Guinea.; or between the father of Jim Baital, a *nambawan bosboi* on a mission plantation and church elder, and the

writer himself, the product of an Australian high school and a graduate from a Seminary: that is, the increased opportunity available in a new postwar colonial system and economy for young people to embark on new forms of initiation, journeying, and education that were not permitted to their fathers and prewar generations.

"Tools . . . to Change Your Minds With"

James Chalmers, that missionary, tireless traveler, and bringer of the "good news" to many villages on the south coast, entered the villages of the Gulf of Papua through the *hiri* trading voyages, traveling out of Port Moresby to the northwest on a Motu *lagatoi.* He was a new Edai Siabo, not for the Motu, but for the Gulf people. From the 1870s *lagatoi* crews brought proof of the presence of the new strangers--residing in what grew later from a mission station to a colonial headquarters and town--and they also carried news of the new men and their teachings to their *hiri* partners in the Gulf beach villages. Then Chalmers himself set sail in the *hiri* expedition of October 1883. He landed, made friends, and spoke of peace; building on existing friendships he walked along the Orokolo beaches visiting new places and people.[52]

In the ferment of talk and rumor that preceded (and accompanied) his coming, Koete Lorou, an elder and wise man of the Iokea people living on the eastern rim of the Gulf, had a dream that would give legitimacy to this new stranger and open pathways for his peaceful reception and a hearing for his teachings. A record of Koete Lorou's dream was made by a missionary several decades later, as it was becoming transformed into oral tradition and charter:

> Long ago, a man dreamed about a white man, In that dream a man said to him, sometime you will be watching on the beach and a man will come to you. He will bring you good tools to use for the garden and to change your minds with. His skin will be different from yours. . . . Then in the morning, he got up from the bed and told the Eravo people about his dream. The man's name was Koete Lorou. The first one came to our village, we called his name Tamate. . . . At that time Iokea was very dark. Then they saw him and some of them said to one another, this is not a true man, he is the spirit of a dead body. Then Koete said to these people, no this is the man I dreamed before. So that man made a good friend to Mr. Tamate. Then another day he went to the village and gave a present to the Iokea people and

> made them happy and they followed him. . . . Many of them had gone away to fight up the Miaru river so that when Tamate arrived in Iokea and the people saw him they were afraid and talked about him among themselves. Then Koete sent his cousin to tell the fighting men to come back from the fight. These fighting men asked him what kind of man is that. He said to them his hair is like a cloud, his body is very red and white, and he has a sharp nose. He is a very kind looking man, so they . . . threw their fighting tools, bows and arrows and spears in the water. They came without these things and until today, there has been no big fight.[53]

This dream and its consequences show a subtle but very real fusion and continuity of the ancient traditions of the journeys of culture heroes and those more recent ones undertaken by foreigners, strangers, and wanderers. In the dream Chalmers became transformed into a "Papuan culture hero"--in this instance and in this region, called Iko, rather than Sido, Hido, or Souw. In the context of the dreams and beliefs of the Iokea people, this tradition told that the spirits of ancestors foretold the coming of this new Iko (Chalmers) who would not bring new crops, or fashion new segments of the landscape, but would come bearing "good tools." Speaking with a wise man in his dreams was the normal way in which the spirits would communicate with the people and prepare them to meet new challenges. When they heard of the dream, the people used its messages as a basis for their diplomatic actions toward the stranger. That gave Chalmers entry to their village and lives, as a stranger bearing these gifts.

This is not a case of simple continuity, but of fusion between old and new. The spirits told Koete Lorou that the stranger would not come only as a culture hero. When he had been received by the people in a peaceful way on their neutral beach, they then communicated with their warriors waging war on people up the Miaru river. And they spoke of him in particular ways, again through a man close to the dreamer, Koete Lorou's cousin: "He said to them his hair is like a cloud, his body is very red and white, and he has a sharp nose. . . ." Clearly the consequences that followed their reception of this new culture hero, both stranger and man--the end of war, his bringing of messages of peace, and these "good tools"--represented their emergence out of a time in which "Iokea was very dark" into a new age. So this tradition and the dream that was so central to the people's relations with Chalmers rang with promises of a new age into which he would usher them.

But this dream about Iko-become-Chalmers is not just an instance of continuity between old traditions and new journeys and of fusion between the people's perceptions and beliefs and the promise of new things to come. It is more. The tradition reveals that Chalmers was received because the dream and dreamer communicated that he was a bearer of "good tools" and promises. Chalmers as hero, stranger, and person was legitimated by the dream. The key figure is not Chalmers, the bringer and missionary, but Koete Lorou, the dreamer. It was; to Koete Lorou that the messages from ancestral spirits, which would legitimate Chalmers, were communicated in the dream. Koete's dream and his speaking of it to the elders and wise men, "the Eravo people," opened the way for the people to receive this stranger and his gifts and to listen to messages that would "change their minds." It was also through the dream and a discussion of its meaning that the warriors accepted Chalmers and "threw their fighting tools, bows and arrows and spears in the water" and entered a path of peace. A key issue, caught in this narrative, was whether the people in the beach village, and their warriors inland on the frontier, would accept the stranger, his gifts, and messages, or not, once they had been told of the dream and interpreted it.

The dream of Koete Lorou, and its communication and effects upon these events at Iokea in 1883, all belong to that phase where precolonial history flowed into the beginnings of the colonial era. It is easy, from the vantage point of the Iokea people, to see the continuities between the arrival of this stranger, James Chalmers--in the wake of the *lagatoi* of their Motu *hiri* partners from the east--and his crossing of their beach with "good tools" and the "good news," and the ancient journeys and arrivals from the west of Iko and other culture heroes, heroines, and founders. For them 1883 was a border region from which they could observe eddies and tides flowing into their beaches from both ancient and more recent sources.

In the 1980s we stand at another vantage point of history: a border region, or perhaps a "beach" between the ebb tide of the colonial age and the inflows of the currents of the age of independence. We have considered a number of journeys stretching back beyond 450 years of written records, well beyond the limits of human memory (which has a structured tenacity in oral cultures like those of Papua New Guinea), into those times from which durable fragments of human life and economy need the scientific and imaginative skills of archaeologists, botanists, geomorphologists, and others to decipher. The few journeys upon which we have focused are a small part of a much larger body of evi-

dence. It is time now to look across this variety and to draw some threads together.

Three common elements show the significance of these journeys and the transformations which came from them. First, all of these journeys demanded feats of endurance of their protagonists. Hardship and danger were common to them all, But the protagonists did not simply endure physical hardships. Challenges and decisions that touched their moral being also had to be faced. Those who endured these experiences and underwent the challenge grew in knowledge about themselves and the new world through which they journeyed. In the cases of Edai Siabo, Manarmakeri, and, more recently, Sumsuma, Anton, and Yali, their endurance and journeying opened for them the way to new and deeper knowledge and wisdom, which so captivated them that they wished to transform others by implanting in them the vision of a new life.

Second, these protagonists ventured out beyond the known horizon into a world unknown by their fellows--down into the depths of the sea, through unknown landscapes into a cavern, into the foreigners' enclaves and towns. No wonder such journeys were so often conceived of as a kind of death, burial, or initiation. In that new world, when they had survived their journey, they had to encounter, embrace, or do battle with ambiguous and powerful forces by which they were in danger of being destroyed. (Yali's return from Hollandia is an instance which springs to mind.) Survival from these encounters and the encounters themselves transformed the minds of the protagonists, so that they no longer saw the world in the same way as their fellows and were restless to bring about changes in conformity with their new vision. The powers they encountered and the knowledge they acquired on their journeys were always ambiguous, having in them potential for good and ill.

These first two elements relate directly to the process of journeying away, out from their homes; the return home is the third. Some survived and were remembered as being transformed only because they returned home again bringing with them new ideas, new insights, new knowledge and wisdom, and a will to change the existing order. So the return home was an essential ingredient in the remembrance and recording of these transforming journeys. It opened the way for survivors to tell of their experiences and in so doing to communicate their message of change, their challenge to build a new life. Some societies adapted existing initiation rites or developed new institutions to absorb and contain the young men, their ideas, wealth, and restlessness as they re-

turned home.[54] For these reasons these journeys, and the transforma, tions coming from them, are an integral, perhaps a central part of the historical experience of the people of Papua New Guinea. There are a number of ways in which their significance can be explored further.

The sources through which these themes about journeys and transformations have been explored are themselves to be taken as examples of deeply rooted and widespread ideas and movements in this region's history. Since they are typical, they lead to the following conclusions.

First, they express perceptions and ideas about innovation and change and the possibilities for radical transformations of the existing order of society and the world. Culture heroes and heroines are remembered as shaping a new landscape, bringing new crops, techniques, institutions, or culture from a world outside. Foreign visitors are also remembered as coming from a world beyond the horizon, opening the pathways for change, "breaking through the forests for us," or bringing new tools, ideas, or sources of wealth and power from that distant and strange world outside, and sometimes they are revered for that: "'Yes, do praise them," says the refrain in one song from the Enga.[55] It is their coming from outside and their bringing of new ways that is immortalized, and so they fit the mould of and become transformed into new culture heroes just as Chalmers was transformed into Iko. Immigrant founders are also often foreigners, or people who come from outside and then begin the founding of a new community, whose present survivors recall their links of descent back to them and their coming from outside. Young workers or initiates leave the security of their homes and come back as men with new ideas, new forms of wealth, new challenges to change. All these point to remembrance, perceptions, and attitudes that show that new directions in the people's history, new beginnings, and significant endowments in their heritage have very often come from outside sources, carried in by heroes, those who have journeyed from another world, a different environment. The people thus perceive the sources of change as being not necessarily local invention, but innovation through borrowing or adoption" Tradition may be a true reflection of history in that cultures, crops, technology, languages, and people of Papua New Guinea may frequently have been the products of immigrations from outside, which have then undergone local adaptations.

A second conclusion centers around the nature of these journeys, particularly those by foreigners, or their local intermediaries, taken in recent times. Records and memory say they were undertaken with the simplest of technological aids, relying largely on the strength and endurance of men's legs and backs, and undertaken at the cost of great

effort, in the face of a most challenging and difficult environment. (Again, Yali's trek springs readily to mind,) Over the last century at least, when foreigners committed themselves to the task of conquering this environment, of opening and traveling along pathways into the hamlets and minds of the people, this colonizing process was gradual and extremely uneven. This means that, for good or ill, until the decades following the Pacific War with its consequent influx of new technology, the process and pace of diffusion has had this character, a character shaped by the limitations of human motor power over a rugged landscape. In a country so rich in traditions about the exploits and travels of ancient culture heroes, more recent travelers, again bringing new ways, have also succumbed to the power of the landscape and moved very gradually on their "epic journeys" into and across this land. Only in the last three decades, when funds, men, and technological improvements in transportation and communications were more readily available to them, did the pace of diffusion and journeying increase.

The tyranny of this landscape has colored men's perceptions of change and possibilities for innovation, as well as dominated the processes by which changes have been diffused into the peoples lives. But the "tyranny of distance" (to use Blainey's apt image)[56] created by the location of these, islands away from sources of change in other parts of the world, as well as the local distance between villages and pockets of modern change within the islands, have been potent factors in shaping recent history. This distance and these barriers, which required men to go on difficult journeys in order to discover the sources of change, were not simply facts of physical landscape--though that should never be minimized. The implanting of mutually suspicious and distant British and German systems along the coastal fringe from the 1880s was hardened by the succession of two separate Australian systems early this century in those two places, thus creating two new distancing factors: limitations within this region on the spheres of movement and the degree and framework of mobility allowed to the people; and gradual closure of the islands to world influences other than those mediated by Australians or originating from Australia.

This has bred two significant consequences for recent history. If the foreigners are seen as bringers of crates containing the implements of new ideas and techniques (which could be called "modernization") then the landscape over which these boxes were carried (generally on the backs of villagers), the distance from sources of modernization, and the restrictions placed by colonial laws on what could be imported from outside--all these meant that crates of a special character were brought

into the villages by these recent travelers and those who went with them. Some of their most obvious contents would be: steel axes, spades, and bush knives suitable for road building and cultivating and clearing plantations rather than intermediate technology suitable for improved housing and living standards in villages;[57] forms of labor and resource management, patterns of work fitted for the work force in plantations and mining economies rather than for local economic management and resource development; institutions off police rule, "pacification" and "law and order" (what Lord Hailey dubbed as being "no more than a benevolent and well-regulated type of police rule")[58] rather than institutions allowing adaptation and change in local political systems or the sharing of power or negotiation between local and central structures.

Anton of Moseng, exiled from his Sepik home by the Pacific War, acquired from Japanese peasants turned soldiers a new form of agricultural production: rice growing. In his ensuing struggles he added to this the organizational knowledge of financial management and marketing. These he gained by his tenacity and firm belief in the viability of this new way. He gained that knowledge from men in the colonial enclave, who were willing to share this with him in a time of questioning and turmoil, when the fortress of caste had been shattered. The tenacity and daring of Anton was an exception in the flow of knowledge in the colonial period and before. Dorothy Shineberg has shown that, even in early trading relations between sandalwooders and Melanesian islanders, before the net of caste barriers had fallen to delineate and proscribe the flow of communications and ideas between colonizers and colonized, there was already a severe limitation on the Western knowledge and skills that passed to islanders in trade. Metal tools, the shift from "stone to steel," caused a "technological revolution in these islands." Patterns and relationships of labor and production changed, as did social and political ties. New patterns of demand for the goods flowing from the trading ships grew. But the real limitation on transfer of technology and patterns of change was that "the Melanesians did not produce goods themselves," nor perhaps did they "'understand how they were produced." In this lack of transfer of knowledge, she argued, lay the seeds of future cargo cults, "for when they no longer had a valuable commodity [in this case, sandalwood, in others copra, or, finally, their young mens' labor] to exchange for these things, the supply was cut off, at a time when they had become dependent upon them."[59] This was a consequence of limitations upon the flow of knowledge and skill from enclave to village, which so characterized the colonial era. The foreigners carried very particular types of cultural baggage with them when they

journeyed from their European and Australian homes and "crossed the beaches" to settle in the islands of Papua New Guinea and elsewhere. They created new islands and built them after their own image and they planted seeds, as they spread through the world in their ships. These seeds grew, in this century, into the particular ties that link the "developing world" to "developed countries."

In this colonial context, the distance and barriers facing those young men in Papua New Guinea who journeyed away from their villages into this other foreign world were soon quite apparent. They had eyes to see that they were journeying through at least three different worlds: the world of their own people and ancestors in the village; the very limited and harsh world in which they carried on their everyday work as laborers; and the world in which the white men lived in a kind of indolent luxury and wealth, without any apparent need for productivity or bargaining to acquire that power and wealth. Tali and his father Kanek, Sumsuma and Mambu, knew these worlds, particularly the second two; Anton acknowledged their presence too, especially when he began working as a domestic servant. The presence of the white man's world and their own minimal share in it led to the frustrating problem of how to best bring its benefits into their lives.

The search by the workers of Rabaul in 1929, the eve of the Great Depression, for a just opportunity to share in a new life--an impossible dream from the *mastas'* point of view--and their angry frustrations point to another kind of distance that needed to be traversed. The heroes, the foreign travelers, and the young Papua New Guineans all either needed to move out of the familiar world of village life or else came from another world bringing promises of change--but came into village life from other worlds outside. So we are left with that world inside the village, which underwent transformations very early in its history, or was offered the promise of transformation but repudiated it. That is one world. And across a boundary--a kind of no-man's land--there are these other new worlds, the enclaves, into which, in recent times, young men have gone, or from which those "red men" (foreigners) have come. But these are separate worlds. Edai Siabo and other culture heroes remained among Motu villagers and were accepted, as did the village founders. Both Manarmakeri and Tali, so different in what they attempted to achieve and offer, were repudiated--as were many of the "new men" who saw the possibilities of planting new worlds in the ashes of the old after the holocaust of the Pacific War.

Manning Clark, reflecting *in medias res* on his large-scale explorations through Australia's past, reminded his listeners in 1976:

> These lectures . . . are given on the assumption that there are many ways of looking at the past. All that any writer or teacher can hope for is that what he saw when he opened a window on our past helped others to get their own view into sharper focus, or even perhaps to get them to see more than they had seen before. . . .[60]

Perhaps, while Papua New Guinea awaits the emergence of its own truly indigenous Manning Clark, this view of patterns of innovation and change in the ancient and more recent past, clothed in images 'borrowed from hero traditions, may help some to "get their own view into sharper focus." And perhaps then the journeys, visions, and struggles of men such as Edai Siabo, Manarmakeri, Sumsuma, Anton Misiyaiyai, and many other wanderers will not have been in vain. A French writer who expressed this hope in an apt way, will have the final word:

> Development is not a matter of dressing in other people's clothes and imitating their way of life but of using the instrument of technology to achieve an honourable style of existence. It is not a matter of escaping from one's society and one's history, but rather of creating a society capable of inventing a history.[61]

NOTES

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national Vice-Chancellor of the University of Papua New Guinea: "new man," thinker, reformer, nationalist, and friend.

1. B. Cammage, "The Rabaul Strike," *Journal of Pacific History* 10, no. 3 (1975): 29.

2. The references to the story told by Anton Misiyaiyai of Moseng come from B. J. Allen, "Information Flow and Innovation Diffusion in the East Sepik District, Papua New Guinea" (Canberra, Australian National University, Ph.D. diss., 1976). I am very grateful to Dr. Allen for permitting me to use this valuable evidence. The quoted excerpts are from Dr. Allen's English translation of Anton's original communication in *tok pisin.*

3. The most recent study of the impact of the Pacific War and the emergence of "new men" from these experiences is found in J. Griffin, H. Nelson, and S. Firth, *Papua New Guinea: A Political History* (Richmond: Heinemann Educational Australia, 1979), chap. 7. More details about individual movements of reform will be noted below.

4. Griffin, Nelson, and Firth, *Papua New Guinea*, p. 99.

5. Only a few major studies of this important postwar experiment have appeared. They include R. F. Maher, *New Men of Papua: A Study in Culture Change* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1961), and N. D. Oram, "Rabia Camp and the Tommy Kabu Movement.," in N. E. Hitchcock and N. D. Oram, *Rubia Camp: A Port Moresby Migrant Settlement* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1967), New Guinea Research Unit Bulletin no. 14.

6. It was a "time for questioning" and some studies of policy reveal aspects of this. Two principal contemporary studies are: L. P. Mair, *Australia in New Guinea* (Melbourne University Press, 1970), a revised and updated version of the original edition published in 1948; and W. E. H. Stanner, *The South Seas in Transition* (Sydney: Australasian Publishing Co., 1953).

7. Two surveys of these voyages by Europeans can be found in I. M. Hughes, *New Guinea Stone Age Trade: The Geography and Ecology of Traffic in the Interior* (Canberra: Australian National University, 1977), particularly chaps. 2 and 3; and J. L. Whittaker et al., *Documents and Readings in New Guinea History* (Milton: The Jacaranda Press, 1975), see particularly section B, "The Intrusion of the Europeans." The major earlier survey of European journeys still remains that massive work of A. Wichmann, *Nova Guinea: Entdeckungsgeschichte von Neu-Guinea,* 3 vols. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1909-1912). "The last unknown" was the title given to a history of European exploration in Papua New Guinea by Gavin Souter in his *New Guinea: The Last Unknown* (Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1974). This book captures the European perception of the Pacific, Melanesia, and Papua New Guinea as all being at the end of their long journeys of exploration out from their homeland.

8. Over the last ten years the volume of evidence on hunters and gatherers has grown considerably. Some of it can be seen in the following: P. Bellwood, *Man's Conquest of the Pacific: The Prehistory of Southeast Asia ond Oceania* (Auckland: Collins, 1978); S. Bulmer, "Settlement and Economy in Prehistoric Papua New Guinea," *Journal de la Société des Océanistes* 31 (1975): 7-76; J. P. White et al., "Kosipe: A Late Pleistocene Site in the Papuan Highlands," *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 36 (1970): 152-170; J. H. Winslow, ed., *The Melanesian Environment* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977).

9. The major work, based on versions recorded in a wide range of locations in northwest Irian Jaya is F. C. Kamma, *Koreri: Messianic Movements in the Biak-Numfor Culture Area* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1972). B. R. Wilson, *Magic and the Millenium* (St. Albans: Paladin, 1975), contains a review of the legend and other evidence as a case study (see pp. 199-206). The paraphrase used here comes from chapter two of Kamma's work.

10. See Wilson, *Magic and the Millenium,* especially pp. 199-206.

11. These legends from the south coast and its hinterland are reviewed in R. Wagner, *Habu: The Innovation of Meaning in Daribi Religion* (University of Chicago Press, 1972), pp. 19-24. A wide variety of the Iko-Sido-Hido complex of hero legends are noted and compared in A. Riesenfeld, *The Megalithic Culture of Melanesia* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1950).

12. In addition there is a large body of writing about the *hiri,* and its history and context. Versions of the legend can be found in: P. F. Irwin, "The Legend of Edai Siabo," in *Papua: Annual Report, 1911-12,* pp. 103-105; N. D. Oram, "Environment, Migration and Site Selection on the Port Moresby Coastal Area," in J. Winslow, ed., *Melanesian Environment,* p. 85; A. Ova, "Motu Feasts and Dances," in *Papua: Annual Report, 1922-23,* pp. 39-40; C. C. Seligmann, *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Cambridge University Press, 1910), pp. 97-100; P. Swadling, "The Settlement History of the Motu and Koita Speaking People of the Central Province, Papua New Guinea," in D. Denoon and R. Lacey, eds., *Oral Tradition in Melanesia* (Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1981). In February 1980 a conference on historical, linguistic, and archaeological aspects of the *hiri* was held in Canberra. Most of the papers from this seminar appear in T. Dutton, ed., *The Hiri in Histoy: Further Aspects of Long Distance Motu Trade in Central Papua* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1982).

13. The heroes and heroines discussed here only represent a very small sample of a large body of recorded traditions. Riesenfeld, *Megalithic Culture of Melanesia,* is a significant treasury of published versions up to the 1940s. This and other collections are noted in J. L. Whittaker et al., *Documents and Readings,* section A., and some are also noted in my "Religious Change in a Precolonial Era: Some Perspectives on Movement and Change in Religious Life during the Precolonial Era," *Point* no. 2 (1978): 159-205. The Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies and the journal *Oral History* have also published translations and transcriptions of hero and origin legends.

Some culture-bearing heroes and heroines, for instance Tudava in the Trobriand islands (see B. Malinowski, *Coral Gardens and Their Magic* [London: Allen and Unwin, 1935], especially vol. 1, pp. 68-75) and Mala the father and son heroes of the Vitiaz Straits (see L. Allace, "Siassi Trade," *Oral History* 4, no. 10 [1976]: 2-23) were responsible, among other achievements, for bringing to their people staple crops or basic technology highly significant for economic development. Tudava and others also brought skills of cultivation. But it is important to note that archaeological investigations over the last decade at Kuk near Mount Hagen in Western Highlands Province are unearthing a much more ancient and profound change in cultivation and water control of great significance to agricultural change and development. These particular beginnings and their consequences in the region do not seem to be echoed in the traditions. Perhaps those who told and spread the hero and heroine legends took these basic activities for granted. For reports on Kuk see the following writings by J. Golson: "Ditches before Time," *Hemisphere* 21, no. 2 (1977): 13-21; "No Room at the Top: Agricultural Intensification in the New Guinea Highlands," in J. Allen et al., eds., *Sunda and Sahul: Prehistoric Studies in South East Asia, Melanesia*

and Australia (London: Academic Press, 1977), pp. 601-639; "New Guinea Agricultural History, a Case Study," in D. Denoon and C. Snowden, *A History of Agriculture in Papua New Guinea* (Boroko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1981), pp. 55-64.

14. Chronology is a vexed issue, with few satisfactory solutions. The comment from Dening comes from his *Islands and Beaches; Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774-1880* (Melbourne University Press, 1980), p, 42. Other attempts at solution can be found in D. Henige, *The Chronology of Oral Tradition* (Oxford University Press, 1974); J. Kolia and R. Lacey, "Papua New Guinea's Past: A Guide for Writing Local History," *Oral History* 3, no. 6 (1975): 2-25; N. D. Oram, "Taurama: Oral Sources for a Study of Recent Motu Prehistory," *Journal of the Papua and New Guinea Society* 2, no. 2 (1968): 79-91; and M. Panoff, "The Notion of Time among the Maenge People of New Britain," *Ethnology* 8, no. 2 (1968): 53-66.

15. My writings on the Enga and their traditions have included "The Enga Worldview: Some Thoughts from a Wandering Historian," *Catalyst* 3 (1973): 37-47; "A Question of Origins: An Exploration of Some Oral Traditions of the Enga of New Guinea," *Journal of Pacific History* 9 (1974): 39-54; "Oral Traditions as History: An Exploration of Oral Sources among the Enga of the New Guinea Highlands" (Madison, University of Wisconsin, Ph.D. diss., 1975); "Holders of the Way: A Study of Pre-Colonial Socio-Economic History in Papua New Guinea," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 88, no. 3 (1979): 277-325; "Coming to Know Kepai: Conversational Narratives and the Use of Oral Sources in Papua New Guinea," *Social Analysis* (1980): 74-88. These writings note references to other works on the Enga. A major anthropologist recently published some studies on aspects of the colonial experience of some Enga clans which he saw as historical essays. See M. J. Meggitt, *Studies in Enga History* (Sydney: University Press, 1974), Oceania Monograph no. 20.

16. Vansina has discussed issues of "decoding" in his *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1973) and "Once Upon a Time: Oral Traditions as History in Africa," *Daedalus* 100, no. 2 (1971): 442-468. I have explored some of the particular issues facing historians when they interpret oral testimonies and traditions in my "Coming to Know Kepai."

17. Hughes, *New Guinea Stone Age Trade,* p. 17, notes that "Papuan slaves were found in Java in the tenth century." The source he records for this is J. C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society: Essays in Asian Social and Economic History* (The Hague: Van Hoeve, 1967), pp. 90-111. Van Leur notes that "the hunting of Papuans for slaves . . . as early as the tenth century appears from the fact that Papuan slaves were found on Java then (from the record of the foundation of a Buddhist sanctuary . . .)"; see especially p. 101, n. 64 and p. 355. "Diaspora," a term that comes from the history of the people of Israel as recorded in the Bible, refers in particular to the movement and exile of the people of ancient Israel when they were invaded by foreign powers. It seems an appropriate term to use for the movement of young men away from home, sometimes to far-flung places, sometimes to colonial enclaves. It also appropriately describes the even larger and more recent migrations to towns and cities in the late colonial and the post-colonial eras.

18. The account of the encounter between Torres, Prado, and their crew and the people of Mailu Island is reported in H. N. Stevens, ed., *New Light on the Discovery of Australia as Revealed by the Journal of Captain Don Diego de Prado y Tovar* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1930), ser. 2, vol. 64, pp. 154-157. This and other accounts of such meetings with for-

eign strangers are found in Whittaker et al., *Documents and Readings,* particularly in section B, "The Intrusion of the Europeans," pp. 173-309. Some of the more famous early encounters between foreigners and coastal villagers include William Dampier near Gasmata in southern New Britain in 1700 (see Whittaker, ibid., pp. 282-283); John Hunter at what was later named Port Hunter in the Duke of York Islands in 1791 (ibid., pp. 289-291); and John Moresby at Traitor's Bay in Milne Bay in 1874 (ibid., pp. 301-304).

19. The references to the journey to Sydney by a group of young men from Murua island come from two studies of the activities of French Marist missionaries there in the mid-nineteenth century. They are H. M. Laracy, "Xavier Montrouzier: A Missionary in Melanesia," in J. W. Davidson and D. Scarr, eds., *Pacific Islands Portraits* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1973), pp. 127-146; and his *Marists and Melanesians: A History of Catholic Missions in the Solomon Islands* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1976), pp. 22-31. The fate of Muruans who labored for gold prospectors in more recent times has been explored in H. Nelson, *Black White and Gold: Goldmining in Papua New Guinea 1878-1930* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1976), chap. 4, pp. 49ff.

20. The raw materials for the study of whalers and their impact on the societies and economies of coastal and island villages in Papua New Guinea, lie scattered in different libraries and archives in England and America. There has been one important recent project to index whalers' logs surviving in some of the major American collections. See, for instance, R. Langdon, ed., *Thar She Went: An Interim Index to the Pacific Ports and Islands Visited by American Whalers and Traders in the 19th Century* (Canberra: Australian National University, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau, 1979). Notes on one famous whaler are to be found in H. E. Maude, "The Cruise of the Whaler 'Gypsy,'" *Journal of Pacific History* 1 (1966): 193-194. Some whaling sources are collected and reviewed in Whittaker et al., *Documents and Readings,* section C, part 1, "Shipping Routes and Whaling Grounds in New Guinea Waters," pp. 314-327. The reference to Melville comes from G. Daws, *A Dream of Islands: Voyages of Self-Discovery in the South Seas* (Milton: The Jacaranda Press, 1980).

21. It was the Surgeon on the Gypsy who noted in 1840 that some men at Gower's Harbour in New Ireland had been to Sydney and spoke English. For this extract see Whittaker et al., *Documents and Readings,* p. 325.

22. The most detailed study of the role of Sydney merchants in the sandalwood trade still remains D. Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South-West Pacific* 1830-1865 (Melbourne University Press, 1967).

23. The evidence that New Irelanders traveled as far across the Pacific as South America to work in saltpeter mines comes from references in P. Lomas, "The Early Contact Period in Northern New Ireland (Papua New Guinea), from Cannibalism to Copra" (Simon Fraser University Department of Sociology and Anthropology, mimeographed seminar paper, 1978), pp. 6-7.

24. P. Corris, *Passage, Port and Plantation: A History of Solomon Islands Labour Migration 1870-1914* (Melbourne University Press, 1973).

25. C. A. Price and E. Baker, "Origins of Pacific Islands Labourers in Queensland, 1863-1904: A Research Note," *Journal of Pacific History* 11, no. 2 (1976): 106-121.

26. A major recent study on the size and impact of labor migration within the German Pacific empire as it affected New Guineans is S. G. Firth, "The Transformation of the Labour Trade in German New Guinea, 1899-1914," *Journal of Pacific History* 11, no. 1 (1976): 51-65. For the study by a Samoan historian, see M. Meleisea, "The Last Days of the Melanesian Labour Trade in Western Samoa," *Journal of Pacific History* 11, no. 2 (1976): 126-132; and his *O Tamu Uli: Melanesians in Samoa* (Suva: Institute of Pacific Studies, 1980). Some aspects of the activities of New Guinean police troopers in the Ponape rebellions are noted in P. J. Hempenstall, *Pacific Islanders under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1978), chaps. 3 and 4, pp. 73ff. The claim, based on a reference to G. F. Sayers, ed., *Handbook of Tanganyika* (London: Macmillan, 1930), p. 30, that New Guinean troopers also saw service in the German empire in East Africa appears in P. Worsley, *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of "Cargo" Cu1ts in Melanesia* (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 2nd revised ed. He states: "It is worth noting that Melanesian troops were used by the Germans in the suppression of the Maji-Maji rebellion in Tanganyika in 1905-6" (p. 114). One other reference I have heard to this was that Miss M. Levi, a student from Northern New Ireland, had heard in her village a tradition that people had seen trooper's equipment, which one of their recent ancestors had used while on service with the Germans in Africa. Professor Peter Lawrence, in a recent communication has reported that Otto Dempwolff recorded in 1906 that some Bilbil islanders from near Madang had been recruited into the German Army and were stationed in Tanzania. Perhaps they may have seen action in the attacks on Maji-Maji rebels; see O. Dempwolff, "Sagen und Märchen aus Bilibili," *Baessler-Archiv* 1 (1911): 63-102.

27. Firth, "Labour Trade in German New Guinea," p. 51. See also S. Firth, *New Guinea under the Germans* (Melbourne University Press, 1982), especially chap. 6.

28. Some uneven statistics of the volume and trends in the movement and employment of young laborers can be drawn from the *Annual Reports* of Australian New Guinea from 1921 to 1941 and of Australian Papua from 1906 to 1941. Some writers have drawn on this evidence, in particular S. W. Reed, *The Making of Modern New Guinea: With Special Reference to Culture Contact in the Mandated Territory* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1943), and R. T. Shand, "The Development of Cash-Cropping in Papua and New Guinea," *Australian Journal of Agricultural Economics* 7, no. 1 (1963): 42-54. H. Nelson, *Black White and Gold*, studies in detail one area of employment, that of gold prospecting and mining. See also R. Lacey, "Our Young Men Snatched Away: Labourers in Papua New Guinea's Colonial Economy, 1884-1942" (*Occasional Papers in Economic History, No. 3*, Department of History, University of Papua New Guinea, 1983).

29. Much of the evidence on Sumsuma's life and achievements comes from B. Gammage, "Rabaul Strike," and his "Oral and Written Sources" in D. Denoon and R. Lacey, eds., *Oral Tradition in Melanesia.* Some of the evidence from Sumsuma and others appears in *Commission of Inquiry into the Causes of the Native Disturbances at Rabaul . . . 1929, Transcript of Evidence* (a copy of which is held in the New Guinea Collection of the Library of the University of Papua New Guinea). Also held in that collection are the tapes and transcripts from interviews conducted by Dr. Gammage and Mr. R. Namaliu with survivors from the events of 1929.

The anthropologist F. L. S. Bell, who lived on Boang island in the Tanga group in 1933-34 and witnesed Sumsuma's return home and reentry into his people's life and economy, has written a large number of field reports on Tanga society. Some of these activities

by Sumsuma are recorded by Bell in his field diary. I was fortunate to see some extracts of these by permission of Mr. Bell's sister, who passed them on to me through Dr. J. Specht of the Australian Museum, Sydney.

30. Gammage, *Rabaul Strike,* pp. 4-5.

31. Ibid., *passim.*

32. Ibid., p. 28; F. L. S. Bell, Field Diary.

33. F. L. S. Bell, "The Place of Food in the Social Life of the Tanga," *Oceania* 18 (1947): 50-58, cited in Whittaker et al., *Documents and Readings,* pp. 65-68.

34. Gammage, *Rabaul Strike,* p, 3.

35. *Namatanai Patrol Report No. 1 1934-35,* entry for 28 August 1934 (held in the National Archives of Papua New Guinea).

36. Gammage, *Rabaul Strike,* p. 28.

37. *Territory of New Guinea: Annual Report, 1929-30* (Melbourne: Government Printer, 1930), p. 122.

38. Gammage, *Rabaul Strike,* p. 29.

39. The sources for the activities of the "Black King" and the subsequent "myths" developed by the people of Tangu can be found in K. O. L. Burridge, *Mambu: A Melanesian Millenium* (London: Methuen, 1969), pp. 183-190, and his *New Heaven and New Earth: A Study of Millenarian Actiuities* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1969). The contemporary report on which he draws for his account of Mambu's activities is G. Höltker, "Die Mambu Bewegung in Neuguinea: Ein Beitrag zum Prophetentum in Melanesia," *Annali Lateranensi* 5 (1941): 181-219.

40. For this and subsequent citations about Mambu, see Burridge, *Mambu,* pp. 183-190.

41. B. J. Allen, *Information Flow,* p. 353.

42. Griffin, Nelson, and Firth, *Papua New Guinea,* chap. 7, is a recent review off the impact of the Pacific War on villagers in Papua New Guinea,

43. A detailed study of the activities of laborers in the war appears in H. Nelson, "*Taim Bilong Pait Na Taim Bilong Hatwok Tru:* Papua New Guinea Labourers during the War, 1942-45" (Australian National University mimeographed seminar paper, 1979). The story Choka is drawn from this paper; see pp. 12-14.

44. The story of William Metpi comes from K. Kais, "Interview with William Metpi," *Oral History* 4, no. 1 (1974): 2-36, though the details of his service and those of others come from military records used in H. Nelson, "Hold the Good Name of the Soldier: The Papuan and New Guinea Infantry Battalions of the Australian Army, 1940-1946" (Australian National University mimeographed seminar paper; see pp. 30-31). The experiences of some laborers from the Sepik region in the 1930s and the Pacific War have been recorded in R. Curtain, "Labour Migration from the Sepik," *Oral Histoy* 6, no. 9 (1978). The Paliau movement, in which William Metpi played some part, is explored in M. Mead, *New Lives for Old: Cultural Transformation--Manus 1928-1953* (New York: Mentor, 1961), and in T. Schwartz, *The Palian Movement in the Admiralty Islands, 1946-1954,* Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, vol. 49, no. 2 (1962).

45. The major source for Yali's experiences and travels before and during the Pacific War is P. Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo: A Study of the Cargo Movement in the Southern Madang District, New Guinea* (Melbourne University Press, 1967); see especially pp. 117-126, 130-321. More recently L. Morauta, *Beyond the Village: Local Politics in Madang, Papua New Guinea* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1974) takes another view on Yali's life and role in the region.

Recently there has been a collection of studies on prophets, of whom men like Mambu and Yali can be seen as examples. See G. Trompf, ed., *Prophets in Melanesia: Six Essays* (Boroko: Institute of Melanesian Studies, 1977).

46. Lawrence, *Road Belong Cargo,* pp. 117-126, 130-132.

47. A. M. Strathern, *No Money on Our Skins: Hagen Migrants in Port Moresby* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1975), New Guinea Research Bulletin 61, p. xv.

48. Strathern, *Hagan Migrants,* p. xix.

49. The story can be found in the collection M. Greicus, ed., *Three Short Novels from Papua New Guinea* (Auckland: Longman Paul, 1976). The other two short novels in this collection are also relevant to the themes of this study: B. Umba, "The Fires of Dawn," is about a Simbu village's response to the arrival of foreigners; and A. Kituai's "The Flight of a Villager" tells of the experiences of a Bundi migrant in the town of Goroka.

50. A recent collection of papers reflects the trends in urban migration studies and gives a helpful bibliography: R. J. May, ed., *Change and Movement: Readings in Internal Migration in Papua New Guinea* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1977).

51. Baital, *"Tali,"* p. 140.

52. The most recent study of the activities of James Chalmers in the Gulf of Papua and elsewhere is D. Langmore, *Tamate--A King: James Chalmers in New Guinea 1877-1901* (Melbourne University Press, 1974).

53. Langmore, *James Chalmers in New Guinea,* p. 58. Note 14 on p. 146 states that this came from a text by Avosa Eka on "Arrival of Tamate at Moru" filed in the London Missionary Society Papua Papers with a report of 1914 by the missionary Nixon. In my "Where Have All the Young Men Gone? Village Economies in Transition in Colonial Papua New Guinea" (paper read at ANZAAS Congress, Auckland 1979), I have recorded these and other foreign activities, by traders and labor recruiters, as well as missionaries in the area around Orokolo during the early colonial period.

54. A case in which new forms of initiation developed in response to the journeys of young men away to work comes from the Siane people of Eastern Highlands Province, studied in R. F. Salisbury, *From Stone to Steel: Economic Consequences of a Technological Change in New Guinea* (Cambridge University Press, 1962). It is possible to generalize beyond the Papua New Guinea context about these journeys. Following Victor Turner's interpretation, we could argue that, in crossing boundaries and going beyond the known horizon, the "wanderers" were breaching the strictures of "liminality" in their cultures and entering a dangerous zone beyond the protection of local rituals and spirits. In so doing they were creating conditions in which they would be either transformed or destroyed; see V. W. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1974), especially chap. 3. The narratives of these journeys echo those of journeying

heroes and heroines and in so doing point toward what Joseph Campbell has seen as a "monomyth" of the journeying hero who moves beyond his everyday world., crosses the "threshold of adventure," enters the kingdom of darkness, is transformed, and returns to remake the world with his new powers; see J. Campbell, *The Hero with a Thousand Faces* (New York: Meridian Books, 1970), especially 245ff.

55. This song is found in the collection K. Talyaga, *Modern Enga Songs* (Boralko: Institute of Papua New Guinea Studies, 1975), song 3.

56. This image is borrowed from G. Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne: Sun Books, 1976). Professor Blainey argued that the costs of transporting goods and people between Australia's first European settlements and England have been very important in shaping many aspects of Australia's economic history. He also saw that distance between settlements, both those scattered along the coast and those inland, was of almost equal importance. It seems to me that the challenges presented to human settlement and enterprise by terrain and the resulting costs are also important factors in historical development and change in Papua New Guinea; so I have applied his original ideas to these islands and their history.

57. One recent study of the implications of the draining off of young men from village economies is P. Fitzpatrick, " 'Really Rather Like Slavery': Law and Labour in the Colonial Economy of Papua New Guinea," in E. L. Wheelwright and K. Buckley, eds., *Essays in the Political Economy of Australian Capitalism* (Sydney: Australia and New Zealand Book Company, 1978), vol. 3, pp. 102-118.

58. Lord Hailey, the eminent British colonial administrator, wrote an introduction to the first edition of L. P. Mair, *Australia in New Guinea* (London: Christophers, 1948). Here he viewed the prewar achievement by the Australians in terms of "benevolent . . . police rule." He was commenting not simply on limitations or absence of colonial theory and policy about "native development and participation," but also on the severe restrictions to colonial rule presented by the terrain and the scattered nature of village settlement through that landscape. It would have required a far larger input of funds and manpower as well as thought to overcome these obstacles to the spread of colonial administration.

59. This interpretation about the ways in which products of western technology rather than new methods of production (for instance, iron axes rather than the art of metal work and smelting) were traded on the "frontier," was made in D. Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood,* p. 162.

60. C. M. H. Clark, *A Discovery of Australia* (Sydney: Australian Broadcasting Commission, 1976), p. 7.

61. J. M. Domenach, *Our Moral Involvement in Development* (New York: United Nations Center for Economic and Social Information, 1971), 33; quoted in A. Amarshi, K. Good, and R. Mortimer, *Development and Dependency: The Political Economy of Papua New Guinea* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 60.