ACCOUNTS OF FIGHTING AND CANNIBALISM IN EASTERN NEW GUINEA DURING THE MISSIONARY CONTACT PERIOD, 1877–1888, AS TOLD TO CHARLES ABEL

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Field notes by missionary Charles W. Abel of the London Missionary Society, contained in two little-known handwritten documents, describe traditional warfare customs, including treatment of captives and cannibalism among the peoples of the Milne Bay/China Strait region of southeastern New Guinea, as told to him by Paulo Dilomi and other informants. The editor transcribes these notes here and theorizes that Abel's knowledge of these activities provides context for the missionary's derogatory attitude toward the "savage" Papuan, in contrast to the perspectives of later observers including other missionaries and anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski.

THE KWATO MISSION OF PAPUA was founded by Charles W. Abel and Frederick Walker near Milne Bay in 1891. Its assimilationist methods—of bringing up Papuan children in an English Protestant "hothouse" isolated from their surrounding culture—provoked controversy, both within the parent London Missionary Society (LMS) and beyond it. The anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, in his *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), was among the first to admonish Abel publicly for his blunt disdain for the customs of the Milne Bay peoples. Through fieldwork Malinowski started the practice of seeing Melanesian culture from the "inside out" as far as possible, rather than from the "outside in" as had an earlier generation of ethnologists and those influenced by them, including Abel. The resultant contrast between the writings of two generations of observers was plain for all to see.

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But the clash bears witness not only to the apparent incompatibility between British Evangelical reformism and the preservationist tone of twentieth-century functionalist anthropology, but also to the passage of time. When Abel arrived in Papua in 1890, only two years had elapsed since the imposition of British rule. Villages were still stockaded and war canoes still lay on the beaches of the bay. Only a short time before, an LMS Loyalty Islands teacher had taken part in an armed raid near Kwato in retaliation for an act of cannibalism.

Twenty-four years separate Abel's arrival from the beginning of Malinowski's residence in the islands near Milne Bay. And Malinowski's fieldwork was conducted in conditions of government- and mission-imposed security, with warfare and cannibalism receding into memory. It may be argued that Abel's policies of "saving" Papuans from their own cultural practices were initially shaped not only by his Evangelical background but also by firsthand evidence of traditional warfare and the treatment of captives, observations recorded in the documents transcribed below.

Background

The first permanent foreign residents in what came to be officially known as Papua New Guinea were Pacific Islander teachers of the London Missionary Society. Partly because of the difficulty of working in the Loyalty Islands, which had become a French sphere of influence, and partly because the command to preach the gospel knew no boundaries, the society sent a party of Loyalty Islands teachers to the Torres Strait and New Guinea in 1871. Six years later, a party of Loyalty Islanders and Rarotongans settled in the area of Suau and China Strait, near Milne Bay at the eastern extremity of mainland New Guinea.

From the beginning of culture contact in the vicinity of the China Strait, the LMS Loyalty Islands teachers were on good terms with Dilomi, the leading headman on Logea (Heath) Island. In 1878 Dilomi took the pioneer Loyalty Islander teacher, Mataika, to a nearby island, of which he was said to be the principal owner. Despite its malodorous swamp Mataika decided that the island—called Dinner Island by Captain John Moresby in 1873, but later by its original name of Samarai—should become LMS headquarters in the area. Arriving to confirm the purchase on 25 August 1878, accompanied by a new party of six Loyalty Islands teachers, the pioneer LMS missionary Samuel McFarlane recorded that he acquired Samarai for goods valued at 3s. 6d. But for Dilomi the island's value was much enhanced by the security that his alliance with the new missionaries offered.

Dilomi became an LMS ally and convert and was known as Paulo. After the establishment of formal British rule in 1888, Paulo Dilomi was appointed

a "native magistrate" during a short-lived experiment in native justice by the colony's first lieutenant-governor, Sir William MacGregor. Paulo continued to be occasionally called a native magistrate in LMS publications years after the experiment was given up. He died in 1916.

Document I comes from a three-page, undated manuscript taken down during an interview with Paulo Dilomi. Document II is part of a longer interview taken down in 1894; Dilomi is not mentioned by name in this document, though it may be assumed that he was among the informants.

The documents based on Paulo Dilomi's information were recorded by the resident LMS missionary at Kwato, Charles W. Abel. His handwritten observations, with the publications that followed, were in sympathy with the dominant theme of late-nineteenth-century anthropology: that primitive societies gave way to sophisticated and complex ones. Such a view was to be expected of those such as Abel—born in London in 1862—who wrote within the prevailing ethnological framework influenced by Herbert Spencer, E. B. Tylor, Lewis Henry Morgan, and James Frazer.

But Abel differed from these exponents of the emerging discipline of anthropology in that he was in close and continual contact with the people he studied. His observations were written up in a mission house rather than a university office or field-worker's tent. His methodology was midway between that of the chair-bound ethnologists in Europe and the twentieth-century field anthropologists who sought to immerse themselves in the cultures of the societies they studied.

Abel's field notes were composed in an empirical style not marred by value judgments. His published writings, however, beginning with *Savage Life in New Guinea* (1902), were permeated by the idea of Christian conversion as a resolute blotting out of indigenous customs: converts must assimilate the cultural traits of middle-class British society. This attitude contrasted sharply with the greater openness of his Anglican and Methodist neighbors towards Melanesian culture. Abel's Anglican neighbor, Bishop Montagu Stone-Wigg, said the Papuan had "much to teach the Church." The Papuan's contribution to the church of the future lay, among other things, in his intense awareness of the invisible world and in his "open-handed, open hearted" communal generosity.[1]

By contrast, Abel's publications reveal a mind repelled by what he saw in the culture of the Massim people of eastern New Guinea. Malinowski possibly read *Savage Life* while staying with Abel at Kwato in 1914. Judging from the exclamation mark that followed his quotations from Abel in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific,* Malinowski seems to have regarded Abel's book with a mixture of incredulity and amusement. He compared Abel to the "legendary authority" who, when asked, what are the manners and customs of the natives,

answered, "customs none, manners beastly." As for Abel's account of Milne Bay culture Malinowski wrote, "a grosser misstatement of the real state of things could not be invented by anyone wishing to parody the Missionary point of view."[2]

Neither in his books nor his diary, however, did Malinowski refer to Abel's field notes on warfare, which are presented below. It may be that the anthropologist was unaware of the existence of this information collected twenty years earlier on traditional customs—many of which had died out with the coming of British rule and against which his missionary host was reacting. The lack of empathy with Massim culture that Malinowski criticized may well have begun with Abel's revulsion at the material he had gathered on warfare. Bishop Stone-Wigg, who arrived ten years after the establishment of government authority on Samarai and eight years after Abel, had little knowledge of the earlier treatment of enemies following tribal fighting.

Not only did Abel apparently fail to discuss his findings of 1894 with Malinowski, but in *Savage Life*—intended as a gift book for British children—he sanitized his notes and a veil was drawn over the more harrowing details: there were practices "connected with the Papuan's treatment of his enemies which I could not relate" to young English readers into whose hands the book might fall. These practices probably referred to the torture of captives. Abel wrote that in the attitude towards prisoners, "the Papuan" fell to "a very low position in the scale of savage peoples." Indeed, there were times when "unbridled passion seizes and masters him, the man becomes a fiend, and there are then no limits to his barbarity."[3] The accounts below, especially Document II, may suggest why Abel used a red pencil on the material before publishing his book and why later generations of readers may consider his attitude censorious compared to those of missionaries who arrived later.

Document I concerns warfare that had begun at Samarai Island some time after the establishment of the LMS mission station there in 1878. In the feud, Paulo Dilomi's Logea people were allies of the other Daui-speaking peoples of Suau and the islands of the China Strait, as well as at Wagawaga village on Milne Bay. They were enemies of the Tavara-speaking people, who lived along the forty-kilometer-long northern shore of Milne Bay. After the hostilities ended, Great Britain's acting special commissioner, John Douglas, sought an exchange with James Chalmers of the LMS "by which we [the government] can be supreme at Samarai and you [the mission] at Quato." Accordingly, Samarai was "given" to British officials in return for nearby Kwato Island in 1886.

Document II, drawn from a wide-ranging interview that also covered topics such as agriculture, sexuality and marriage, childbirth and death, is a more general account of fighting customs, taken down by Abel in 1894, when he was thirty-two years of age.

The accounts were among the original papers kept for many years at Kwato before being taken to a family-owned factory in Port Moresby. With permission of Sir Cecil Abel, elder son of Charles Abel, I moved the collection in 1971 from the factory to the University of Papua New Guinea. Fortunately, I made photocopies of the two interviews; one of the manuscripts was apparently mislaid in the years between then and the arranging of the collection into what is known as the Abel Papers. The archive is now lodged in the New Guinea Collection within the Michael Somare Library at the university.

Document I

Paolo Dilomi's last fight with his old enemy at Wadunou was after the L.M.S. had begun work at Samarai. The [LMS] teacher was a Lifu man named Diki. . . .[4] The mission station at Samarai was to be cleared, and a large number of natives came from all parts to fell the heavy timber where to-day stands the township of Samarai, with its Government offices, three hotels, four stores and private residences. Wadunou [Barabara], from the other side of Tavara [Milne Bay], sent a contingent of workmen, and as is common with these people when the clans overlap a little chaff indulged in while the work proceeded soon developed into a serious squabble, and Diki had to intervene. He decided to send . . . the Wadunou people back to Tavara, and supposed that with their removal the trouble had ended. But Wadunou carried their spleen away with them and on their way through the China Straits they surprised the small [Daui] village of Goilavaio, captured two women, carried them home, and killed and ate them.[5]

Dilomi at this time was only partly under Christian influence. This outrage rekindled all the old heathen fires in his soul. He appealed to Diki. Such an offence could not be passed over. There was no Government at this time. There was no [white] Missionary expected that way for many months. Who could be surprised at what happened? The big fighting canoes were got ready and set off, and Diki joined the expedition. Not only did the Teacher go with Dilomi, he went armed, he took his gun. The gun in a Teacher's hand was never for such use, it was to supply him with food. Diki took his old-fashioned muzzle-loader, but he took no powder and shot. It was a stupid thing to do from every standpoint. Diki saw this when it was too late. At least he expected that his presence, armed, would tell tremendously in favour of the attacking party. But it had quite the opposite effect. Diki dared not compromise his position by going into the thick of the fight, and as soon as Wadunou discovered that Logea's chief warrior was a dummy, a man of peace with a barrel of harmless iron under his arm[,] they rallied from their first scare, and swooping down on the disconcerted invaders drove them into the sea. Dilomi was

dragged on board the canoes with five spears hanging to his body. Five hits and not one of them pierced a vital place. He was without skilled treatment and for weeks he lay between life and death, and through all those long weeks Diki had to reflect upon the probability of his having to pay with his life if Dilomi succumbed. [However] Dilomi slowly recovered. . . .

Dilomi's last fight was therefore a serious defeat. . . . It is worth our while noticing the fact that those two Goilavaio women remain to this day a debt unpaid in blood.

Document II

War is nearly always waged against another tribe to take revenge for the murder of one of the aggressive tribe. The case given in illustration of their customs was probably the commonest know[n] to them in years gone by. It was that of a Logea canoe visiting Milne Bay & the natives of Barabara—with whom the last war was waged 9 years ago.[i.e. 1885, the year before a station of the British Protectorate was created at Samarai] killing one of the party to pay off an old score. For generations a murder will be reported from father to child so that revenge may not take place for very many years. The canoe returns to Logea minus one man. Very slow paddling & the absence of all decoration on their bodies & canoes are signs that something is wrong. If the murdered man has a relation on board he lies on the outrigger in his grief & the people know there has been foul play. They do not land but stop paddling near the shore. People approach & ask Edoha? & the men reply TAU WA. The news quickly spreads throughout the island & messengers are sent in all directions to friendly tribes, connected by marriage such as Suau etc., & the people all assemble at the village of the relatives of the murdered man. They bring food—pigs, dogs & vegetables. Whilst these are assembling each new lot of arrivals gather together & wail. The men at each village on Logea meanwhile [are] talking war. One will rise & say he was a friend of the man killed, & that he will revenge the murdered [*sic*]. Another will say he visited the village of the enemy some time ago & knows the run of things & will lead the expedition. Let us be strong, let us be strong & so on. As soon as the report comes that the man has been killed his nearest relations—his brother or sisters child for instance will create a frame table (hatahata) with a small ladder leading from the ground to the top & food is placed there which is called GIMWAUKANA [*ibou ana*]. Small quantities of uncooked food are placed here for the spirit of the departed man to help him over the difficulties of the journey to the world to come. . . .

When all the people are assembled the food they bring pigs[,] dogs, aiai etc is collected & prepared for the feast called the HIWOGA. This feast pre-

cedes the fighting expedition. There is no excitement such as dancing. People are still mourning the murdered man. But a good deal of speechifying is carried on amongst the men; one man rising at a time & in a very much louder voice than is necessary to reach the ears of his listeners he painas or make[s] a public statement. Such statements are generally of an inflammatory character, & are doubtless made with the object of working the people up to a state of excitement over the war. When the HIWOGA is finished preparations are made for the expedition. The war canoes called TAWELO are pushed out from the beach a short distance, & arranged side by side. . . . The chief of the feast—always the nearest relation of the murdered man—then distributes the food for the expedition. This he does by calling out the name of some strong man from each of the war canoes. The food is placed on board. Spears, elepas ilamas [*sic*] are then stored away together with skulls & bones of previous war captives, & personal & canoe ornamentation. The men then take their places as many as 25 sometimes occupying one canoe. The canoes are still all arranged side by side close together, the men are sitting on them ready t[o] draw their paddles thro the water. A man first rises in each canoe & with a small branch of Babaga red croton he runs from the stern to the prow of the canoe & back again shaking this croton as he proceeds. He then throws it ashore. In this way all spirits are driven back. The presence of spirits in the canoes not only adds weight to the cause but seriously affects the men, making their limbs heavy & rendering them unable to fight well. The same men rise again—one in each canoe—& with another branch of Babaga go thro' a very similar performance this time with the object of making the canoes go fast through the water. When this performance is finished one man only rises & in a loud voice addressed EABOIHINE the man in the moon. . . . At the termination of this invocation the men who are sitting in the canoes blow their conch shells & beat their drums with a rapid stroke of the hand. . . .

There is another outburst of drum beating & conch shell blowing when this is finished & then the man turns round to the women & girls on the beach & calls to them[:] "daququ au alaiei" "Did you hear the noise?" If their reply is to the effect that the performance was not as loud as it should have been the men take this as a bad omen & after proceeding for a few miles upon their expedition, they camp somewhere for the night & return the following day & give up the war for the time being. If on the other hand the question is spontaneously answered from the beach that the air was rent by the drums & conch shells off starts the expedition in great spirits confident that Eaboihine will answer them, & that they will prove victorious.

Their methods of attack v[a]ry somewhat according to the nature of the village they are to wage war against. If the village is well known to them & has often been visited by members of the expedition on previous occasions & is

only of such as size as to render defeat practically out of the question, they will approach it in full day light bringing their canoes up into line only a few hundred yards from the beach. Here they stop & in sight of their enemies will again engage in an invocation. This time it is to no person or spirit as in the case of Eaboihine. It is an invocation for strength. As will be seen from the interpretation they ask for the speed & strength of the Getura[,] a large fish whose activity in the water when chasing other fish is what they wish when in pursuit of their enemies. This invocation is also spoken in a high voice by one man . . . sitting & drumming at its conclusion. If the village is only imperfectly known to them or if the enemy is renowned for fighting & to be feared they will approach the coast under cover of night making certain to land some distance from the seat of war along the beach. The main party land & two men who are daring volunteer to go forward as spies. They proceed cautiously for some distance & if they see nothing one remains there & the other returns & brings forward the expedition. The same two proceed again & again[,] the fighting men moving from point to point as conducted on the way. If the spies see a man approaching they return to the fighting party & these in ambush wait for the enemy & do away with him. They proceed as before until the village is reached & after careful observations have been made by the spies & the probable number of people ascertained, the invaders surround it & wait for the day to break. At the first sign of dawn the onslaught is made, the canoes at the same time moving slowly along the coast to the scene of the conflict. The enemy is surprised & often flee in disorder[,] some to be wounded[,] others killed & others again captured. If the enemy is chased into the bush & the body is too heavy to drag to the beach the head is severed & taken by the capturer. Bodies of those killed near the beach are taken to the canoes, & those captured alive are also made prisoners. The whole idea of war is revenge, the life of one man or woman being generally considered the equivalent to the life previously taken. When this is accomplished the chief idea of the invaders is to escape with their prize before they themselves are implicated in a more serious & uncertain affray with other villages who may have heard the report of war & come in to help their friends. At the same time without exposing themselves to unnecessary risks they will kill & capture as many of the enemy as possible. There is no mercy shown to women & children during the engagement. If a chief has been originally killed two or three lives must be taken as his equivalent. This also explains the action of the invaders after the skirmish is to their minds satisfactorily terminated. Having put their captives on board their canoes they withdraw again to sea & there within ear shot of the beach which is strewn with people crying & wailing for their friends they sing in unison:

DIDIARA BOTANINA SE DOUDOU LELE SE LELEI O drums & . . .

When this song is concluded the men who before & during the engagement wear no ornamentation, nor have any ornamentation about their canoes, take their prisoners from the canoes & decorate their heads & bodies, painting their faces etc & hanging their canoes with ornamentation. All this is done in sight of the people on the beach. The captives who have been taken alive are now tied some at the ankles, above the knees & with their hands behind them & some if they show any inclination to be obstreperous have a spear stuck through the palms of their hands & thro' the holes thus formed they tie their hands together with string. Then as fast as they can paddle they return to Logea. Food is offered to, tho not often accepted by, the prisoners, & a good deal of TARAVASI or chaff is indulged in at their expense. The prisoner is frequently reminded of the fearful torments which await him & of the fact that when these are over he will be eaten. Some receive the banter in much fear, while others with great composure merely reply BESI ELKAU EA MATE O "That'll do. I'm dead". Yesterday you were saying how strong you were, how do you feel now? & so on. Great haste is made in the return in order to get the dead bodies home before they are decomposed although they are often eaten in a state of putrefaction. Will not eat fish or pig thus because only cannibals for revenge. As a rule the returning expedition land adjacent to the village of the man originally murdered & camp for the night. One man goes on to the village & brings the news of the return & victory & preparation is made for their welcome next day. During the time that the expedition has been away the people—near relatives of the murdered man—leave the coconuts on the trees & eat very little food as part of the mourning. This man receives from the relatives presents of arm shells[,] neck ornaments[,] etc with which he returns to the camp & which he then distributes to the men who have been successful in capturing an enemy. Early the next morning the war canoes approach the village blowing the conch shell in such a way—one long & one short blow—as to denote that there are captives. The women & men too young or too old or too sick to go to fight crowd on the beach & the canoes return to within a few yards of the sand. Here again with the canoes all arranged in line the men chant again in unison. KAMUTE KAMUTE IA SAUA BE GUALA EA SOKI (drums) EA GURI KAWA MWAMWADU EA BEST EWAEWARI (drums)[.]

This chant concluded, the dead bodies & captives are thrown into the shallow water, & men rush in from the beach & sticking their spears into the Bodies of dead & living alike they carry them ashore. The chief of the feast ie, the nearest relative of the murdered man over whom the fighting has been about, has always the disposal of these trophies. The dead bodies are presented to him by the men who succeeded in capturing them. These are all treated alike & are the same day cut to pieces in a most unceremonious way—unlike the

pig—& portions distributed among the villages. The disorder which prevails in the distribution of human flesh is peculiar to this one food alone & is part of the indignity to which the enemy is put. If one or more dead bodies are brought back to the village fr: the war, & only one man was originally murdered this is considered sufficient payment. If no dead are returned, but more than one living captive, it is optional with the chief of the feast as to whether more than one is killed & eaten to pay for the original outrage. He will only allow one prisoner to be carried ashore on the spear point & if there are women & children besides the man who is to pay with his life, these are sometimes spared. They become part of the chief's family. A small boy or girl will after be called NATUGU by him. If a woman of his own age is captured she will be his ROUNA. Prisoners thus kept are invariably well treated; really become members of the injured man's family & become his heirs. As a rule, the object of a fighting expedition being to get one man for one man, they return to their village with only one prisoner.

If dead he is ultimately singed as a pig & eaten. If living he is conveyed from the canoe to the beach on the points of spears. In taking him ashore they do not touch him with their hands. He is then made to sit under the outspreading branch of a tree & the mother, sisters & women relations of the murdered man approach him wearing their mourning ornaments. These consist of necklaces, armlets of plaited cane etc. These they take from their bodies & put them on the arms & round the neck of the prisoner. Each of these women taking a small sisima or sharp pointed native fork they torture him. The mother of the murdered man first comes forward & says pointing to one of his eyes 'With that eye did you see my son killed over in your village' & then she stabs the eye with the fork. The sister next comes to the other side & while the writhing man is held still by the arms by men she address[es] his other eye[,] asks if with that eye he saw her brother tortured & eaten & she stabs the other eye. Between them they torture the man, as, to escape a stab from one side he turns his sightless eyes toward the opposite direction. If blood flows it is eaten in her presence. This done, he is hoisted up about six feet from the ground, dry coconut leaves having been tied around his ankles, knees[,] abdomen & shoulders. When he is suspended in this way, a light is put to his feet & he is scorched alive in this way to tighten the skin & render [the] body easy to cut up. The native string by which he is suspended to the tree is often burnt thro & the man falls smouldering to the ground. He is pounced upon at once & dead or alive is cut to pieces in the most unceremonious fashion. There is really an indecent scramble for his flesh. A pig or dugong is carefully cut up into joints & pieces & distributed amongst the people by its owner calling out (ana sarai o). All this ceremony is purposely dispensed with in the case of a human body, any man rushing up, seizing an

arm, claiming it as his & hacking it off with any implement at hand. In the evening the flesh is cooked, dancing commences & continues all night with its attendant immorality. All those men who have captured enemies or taken part in their capture[,] having presented them to the chief of the feast, retire to their village, & shut themselves up in their respective houses for the space of some five or six days. They, or the near relations of the murdered man[,] do not partake of the human flesh . . . the Relations because they would be eating the payment for their brother & son etc, the capturers because if they partook of blood they were instrumental in spilling they would be attacked by a complaint called OSINANA—blood—palpitation of blood in vessels all over body—relieved by cutting with Nabua causes death—this would render their bodies heavy & make their limbs ache. They remain in their houses for several days until as they say the smell of the blood of the victims is exhausted. They eat very little food no flesh or fish[,] confining themselves to small quantities of baked VOD, APOE, RABIA, which their mothers prepare for them. If boiled gigiri is scraped & freely boiled with other foods. At the termination of this time the capturers['] friends prepare a feast called SISIMWAGODU. The confined m[a]n then for the first time cleans his body, puts on a new sihi, ornaments himself with treasures brought to him by his relations & then leaves his house & presents this SISIMWAGODU to the man to whom he has presented the human victim. (Does not touch food with his hands but with fork which he sticks on top of food before presenting it. This the recipient breaks, & throws away before distributing food.) This is for blood payment. Of this feast he himself does not partake. He takes no part in the dance that night only viewing operations from a distance. The following day, the man who has recd: the body from him prepares a return feast called KEPOKEPO. At this feast he partakes as freely as he pleases & his term of abstinence terminates.

When war is proclaimed[,] ie as soon as tidings come to a village that one of their number has been killed by another tribe, or as soon as war is proclaimed by a fighting chief to wipe off some long standing score, all the TAU IALA TATAODI or fighting men commence a course of rigid abstinence which does not terminate until the fight is over, it may be, some weeks later. This abstinence applies to food[,] no fish, or flesh being eaten & only very small quantities of taro, yam, etc. Sea water (ARITA) is freely partaken of as a purgative. This is to cleanse the body thoroughly of all food remaining in it & ginger is eaten with all food, it being put in the gureva & cooked with their vegetables. It is also eaten by itself to make their blood strong. During this time Betel nut is partaken of in large quantities. To lighten the body & render the men active in pursuit or in flight (GABUSIHESIHEHE) is collected & burnt the men sitting over the smoke to allow it to pass out the rectum & holding their limbs over it. There is no feastivity [*sic*] as dancing during this

time, all excitement being found in speechifying. This abstinence also applies to women. Men do not sleep with their wives & single men have nothing to do with women. The reason for this is that just as a man cohabiting with a woman will certainly find a way to her vagina, so should he indulge his passions, will the spear directed at him by the enemy go straight to the mark aimed at prove fatal. If any man does not observe this precaution he will not enter into the fight, he will stay & look after one of the canoes which the others regard as a sign that he has broken the custom.

The gurevas—cooking pots—which are used for the cooking of human flesh are destroyed as soon as the feast is over. No ordinary vessels such as plates etc used. Food served in leaves eaten with fingers. This, because a few men & many women & children do not partake of human flesh, & again because if one of the capt[or]s happened at some future time to visit one of the villages where parts of the body had been eaten he might by mistake partake of food cooked in the same pot as his victim & the disease OSINANA would result. For the same reason old cooking places are not used for the preparation of human flesh. [Done][o]utside village. Flesh resembles Dugong.

Small villages are usually fortified (TONA). A high fence (9') being built along the sea front & at right angles inland at the extremities. There is a small door or outlet to each of these sites. Traps are laid for the approaching enemy. A large hole will be excavated in the beach, & spears stuck firmly into the ground at the bottom. This is covered with light timber & leaves & then sand. An enemy will often retreat when they discover some members of their party are caught in this way. This is called PURUBEKUBEKU.—High, prominent conveniently situated trees are also selected not only in the village but along the adjacent beach, & houses with platforms [are] erected on the topmost branches. From this point of vantage large stores & spears are hurled down upon the enemy. These are called SIWA SIWA. Spears are also thrust under cover, along the pathways leading from the village so that in case of retreat the pursuing enemy often run headlong upon their own destruction. (SIO)

KABA KENO EABUBU are houses situated in the bush whence women & children retreat in the event of an invading enemy. Literally, 'the place to flee to for sleep'. Formerly one man was regarded as the leader in war. LOLOMANIENA who died about eight years ago was the most renowned of recent times. His successor found little scope for his exertions[,] the Mission having made peace to a large extent & the Govt. afterwards enforcing it by law between Logea & their enemies. These war chiefs were not hereditary. They were chosen by virtue of their exceptional daring & savage habits. LOLOMANIENA could proclaim peace or war as he wished[,] the people strictly obeying him in this respect. Otherwise than in warfare he was not a chief.

The implements used in warfare are:

The spear WAMARI shield IESI
Club KELEPA stones WEKU
Sling ROPEJ tomahawk BAIWATENA

The sling is used when the enemy are at a distance, & other implements are for closer quarters.

Intertribal war is called HOMARI. The engagements—the result of quarrels & family disputes—last only a short time & if any are killed, they are not made captive or eaten. If in one of these quarrels one man wounds another he afterwards sends him a present or payment for the damage done & when the present has been received he visits him in a friendly way & see his wounds.

The whole life of the natives was preparation for & anticipation of war. Children from a very early age were instructed in the art of spear throwing & taken out almost daily for exercise in the bush, any remaining in the villages being taunted & sneered at for their weakness & any showing expertness being encouraged & flattered. Even war with sham spears [was] made . . . [boys] would attack adjacent villages, or would combine with other small villages to attack a stronger one & all the exercises of real war would be faithfully practised. If prisoners were taken they had to be brought back by their friends, with small presents before they were released.

In many of the most important villages large houses were to be found called BOSIM. Here spears, clubs & shields were stored in times of peace. This room was not however an armoury so much as a men's club where it was convenient to store weapons of war. Fishing nets were also kept here. Only men were allowed inside & here all the young men of the village slept at night & had their food by day. Women were precluded partly because the men were in the habit of eating their food from the floor & they would not do this if women had been sitting about with their dirty grass petticoats. Another & principal reason for the utter exclusion of women was the fact that the men here engaged in a great deal of filthy talk about women, which they were ashamed to speak openly before the other sex. If a woman approached the door to bring food to the men while filthy conversation was being indulged in upon her approach being made known they would change the topic until she had gone & then proceed with their indecent jests.

The way these BOSIM came into existence was stated to be for the purpose of providing a place where young men & boys could speak filth without doing so in the presence of women. If the older men found their children running in their houses, & lewd conversation passing between the sexes they would advise the erection of a BOSIM where the young men could indulge in indecent conversation only amongst themselves.

Note (1). If war is to be waged against the tribe into which some members of the invading tribe have previously married they will sometimes return to their original homes when the news of the war reaches them, or when they see a crime has been committed by their people against their true village which will lead to war. If they have lived for many years away from their own tribe, & war is declared ag: them they will sometimes remain where they are[,] regarding themselves as belonging to the people who have adopted them.

Note (2) Causes of war

(a) Adultery. The husband finds a visitor with his wife, kills him & eats him. Payment is wanted by the murdered man's tribe for the death.

(b) A native of say Wagawaga [in Milne Bay] buys a pig or an ornament from a Logea man & never pays & refuses to pay. He will tempt him out of his village & kill him. War issues for payment of the life taken.

(c) If a handsome young man visits a village & the women are overheard to say they wish he was their husband & the girls show him attention, the village men kill him out of jealousy. War issues for payment.

(d) If a man has a serious quarrel with his wife he takes a canoe alone & goes to a part of the country where unprotected he is sure to be caught & eaten. War results.

(e) If after several attempts to secure a prisoner in revenge for some man murdered there is no success or false peace & RUNI is made with a view to entice the enemy into their country. If they accept[,] the opportunity is taken to capture the culprit & another member of his tribe. War starts afresh.

(f) During a feast two young men of different tribes [begin] to boast of their strength & of their daring, hot words follow with abuse: they fight & one is killed & eaten. War between contestants tribes results.

(g) If two young men of diff. Tribes speaking of some young woman insult each other as to their chance of making love with her they fight. Killed, eaten, war.

(h) Of some men are travelling out of their own territory & meet a man to sit & talk with him & covet some ornament that he has in his tobe or on his body they kill him. After war for payment.

(i) [Entry missing.]

(j) Of two young men court the same young woman & one finds she pays her attention to the other he kills him.

(k) A man of another tribe killed only to start a war for its own sake against his tribe.

(l) By a more than usually savage man [such] as Paulo [Dilomi] making mischief for the sake of excitement.

(m) If a long season of drought, rain, hot sun [then] some sorcerer of another tribe will be mentioned as the cause[;] they wait & kill him. If cannot get him otherwise they invite him to come to their village to practice sorcery on a sick man & then kill him.
(n) Any quarrel which ends in homicide.
(o) If a village attacked by epidemic some village named from whence the epidemic sprang & the natives go & fight for payment of damage they have caused.
(p) Tamamiu se mate o ["Your fathers are dead": an insult].

When peace is proclaimed between two hostile tribes it is sometimes done thro the intervention of a third mutually friendly tribe. The tribe bearing the peace wanted by their enemy is prepared for war in case of necessity starts off. In sight of hostile village they call out to know if peace is meant. They generally hear through visitors whether true peace meant. If you want peace we agree. If you want fight we are prepared. If peace is called peace negotiations begin & in the end the visitors land & are feasted. The visited tribe break their spears as a sign of peace & then the visitors break theirs. Then on either side men use up in turn [*sic*] & one will say where are the friends of the man I killed in such an engagement. Another tribe friendly to the two hostile tribes have as a rule brought tidings of the names of the men & women taken & killed. If names unknown explanations & discoveries made. The friends are pointed out & the man makes payment, smaller considerably th[a]n what he recd. [o]riginally for the body fr the chief of the feast. And so on fr both sides payment alike being made for dead & wounded who die fr effects after returning home.

NOTES

1. For a study of Anglican attitudes in New Guinea, with references to Methodist attitudes, see David Wetherell, *Reluctant Mission: The Anglican Church in Papua New Guinea 1891–1942* (Brisbane: University of Queensland Press, 1977), 122–155.

2. B. Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific: An Account of Native Enterprise and Adventure in the Archipelagoes of Melanesian New Guinea* (reprint, New York: Dutton, 1961), 10.

3. C. W. Abel, *Savage Life in New Guinea: The Papuan in Many Moods* (London: London Missionary Society, 1902), 129, 145. An account of warfare in Milne Bay attributed to Wedeka (father of Alice Wedega of Kwato) appears on pp. 139–146 in the chapter "The Papuan at His Worst." It should be noted that, in spite of the negative tone of the book, Abel's chapter "The Papuan at Home" showed an appreciation of Papuan domestic life.

4. Diki, a pioneer Loyalty Islands LMS teacher, accompanied the Reverend Samuel McFarlane to the Torres Strait and moved to Samarai probably in the late 1870s. He died in early 1887, having been seen by a visiting missionary "in full vigour and health" the previous November. Diki Esau was his leading Papuan ally and convert. Esau was the father of Merari and Osineru Dickson. Merari Dickson, educated at Kwato, was the first Papuan member appointed to the Legislative Council of Papua and New Guinea in the early 1950s. Osineru Dickson served in various government capacities under J. K. Murray, postwar administrator of the territory (1946–1952). Of Osineru it was said that "his manners and command of English are generally accepted in the Territory as being those of a cultivated English gentleman. In fact his formal schooling terminated at Standard 4." Osineru stood unsuccessfully as a candidate for the Milne Bay seat in the first House of Assembly in 1964, a seat won by John Guise, later governor-general of independent Papua New Guinea. For an account of Osineru Dickson as a politician, see David Bettison et al., *The Papua–New Guinea Elections 1964* (Canberra: Australian National University Press, 1965), 328–329, 335–338.

5. Of the existence of cannibalism in the Milne Bay and China Strait vicinity during the ten years before Abel wrote down his notes in 1894, there is no doubt. One of the village chiefs brought to witness the hoisting of the British flag in late 1884 was found by seamen on H.M.S. *Swinger* "actually in the act of devouring two men he had killed that morning," there being a "tribal war" in progress at the time of the naval squadron's arrival. Arthur Keyser, *Our Cruise to New Guinea* (London: Ridgway, 1885), 49–54. For the thesis that Hawaiians and Maoris probably assumed British sailors were cannibals like themselves, see Gananath Obeyesekere, " 'British Cannibals': Contemplation of an Event in the Death and Resurrection of James Cook, Explorer," *Critical Enquiry* 18 (Summer 1992): 630–654; and Gananath Obeyesekere, *The Apotheosis of Captain Cook: European Mythmaking in the Pacific* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992).