

"MAMBARE" RAIDERS.

I believe that there is much misunderstanding on the subject of "Mambare" raiders, especially with regard to their supposed activities in the Cape Nelson and Collingwood Bay localities. It is a situation to which I also have, unfortunately, contributed. However it seems desirable to set the record straight, if possible.

The attached APPENDIX contains the relevant items of which I am aware, and these should be read before proceeding with this text.

I suggest that, although gaps and uncertainties remain, the APPENDIX items are pretty much self-explanatory, taken as a whole.

. . . . .

A major problem seems to be in what is meant by the term "Binandere". These days its usage is for that group of Orokaiva on the Mambare and lower Gira Rivers, but in the past it seems to have been applied as a more general term, as 'Orokaiva' can be today (Monckton seems to use it this way). It can also be used to refer to the Language Family, though more correctly it should be Binanderean then. As the Mambare people are Binandere, the term "Mambare" equals Binandere; not all Binandere people are from the Mambare though.

Now to have a look at the best documented mis-identification, the September 1895 episode on the Musa. I shall run briefly through the Despatches in the 1895/96 British New Guinea Annual Report, as these items, not given in the APPENDIX, give the story and how it developed.

The amada's scouting canoe was seen about 7 p.m. on 19th September (p.26), and the force itself appeared "with the first dim, grey dawn of the day" (p.27). By the afternoon of the 21st, Macgregor was using the steam launch to get above the amada to drive them downstream, thereby saving the rest of the Musa people; the warriors appearance indicated that they were from Collingwood Bay, and other evidence supported this (p.27). On 25th October they took the wounded men back to his tribe, the Mapaya, on Mt. Trafalgar; he was not able to tell them exactly who made up the expedition, but "it comprised the Trafalgar tribes, and at least part of Makimaki, in Collingwood Bay." (p.28) The following day the Maisina were exonerated, but some suspicion remained over the Makimaki.

By 6th April, Morston had been told by Bagege, the chief of the Maisina, that the villages involved were:-

Taruma, Koperi, Tupi, Amiwani, Topari, Babine, Kabun, Rerion, Kwavi, Yagerua, Toavare, Kerote, Maipua, / Orea, and ~~Wakipi~~ Kaiuoul (p.51).

In fact this list seems of little use; Maipua and Orea are Okena (Okona) villages, but Taruma (Taruma?) is Baruga, and Tupi (Tupi?), ~~Amiwani~~ Amiwani (Amiwani?), Kabuni (Kabun?), and Kwave (Kwavi?) are all Korafe. As the Baruga were the victims of this raid, and the Korafe previous victims, their presence seems unlikely.

As it turned out, the Okena got the blame. Even this isn't totally satisfactory; there were some 300 warriors on the raid - 28 war canoes, each with an average of 10 men, plus some small canoes (BNR AR 1895/96:27) - and I doubt that each village would have been able to supply 100.

Their defeat by Macgregor must have been a shock. While material losses (canoes, booty, weapons) were high, it is not true to say, as Monckton does (see APPENDIX 5. b), that they suffered a "crushing defeat". Macgregor said two or three were killed, while Green later found their casualties were 5 (killed, or later died) - see 000131. This is less than 2% casualties.

It might be worth noting that the BNR AR items, above, and Green (in APPENDIX) differ in their dates to item APPENDIX 2. This latter, a summary of from Despatches, is in error, having missed a day (the 19th, spent in camp and scouting for an attempt to ascend Mt. Victory).

Also App. 2 error "Mambare"

But how did the Maisin get involved? One obvious answer is because of the reputation they had in Collingwood Bay - "a race of pirates". Another is because of the appearance of the raiders (see previous page). Green must have misunderstood the wounded man (see APPENDIX 1. b), or else got an answer to a "leading question". There is a group of Maisin people to the west of the Musa (the Kosiava area), but I don't think they were involved.

The sound of the Maisin language seems to be the other probability. In Dutton (1973), Maisin is unclassified, i.e. not known if it is an Austronesian or a Non-Austronesian language. Strong, in Annuaire Report, 1910-11 (p.205), says its grammar is fundamentally Melanesian (Austronesian), but that it does show some anomalous characters. By June 1896, Green, by then with quite some ability in Binandere (see his Vocabulary of it in the ENG AR 1895/96), was able to say that Okwa was similar to Binandere (see APPENDIX 1. g).

In 1895 it seems that no one could converse with the Non-Austronesian peoples from Cape Nelson north, though some understanding could be had with others southwards including, presumably, the Maisin. However the confusing of a NAN language with an Austronesian one seems strange (and Macgregor had had previous contact with both the people around Forlock Bay - ENG AR 1893/94:2 - and on the Manbare, in March 1894 - ENG AR 1893/94:30 & ff.).

That they were "Manbare" raiders came much later - in 1973 (see APPENDIX items 6. & 7.).

In fact I suggest that this is the story of all these "Binandere" or "Manbare" raiders - they were most certainly members of the Binanderean family (Language), but they were the Okwa from the northern side of the Cape Nelson peninsula. Mandtke says as much, and APPENDIX 10. supports the view.

But how close were the ties between the Okwa (or Yaga, as they are now called), and those remaining "at home" (in passing, it has been suggested that the migration was actually in the reverse direction)? Fairly tenuous, from APPENDIX 11. b), and certainly not of the order of "strengthened by fresh families from the virile Binandere, ....." (APPENDIX 5. b)).

When Albert MacLaren visited Cape ~~W~~ Vogel with Macgregor towards the end of July 1890, he noted that the people there were subject to attack from "some stronger tribes who come down from Cape Nelson" (MacLaren, 1891:28). However I think responsibility for this state of affairs was later shifted home to the Maisin of Collingwood Bay instead. (See also APPENDIX 5. a))

### Conclusion.

I submit that, because of misunderstanding and general confusion, plus the reputation as warriors that the Binandere came to have (at least in white eyes), the story of "Manbare" raiders around Cape Nelson has been repeated so often as to ~~be~~ now be uncritically accepted as fact, e.g. APPENDIX 9.

In truth, a look at the facts shows this to be an unlikely possibility.

The groups on the Manbare River in the mid-1890s were politically divided (see Waiko, 1970; also the Nelson paper), not a unit. The north-east coast canoes were river type (still-water), not ocean-going in the fashion of the Motuan lakatoi. There was no political organisation down the coast to deal with the problems we might call 'logistics' (in fact p.135 of Jojoga's paper indicates that there wasn't even any contact between the lower Manbare and Buna people then).

I realise that the canoe and logistics problems were overcome by the Okwa when they went raiding, especially to Manigela, but I think the argument is still valid.

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12, 19, & 20.5.76

*Dutton, -  
1969:371*

Bibliography. (only those items not already given)

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APPENDIX.

1. These items are from John Green's letters. Unfortunately there is confusion in my notes about the proper references for some of them (i.e. date, or micro-film frame number, the former being the more important in this case).

- a) Friday 20th (September, 1895) was the beginning of a tragedy.
- b) young wounded man (shattered leg) told them the "canada had come from a place called Maisina about sixty miles from the mouth of the Musa along the coast." (frame number 000769)
- c) on Friday September 27th, Green described the raiders as Maisina
- d) on Monday 30th, the wounded man cried bitterly when the steamer was passing his village; this locates the village as south-east of the Musa (frame 000781)
- e) "From Forlock Bay to Maisinia is where they came from." (man with broken leg from Forlock Bay) (from p.16 of this letter; date & frame number not recorded, unless the same as for d)).

Apparently in June 1896, Green made a trip from Tanata to Collinson Point, which is between Forlock Bay and Cape Nelson. f) - h) are observations taken from his report, and given in his July 6th 1896 letter to his sister Rhoda.

- f) "Oreya, Mapua, and Gaiswara belonged to the Okena tribe, and an old man called Diriba, the chief of oreya, and another old man Dobeia, the chief of Mapua, had been the instigators of the raid on the Musa River villages." (frame ~~XXX~~ / 000131)
- g) Oreya is about 3 miles inland - language similar to Membaré (frame 000132)
- h) "..... the Oreya, Mapua, and Gaiswara people [are known] as the Okena." (frames 000132-3)

Source: John Green - Letters from Papua 1892-96, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau Microfilm BSB 420.

2. "On the 18th September we were camped on the [Musa] river bank not far from the foot of Mount Victory. At gray dawn next morning a force of about 300 men, in twenty-eight large war canoes, all painted and feathered as if for war, went up the river past us. The steamer was not the same day at the mouth of the Musa, and early next morning a strong party, comprising a score of the constabulary, started at an early hour after the invaders, and came up with them early in the afternoon.

The canoes were all passed in the river by the steam launch, and were driven down the stream. They were all captured without a single exception; every canoe they had brought up the river, and a number of smaller working canoes which they must have taken from the natives on the Membaré. They had already caught at least some ten or twelve unfortunate natives, the bodies of many being cut up, divided out, and partly cooked, probably a good deal eaten. In a conflict between a party of the cannibals and a few men of the constabulary, two or three natives were shot dead and some were wounded. One of the latter was taken on board the steamer, and was subsequently conducted back to his tribe, the Mapua, on Mount Trafalgar. It was clear that the greater part of the men, if not indeed all of them, that took part in that expedition were from the Trafalgar Bay and Collingwood Bay tribes."

British New Guinea Annual Report, 1895/96: XVII

3. "The Okena tribe, who live in the villages of Oreya, Mapua, and Gaiswara, on the northern spurs of Mount Trafalgar, seem to have a plentiful supply of food."

John Green, 1st July 1896; in his Report of the Government Agent for the North-East Coast, Appendix Q to British New Guinea Annual Report 1895/96:76

4. "Next afternoon [29th June, 1896] we were visited in Forlock Harbour by a considerable number of the natives of that district. These have been uniformly friendly and peaceable since their participation in the great cannibal raid on the Musa River and the return to them of the wounded man, nursed for about a month on the "Merrie England," when suffering from an exceedingly bad compound fracture of the thigh, caused by a bullet from a snider carbine. That one act of humanity subdued these tribes as effectually as a fight and defeat on their land would have done."

Macgregor, in British New Guinea Annual Report 1897/98:48

5. a) "Returning to Cape Nelson from Wedau, I found my men bottled up inside the stockade; and was told that the Okain, a pugnacious tribe to the north, had paid them a visit, swaggered about the Station, interfered with the working Kaili Kaili, and generally made themselves a nuisance.

The following is a brief description of the different tribes inhabiting the North-Eastern Division, and also a general review of the feeling existing between them at this time. The Cape Nelson (Kaili Kaili) people, under the leadership of their chief, Givi, were a confederation of shattered tribes, regarding every one to the north or south—or, in fact, any stranger—as enemies, by whom they might be attacked or slaughtered at a moment's notice. To the north there lay the Okain, a branch of the Binandere; a strong, warlike, and colonizing people steadily pushing their way south, but halted in their southern march by the necessity of defending the land occupied by them, against the attacks of inland raiding tribes. To the south lay the Maisina tribe of Collingwood Bay, a race of pirates, who terrorized the coast as far as Cape Vogel, but were in their turn harried by incursions from the Doriri, a mountain tribe behind them. The Kaili Kaili, who inhabited the mountains and hills at Cape Nelson, were therefore really remnants of tribes shattered by attack from either the Doriri, Maisina, or Binandere people; and also the remnants of a tribe frightfully weakened by an eruption of Mount Victory.

For some time after they had occupied the inhospitable rugged lands of Cape Nelson, they had been subject to periodical incursions and slaughterings by the Okain fleet of canoes; but were eventually saved by the good sense of their elected chief, old Givi, who had an uncommonly fine head and exceptional reasoning power. The Kaili Kaili were not an aquatic people, but Givi noticed four things: firstly, that all attacks against his people must come by sea; secondly, that the canoes of the invaders were made of a heavy hard wood; thirdly, that the missiles of the invaders were heavy spears having a limited range; and fourthly, that once the northern men landed, his lighter people stood no chance against their charges. Givi, in his way, was a Napoleon. He saw that to fight the invader successfully, he must fight on the sea; he saw that he must not fight at close quarters, but must have faster canoes, and also missiles outraging those of the Okain; and he laid his plans accordingly. First of all, Givi made his people learn to swim in the pools of the streams running into the fiords of Cape Nelson; then he ordered canoes to be cut from a particularly light wood, of shallow ~~draft~~ draft, and capable of great speed, though they would not last many months; then he had made a great stock of a particularly light and long spear, capable of being thrown a great distance. Having completed his preparations, Givi built an ostentatious and sham village at the head of a fiord, round the shores of which he concealed his fleet, and then awaited developments. The developments soon came: a strong Okain fleet of canoes swept down the coast, sighted the village, and at once attacked it; it fell an easy prey, being undefended and of no value, and the disappointed Okain fleet attempted to put to sea again, only to find hovering on their flank a swarm of light canoes, with whom they could not possibly close, and by the crews of which they were, man by man, slaughtered at long range. Out-generalled, out-manned and out-ranged, they had no hope. Very few of the Okain canoes escaped, and, for many years afterwards, they gave Cape Nelson a wide berth as they passed on their southern raids. Givi and his canoes, however, at the time I went there, were the sole obstacles to their occupying the coast south of Cape Nelson, though they could still raid it.

The account of this fight, I had it from Givi himself, and also from some of the Okein who took part in it, years after it had taken place; but all their accounts tallied."

(pp. 173-4)

- b) "Old Wenigala, a chief of the sub-branch of the Malsina, whose people had been subject to constant attack by two foes, the Okein by sea and the Doriri from the mountains, took heart of grace from Givi's defeat of the Okein, and laid plans for the discomfiture of the next raiders. His plan was, however, ~~quite different~~ with the exception of the long light spears, much simpler than that of Givi; for all he did, was to abandon his village at the approach of the hostile canoes, and permit them, unopposed, to enter a narrow river which ran alongside the village. After the Okein had plundered and burnt to their hearts' content, and had lumbered up their canoes with loot, they essayed to return, and were jostling and crowding together in the current of the narrow entrance to the river, when Wenigala suddenly appeared on the bank with his men and fairly hailed spears upon the now packed Okein, who were taken entirely by surprise by the unexpected attack from people whose fighting qualities they despised; thrown into confusion by the immediate loss of many men, and unable to charge home with the favourite weapon of the Binandere people--the stone-headed club--they were all slaughtered, with the exception of one canoe-load of warriors, which managed to put to sea and escape.

The two defeats had for a time cooled the ardour of the Okein for raiding on the coast; but later, having been strengthened by fresh families from the virile Binandere, they turned their attention to a new field, and raided and slaughtered ~~the~~ the Baruga people of the Musa River. The Baruga were now in an evil case: they could not go back, for then the Doriri from the hills raided them, that people's war parties sweeping the whole of the flat country. The Baruga's sole method of escape from the Doriri had originally been by canoes and river; but now the canoes of the Okein were driving them up and from the river, into the very clutches of the Doriri. Fortunately, however, Sir William Macgregor fell in with a fleet of Okein canoes returning from a raid up the Musa, laden with human flesh, and he inflicted yet another crushing defeat upon them; a defeat from which they were only just recovering when I came to Cape Nelson. They were to get yet another reverse, and at my hands next time; but that was to come much later."

(pp. 174-5)

The extracts in 5. come from C.A.W. Manckton's "Some Experiences of a New Guinea Resident Magistrate" (Lane, London, 1921).

Manckton, as Resident Magistrate, was the first Government official to be stationed at Cape Nelson. He arrived there in April 1900 (ING AR 1899/1900: XII & 18), and relinquished control of the North-Eastern Division in October 1904 (ING AR 1904-05:43); however he had also been in charge of the Northern Division from 1st September 1903 (ING AR 1903/04:31) which meant that, from this date, he had not had a great deal to do with the N-E D.

6. "At daybreak on September 20, 1895, John Green, acting private secretary to Sir William Macgregor, Lieutenant-Governor of British New Guinea, was called from his bed at a camp on the bank of the Musa River, on the north-east coast of what is now called Iapua.

Following an anxious guard, he hurried to the bank and there saw between 30 and 40 large canoes coming up the river, each full of armed natives. There were about 400 of them, all fine, big men, decked out in war gear. They were the same men, who, three weeks earlier, had killed John Clarke, the leader of a group of miners who had set out from Samarai to prospect for gold near the headwaters of the River Masbare. And in Green's view, they were obviously bent on more rapine and murder.

"I called the Governor," Green wrote later in a letter to his family, "and we prepared for a fight. But they passed us as if we were not worth looking at. The swish of about 300 paddles in the water and the weird and savage appearance of such a number of men all decked out in war gear was a sight I shall never forget."

Robert Langdon, in "An Untamed Papua through the Eyes of a Murdered Man",  
p.57, Pacific Islands Monthly, June 1973.

On p.59 he goes on:-

"MacGregor and his party learned from their captive / the man with the broken leg / that the native 'assada' had come from a place called Mainsina, about 60 miles from the mouth of the Musa towards the River Mankaro."

7. "Mankaro raiders certainly came as far as Tufi, and beyond:-

"Wanigela people were besieged by a squadron of war canoes full of Mankaro people and were in danger of defeat until assisted by the Mainsina people (Uve and Uiku etc). This must have been in about the 1850-1880 period I guess, but indicates that there was wide-ranging social contact (not to mention physical contact) along the coast."

(From a letter, (20/5/73) to me from another former DASP employee in the ND; his information about the siege came from Sister Roberts who has been at Wanigela with the Anglican Mission since about 1948, and he would have been given it in 1966)."

Part of my letter, p.31, Pacific Islands Monthly, September 1973.

This letter was not intended to be published, but I omitted to put that on it; My letter informant was Mr. J. McAllister, and I did not have his permission to use his letter, nor Sister Roberts' to cite her as his source.

8. "As mentioned, on p.1, I was introduced to these / Green's / letters through the Pacific Islands Monthly (see June 1973, pages 57 & 59; also September 1973, p.31), which featured Green's account of events on the Musa River in September 1895.

Unfortunately some of the early material, and inferences drawn from it, is incorrect. The Musa raiders were not from the Mankaro, nor were they those who had killed Clarke. There are a number of references in the H.M. ARs to determining who they really were, and also several in Green's letters. I will quote only one of the letters:-

"Oreya, Mapua, and Galawara belonged to the okena tribe, and an old man called Diriba; the chief of oreya, and another old man Bobala, the chief of Mapua, had been the instigators of the raid on the Musa River villages." (000131)

I can not find Galawara, but Oreya and Mapua villages are shown on Strong's 1916 map; they are on the north side of Cape Nelson Promontory, inland from Porlock Harbour towards Mt. Trafalgar. The Mainsina (Mainsina) people, thought at first to have been in the raiders, were later cleared of involvement both by Green and by official investigation (see H.M. AR 1895-96:51)."

Most of h) on p.22 of my 20th February 1974 typescript, "Some Comments on The Correspondence of John Green. (H.M. 420)".

The quotation from Green's letters was given as 1.f) earlier, too.

9. "In the south they engaged in sporadic conflict with old neighbours and enemies on the Opi and Kusasi, and they took canoes from river villages for 100 miles along the coast to round Cape Nelson and raid peoples to the south-east."

H.N. Nelson, on the Binandere; in MINERS AND MEN OF THE FIRING VARIETY: RELATIONS BETWEEN FOREIGNERS AND VILLAGERS ON THE KORDA AND GIRA GOLDFIELDS OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA, 1895-1910; p.95, Orial History, Vol.3, No.3, March 1975.

10. "..... Paul's grandfather who was killed in a fight against a tribe from the Dyke Ackland Bay area just before the missionaries came."

L.W. Kamit, WANIHILA VILLAGE, TUFI SUB-DISTRICT, NORTHERN DISTRICT;  
Oral History, Vol.3, No.7, August 1975 (p.82)

Paul Matman, aged about 50, is an Oyam-speaker (dialect of Arifasa-Miniafia).

11. a) "It is also true that some Sebaga/Andere clans went as far as Aho in the Tufi area in the period of the first komba incident. Others could have gone earlier. The reason why the people went there is not clear. They might have had relatives living there even prior to moving to the ancestral village." (p.121)
- b) "Our nonbo-nane (ancestors) during the cannibalistic period divided and separated. After separation some stayed here while others went as far as Tufi and settled there. During their migration eastward towards Tufi and particularly the Okema Territory where they settled, they had to fight their way in, until they settled at Poma village in the Okema Territory. From there they allied (isa/tate) with the Okema and fought the Baruga and Dogono. Their war party went further east during these expeditions as far as Keinsusap in the Wanigela area." (p.135)

These are both from W. Jojoga's THE SEBAGA/ANDERE PRIOR TO CONTACT; Oral History, Vol.3, No.7, August 1975.

The first quotation is from his text, and b) is from Appendix V where Didus Baisa of Ainapapa Clan is giving their story.

The Sebaga/Andere people now live mainly in Puma and Semananda villages. isa is a variety of fish, and one episode concerning it figures prominently in Sebaga/Andere history.

Keinsusap presumably is Keinsasap.