

THE REMINISCENCES OF AHUIA OVA

Edited, with an Introduction and Notes,

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I. INTRODUCTION

By F. E. WILLIAMS

DESPITE the popular appeal of the more 'savage' kinds of ethnography, it seems to the writer that the study of ordinary contact situations, in areas where the natives have long been under European influence, may be of greater significance for serious-minded social anthropologists; that the Motu-Koita people of Papua, for example, who have been in close contact with Europeans for more than half a century, may provide an even more profitable subject for research than some newly-discovered tribe in the interior of the island.

Poreporena, the large village-group lying on the shores of Port Moresby, offers good opportunities for such a contact study. The old forms of social life are there interlocking or contending with the new. Village affairs are now largely controlled by a vigorous and effective body of Councillors; but the *iduhu lohia* still play their part, and the two institutions seem seldom at cross purposes. An increasing number of more or less educated young men walk daily into the township to begin their office work at 9 a.m., yet the great majority of villagers still toil in their yam gardens over the hills, or sail out at early morning for the reef. At one end of the village stand the buildings of the London Missionary Society's station, Metoreia, where a succession of resident missionaries have taken the view that dancing is inconsonant with native Christian life; at the other stand the three carved and painted *dubu*, visible signs (since two of them are of very recent construction) that the old-time customs of dancing and feasting continue there. The women now fill their pots at a pipe standard, and by night the village 'street' is lit by electricity; nevertheless the thatched houses remain the same, the *lakatoi* still sail for the Gulf (though not so numerous as of old), and the women still wear nothing more than a grass skirt. Poreporena is changing, as every other native community in similar circumstances must; but it has not been changing over-fast. It is still very much of a native village outwardly and inwardly. Papua is rather proud, in fact, that the natives at its front door-step remain so little Europeanised.

Ahuia Ova (see Plates I and II), who writes this brief autobiography, has had much to do with Europeans; he has come to understand them comparatively well, and he has learned a great deal from them. Yet, when all is said and done, he remains a good native, with a proper pride in the culture of his own people. It seemed worth while, then, to

induce him to write down his recollections, as those of one who has gone through it all ; whose life, of something over 60 years, has practically coincided with the term of European occupancy of his country.

Ahuia has already appeared before students of Papuan ethnology in *The Melanesians of British New Guinea* (Seligman 1910), a book to which those who would read his life are urged to refer in order to take in its cultural background. He was Professor Seligman's chief informant concerning the sociology of the Koita, and he made a number of creditable sketches, which were reproduced as illustrations in the account of that people (e.g. Plate VI). But Ahuia figures there as something more than a mere informant and a draughtsman ; he is already, however faintly delineated, a character. Professor Seligman, who gives an excellent portrait (Plate III) showing him in his hey-day (1904), describes Ahuia as a man of " quite unusual intelligence " (p. 59).

Now, after the lapse of 30 years and more, he is no doubt a wiser, if in some respects a sadder man. By native standards he is old, though still fairly vigorous. His service with the Government terminated in 1918, since when he has lived in retirement. But he continues to play an active part in village life and wears the uniform of a Councillor. He lives comfortably on the produce of his gardens and a pension of £2 a month.

The idea of obtaining a Papuan autobiography owes something to " The Autobiography of a Winnebago Indian " (Radin 1920). Although it was never expected that Ahuia's work would compare with the Indian's, I must confess to some disappointment at a result which falls so far behind it, both in quality and in mere quantity. But if other natives of Poreporena might have made a greater literary success of the job, few of them would have had so much to write about.

While Ahuia speaks English relatively well, gravely and deliberately picking his words, he writes it with difficulty. He therefore suggested using the Motuan language, which he and the rest of the Koita now speak rather than their own original tongue, and nominated as translator a young man named Igo Erua. The latter, who has since died, was a Native Clerk, a voluminous correspondent of the *Papuan Villager* (the monthly newspaper for natives), and incidentally one of the leading Poreporena cricketers. He was perhaps as well qualified as any other for the task of translation, and certainly did his work, with Ahuia at his elbow, very conscientiously. The original text is in true Motuan, with occasional deflections towards the ' pidgin ' form of it which is widely current throughout the Territory. The present writer has a tolerably good acquaintance with this pidgin Motuan ; but the true language is a very different proposition, so that the services of a translator could not be dispensed with. Obscure passages, however, were checked over or unravelled with the aid of the author. The peculiarities of the English rendering are Igo's, and his English had, indeed, to be slightly emended in a number of places in order to make it intelligible, although many quaint expressions were allowed to remain. The present writer, who as editor of the *Papuan Villager* has had much troublesome experience in the emendation of native MSS, is still able to find some

humour in the expressions used by native scholars, and the hope that others may do so has induced him to leave them close to their original form.

Ahuia needed some guidance, and some encouragement. We first sketched out the ground together, then he proceeded alone with the help of a typed syllabus, or table of contents, which had been evolved from our earlier interviews. It proved a considerable task, at which he worked laboriously in his spare time for a period of several months. He was paid at the modest rate of 3d. a hundred words; the translator, Igo, at 2d. a hundred; they netted respectively £2 6s. 3d. and £1 10s. 9d.

As an autobiography Ahuia's work has of course many shortcomings. It is at once sketchy and tedious. He can expatiate on his prowess as a hunter or a Village Constable, and remain almost silent on his experiences as a sorcerer or love-maker. He is more at home in relating legends than in writing personal history, and one finds with disappointment that he cannot maintain throughout the literary standard of his opening chapters. His text has been to some extent rearranged, but it is printed here almost in full. A few quite irrelevant passages have been dropped, and some long-winded ones summarised in square brackets.

Ahuia's own shortcomings as a character appear to some extent in his own pages. But the reader must be lenient towards one outstanding fault. If our author seems somewhat vain and prone to self-glorification, it must be remembered that this is a thoroughly 'native' tendency, and one which in native eyes—at least, as far as Papua is concerned, I believe—is not considered to be in bad taste. Not everything that he has written can be credited, for he describes most incidents in a light distinctly favourable to himself. But this is a common failing, even with those whose better education should have made them more self-critical. Ahuia's version of the various incidents of his career probably represents, sincerely enough, his present belief about them. It may, however, be suggested that he is not really quite so important in village life as he thinks he is, or as he thinks he should be. Although elected to the Village Council of Poreporena, he was not even in the running for the office of Chairman. He is not, nor ever has been, a big chief.

We may place to his credit, on the other hand, a list of sterling qualities. No one who knows him would deny his courage, persistency, initiative, or self-reliance. By native standards, he has been a man of energy, both in his work for the Government and in his own gardening and hunting, and his devotion to his "first-beloved" wife and his adopted grand-daughters shows that he has his due share of the family virtues. In his intercourse with Europeans he reveals a high degree of understanding, a readiness to help, and a well-developed sense of responsibility. His carefully deferential manner towards them never involves the sacrifice of his own grave dignity. There are some who characterise Ahuia as an old rogue, but the present writer does not concur. Possibly they have had unfortunate experiences with him, or have been over-impressed by the shrewdness which he undoubtedly possesses. Even they, however, would admit that he was at least a very gentlemanly old rogue.

Those acquainted with the results of contact between natives and Europeans will not be surprised at the mixture of superstition, scepticism, and Christian faith in these pages. No passages equal in interest the description of Ahuia's religious vicissitudes and the plight in which he now finds himself, beyond the pale of church membership and resigned to his fate. In this connection one should refer to another long document from Ahuia's laborious pen. "Motu Feasts and Dances" (Ova, 1922/23) was translated by the Rev. J. B. Clark, who is an accomplished Motuan scholar, and gives much information on a variety of subjects besides those named in the title. But its chief value lies in the fact that it represents the views of an ardent Christian convert upon the value of the customs and beliefs, the feasting, dancing, magic and ritual, which he describes. The views are puritanical: the ways of his people are "evil ways". Dancing, above all, is anathema; from it come "vexations and quarrelling", "envying and deceit", "boasting and pride", "lewd ways", "vagrant eyes", adulteries, belief in sorcerers, and, perhaps worst of all, support for the worship of the people's ancestors.

It must have been about the time he was writing this denunciation that Ahuia burnt his feathers and dancing ornaments for a sign. But the reader will find that he modified his views, or sank his scruples, and danced again. To what extent he really changed his views would be a question difficult to answer. After studying his present reminiscences, one finds oneself doubting whether he has any definite views to change on this question of the old *versus* the new. No conclusion, in fact, emerges so clearly from the perusal of his narrative and expressed opinions as his confused state of mind. Does he in his heart of hearts believe, as he possibly did in 1923, that dancing is wholly evil, and yet say to himself, "I am going to dance because I like it, and hang the consequences to my soul"? Or has he really altered his opinion and come to take the saner view that dancing, even if it occasion evil indirectly, is not in itself unchristian? Although Ahuia has tried, as he tells us, to "prepare his heart", or "search his mind", I really doubt whether he knows at all clearly what is in them.

His general conduct is the best indication of his attitude. He has imbibed something of European culture, he has profited by it, and he has a great admiration for it; but he has not tried to ape the white man. From the days when he was Professor Seligman's informant until now he has retained his interest in the life and culture of his own people, and save for that Puritan period when he wrote his diatribe against them, he has shown a deep attachment to, and a fitting pride in, the ways of the native.

As for Christianity, it would seem from Ahuia's closing words that he has understood the main benefit which conversion can bestow on any native, and that he is holding fast to it. Although he is a bigamist, and now once more patronises the dance, the *dubu*, the feast, and the Bone Ceremony, he is to all intents and purposes a Christian. Those who are interested in the "Anthropology of the Changing Native" will read more than one lesson in Ahuia Ova's reminiscences. It should not be necessary to point the moral in the last, somewhat pathetic, situation in which we take leave of him.

II. REMINISCENCES

By AHUIA OVA

Translated from the Motuan by IGO ERUA

PATERNAL ANCESTORS

In the olden times my grandfather came from Babaga. He was named in the Babaga language Keto Vali, and in the Koita language Geita Hari¹.

At that time there were two villages situated in the Babaga land. One was called Verairubu, and the other Sevele, which was adjoining to the former. The Verairubu women used to go to the coast very often for collecting shell-fish or to buy them from the Hula villages, and the people of Sevele made a plan.

The plan was this. They built a platform beside the track by which the Verairubu women used to go down to the coast, and they sat on it, for they wanted to see the tattooed right thighs of the Verairubu women². When the women had passed, they pulled the platform down and built it up on the other side of the road, and sat on it and waited for their return. They did this very often, and the chief's wife of Verairubu understood their plan and she told her husband. She said, "I want to tell you this and you to hear, whether it is right or wrong"³. The man said, "Tell me, what is it?" And she told him all about it.

When all the people were assembled together the chief⁴ rose up and said, "I am calling you because I want to tell you of something that has made me very upset. Here is the thing of which my wife has complained to me. Everytime they go through the Sevele village, the Sevele people build a platform on the west side of the road: and when the women have all passed, they pull the platform down and put it up again on the east side. She says they do this because they (the Sevele people) want to see their right thighs. It has made me very upset. And now, this is the best way for us: we will make a feast and we will bring them all in and we will kill them all, because they were doing a very bad thing". And all the people said, "Good, we better do this. We will kill them all and no one will escape"⁵.

They prepared the feast and invited the people of Sevele, Kalo, and Kamali to attend. And the chief instructed his son and said, "My son, I want you to do my order. When the chief of Sevele comes in for the feast, don't be afraid, because you are going to do as I ordered you and carry it out properly; and if you don't, I'll kill you"⁶. And the boy said to his father, "My father, I must carry out all your orders faithfully. What shall I do to him?" And the father said, "When the chief of Sevele arrives you have to watch him until he sits down on the veranda and the tail of his *sihi* [perineal band] falls down between the boards. You see it and take a piece of wood and go under the house with care and tie that piece of wood with the tail of his *sihi*. Tie it up tightly so that I can kill him. If you don't do as I tell you and if the man escapes, I will kill you then".

They waited until the date of the feast, when Galoga Logoro arrived with all his people. And that boy carried out what he was told. He did it properly and came and

said, "Father, I have done everything according to your order". The father rose up and took his spear and went and took hold of Galoga Logoro's hair. And Galoga tried to jump down from the veranda, but the tail of his *sihi* pulled him back, so he had no chance of escape. Then he said "Ae ! Galoga, Logoro !" and he praised himself, saying, "When I entered the villages of Alomarubu and Rivali they gave me pigs, and when I went to Hula they gave me turtles and big arm-shells. My name is Galoga Logoro and I will be ended today". When he finished his talk he was killed. All the Sevele people were killed, but the Kamali and the Kalo people were allowed to go.

When the fighting was over, they cut off all the heads and took them to the place called Rage Kou, and put them all together (just the same as coco-nuts in a nursery). The last head they put down was that of Galoga Logoro. And when they had done this, then all the heads said, "Galoga Logoro *tobe* !" All the people were very frightened, and when they returned to their village they discussed this till day-break without having any sleep.

In the morning they divided the *dubu* into two, left and right. The left lived at Babaga. The right was divided again into two parts : some went to live at Goaibo, and Geita Hari and all his people came here to the Port Moresby district. They built a *koge*⁸ near the present village of Akorogo. When they had finished building it, deaths occurred among them, and they broke up and their families wandered about the places⁹.

The man Geita Hari was father of Ova Geita, and I am one of Ova Geita's sons myself.

MATERNAL ANCESTORS

The generation of which my mother was born : the man named Navu Kave borned [begot] Hedu Navu ; Hedu Navu borned Rohi Hedu ; Rohi Hedu borned Abau Rohi ; Abau Rohi borned Oa Abau ; and Oa Abau borned my mother Diara Oa and my uncle Taubada Oa¹⁰.

The grandfather of my mother was Abau Rohi, who was a great fighter. They called him Abau Kama¹¹ because the villages of Delena, Roro, Nikura, Paitana, Avoo, Vanuamai and Kabadi were all his enemies.

On one occasion, one of his relations, named Oa Siala, happened to be at Kabadi, and the Kabadi people had killed a pig and served food for him, and then killed him on top of the food served¹². Abau Rohi led the war to the mouth of the Toutu River, and waited. And there a man named Oa Kelebu, brother of Oa Siala, had great sorrow for the death of his brother, so he gave up all his mind to die. He sat on the edge of the river with his legs in the water and waited. The people persuaded him and said, "Oh, Oa Kelebu, the Kabadi people will be here. You'd better get out of the place". He replied, "Don't be persuading me, because I don't want to live. As my brother has already been killed by them, I want to be killed by them too". And the Kabadi fighting men arrived and he was killed. Because he was very, very sorry for the death of his brother, his promise was fulfilled¹³.

Abau Rohi counted his men : they were three hundred. But the Kabadi people had one thousand. About 100 were killed by the Nara people [i.e., by Abau Rohi's], and Kabadi killed about 100 Nara people in that fight, so there were 200 left alive¹⁴.

There was a Poreporena man named Arua Daera in this fight, and he was chased by Abau Kama. And Arua Daera called and said, " Oh, Abau Kama, this is I ". And Abau Kama replied, " Friend, you must run as fast as you can, so you will not be seen by the fighters. I am watching till you pass away [i.e., escape] ". Therefore Arua Daera ran before his friend, and escaped¹⁵.

Abau Kama stood up against a big tree, called *vauto*, at Toutu River and waited. Later on a Kabadi man came and left his son on the side of the river. And the boy sat on the edge and cried, " Oh ! Oh ! Father, come back and take me ". And the father said, " Come quickly. I am afraid that we will be found by the enemies ". But the boy did not listen to him. And Abau Kama stood and watched him all the while. The man then swam back and held his hands to get the boy. And Abau Kama threw his spear from the edge above and speared him under the ribs through to the other side, and said to him, " My name is Abau Kama ! " ¹⁶

Abau Kama's clan was named Vauria, because their hill was also named Vauria. After that fight they lived in that village quietly. But one day the word was heard that the villages of their enemies wanted to have another fight. The man Abau Kama called all the people and said to them, " Here is the talk. I want you all to hear it ¹⁷. All the villages of our enemies are intending to capture and besiege our village, so we must be prepared and look out for them ". They replied, " What shall we do ? " He said, " The *kapok* tree must be cut down. When it is cut down, cut off the branches, and cut the middle part into three logs and tie them up with cane. Then clear the scrub from the top of the hill to the flat ". These things were carried out by the people according to his instructions.

They kept on waiting, until one day the enemy arrived. They looked down and saw them on the flat and told them to wait a little bit, for they were just having their meal ; they will fight later on. They just told them a lie. Then they instructed their children and youths to call them up. So the enemies walked up the hill-side. Then all the children ran up on the street [i.e., into the village], and the enemies were quite near to the logs. Then the in-charge called out, and the canes were cut and the three of them rolled down the hill. And the enemies who were on the hill-side near the rollers were all killed, but the ones who were walking slowly on the flat escaped. They named these rollers *boki*.

After that fighting, a very bad attack of sickness and death was epidemic through the village. Many people were dead ; from five to ten died in a day. On account of this they left the place, and spread out to different places¹⁸.

They all had one chieftain, Abau Rohi [Abau Kama], who came here to Hohodae and lived with Ganaga Abau, who was head man of Dubara clan [*iduhu*]¹⁹. This man then shared the land into two, and gave one share to Abau Rohi and told him, " We better live here ". That was how my grandfather Oa Abau was born. He was the father of my mother and my uncle Taubada Oa.

BOYHOOD IN THE VILLAGE

In my young days I was a very bad boy. Once I was playing and knocked a Kilakila boy about, and my father was very wild at me and beat me in payment. And one day I was out fishing, and while I chased the fish to spear it, one Vabukori boy, named Mase, threw his spear and wounded my leg ; and I speared his leg too. For that my father beat me again ; but Mase's father came and said, " Don't beat your boy. He hit Mase because Mase hit him first, and it is square ".

My father was a high man²⁰, so he did not want me to do anything wrong²¹. On one occasion I was playing at Konedobu with my mates, and one boy, by name Kora Maraga, threw a stone at me and hit me on the head. And I took one stone and threw it at him and hit him on his head for payment. On another occasion we were at Kilakila. My father was lying on the verandah and I was playing in the street with the boys, and I threw a spear and nearly got into my father's eyes²². He was then very angry and beat me very badly²³. [Ahuaia tells of a further incident where a boy hit him with a stick, and he retaliated in anger and was once more beaten by his father.] My father instructed me not to do any more trouble. So he always taught and kept me in right ways.

When I was living at Kilakila I was playing on the road with some boys, and we saw some of the Gorobe people with the *turubu* (cassowary bird) on their heads, and thought they were Koiari²⁴. I was very frightened, and cried and ran to my father, Ova Geita, and told him, " Father, I am very frightened because I saw some of the Koiari, so I ran up to you ". And my father said, " Where are they ? " And he saw them later on and said, " Don't be afraid, they are our friends ". And I was not frightened then.

When I was a little boy (a baby), my parents took me out to Laloki for hunting purposes. We camped at Buabu Kasaka. While my father was out for hunting, I crawled about and fell into the river. And my uncle jumped down and saved me from my misfortune (I don't know about this, but my mother told me). On the return of my father from hunting in the evening, he heard this and gave hard talk to my mother²⁵.

One day I went with my mother, uncle [mother's brother] Taubada and others to our garden, and slept out there, because that garden was always destroyed by a wallaby. So one night we got up and took the wallaby net (*huo*) and set it outside the fence of the garden, and waited there until the morning. And we got in the garden and chased the wallaby. And it came out and was caught by the net and I held it. But it got out, and I bit its tail, and it jumped me about like a dog does until my uncle came and held it, and we both killed the wallaby.

FIRST EMPLOYMENT

When I was a big boy, I started to work for white men to earn money. I was first employed by ——— and ——— and ———. I was a very good boy to them, and they were very good to me. But many times they put the money on the floor and tried to cause me to steal. But when I swept the floor in the morning I picked them up and put

them on the table, and tobacco as well²⁶. I never at one time stole my master's properties. They paid me at 7s. a month.

At that time a big famine occurred in Poreporena. I had planted a melon in my *taubada*'s²⁷ yard. And the name of this melon was Pie Melon. In that year the village people assembled the *lakatoi*²⁸, because there was no food and the people were very starved. But my masters were very good men, and they kept my mother with rations until the arrival of the *lakatoi*. These *lakatoi* were full up with sago. My mother was rationed with a bag of flour or rice per month.

During this time the Hohodae people had made a garden at Talai. These gardens produced pumpkins and sweet potatoes, so the Motu people sold arm-shells to Hohodae for the food. Hohodae people were enriched by the Motuans in that year.

[Ahuia goes on to tell how he visited his friend Garia Vagi, a boy who was working for a certain Captain S—— aboard a schooner beached in the harbour.] And that man poured a whisky into the tumbler and gave it to me, and I thought it was for a medicine for sick men. So I drunk till I finished it and nearly died, because I was not used to it. Then on one day I went and reported to Mrs. I—— [his employer's wife] about the man who gave me a drink. The taste was exactly the fire. And Mrs. I—— was very wild when she heard me say this, and she reported to the magistrate; and the magistrate sent Captain S—— back to his home for good²⁹.

[Among Ahuia's many employers was Mr. Musgrave, then Government Secretary, who took him to Cooktown, possibly as a personal servant while on furlough.] There we spent six weeks. I saw all kinds of European things. I rode on the railway; went to inland, where I saw some black policemen: they were tall men. I went out for trips on several occasions, by the war boats too. When we were on the sea I never ate or drank for six days at least, on account of the seasick³⁰.

[Ahuia mentions Frank Lawes, first Resident Magistrate in Port Moresby, Romilly, "the first Governor in Port Moresby", and "Governor Douglas", as men whom he remembers.]

When I was a youth I worked for Mr. G——. *Sinabada* [i.e., the mistress] cooked food, and I waited at the table (as a steward) and made the beds and did all the housework, laundry as well. They paid me one pound per month and one bag of rice besides.

When I finished from Mr. G—— I was employed by Mr. B—— as a cook boy, and then I married Boio Alua. I planted that rubber tree near the Resident Magistrate's office; so I am getting old, and the tree has also grown up as a big tree³¹. I then received three pounds per month.

[Ahuia speaks of the erection of three buildings at this time, including the old Hotel.] The owner was Miss W——, a fat and short woman. These were the first buildings in Port Moresby [this is incorrect]. I am forgetting the years of my employment.

[On leaving Mr. B——'s service, Ahuia remained some months in the village, and then was employed as cook at Government House for a short period at £4 a month³². After a further stay in the village, he was appointed Village Constable, at 10s. a month³³.]

GOVERNMENT SERVICE

I was in the position of Village Constable for five consecutive years. During this period I acted three general works. Firstly, worked for my chief's business [i.e., as leading man of Hohodac]; secondly, as Village Constable; and thirdly, as a Court Interpreter.

As Village Constable I stopped all the quarrels. On one occasion three men were fighting, and I went and tried my best to stop them, but they never took any notice of me and continued on fighting. So I arrested them and brought them in before the Resident Magistrate, and they were then instructed by the Magistrate and sent back home.

Another time one Tatana boy, by name of Nauari Igo, had done some stealing, and I was sent by the magistrate to fetch him in. So I went over to Tatana and called him several times, but he wouldn't take any notice of me. So I went up to the house and threw him down from the house, and put the handcuffs on his hands and brought him in to Port Moresby. And he was sent to gaol for one month³⁴.

Captain Barton was a magistrate then. One day we both investigated the Poreporena villages³⁵. As we walked along the street he saw some of the old posts standing in the street, and said, "Why are these posts standing here?" and we told him they were the posts for the dancing *dubu*³⁶. These *dubu* are made for the meeting of the dance, or some other kinds of feasts. We told him all that, and he said, "Why don't you do it now?" And we said, "Because we are afraid of the missionaries". But Captain Barton said, "Oh no, you must not stop it; because they are the customs of your olden people". So from that time we started the dance until now³⁷.

In that year I married Goka. She was first married to another man, but her husband was jealous on me all the time. I did not know her and she don't know me, but on account of the man's jealousy she said to him, "No good you jealousy about this man all the time, and making him ashamed!"³⁸ So she came to me herself, and then I never worried about my position³⁹, so I married her. When I married Goka, Captain Barton was Governor and Mr. Br—— was magistrate. Mr. Br—— held the court about my trouble, but I was found "not guilty", and I won the case.

At that time Mr. Weaver was killed by Ariki and others⁴⁰. And they hid him in the scrub. The Government thought he had had his bath in the Laloki River and that he was taken by a crocodile. But a Baruni man named Ginata⁴¹ came and reported to Mr. B—— that Mr. Weaver had been killed by Ariki. When Mr. B—— heard this he was very wild with me and said, "Why didn't you tell me about this trouble?" And I answered, "*Taubada*, I don't know about it till now, and we both hear it at the same time". But Mr. B—— would not believe me. He thought that I had heard the trouble but hid it; but it was not so.

[There was a long and ineffectual search for the murderers in the Koiari hills. Finally Ahuia approached the Lieutenant-Governor at Government House, and volunteered to

take over the search himself.] I said, "Oh Chief, I want to ask you something", and he said, "All right". And I asked him, "I want you to send me and I shall go inland and search for the man and bring him in". The Governor said, "All right", so I went out and searched for him with strength and wisdom until I found him. When I found Ariki and asked him, "Where have you been living? I have been looking for you and could not find you", he replied, "Every day I saw you, but Ginate has been hiding me and threatening me".

[Here follows an account of how Ahuia handcuffed Ariki and took him to Port Moresby; also of how he met Ginate by chance on the journey, and arrested him on sight.] The magistrate was very glad, and spread the news in the town that night; he mentioned my name and said, "Ahuia has found Ariki and brought him in", so that everybody was very glad on me. When I sought Ariki that time I did just the same as a white man would do, because I carried out my work with faithful.

So Ariki was hanged and Ginate was sent to gaol for 12 months for his telling lies. He told the Government plenty of lies, that I hid Ariki; and also he had hidden the words about the killing of Mr. Weaver. I knew all the thoughts of Ginate. He was too jealous on me because he saw that I had worked hard for the Government, so he tried to blame me to the Government. But his complaint to the Government was frivolous. I knew how to do. I could defeat him easy on that case. That is why I have had a very good and clean name in the Government service until now.

[One Christmas morning Ahuia had to deal with a white man who had been celebrating too freely.] He was a tall man and his head was no good, and he walked about the township, his cane in his hand, so he always beat the boys whenever they passed him, for nothing. [Ahuia makes a long story of this episode. He discreetly refused to arrest the man without authority from the magistrate, although called on to do so by some Europeans. Finally several native police, Ahuia among them, were sent by the magistrate to arrest the reveller, and in due course to escort him to the gaol. They handed him over.] The Head Gaoler then said, "You boys must run as fast as you can. This man is going to shoot you". So we all ran to the office and told the *taubadu* about it.

One time a Koiari man, named Mudiki, was killed by Iohia Vagira. Iohia Vagira had committed adultery with Mudiki's wife, so he wanted to kill the man (Mudiki) first and marry his wife afterwards. And a Baruni man came and reported it to me, and I went to the Resident Magistrate and reported it, and he sent me for investigation. He told me, "You go and see the dead body and come back and tell me". And I went as instructed and found the dead body. It was stinking. I saw the wounds and instructed the people from that village to bury him.

[Ahuia made his report, and was sent back with the Medical Officer to disinter the body, after which it was duly viewed and reburied.] After burying the body I carried out the usual and general plan of how to find the right man who had killed a man. I told Iohia Vagira, "Will you bring me a bit of pepper. I want to have a chew of betel-

nut". And he brought me a pepper fruit. I chewed it and vomited. And I again sent him to bring me a ripe paw-paw, so he brought me one. I ate it; just the same, I vomited out. So from these signs I knew he was the rightful man who actually killed the man. [Ahuia had him arrested and brought before the magistrate, who asked him how the murderer had been discovered. Ahuia explained, and eventually, though no doubt on somewhat stronger evidence, Iohia Vagira was tried and found guilty.]

He [the Resident Magistrate] knew that all my works were carried on with faithful, because I found the man from the olden ways of how to find murderers, and *vada* men⁴² as well. This is the way in which Koita and Koiari people find the bad manners out; never make any mistake. But the Motu people do not know how to find bad manners out, so they are blaming too much for nothing⁴³.

[Ahuia was sent out, he says, by Mr. B----- to collect clubs.] This was because I broke one of the handles of his clubs. So he said, "You must go in to the land and look for it and bring me just the same as the one you broke." [He travelled extensively on this remarkable mission in the Mekeo district.] I sought from village to village until I climbed up to the hill of Kovio (Mt. Yule). I was never frightened and never worried about the life of my own, because I went for the sake of my master's instruction.

When I went in from Mekeo to Kovio with twelve carriers, we nearly been killed. It was on one Sunday, and we had our rest in one of the *dubu*. Then the enemies of the village arrived and all my boys were frightened and ran away into the bush. But I thought myself, shall I run or not? If I do I will be killed just the same. Then I took one knife in my hand and ran in to the enemy⁴⁴. These people touched my body with the points of their arrows, but put them up again. And one of the chiefs came and asked me, "What village do you belong to?" And I said, "I am Hanuabada". And he then stopped his people and said, "Don't you threaten this man; he is a Hanuabada man". Because he knew that the Government lived at Hanuabada, he stopped his people at once. [The raiders returned, and Ahuia and his carriers left for the coast, apparently at top speed, for they started at midday and walked throughout the night.] We were in the water all the way along, and in the morning we arrived at Veifaa village and lodged at the chief's *dubu*. . . . He commanded his people to cook the food for us, because he was a chief⁴⁵. . . .

[During these travels Ahuia went to the village of Inanesira, in Enebane swamp, where he saw plenty of crocodiles, tortoises and fish.] I had seen in their canoes crocodiles tied up, two each or three each, and some underneath their houses against the posts, one by one. I know the people of the village know how to catch the crocodile. None of the Koitapu villages are equal to them⁴⁶.

[Besides being Village Constable, Ahuia was used as an interpreter by various Resident Magistrates.] All my masters were satisfied with me, and were all very good to me too; and I was very good to them. . . . When Judge Murray came and saw all my works given to his satisfaction, he wanted me very [badly]. [Thus Ahuia became Central

Court Interpreter.] That was a very good job, and my clothes were marked with different braid. . . . I was a very good boy, and my master was a good master too. I suppose if I was a very bad boy he should be the same.

I always translated exactly what the defendants said, with truth, so there was nothing wrong at all. The laws of white men are much better than our laws. Plenty of times Judge Murray and myself held a court case; but I have forgotten the years because I had no record of them. When I was interpreter I translated all the words well and plainly. I have not been caught translating wrongly, or caught in trouble at any time in the office.

The laws of white men are very rightful and powerful ones. The olden days were different from this time. For them all their goings were with fear and doubt. But nowadays it is not the same, because the peace and the laws are above us with powerful. Therefore all the enemies in different villages call one another brothers and relatives. Nowadays the gardens are made at Laloki and the nearby lands, either four or five miles away, because the Government's arm is above us all. But beforetimes the people were very frightened and never went that far at all.

I was helping Dr. Seligman for some time when I was the Village Constable of Poreporena village. He was working about the native customs, and he did a lot about the *tabu* feast and a lot more about some other things. Old Taubada Oa and Kuruku Geita of Kourabada village, they both told all about the customs, and I am the man who explained it to Dr. Seligman. And also one old man, his name Vagi Douna of Mavara iduhu of Poreporena, Motuan, he told us something about Motuan customs before Dr. Seligman. When I was helping him do his work I did the same as in the law court or the Central Court. One day Dr. Seligman made one boy to make himself like the woman giving birth to a child. And some boys saw that and they laughed. So Dr. Seligman was very wild because they laughed.

When Dr. Malinowski first came to Port Moresby he came to see the Judge and asked him to let me help him to do some of his work. So the Judge he let me go and help him for some time. And when I was having my short holiday for some time I went with him to Sinaugolo. So we stayed at Rigo, at the Government station, and we took some Sinaugolo customs, about two weeks. Then we returned to Port Moresby. But it was very rough on that day, so we could not get in to Port Moresby in one day. We sailed to Tupuseleia and anchored there; and next morning we arrived at Port Moresby. Then I finish from him.

MARRIAGE

I first married Boio Alua. I married her from betrothal⁴⁷. But her head was gone bad (lunatic); so I threw her away and married Gari Rei. I married Gari Rei in church, and Mr. Lawes officiated our wedding. After this I married another woman, named Riguia; so I was then put off from the Christian on account of this⁴⁸. Then I married Goka [see Plate II, B] and threw Riguia away⁴⁹.

I married another woman also, named Vagi Gege, but she was a lazy woman and my first woman chased her out of the house. She was in a family way (conceived) when she left me. Her baby was born, but died. She was then married to another man, and she is living with him until now. Gari Rei bore me a baby girl. But it died when it was small. But none from the other women.

The reasons of the women I married and threw them away⁵⁰ : Boio Alua, her head was no good, and I hated her. Riguia, she was a greedy woman. She wanted all my properties should be managed by her. But I told her that I divided them into two—she to take some and Gari to take the others. But she wouldn't take any notice, so I beat her and sent her away. She was then married to Arua Ganiga and bore two children, one girl and one boy. But she was with me for two years without children.

Amongst all Goka is my first-beloved wife and Gari is second. But Goka is the best, because she knows how to make the garden, and how to do washing and ironing, and gives me good foods to eat. She can keep the house in order, and all my visitors were looked after by her. So that is why I put her as number one⁵¹.

This is the custom of our olden people. If a man has very large gardens he can get two women ; and if a man have plenty of visitors he can get two women. But a man who is lazy and gets two women, everybody will laugh at him ; and they might say, " No use for him to get two women ". That is how the olden do this game.

And if a man have no children by first woman, that man must not go and look for another woman without the consent of his first woman. His first woman should say, " I think you better go to look for another woman and make some children. No good we have no children, and when we are getting old, what we going to do ? " So a man tries his best until he finds another woman, and marries her then. This is another way of man getting double women.

YOUTHFUL LOVE AFFAIRS

During the time of our youth T— — M—— and myself were very lucky on engaging with girls. T——— was my true friend, and the luck accompanied us in all our goings. When we married we ceased all these games⁵².

Many women from stranger-villages wanted me very badly, but they were refused by my uncle because he said it would mean too much labour or works⁵³.

[Ahuia follows on by repeating the list of his wives and the reasons why he parted with three of them, i.e., that one had " a bad head ", one was " too greedy ", and one was too lazy.] If they were very good they wouldn't go away at all. Perhaps they would be with me until now. But one thing, I have forgotten how many years each lived with me.

ADOPTED CHILDREN

My first adopted child was the daughter of Mase Vagi and Igua Rova. They presented her to us because we had no children. We brought her up with all our best,

but she died from dysentery. They presented this child to us because Igua Rova (the mother) was a relation⁵⁴ of Goka (my wife). So she and her husband were sorry for us, and never minded about giving us the child.

The second one, Lohia Guba, was the son of Guba Oala and Boio Gogobe. They gave us this boy because Guba was a brother⁵⁵ of Goka, and he never minded about the boy. We adopted him with tin-milk until he grew up as a youth and died.

The third one was the son of the same man and woman. This boy, named Oala Guba, was sent to me by his father to substitute Lohia Guba. I kept him until I bought a woman for his wife. He had two female children by her, but he also died. The names of his children are Goka Oala and Vani Oala [see Plate II, B]. They are living with me.

The fourth one, Mataio Kone, was the son of Kone Udia of Kilakila. This boy was given from charity. So I adopted him with the cow's milk until he was a big boy. And I wanted to put him in the school, but he died.

The fifth one, Oa Siala, was the son of Siala Veau, of Diumana (Nara). He was a chief of the end village of Diumana; also the Village Constable of that village. This man had a bad sickness and sent me a message in which he said, "I want you to come and take me to live with you until my end. And I want you to bury me at Poreporena and take this boy for your own. When he grows up he will take your place because you have no children". Therefore I sent a canoe to Nara and fetched the sick man Siala Veau, his wife, and the son Oa Siala. They lived with me until the end of the man, and we buried him here. His wish was fulfilled. His widow lived with me and I took off her death mourning⁵⁶ for her husband and sent her back to her home village. But I kept Oa Siala as my son, as his father had promised. I bought him a wife with 51 riches [ornaments].

The sixth was Kabua Vagi. His mother, Heni Maku, was married in Tupuseleia and had three male children, and she died. After her death my wife Goka and I went to Tupuseleia, and the two elder brothers gave this boy to my wife as payment for their mother's death⁵⁷. We brought him here and adopted him until now he has grown up as a man.

So both of them, Oa Siala and Kabua Vagi, are like my sons. And I am trying to get a woman for Kabua, and he and Oa Siala will live in my house and when I die they will look after these two girls Goka Oala and Vani Oala⁵⁸. These girls are now at the school of Roman Catholic, and when I die they will not be forgotten from my property, i.e., the lands cultivated with coco-nuts, mangrove trees, etc. They must have a share of them.

CHIEFTAINSHIP

After the death of my uncle Taubada Oa's two wives, he told me to take his place as a chief⁵⁹. And he instructed me to do just the same as he did, to respect⁶⁰ the people and to speak about making the gardens. He also said that I must not go out for fishing or hunting very often, but to do my very best in making a garden⁶¹. And he did not

want me to have bad manners⁶². He said if I did the same things as I did when I was a boy, the power of my chief would be useless. Taubada Oa also told me that I must not tell lies to anybody, and not to go after the stranger women. If I did I would get into trouble and spoil my name. He taught me all about making gardens and hunting, and how to prepare the feasts. All the chiefs in other villages are liking me very much and respect my name. I kept all Taubada Oa's instructions, and he was satisfied with all my ideas. All his works and ideas have been broken [surpassed] by mine, because my name is higher than his.

My father Ova Geita's place was taken by Rabura as a chief. But now Rabura is dead, and I took that position over too⁶³. At present I hold two positions [i.e., in Kilakila and in Hohodae]. The position I got from my father [in Kilakila] is a Chief of Olden Time and for the Peace; that which I got from Taubada [in Hohodae] is only a Chief of Fighting⁶⁴.

The proper chief belonging to Hohodae has no descendants now. Some of the chiefs are only for the gardens, or strong-arm chiefs. [Ahuia here gives a list of the succession of "proper chiefs" in Hohodae: Abau Vani, who begot Erogo Abau, who begot Vani Erogo, who begot Egahu Vani (all of Taurama *iduhu*). Egahu Vani, however, never married.] This was because his leg was bitten by the Koiaris' dogs and made a big sore; so he became a cripple-leg then and had no children. [Since Egahu Vani had no issue, the ascendancy in Hohodae passed to Oa Abau, son of the warrior immigrant from Nara (see section on Maternal Ancestors, above) who had joined Dubara *iduhu*, and passed to his son Taubada Oa.]

HUNTING

The names hereunder were the friends of mine. They always accompanied me on fishing, hunting, and gardening, etc. Avaka Rohi, Kora Maraga, and Hera Mamaga, and Kabua Iaru (all deceased). We had a very good company⁶⁵.

One time we all went for hunting, and Avaka shot one wild pig, and he was very frightened of it. And there were also some Kuriu champion catchers of pigs; they were all afraid and stood near the trees and hid from being seen by the pig. When I arrived at the place I caught the pig with my *koda* (pig-catcher)⁶⁶, and fought with it till it had bitten my *koda* in little pieces. But I was strong and caught it by the ears, and killed it. Everybody gathered together at the scene and looked at the pig and they also looked at me. And they all said, "This is a very big pig which was caught by this boy without wounding him". And others said, "Because he is a very strong boy, so the pig could not wound him". . . .

One day I accompanied Governor Barton to Mr. Weaver's⁶⁷ place at Laloki. Mr. Weaver asked the Governor, "Is there anyone in Hanuabada who knows how to catch the pigs?" The Governor introduced me to him, and he said, "There is a very big pig that always destroys my fence and damages all my plants. Therefore I have invited the Kuriu people to come here. A man named Goata caught it, but he was wounded by the

pig and was carried back by his mates to his home. This pig is still round my place". [Mr. Weaver then tells how two other men have tried and met with the same ill-success, and continues.] "Three men have been wounded by this pig, so I want a strong man to catch it". The Governor said, "Here is a strong man, so you have to call him and he will catch it. And if he also is not strong enough, you will then call someone else".

And one day Garia Vagi, Kabua Iaru, and Ahuia Abau and myself led three dogs to Mr. Weaver's house. When we arrived he fed us first, and about two hours later we all went to the scrub outside the garden, and the dogs found the pig and Mr. Weaver shot it with No. 1 shot. But he did not kill it. The pig had wounded two of our big dogs, and fell on the ground. Only a small dog was barking at it until I arrived.

I got hold of it with my pig-catcher, and Garia helped me to kill it. Mr. Weaver arrived at the scene and asked, "Who got this pig?" He was then exalted about me and said, "That Governor was telling the truth. Now I know that you are the champion pig-catcher". I was led away by Mr. Weaver to his garden, and he gave me a big bunch of bananas and I carried it to the boys. And we burned off the pig's hair and cut it up, and I asked him, "What part do you want me to give you?" He replied, "I am only myself alone and I want a little bit, enough for dog and self". And I gave him a little bit. The rest was carried to the village. Next morning I went and told the Governor about it. And he praised me very much because his word was fulfilled by me.

[Ahuia describes another encounter with a pig, at some length. He had wounded and followed it, when it turned and attacked him.] When the pig saw me it grew angry and I thought, "Shall I shoot it again, or not?" But I had not time, because it came suddenly to me. I got hold of it and fought for about two hours, and afterwards I pushed it to the foot of the hill, and one of the pig's feet was put in through the catcher, and so I pushed it over and sat on it. Before the pig's arrival I had first cut a stick and sharpened the point and put it in my belt. When I was doing this the pig came and I had not got time to put the pocket knife back, so I put it in my mouth and held the pig. There was nobody near me, only myself.

All Hohodae people are not strong enough to get the pigs. Only a few of them know a little bit about getting them. But I am champion, and Garia Vagi is next to me. When chasing the pigs or wallabies no one will beat me, because I have chased and caught plenty of wallabies without spearing them. The number of wild pigs I have caught is 136⁶⁸.

[The next episode in the hunting reminiscences concerns a quarrel between Hohodae and Kuriu. Following a grass-burning, Ahuia's dog had caught eight wallabies, all of which he gave to his brothers-in-law (i.e., Gari's brothers). On the way home, he and one Hera Maraga had met a Kuriu man, who asked them to spear a wallaby which he had seen sitting in the grass. Hera Maraga succeeded in spearing it, and then he and Ahuia appropriated it. But the Kuriu man considered that it was his.] That man was very wild, and he went and told all his people, and they waited for us on the road. All my brothers-in-law heard this, and said, "If you people fight with our brother-in-law, we will go for you too". So they (the Kuriu people) were afraid.

[Next morning they waited for the Hohodae people at another place, and there was much argument and brandishing of spears, but no casualties. When it was all over the Kuriu men spoke.] “Sometime we will snatch one wallaby from you people ; then this trouble will be stopped ”⁶⁹. [They eventually did so and therewith the episode closes.]

[Ahuia was once sent as Village Constable to arrest two boys of Papa for stealing bananas from a garden.] The people of these two boys were angry with me. They said, “Why does he come and arrest our pig-getters ? Does *he* know how to get pigs ? ” And one of my uncles, who was a teacher in that village, heard them talking about me, and he was very upset and wrote a letter to me and invited me to go to Papa and have a race in hunting with them. [Ahuia says that he had no time then, but in 1922 (some 15 years later) he went with all his boys to Papa. More than six villages then combined in a reed-gathering and hunting expedition inland of Papa.] In that time I won and defeated all the villages by getting four pigs. The Papa people tried me⁷⁰ in chasing the pigs, but could not do anything ; so in that time I showed them my appearances.

‘ DUBU ’ AND ‘ TABU ’ FEASTS

[Ahuia made a *tabu* feast⁷¹ many years ago, with the support of Garia Vagi of Taurama *iduhu*, Hohodae. The platform used for the display of the feast was not a proper *dubu*, but made of mangrove saplings.]

When I travelled about with the Governor and he saw the *dubu* in Sinaugolo villages, he said, “Why don’t you make one like these ? ” I kept this in mind. When I wanted to make a proper *dubu*, all Hohodae refused me. Avaka Rohi and myself started one. I was on the right side, he was on the left. We both helped together until the work was completed. In that year I got 2,600 yams, and Avaka got about 1,000 yams. So when all the people heard that we both found plenty of yams, they all gathered together and came to help us. In this feast the Governor gave a large pig for his help in the feast ; the Government Secretary gave me a bag of rice ; and T. Ryan helped me with one sheep. They gave me these because they were all my friends.

The yams, bananas, and sugar-cane are the things we really like. But nowadays the Europeans brought us melons, pumpkins, manioc, etc. They are not accounted by us. We say that they are only for food-stuffs⁷².

The reason for quarrelling between Garia Vagi and myself : Garia got 1,000 yams in 1931 and he thought he was going to make a *tabu*, but he never told me anything about it. I lived with quiet ; then one day Charlie Hedu came up to me and said, “What do you think ? ” And I said, “What is it ? ” and he said to me, “I want you to help me by renewal of your *dubu* ”⁷³. I replied, “Good, I will do according to your willing”. When Garia heard this he was very upset about it, because he thought that I should help him. So he came and started the quarrel with me.

Afterwards Garia hired Oala’s lorry⁷⁴ and went to Laloki and took 200 coco-nuts from my property without my permission. I was then very upset about it. So the

Resident Magistrate told me to sue Garia in Court if I wanted. But I declined to take any proceeding against him because I knew if I did so he would be getting into a big trouble. We both hated each other for two consecutive years.

At one time I wanted pacifying with him in front of the people of Poreporena, Elevala and Tanaubada. The Resident Magistrate also invited us to pacify. I stood up in front of the people and made a speech. I said, "I wish that we must pacify in front of the people". But Garia Vagi stood up and said to the Resident Magistrate, "No, I do not want to pacify with him today". And all the people then went away.

Until in the year 1932 we went to Laloki and worked there. Garia had killed a wild boar, and he brought one of the legs to me and gave to me. We both then talked together.

He had said in front of the people that we should pacify by means of gifts, and this was not fulfilled. When I spoke in front of the people that we should pacify for nothing [i.e., without exchange of gifts], he said that was not the custom. We must pacify by gifts, because olden people did so. I told him that we must pacify in the name of God, because all the riches in the world are not valuable, but the peace of the Lord God is the only big thing⁷⁵. Afterwards he pacified according to my willing. On account of that he built a new *dubu* and called it by the same name as mine, 'Gaibu Dubu'.

SPIRITUAL ADVENTURES

One female god,⁷⁶ named Ibuna Vavine, lived in the bush at Koma. In the olden time she dwelt in the big tree [of the kind] called *irimo* as her house. She started the song of *Mada*. She also taught the people this very song. That is how this song is sung by the people.

One time I was very ill and likely to die, and I was carried to Garia Vagi's grass house and the people watched me there. One night Ibuna came and lifted me up. She wanted to take me to her place at Koma. The house where I slept had a partition erected. But when she took me and flew with me outside, it seemed there was no partition in the house; and I was not heavy. When she and I were between the grass and the iron house the watchers all woke up, because Garia Vagi's wife was not asleep. She woke them up. By this time Ibuna was frightened and threw me down on the verandah, and I hurt my chest and forehead because there were hardwoods spreading on the verandah. But no marks were found on my body. I saw this woman. Her skin was very white, like a white woman's, and her hair was very long and fair⁷⁷.

The story of the serpent seen by me: I saw a big serpent at "12 Mile". I was sent to Sogeri by Mr. Br——, and I took three boys and three rifles with me. I was sent there because some blame was brought before the Government by Mr. G——. He said the bush people were continually troubling his place. So I was instructed by the Resident Magistrate to take the boys and go there. We stayed three weeks, and then Mr. Br—— heard that Mr. G—— was telling a lie, so he called us back. On our way we called at a little village situated on the main road. They gave us a feed, and collected some spears for us. We tied them in a bundle to be carried by the boys, and left about 5 p.m.

When we were at " 14 Mile " the sun was over, and we walked in a dark night and came to a place called Meika, at " 12 Mile ", where we met a serpent. I was in the lead and I did not see the serpent. Its head was raised up and I struck my forehead with its head. I knew that was a main road and nothing should be on it. But I felt, and walked backward ; and the three boys walked backward too. And I took the box of matches out of my pocket and struck one, and I saw the serpent lying on the road. Our way was closed : we had no way to pass it. I took the bundle of spears and threw them. But not one hit it. If it had been something else the spears would have struck. But that was a *tabu*⁷⁸, so none of the spears would strike it at all. And it did not move. After that moment I understood, and I told the boys to burn the grass to frighten it. But it was not afraid and did not move about. And I spoke to it and said, " Oh, will you please to move and give us understanding of you. Because we were out of understanding at first when we threw the spears at you ". When the tongues of fire came upon it, it did not move at all. But when I gave it these words, then it moved on.

We stood nearby and waited until its tail passed by. We felt weary and tired. The noise of its crawling down was like a wind. We were afraid of it and left all the spears, and rode on the horses⁷⁹ and came to Kourabada village and slept there until morning. Then we led the two horses and came to Government House. But I didn't report to my master about the snake, so they never knew. Only we ourselves know that this happened.

One time I went to the Laloki with my mates for hunting with our dogs. We camped for the night at Kerea Vaga, and in the morning led all the dogs up a hill called Rauta-Tabu. We wanted to go over the other side for hunting. As we climbed up the hillside we came on some big rocks, perhaps the home of the serpent. We wanted to pass those stones, not too near, about 12 yards distant. As we walked up we came to a middle part of the serpent, and stepped down to the edge of the scrub and walked a bit further, and climbed up again and came to its middle part again. [They retreated and tried again, each time moving further out, and only on the fourth attempt succeeded in clearing the snake's tail⁸⁰.]

I understand that was not an ordinary snake. That was a *tabu*. Its name was Rauta Tabu. . . . It was our fault. The evening before we had been yarning, and said we would climb over the hill of Rauta Tabu and hunt on the other side. So the serpent heard us saying this and closed our goings. This is what all *tabu* do. They must not show themselves. But if the people yarn about their hunting in the evening, it will hear all they say and close their way, and it will then be seen. So if we want to go anywhere we must talk about it during the day-time. That is all right ; no trouble whatsoever about it. The *tabu* do not crawl about by day, but during the night they crawl everywhere. Because they are not like other things. They can hear all our argument in the night. Even in the hidden places they can hear, and will close our goings.

During the year 1911 I was asked by the Governor to make one cane suspension-bridge at Laloki, just for trial. So some friends of mine and myself went to Laloki to

do this work. One morning while I was there, I got up to hunt in the Koma bush. I went right into the bush and saw a pig come to me. And I stooped down and waited for it. It walked right close to me ; I could put my hand on it. I got ready and aimed my gun at it and shot it. And it was then lost. It never ran at all, but was just lost [disappeared].

I stood alone, and made up my mind to return to camp. And on my arrival they all asked "Where is the thing for your firing ?" And I replied, "The thing for my firing was a pig : its body nice and fat and smooth, and it looked not like a village pig". But it was a pig which belonged to the gods [spirits]. When the night came we all slept, and my grandfather, Oa Abau, came to me and dreamed me⁸¹ and said, "Why did you go and shoot our pig this morning ? Don't you know that it saw you and came to you, and you shot the poor pig ? But don't be afraid, as it won't die. Your grandmother carried it up on the verandah with weeping and poured hot water on the wounded shots". And I replied to him that I did not know ; I thought it was a wild pig and shot it. He also said, "You hear this. The name of the pig is Moro Nimu. When you find a pig, just call it Moro Nimu"⁸². I then woke up. I knew that I had been dreamed by the gods (the spirits of dead men). And I told my wife Goka and the people who were in the camp about the dream, and they were all surprised at it. . . .

Another dream is this. Once I went out to hunt and slept out there. And my adopted son named Mataio, a dead boy, appeared to me while sleeping. He said to me, "Oh, my father, I am very sorry for you⁸³. So I want to tell you something, and you have to pay heed to it. Tomorrow, when the grass is going to be burnt, you will shoot two pigs". And I woke up and thought that was only a night's dream, and I never trusted it. In the morning we went and burnt the grass. Then I shot two pigs and four wallabies. Therefore my dream was fulfilled.

DREAMS

In the year 1914 I was a Court Interpreter. I had a dream one night that a big wave floated up higher than Paga Hill and broke upon Port Moresby township. The town was in this wave. In the morning I woke up and thought what should be the meaning of this dream, or what should happen. About two days over, the news was heard that Germans and English were met. I was told that a big war is now starting. I knew that is the meaning of the dream I dreamed.

One night I dreamed I saw plenty of fish in the sea, all dead. I woke up and thought, "What is the meaning of the dream ?" While I was thinking of it, a dreadful sickness was epidemic through all the village and plenty of people were dead.

Sometimes I stayed myself alone at home and thought of tomorrow's hunting. And if I dreamed at night that I met our Governor and had talk with him, and in the morning went out to hunt, I caught pigs. Because he is a chief, and when I see his face in my dreams that is a sign of good luck.

[Various general interpretations of dreams follow. If a man dreams he meets some men wearing cassowary feathers, he will kill a pig in hunting ; if of seeing plenty of bananas and betel-nuts, he will kill plenty of wallabies or catch many fish ; if of a big flood, it means fighting. If he dreams that the *lakatoi* have reached home with plenty of sago, coco-nuts, and betel-nuts, he will know that his garden will be productive, and similarly if he dreams of a swamp with many crocodiles, or a hill covered with stones. To dream of a canoe sunk or capsized, or of a house in process of building, is a sign of death.] If someone dreams that somebody is taking some fun and laughing, that is also a sign for death, because that laughing is reversing to cry. And if you dream that someone is crying, that is reversing to good ; the good fortune will soon arrive.

If someone dreams of eating meals of bananas or sago in his house, and does not gather the people to worship the dead spirits, then this makes the dead spirits upset, and the gardens will be burnt up as by fire. So when a man has this dream he must tell it out at once. If he has a pig to kill, he must get bananas from the gardens and cut up the pig and cook it with the bananas. Then he invites all the big men and all the heads of clans [*iduhu*] to eat the food. When this has been done, the garden restores its strength again⁸⁴. . . .

The same sort of thing happens in the fighting or quarrelling. When two men are quarrelling with each other, the dead spirits help one of them and are against the other. Nothing will happen freely, by itself, because in the country of Papua fashions of this sort began in the midst of the people. Therefore all our gardening, hunting, and fishing are sacred⁸⁵. If the garden is made with sacred, that garden will produce plenty : and if without sacred, that garden will get nothing. Both the fishing and hunting are in the same way. Because the olden people of our country began these things, so we are quite accustomed to them. Therefore some of the people are wanting to do the old customs, thinking they are very good ; and some of the people are saying that they wanted to use everything from the new customs, thinking they will be all right. But the man who is well accustomed to the old customs wants them badly. So this makes the people doubtful. I myself think the olden customs are fitting for the Papuan people and for their benefit, because some of them have tried to copy the new fashions but do not make them the same. At one time our Big Governor said, " You must do everything from your old customs⁸⁶, so they will fit you. You may try to copy us, but you cannot be the same ".

OPINIONS ON 'SORCERY'

About the Sorcerers⁸⁷. I have looked upon all the male and female sorcerers and this is what I have found. They say by themselves that the dead spirits come upon them and twist their hairs⁸⁸. The sorcerers say that the appearances of the dead are like the living people ; but an ordinary man cannot see the dead body.

I think that some sorcerers were doing right [genuine], and I have a little faith in their works. But most of them I am not believing, because they [simply] heard that

the others were doing good, so they wanted to become sorcerers themselves and [go in for] bluffing. They try to make the people believe them, and say that they are true sorcerers, so that they may get plenty of things in payment. That's what they want it for.

One Baruni woman named Vaveri was a sorceress. Every night she told the people in the house not to light the fire, because Iori Gara will meet her and have a word with her. So the fire was put out, except for one stick which was kept burning. And they all waited till about 8 o'clock. Then she [Iori Gara] arrived with screaming, yelling, and laughing and asked for a smoke, and they gave her a smoke. A few times I myself made a smoke [cigarette] for her. When I made a smoke and gave it to her in the dark, she said, "Will you touch me?" And I touched her fingers. I did not quite understand, is that her (Iori Gara) or that woman (Vaveri)? But I knew it was Vaveri because, when she sang the songs, the voice was hers. I don't believe Iori Gara, because one day she told me, "Tomorrow you will go hunting and you will spear a pig and catch it". So I thought that would be so. But while hunting we killed plenty of wallabies, but of the pig which she mentioned we saw nothing at all. Iori Gara said, in front of the people, that her home was on Buria Hill between Lealea and Kido. I never saw her body, only just touched her hands⁸⁹.

Many years ago my wife Goka was very ill, and one sorceress of Elevala came and asked me and said, "Is your wife sick?" I said, "Yes". And she said, "I will try and make her better". I said, "Good. Do it just as you please yourself". She then said, "I will just go into the bush and get some medicines". She went out and I was making a plan to catch her. I went to the house of one of my friends and walked in and sat down, and I looked from the window to watch the work of the sorceress. When she was in the bush she chewed some leaves of weed in her mouth and then came out and sucked pains from the sick woman's body, and spat into a coco-nut shell and walked out to the verandah and ate it again. And she went in again and tried another suck and came out on the verandah and did the same as at first. I kept on watching and then left for my house. When I walked up into the house I did not make any talk, but just had a smoke with her, and she then left me and went to her village. This is the woman who was gaoled by Mr. B—— once for doing that. But she never stopped doing it, and that day I could have reported her⁹⁰. But I thought, she is a very old woman, therefore I had pity on her and did not make any report; and also I did not pay her anything.

When I was acting as an interpreter I was given twelve months' leave, and I went to Kerema by a cutter and there I made a small *lakatoi*. And in that time I got a very big sickness, and some Elema sorcerers treated me by rubbing. This is the way they did it. They smelled my body with some short strings in their mouths, and then coughed and pulled the short strings out of their mouths. Those who were ignorant thought that those were snakes (or earthworms); but the men were bluffing. In that time I found out the Elema sorcerers; but I was not angry with them, and I did not pay them anything.

There were about three who tried on me. Therefore this is what I am saying, that the sorcerers are lying ; they are not fully in truth⁹¹.

VICISSITUDES IN CHRISTIANITY

[Ahuia begins this chapter with a hearsay account of the coming of the first missionaries, a number of South Sea Islanders under Rua Toka, to Port Moresby. They had been established by the London Missionary Society at Varivara, some distance to the North, but had moved down and settled at Hanuabada, where they were well received. Later on, when Dr. Lawes was already at Port Moresby, Ahuia saw the men lined up before his house at the Declaration of the Protectorate, but he remembers very little of that occasion⁹².]

[Next he tells of an incident which occurred at a subsequent visit of "a man-wars boat". A foreigner, Jim Malay, resident in Hanuabada, had quarrelled with a sailor and knocked him down, whereupon he was laid hold of by the "man-wars".] They took him to the back of the church and tied him against a big tree, and the poor man was covered by the ants (*birairo*). When he was covered by the ants he cried and said, "Oh Charlie (?), come and untie the rope!" This is what he said in his crying. But they were waiting until the given time was up ; then they untied the rope. I was a boy and went with the people and saw this clearly, and heard him crying⁹³.

[Next Ahuia tells how when grown to manhood he married Gari Rei, and, being a Christian, was married by Dr. Lawes in the church. Then he reverts to the case of Goka, seeking once more to justify himself.] This Goka belonged to another man. But her husband was always too jealous on me, and beat her all the time. She said, "I do not know about this man ; but you are giving him to me yourself all the time. My skin is badly paining. So, very good, you give me to that man. I will go and marry him, then afterwards you will know". I did not know about her, but on account of the man's jealousy and his talking about me to her, that made me to intending to go for Goka. And I went with wise men until we came to court, and I won the case and married her.

[Hereupon, it appears, Ahuia was dismissed from Church membership, and ceased for the time being his attendance at divine service.] Once when I was at home T—— M—— visited me. He walked into my house and said, "The peace of the Lord God is come to your house"⁹⁴. I replied, "Very Good". I was very glad, because for a long time I was out from Christian on account of my marriage to Goka⁹⁵. [Ahuia now resumes his attendance at church, though still debarred from communion.] But afterwards all the deacons and Christians were grumbling about me. They were saying that the men who have double wives are not to go into the church. But when I heard this I never stopped going to church.

One evening I was invited by Mr. Clark, and I went to him and he said, "You must not be moving about (bothered) until one of your wives' end. Then you will join the church"⁹⁶. And I replied, "Good". And I lived with good and also went to church.

with strong, and I preached in village too. Before Mr. and Mrs. Clark went for leave in England, he heard that I had been preaching in the village. He was very pleased and wanted me with all his means.

After they had left for England on their furlough, the complaints of the deacons were heard by the teacher named P——. When he heard these nonsenses, he preached about them at one Sunday afternoon service. This is what he said, "Don't you all know a man named Abraham? Has he married double wives, or not? We all read the Book and we all know it very well. And how is that?"⁹⁷ I was reminded by his preaching and I knew it was about me.

I was living under care of T—— M——, because he was a best friend of mine. And afterwards T—— M—— said to me, "This is the best way for you to do, to bring out all your dancing ornaments and other adornment things and burn them off". Therefore I brought out my head-dress and other dancing adornments and heaped them up on the beach and I instructed the boys to burn them up. They were all properly burnt off⁹⁸.

One day, later on, Judge Herbert came to me, and he walked into my house because he wanted to see that head-dress. He asked my wife, "I want to see the head-dress". And my wife Goka answered to him, "T—— M—— has ordered this man to burn up the head-dress and the other dancing adornments, and nothing has been kept back at all". When the Judge heard this talk made to him by my wife, he grew angry on me for as much as six months' time. But afterwards his anger went away, and we had a proper talk together.

When I was living at home sometime I had a misfortune: I had a big sickness. This was after Mr. and Mrs. Clark left for England, on their leave. I nearly died. And at that time some of the deacons came to see me, and went back and told some of their male friends, "That man's head is bad". And the words came to me, and I was very upset.

When Mr. Clark was in London he praised my name in front of many people. He did not know that after he was gone the deacons said my head was bad, and that I was angry and that I made a dance⁹⁹. This dance feast was for the 'dead bone' of my adopted son named Mataio (Motu call this *mase-turiana*; in Koita it is *ita*)¹⁰⁰.

When Mr. and Mrs. Clark returned here they also heard this, and they came to me and wanted to persuade me to return to church. They said, "Will you come to church?" And I replied to them, "Wait awhile. I must prepare my heart"¹⁰¹. But they came to me all the time, and kept on persuading me. And I told them that I had not been going to church at all; but my mind was waking continually and not sleeping at all. Of course my body was dancing and making a feast in the village. I told them this, and his wife said to him, "Now you hear what he says. Do you think he is out of his mind? You have been giving him too much talking". We had a very long talk that day, and they left me. So from that day they never visited me for some time.

Some time afterward the Catholic Mission came to me, and they took my two grand-daughters¹⁰². And therefore my mind was very doubtful. And some time after that

the Governor brought his wife, and both came up to my house. It was on one Saturday afternoon; I had invited them to come. We had a good talk in the house, and the Governor saw my two grand-daughters, and he asked me, "Who do these two girls belong to?" And I replied to him and said, "They are the daughters of my adopted son Oala. Their father died and I took them as my adopted grand-daughters, and they have now been taken by the Catholic Mission and put in their school". And the Governor said, "Why is that? They must not go unless you tell them to go, because you are their guardian". And also I told him that this makes me of a doubtful mind: should I go to the L.M.S. or to the Catholic on account of these girls? And the Governor answered to me and said, "You are doubting about going to one side or the other. They are just the same. So don't be afraid about it. Just stay on. They will not kill you for staying as you are. Just please yourself". So I am now living as the Governor told me.

Therefore the Catholic Mission have now baptised these two girls Goka Oala and Vani Oala, and put them in the school. They go to their school continually; but sometimes when we happen to be at Laloki for gardening we take them with us and spend one month, three weeks, or sometimes two weeks time, because we got a permission from Father for this purpose.

But my mind cannot be changed. I do not mind being put off from the church for my trouble sake. But my mind is still believing the Lord God and cannot be removed from him. The man who baptised me was Dr. Lawes, and while I am living at present I must believe both religions, L.M.S. and Catholic—not only one religion but two of them. It is because I understand that they are working for one God. One is not working for one God and one for another. Of course they have different religions, but they are for one God.

III. NOTES

By F. E. WILLIAMS

¹ The fantastic tale which follows has obviously nothing to do with the life of Ahuia, but he thought it important, being as proud of his connection with Babaga through his father as he is of his descent from Nara through his mother. Asked whether he really believed that these things had happened, he replied with characteristic gravity that it was "a very true story".

² The grass skirt (*rami*) consists of a great number of strands attached to a string round the waist. It is tied over the right thigh, which is thus sometimes more or less exposed in walking. Hence the shift to the other side of the road to get a favourable view on the women's return.

³ i.e., whether it is good or bad, seemly or unseemly.

⁴ *Hanua lohia*. Ahuia is no doubt telling the story in terms of Koita-Motu chieftainship, with which he is familiar. There may have been a *hanua* (village) *lohia* in Verairubu. If so, he was probably the *lohia* of one of the component units of village society, who had established an ascendancy over the whole community. There have often been individuals in the large village of Poreporena who were, so to speak, *hanua lohia*, but such a position was not a recognised feature of the political system. It was due largely to personal qualifications, and while a man might succeed to the ascendancy which his father had gained, his influence tended to fade until the normal condition was re-established, i.e., one in which there were a number of independent *iduhu* (clans), each with its own *lohia*. The Motu word *lohia* corresponds with the Koita *rohi*. For *iduhu* see Seligman (1910, pp. 49 ff.).

⁵ There was always some possibility that strife would develop at a feast, to which the guests came in force and fully armed, and the hosts, while making presents of food, would indulge in boasting and sometimes in tribal 'personalities'. There are other, more authentic, cases, parallel to this legendary one, where an attack on a body of guests has been deliberately planned. See also p. 16.

⁶ It is far from certain that the 'chief' would in fact have killed his son if he had disobeyed, or bungled his work. Native informants are fond of saying that in the olden days a man who disobeyed his 'chief', or broke a *tabu*, or something of the sort, would be killed, and ethnographers appear often to have taken this sort of statement at its face value. But if informants are asked for historical instances, they are usually at a loss to give them.

⁷ Ahuia could not explain the meaning of the word *tobe*. He said it belonged to the Rigo language, which he did not know. It is possibly the equivalent of the Motu *tobi*, a sort of short-lived monument for a deceased man, consisting of some of his belongings (such as his string bag, etc.), usually set up on his verandah. See Seligman (1910, pp. 160-1).

⁸ A *koge* is a house *dubu* with a roof rising to a high pinnacle (Seligman 1910, p. 20). This form of *dubu* was an importation in the Port Moresby district. None exists there now. As Geita Hari's descendant, Ahuia says he belongs to *Koge iduhu* (named from this *koge* which his grandfather built). He has, however, been virtually absorbed into the *iduhu* of Dubara, in Hohodae.

⁹ The particulars which Ahuia gives of the wanderings of his paternal (as well as of his maternal) relatives would be too boring to repeat; but the way in which they settled, here, there, and everywhere, shows how immigration has played a part in the constitution of the social group. Although nominally dependent on patrilineal descent for its membership, almost any *iduhu* will be found, on enquiry, to be a highly composite unit.

¹⁰ Ahuia is better acquainted with his maternal than with his paternal pedigree, for his father died when he was young and he was virtually adopted by his mother's brother.

¹¹ *Kama* apparently resembles a title given to a distinguished man. Ahuia, probably with the analogy of the Lieutenant-Governor's title in his mind, suggested that it was equivalent to "Sir Abau".

¹² Cf. Note 5.

¹³ Ahuia's tales concerning his maternal ancestry seem more credible than those concerning his father's people. The episode of Oa Kelebu is an extreme example of the self-castigation practised when suffering from a sense of bereavement or injury.

¹⁴ These are of course very round figures. The Nara people have apparently been much reduced, and the district is now very sparsely populated.

¹⁵ The fugitive was a Motuan or Koitapuan, who happened to be living among the Kabadi people. Thus he really belonged to a people who were friendly with the Nara. I doubt whether the tale is told to illustrate Abau Kama's clemency. It is probably no more than a historical incident which Ahuia thinks interesting.

¹⁶ The warrior shouts his name in triumph, just as the hunter does when he spears a pig. This may not seem a very creditable 'kill' to us, but to Ahuia it is an instance of his ancestor's prowess.

¹⁷ While his name may be somewhat magnified by an historian who happens to be his great-grandson, Abau Kama was no doubt a big man among the Nara. Yet it is unlikely that he summoned his people together and issued orders like a general. Such strategic decisions as the one referred to here were probably reached after a good deal of democratic discussion and argument; moreover, in the thick of the fray there was never anything like a single command, which is confirmed by the fact that in the two previously narrated episodes Abau Kama is found dealing with isolated fugitives, the 'commander' being therefore apparently out of touch with his forces. The account of his great-grandfather as chief no doubt owes something to Ahuia's experience of governmental authority, as well as family pride.

¹⁸ Here followed a list of a number of Nara families, scattered from Manumanu to Poreporena.

¹⁹ Dubara is the *iduhu* at the extreme southern end of the village of Hohodae, which itself lies at the southern end of the whole village-group of Poreporena. It is a small *iduhu* of a composite character. All its members are Koitapuan. Abau Rohi, the immigrant, married a Dubara woman, and apparently gained considerable influence in Hohodae. At any rate his son, Oa Abau, was said by Ahuia to have become 'chief' of the whole village of Hohodae.

²⁰ Ahuia writes *lohia*; the translator means by 'high man' one of high renown, or good name.

²¹ 'Wrong' is another free translation. Ahuia's word is *dagedage*, 'fierce' or 'bad-tempered'. These quarrels, which seem to be the most outstanding memory of Ahuia's village boyhood, illustrate two conflicting social norms. It is 'right' to get your own back on one who has hurt you; but at the same time one should keep the peace. Quarrelsomeness is deprecated, and regarded as unbecoming to a good citizen, especially to one who has pretensions to the title of *lohia*. Ahuia said that, had he been a good boy, he would have run to tell his father and mother instead of retaliating, and in due course the culprit would have been dealt with by his own father.

²² The game consisted in throwing a coco-nut husk into the air for the players to aim their darts at. Ahuia's father lay on the verandah, with his chin on his arms, looking on.

²³ Ahuia's recollections of his father, Ova Geita, seem to be mostly of a stern and irritable parent. He spent his childhood largely in his father's village of Kilakila, but partly in that of his mother, Hohodae. His mother, Diara, was one of Ova Geita's six wives (Ahuia declares that they were all contemporaneous), so it is hardly surprising that she should have been allowed to live part of her time in her own village. On Ova Geita's death, the little boy Ahuia was adopted by his mother's brother, Taubada Oa.

²⁴ Gorobe is a nearby Koita village. Both Koita and Motu lived in perpetual, and somewhat unnecessary, dread of the inland Koiari. Any party of these would be taken for raiders, or *rada* men, i.e., marauding sorcerers.

²⁵ The rescuer was one of Ahuia's maternal uncles from Hohodae. The father gave the "strong talk" to the mother because she was not looking after the child.

²⁶ Papuan servants are comparatively honest. The dodge of tempting a boy to test his honesty is of course known, but it seems unlikely that Ahuia's employers tried it many times, if at all.

²⁷ *Taubada* means 'European master' (lit. 'an elder').

²⁸ See Seligman (1910, Ch. VIII).

²⁹ Ahuia says that he has sampled whisky, brandy, and beer, given him by one of his employers. This is a risky piece of fun on the latter's part, since to give liquor to natives in Papua is a serious offence.

³⁰ With a little prompting, Ahuia was able to remember further details of his trip to Cooktown. He was taken over on a schooner called *Hygiea* (?), under a Captain Thompson, who had a mark on his neck where he was alleged to have been wounded by a native in an affray at Cloudy Bay. In Cooktown he was impressed by the "electric lights"; he saw a man doing guard on a war-boat, with a bandolier and rifle; he went on board the *Paloma*, a submarine (?), and the *Lucinda*, which he says was the yacht of the Governor at Brisbane and was propelled by wheels; he went out with some white boys shooting birds with rubber catapults, and "shot half a dozen"; he saw a black fellows' camp where there were no houses, but only lean-to's, and he was amazed by their spear throwing (with spear-throwers), which no New Guinea man, he says, could equal.

³¹ Ahuia is, of course, ignorant of his age, and it cannot be determined accurately. He was a young boy when the Protectorate was declared in 1884. He was probably born about 1877.

³² C. S. Robinson was then Acting Administrator (July, 1903–June, 1904).

³³ This seems rather a 'come-down' from a financial point of view. But natives will often show a delightful disregard for this aspect of employment, when they are tempted by congenial work.

³⁴ Ahuia has recalled only these few spectacular incidents in his official career, but of course the Village Constable's work consists of more than making arrests. He is the intermediary between magistrate and people, and has many duties of a routine nature.

³⁵ Poreporena is the name used by the London Missionary Society for the whole village-group which includes Hohodae (Koita), Hanuabada (Motu), Tanobada (Koita-Motu), Kuriu (Koita), and Elevala (Motu). In popular usage Hanuabada, rather than Poreporena, is the inclusive term.

³⁶ See Seligman (1910, pp. 60-65).

³⁷ Ahuia's *dubu* in Hohodae has seen three *tabu* feasts, having been more or less repaired for the later ones. Two other fine *dubu* have sprung up within the last five or six years; there has been something of a renaissance. They are in the southern half of Poreporena. The northern half is more or less thoroughly christianised, and the local mission still sets its face against the dance.

³⁸ Goka had been married to Arua Ganiga. Ahuia declares that the husband's jealousy was groundless, and arose merely from the fact that Ahuia was "very strong at fishing, etc.". Arua used to "talk strong" to him, hence his shame. Whether Ahuia was quite so innocent is open to doubt. In the "case" to which he refers, he was tried for adultery and acquitted. But the case was significant enough to find its way into the evidence presented to the Royal Commission of Inquiry in Papua in 1906. It was alleged that Ahuia had intimidated the witnesses against him before his trial. Some light is thrown upon the transaction by Ahuia's statement that a previous wife of his, Riguia (whom he has not so far mentioned in his autobiography), had left him for Arua Ganiga, who had made him no compensation. When Goka left Arua Ganiga for Ahuia, they were at any rate 'square'.

³⁹ The term for 'position' is *dagina*. Ahuia's text says more explicitly *idaghuna*, by which he means the position of Village Constable. There is a regulation forbidding Village Constables to contract polygamous marriages while they hold office, for the good reasons (1) that their influence might enable them to get more wives than they otherwise could, to the prejudice of the ordinary villager; and (2) that a number of marriage connections might lead to favouritism and other abuses. But this regulation did not exist at the time referred to, so there was no reason for Ahuia to "worry about his position", in an official sense at any rate. He was beyond worrying about his standing as a Christian, for he had already been excommunicated for bigamy.

⁴⁰ Weaver, a European, was an old market gardener on the Laloki River. He was murdered (1906) by Ariki of Baruni, apparently for ritual reasons. Ariki is said to have wished to paint the posts of his new house with red, a distinction to which homicide would entitle him, and he chose as a victim the defenceless old white man. See also the section describing Ahuia's experiences as "Hunter", below.

⁴¹ Ginat, according to Ahuia's verbal explanations, had learnt of Ariki's guilt by overhearing a song specially composed to celebrate the murder at a Koiari feast. He had informed against him because he was jealous of Ariki's attentions to his (Ginat's) wife. Then apparently he had aided in hiding him, and at the same time held over him the threat of betrayal.

⁴² See Seligman (1910, pp. 170-1).

⁴³ Ahuia was quite unable to explain how his method of divination worked. He appears to have picked his man 'in one' on this occasion, and possibly had good reason for applying the test where he did, since Iohia was subsequently found guilty. It is interesting that even a native of Ahuia's long experience in the work of the magistrate's court shows such a naïve confidence in his own method of divination.

⁴⁴ Ahuia informed me that in this crisis he "begged to God, saying, 'God help me!'" He had a Bible in his pack, lying on the *dubu*. This may be retrospective piety, as despite the vicissitudes of his religious life he is probably more of a Christian now than he was then.

⁴⁵ If anything can be regarded as the first duty of a 'chief', it is that of feeding and entertaining the traveller.

⁴⁶ The swamp referred to is in the Maiva hinterland. But many people in the Territory know how to catch crocodiles alive. Ahuia has seen the Koiari do so, and says that the murderer Ariki (see above) was famous for his intrepidity. The method the Koiari used was the primitive one of wading and feeling for the reptiles with their feet, whereupon they slipped rope nooses about them as they lay, apparently torpid, and dragged them ashore. Ahuia engaged in crocodile hunting himself, and initiated the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Hubert Murray, to this exciting form of sport.

⁴⁷ Betrothal, *maoheni*, involves gifts in advance of the marriage to the girl's father.

⁴⁸ To discourage polygamy the mission makes it a disqualification for church membership. Those, however, who by this sin incur the disability and disgrace of exclusion often, like Ahuia, retain what they have of the Christian faith, and attend services.

⁴⁹ I gather that he "threw away" Riguia before marrying Goka (see Note 95).

⁵⁰ Unless Ahuia has passed over, or even forgotten to include, some of his earlier matrimonial adventures, the list appears to be as follows:

(1) Boio Alau	Lunatic	Thrown away
(2) Gari Rei	2nd favourite	Still living with him
(3) Riguia	Greedy	Thrown away, or left him for Arua Ganiga
(4) Goka (previously wife of Arua Ganiga)	Favourite	Still living with him
(5) Vagi Gege	Lazy	Chased out by Gari Rei

Ahuia's case is by no means to be regarded as typical. Even by heathen-native standards, he is a much married man.

⁵¹ Ahuia seems particularly anxious to clear his character in the matter of his marriage to Goka, for he tells the story all over again elsewhere in his autobiography, once more laying the blame on the jealousy of Arua Ganiga. He says, "I intended to go for Goka with wiseful (i.e., not to commit himself by adultery) until we came to court. And I won the case and married this Goka. And also she is a wiseful woman and she is a strong. That is why she substituted the first woman. She is like a first woman on me".

⁵² I had hoped for greater detail, and perhaps greater candour, on this subject. Ahuia's partner or "true friend" (*hebadina tauna*, lit. one who stands by him) was the son of a Raratongan teacher who had been killed at Kalo in the early days. The boy was adopted and brought up in Poreporena by another Raratongan teacher. The girls with whom they consorted in particular were laundry girls employed by Sam S——. This was after Ahuia's second marriage. He swears that he never had intercourse with anyone before his marriage, as he "did not want to spoil his hair".

⁵³ These many women boil down to two, one from Gaile and one from Lealea. The worldly-wise uncle, Taubada Oa, said that in either case it was "too far to pole a canoe", i.e., the maintenance of friendly relations by visits would mean a great deal of bother.

⁵⁴ A half-sister: they were children of the same woman.

⁵⁵ A *tadina lahuina*, i.e., a subordinate, not a real brother. Guba's father was related to Goka's mother.

⁵⁶ i.e., officiated at the ceremonial ending of the widow's mourning (Seligman 1910, p. 165).

⁵⁷ i.e., they gave their younger brother as *kwara*, lit. 'head', the mother having died in a foreign village.

⁵⁸ Ahuia's persistence shows how anxious he was to have children and heirs. He is devoted to the two little girls, Goka Oala and Vani Oala, who live in his house.

He has been singularly unlucky in his adoptions, and his hopes now seem to rest on Kabua Vagi. He says that Oa Siala has been "kicked out". He was a lazy man and would never go hunting or fishing at Ahuia's bidding; further he ill-treated his wife. On one occasion Ahuia had sent this woman to get shell-fish, and she was away a long time. Oa Siala grew hungry, and by the time she brought him his food in the evening was in such a temper as to threaten her with violence. The woman fled to Ahuia's house, where Oa Siala pursued her, and seizing her by the hair, proceeded to beat her. Ahuia intervened and threatened him with his cane. After this Oa Siala was "kicked out" and is now working on a plantation.

⁵⁹ Taubada Oa has two sons, both of whom have been passed over in favour of his maternal nephew. Neither of the sons is of very forceful character. The elder, Ova Tau, happens to be an artist and an all-round craftsman.

⁶⁰ i.e., *matauraia*. Ahuia explained verbally that this meant "not to give bad talk to people"; "to give them something to eat and a place to sleep" (i.e., to be hospitable towards visitors); and "to try to stop rows". The first and last of these duties illustrate the dislike of strife in the community. However prone individuals may be to quarrel, they agree as a society that quarrelling is to be condemned. The *lohia* should set an example as a peaceful, good-tempered man.

⁶¹ The point is that the *lohia* should not waste time in fishing and hunting. It might be more profitably spent in gardening. There is also an idea that the *lohia* should not be too much away from home.

⁶² i.e., to be *dagedage*, 'fierce' or 'bad-tempered'.

⁶³ Ova Geita's first son, Rabura Geita, lived at Kilakila, where he was certainly a person of importance and was for many years Village Constable. When he died, some years ago, Ahuia was considering the advisability of accepting an invitation to go and live in Kilakila. I believe he felt his influence to be on the wane in Poreporena, and may have thought that he would be more powerful in Kilakila, though whether he would have found it so is open to question. At any rate he was advised by the Resident Magistrate to remain in Hohodae, and did so.

⁶⁴ Ahuia has hitherto led us to believe that he is the chief of Hohodae in the ordinary sense. The fact is, however, that there is no such position in definite reality. He might claim to be the biggest, or most influential, of the *iduhu lohia* in Hohodae; but even in this there are others who could dispute his claim, notably his friend and rival Garia Vagi, of Taurama *iduhu*.

Now he says that his position in Hohodae is only that of "Fighting Chief" or *kwarumara lohia-na*. Taubada Oa had inherited some spear magic (*kwaramara*) from his Nara ancestry, and by virtue of its possession is alleged to have been able to prepare his people for success in the raid. (The *kwaramara lohia* is not, by the way, to be regarded as a commander, or tactician).

The indefiniteness of the concept *lohia* is illustrated by the subsequent observation in the text, i.e., that some of the chiefs are only for the gardens, or strong-arm chiefs. The implication is that any man of importance, who is *biru logea*, 'industrious in the garden', or *ima auka*, 'strong-armed,' 'a good worker', may claim to be a *lohia*.

⁶⁵ Avaka Rohi was a distant maternal kinsman of Ahuia's; his great-grandmother was Ahuia's mother's father's mother. Kabua Iaru's sister had married Taubada Oa, Ahuia's maternal uncle and guardian, and Kabua had come to live in the household. With the other two Ahuia was not linked either by kinship or affinity. The four men mentioned were his *bamo*, i.e., companions or 'chums'; apparently kinship had little or nothing to do with the composition of the "very good company".

⁶⁶ The *koda* is a hoop of strong cane, about two feet in length and somewhat less in width. The centre is filled with a very wide mesh of strong rope. It is held in both hands, to engage the snout of the pig as it charges.

⁶⁷ See Note 40.

⁶⁸ Ahuia's exploits clearly lose nothing in the telling. Seeking to verify the number of his pig-victims, I asked him personally and he said 100, he thought. Later I asked him again, and he said 160. A third time he said he had kept a record up to "about 138", but had shot a good many since. Some natives of the district keep a record by threading betel husks, using a full betel nut to mark every tenth kill. Ahuia, whatever his score may be, ran it up with a shot-gun, for which he held a permit.

⁶⁹ I am unable to quote any special rule covering the ownership of a wallaby killed in such circumstances. Ahuia said that "sometimes the man who saw it first would have it; sometimes the man who speared it; and sometimes they would take half each". But he gave it as his opinion that Hera Maraga was in the wrong; he was *anidika*, 'greedy', to take the wallaby.

⁷⁰ *Karagu dibadiba*. Ahuia translated his own phrase as "pulled my leg". It apparently means 'to play a dirty trick'. The Papa men were trying him out in the full expectation of beating him.

⁷¹ At a *tabu* feast tremendous quantities of food, mostly *tailu* (small yams), are given away. The food is arranged on or about a platform, which may take the form of a *dubu*. Where this is the case the four main posts are allotted to the four principal men providing the feast. The front right post goes to the initiator of the feast; the front left post to the second man. Many of the kinsmen of the principals will contribute. The food is presented to, and taken away by, the guests from other villages in fulfilment of certain obligations and exchanges. In due course it is returned in very exact measure at other feasts. See Seligman (1910, pp. 145-50).

The name *tabu* is given to certain supernatural creatures which inhabit the hinterland of the Motu-Koita region. Its application to the feast is due probably to the legend that certain songs and dances employed in connection with it were taught by the *tabu* to human beings whom they had taken captive.

⁷² Yams, bananas, and sugar-cane are *ai emui lalokau gaudia*, "our love things". Melons, pumpkins, and manioc, etc. are merely things to eat; that is to say, no traditional or sentimental value attaches to them: they are not an accepted form of wealth and evidence of power. Ahuia said that if one brought pumpkins, manioc, etc. to a feast, the people would laugh and say, "This is not a rich man!"

⁷³ The same *dubu* may serve for several *tabu* feasts (see Note 37). Charlie Hedu belongs to Dubara *iduhu*, but is only distantly related to Ahuia.

⁷⁴ Oala is a pure Motuan who has shown a great deal of commercial enterprise. He rose to the height of owning a Ford truck and cutting and delivering firewood. He is at the same time a good native, and erected one of the three *dubu* in Hanuabada.

⁷⁵ I am unable to say what caused Ahuia to set his face against the time-honoured method of settling a dispute by an exchange of gifts. Possibly he had some good reason. The pious utterances in the text sound rather evasive.

There had been a previous quarrel (Ahuia and Garia Vagi are in some measure rivals) which they had settled by gift-exchange. Before a number of Hohodae people they had given one another two arm-shells each and exchanged their shot-guns—a good example of the mutual gift establishing or restoring friendship.

⁷⁶ i.e., *dirava*. The *dirava* are individual supernatural beings in human form, mythical characters who are believed to have survived from ancient times. Present-day informants claim that the word is common to both the Koita and the Motu languages, though Seligman does not refer to it in his section on "Mythical Beings" (1910, pp. 183 ff.). A good deal of confusion exists regarding the application of the various terms used for supernatural beings and spirits. *Dirava* has been adopted by the London Missionary Society for 'God'.

⁷⁷ This happened in Hohodae, where Garia Vagi owns an iron-roofed native house, as well as a thatched one next to it, both being built over the water in the manner of the Motu-Koita marine village. Presumably Ahuia found his way from the inner room of Garia's thatched house, and collapsed on the verandah. His vision made a great impression on him. The appearance of Ibuna, with long fair hair hanging down her back, probably owes something to Ahuia's service as house-boy, when, before the 'shingle' was invented, he saw his mistress dressing her hair in the morning. Ibuna, however, wore a fine Kabadi grass skirt, and had flowers in her armlets. She said nothing to him, and he was very glad when she threw him down.

⁷⁸ Many *tabu* are supposed to exist in the Koita hills, and not a few of them take the form of great snakes. On this occasion Ahuia is of the opinion that he met the one named Hara-Tabu. See Seligman (1910, pp. 183-5).

⁷⁹ They were leading a couple of horses down from Sogeri to Port Moresby. After this encounter with the snake they mounted them, two men to each.

⁸⁰ There is no doubt that Ahuia firmly believes he met these *tabu*. It may be presumed that he is 'drawing the long bow' to some extent, but imagination and fear will play strange tricks with one's notions of time and space. Rauta-Tabu would appear to have been a very long snake. So would Hara-Tabu of the previous story, for Ahuia told me that he and his companions waited for "half an hour" for it to withdraw its whole length. A carpet snake does move incredibly slowly at times, but then the noise made by this one was "like a wind", which sounds as if it were going at some speed.

⁸¹ *Ha-nhi-gu*, lit., 'made-dream-me'.

⁸² This is not a piece of magical information, i.e., a secret name which will help Ahuia in subsequent hunting. The meaning is, as he explains, that he should give this name (which he is quite unable to account for) to any little bush pig which he captures alive and brings up in the village. This capture of young bush pigs is a common practice. Bush and village pigs are of identical species. The latter are always given personal names.

⁸³ *Boga-hisi*, lit. (in pidgin), 'belly-sore', means rather more than pity or compassion. Mataio has no particular reason to pity the prosperous and capable Ahuia; but he feels very well disposed towards him, or yearns after him. "Pity", however uncalled for, is thus often made the motive for an act of kindness, one from which one has nothing to gain.

⁸⁴ The notion that the gardens, the mainstay of Motu-Koita life, are dependent for their prosperity on the good will of the spirits of the dead is of first importance in the old religious life. The spirits must be placated by food offerings, or the gardens will suffer. Thus small portions of food are left in the *dubu*, and the gifts made ritually to the *iduhu lohia* are, so to speak, vicarious offerings to the spirits. Similarly, here, the feast which follows the bad dream puts the spirits in good humour again.

⁸⁵ *Helaga* means 'sacred', 'holy', or 'taboo'. Ahuia is thinking partly of the necessity of making gifts to the *iduhu lohia*, and partly of the various taboos which surround gardening, hunting, and fishing. He has given a list of these in his article on "Motu Feasts and Dances" (Ova 1923), adding: "All those *helaga* are the temptations of the Evil One, and yet I am afraid these customs are observed to this day by professing Christians". He says there, as here, that all the customs in Papua have a reason for them: "Not one is done without a reason. There is only one thing, that the reasons are bad ones. Not one is straight; no, not one".

⁸⁶ The over-statement of a sound piece of advice is of course Ahuia's.

⁸⁷ Ahuia uses the word "sorcerers" very freely, to cover not only those who use magic with intent to kill or injure, but those who practise healing, and harmless magic in connection with gardening, hunting, etc.

He has said nothing in his autobiography of true sorcery, notwithstanding his own reputation as a sorcerer. While it is not unlikely that he has made capital out of this reputation on many occasions (see, e.g., Note 38), I can produce no evidence, nor does he provide us with any himself, that he has ever deliberately put the black art into practice. Probably his reputation is altogether exaggerated. He explains it as due to his friendship with certain Koiari whom he has from time to time entertained in his house. The Koiari are reputed sorcerers; therefore Ahuia, who hob-nobs with them, must, by plain inference, be a sorcerer too.

Ahuia declares that he has never practised true sorcery, and would like one to believe that he is ignorant of the technique, manual or oral, of sorcery in any form. Needless to say, this is a false plea. Every intelligent native has some idea of the sorcerer's methods, though he may be ignorant of the secret charm, or spell, or medicine, the "little extra" which is supposed to make the methods effective. Thus Ahuia has given a brief description to Professor Seligman (1910, pp. 170-1) of the technique of the *vada* men.

Ahuia's remarks in the text here refer to the class of magicians, male or female, called *babalan*. It will be clear that he at any rate professes scepticism about the spiritualists and healers. He confided to me that he proposed rather more faith in magic for hunting, gardening, and fishing.

⁸⁸ Some of the professing *babalan* still wear their hair in long strands.

⁸⁹ The spiritualist woman Vaveri was a *babalan*. She held frequent seances, announcing that such and such a departed spirit would be in attendance. The relatives would bring food and ornaments for the *babalan*. Iori Gara was a spirit (*dirava*) in its own right, supposed to dwell on Mt. Buria. Apparently the spiritualist woman was in special touch with this *dirava*, but she would call up individual spirits of the dead as well. Ahuia was full of doubt about Vaveri. He has told me how another spiritualist was once exposed in Poreporena. In the character of a departed spirit, she was shaking hands with those present when some sceptic, to her shame and confusion, struck a match. His concluding words, however, show that he really does not know what he believes as far as Vaveri is concerned, for he has previously implied that he touched *her* hands, whereas now he says they were the hands of the spirit she called up.

⁹⁰ Ahuia's point, which he does not make clear in the text, is that the *babalan* professed to suck certain things out of the patient's body, giving out that these had been the cause of the illness. But in spying upon her he had seen her put the things into her mouth beforehand. Apparently after sucking out the first lot of objects, she made as if to throw them from the verandah into the sea; but Ahuia saw her take them into her mouth again, so as to have something to show when she "tried another suck".

Goka of course recovered, but Ahuia does not credit this result to the *babalan*. In these more enlightened times, it should be remarked, the old woman would not be imprisoned simply for an attempt at magical healing.

⁹¹ This treatment did not make Ahuia any better. He tells me that "he kept on being sick till he got better himself". Yet despite these experiences I do not suppose that he would be above making further trials of native doctors.

⁹² At the Declaration of the Protectorate, in 1884, one Boe Vagi of Hanuabada was appointed "Paramount Chief" of the natives of the Port Moresby district. Needless to say it was an artificial position, and lapsed with the death of its first holder. Nothing remains of it but the silver-headed staff which Boe Vagi received from Commodore Erskine as a symbol of his office, and the old naval uniform which he wore more or less unofficially. Both are now in the possession of his grandson, a very modest ordinary villager.

⁹³ I can find no historical records to support this somewhat incredible story.

⁹⁴ T—— M—— seems to have changed his outlook since his earlier days (see Note 52).

⁹⁵ Yet Ahuia states in the section on "Marriage" that it was on account of his marriage with Rigua, a previous wife, that he was dismissed from church membership. This would be the certain penalty. It is possible that, on Rigua's leaving him, he was re-admitted as a monogamist, and thrown out once more when he married Goka. But it may be a case of forgetfulness, which, with such a succession of wives, would seem quite plausible.

⁹⁶ The Reverend Clark was in charge of the London Missionary Society's station at Poreporena for many years. He was obviously unable to allow Ahuia to enter the church as a member, because a fundamental rule forbade it. He was here giving him some very considerate advice, i.e., to make the best of the situation, and must rest content with it till, with the death of one or other of his wives, he again became a monogamist.

⁹⁷ Later P——, the preacher, was himself to follow Abraham's lead, and be dismissed. As for the rhetorical question, it should be remembered that Igo, the translator, was a cricketer.

⁹⁸ The London Missionary Society in Poreporena strongly discourages dancing, and the Christian part of the village has given it up. The converts wear short hair and have no further use for feather head-dresses and dancing ornaments. The burning here described was an act of renunciation on Ahuia's part. He was carried away by a fervour which he no doubt repented when, later on, he resumed dancing.

⁹⁹ To carry out a major mortuary ceremony and to give his patronage once more to the dance was not only a breach with the mission, but amounted to a negation of Ahuia's professed convictions, for in his article on "Motu Feasts and Dances" (Ova 1923) he had given a series of arguments to prove the moral dangers of dancing.

¹⁰⁰ See Seligman (1910, p. 165).

¹⁰¹ *Lau na lalogu do baina tahua namonamo*, lit., 'I must search well my mind' (or 'inside').

¹⁰² Ahuia's expression is *abidia kwelima*, 'succeeded in taking', or 'took and held strongly'; but though his mind was very doubtful, i.e., on the question of allegiance to one or other of the missions, he appears to be well enough satisfied as far as the little girls are concerned.

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DESCRIPTION OF PLATES

Plate I. A. Ahuia Ova, 1929.

B. Ahuia Ova and a friend, at one of the painted rock sites in the Port Moresby hinterland, early in 1936.

C. Ahuia Ova in Councillor's uniform, 1935.

Plate II. A. Ahuia Ova's *dubu*, made ready for a *tabu* feast. The women have just filed round it, hand in hand.

B. Ahuia Ova with his wife Goka, his two adopted grand-daughters (Goka Oala and Vani Oala), and two adult visitors.

ADDITIONAL NOTE

By C. G. SELIGMAN, M.D., F.R.S.

In the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 39, 1909, Pl. XXV, are reproduced two photographs of Ahuia as an adolescent, taken by Dr. A. C. Haddon in 1899.

In Seligman (1910, Pl. II) there is a photograph by Captain Barton, showing Ahuia on the right and his friend and rival, Garia Vagi, who is mentioned several times in Ahuia's *Reminiscences*, facing him. This photograph can hardly have been taken later than 1906.

With regard to Ahuia's attitude in 1904 towards the spiritual beings, *tabu* (see pp. 29-30, above), I have recorded (1910) that on the return journey from the hill which was supposed to be inhabited by Hara Tabu, Ahuia fell from his horse. I remember very well his saying next day that he had slept badly and felt feverish, adding a question as to whether I could honestly say that I was really none the worse for my visit to the hill. The tone in which the question was asked obviously indicated that he expected me to have suffered at least some discomfort.