

File 5
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MANUBADA, TOTOIMA and BANU.

This letter is only Provisional, and should be regarded more as a guide than anything else.

It all began last month, when I received the letter part of which is quoted in APPENDIX. XVII.; already knowing Ker's Manubada story (APPENDIX. II.) I was intrigued, and for two reasons, as we shall see.

However the title story is only part of the whole. I wish also to look at Baigona, and legends and cults in general. Mount Victory (Keroroa) is one of my major interests, in part because it is a volcano like Mount Lamington, with an apparently similar pattern of eruption, partly because, like Lamington, it is regarded as a home of the dead (though this is not necessarily related to its being a volcano, being a common attribute of high mountains in PNG), and partly because Baigona originated there.

The letter consists of a text, bibliography, and APPENDIX. The latter should be read before proceeding with the text.

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Manubada, Totoima and Banu.

You are referred to APPENDIX., items II., XI., XVI., and XVII.

I see some similarities between the story of Manubada and that of Totoima - in their deaths at the hands of two boys, and in the effects of the portions of their bodies - but whether these are genuine similarities may be another matter.

More interesting is the similarity of Ker's story (II.) to that in XVII., though we are given no names in the latter. Yet most of Ker's stories were collected from near Wamira (Ker, 1910:ix), and this is a long, long way from Keroroa.

We do not know for certain that this story did come from there, though, but it seems likely (Ker was apparently fluent in Wedauan). About 1909, she married Mr. Money (at ~~Uia~~ ~~Uia~~, I think), but the Collingwood Bay climate was too much for her and they left Papua about 1911 (my biographical details are very inadequate). *Wanigela*

One of the more intriguing sidelights to Miss Annie Ker is that she translated "Grimm's Fairy Tales" into Wedauan, and it was published probably about 1908 (see p.20 of the "Report of the New Guinea Mission for the year ending 31st March, 1908). Its title is "Virarautua", which is Wedauan for folk-lore (Ker, 1910:x). I just wonder if any of today's traditional Wedauan legends bear any resemblance to Grimm (to the great confusion of unsuspecting anthropologists)?

However it is known that legends can spread very widely, and also that locations referred to in them need not necessarily be in the home territories of believers. Austen (1932) has described how the legends of Sido/Hido are known over 200 miles in the Western and Gulf Districts. He added that, among Kiwai dialect speakers, places spoken of in their legends do not belong to that tribal group and may be so far away as to be difficult to visit (p.468).

origin
Nor do we need to go outside the Northern District for examples. The "Haganumu" story, given by Williams (1928:118) and more fully by Dutton (1969), is located in the Wawonga valley, completely outside Orokaiva territory. It is still the "origin" story for the Isivita people - see Baxter, 1973:62. The Totoima story, at least in the Gira location version, is yet another Orokaiva example.

Unfortunately I have no information at all, besides that given by McCarthy (APPENDIX. XVI.), on Banu. Hawk stories are not uncommon - "The Papuan Villager" for December 1935 & January 1936 (Vol.7, No.12 & Vol.8, No.1) ran "The Sky Girls", an Orokaiva story in which the girls became hawks. In the same paper in September 1931 (Vol.3, No.9) was a Tufi story on the Hawk and the Crow (and how the crow got his present cry).

When I read "The Papuan Villager" I was mainly interested in Orokaiva legends; worse, I had not then seen Ker, 1910. It is quite likely that a careful reading of the paper by someone with a knowledge of Ker's book, and

of other north-east coast legends, would come up with some good material.

This next section may be somewhat out of place here, and bits may be repeated later on, but it has to be said. In the paper we will see, again and again, "cults" crossing quite formidable language barriers. Now it is my belief that the basis of a "cult" is a story which is believed to be true i.e. a legend. So legends are crossing these barriers, as Manubada seems to have done (Wedauan & the Winiafi/Cape Vogel lot are different families - see Dutton, 1973).

Now along the north-east coast of Papua there is one common factor - the Anglican Mission. Also it draws its staff, especially in the early days, disproportionately from the longer-contacted areas. So we had a "migration" up the coast and inland. With it went "culture" e.g. Schwimmer, 1969:124-130. As it is also my belief that plays and dances, or the stories they depict, are near-legends, so we can see legends spreading. *very good point*

The implications for me are that this new "political" unit has blurred some of the old differences, and must be taken into account in any consideration of the north-east coast today.

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Baigona.

Unfortunately confusion is very much the order of the day here, and you are urged to read the references (especially Waiko, 1972 & 1973).

Waiko says that 'Baigona' is not only a misnomer for Poraga in Binandere, but is meaningless in Ubir itself (1972:44). As it was called the Baigona cult, e.g. APPENDIX. III., even round Buna, I'll stick with that. *check*

Baigona started in the Winiafi area (APPENDIX. III.; Waiko, 1972:45) and all are agreed on that. However Waiko says the prophet, Maine, was also Winiafi; Oelrichs says he was an Okein. In the latter case I think Maine would have spoken the Yega dialect of Binandere; if a Winiafi, then the completely different Arifama-Miniafia (this confusion is important re cults crossing language barriers - if Maine was Winiafi, we are led to believe that Baigona took off into the Binandere while nothing seems to have been heard of it in his own area). (Dutton, 1973, *see languages*) *note to Horn*

Holland (APPENDIX. IV.) tells us that Maine, the man, had been on a visit to the spirits on Mount Victory, and the prophet came down from the mountain with his inspiration ("... the disciple cuts no ice without an inspiration of his own;" - Williams, 1928:29) and his smoked heart (his "Totoima's Tooth"?) as proof. The message was accepted, and Baigona was on the way - new techniques grafted on to old practices, as King suggests, but believed to be much more powerful (King, Waiko).

Now I wish to look at the possibility of Christian influences at work in the origin of Baigona. The similarity of Maine coming down from the mountain with his message to the story of Moses should be obvious; also I am surprised that Waiko has not picked up the "snake" image as representing Satan, the serpent in the Garden of Eden, and Baigona thus an organised opposition to the Mission. In fact neither theory seems to hold up. *Right*

The Anglican Mission came to Wanigela in May 1898 (Chignell, 1913: 61-2); it was probably some 10-12 years later that Maine came to prominence. Further up the coast, it was about 15 years, between the establishment of St. Andrew's at Ave on the Mamba in October 1899 and Bia's vision of November 1914 (for latter, see Chinnery & Haddon, 1916/17:452), with Kekesi, the powerful spirit of Mitre Rock, a friend of Jesu Kerisu.

I think the time interval available to Maine is a bit short. More light would be thrown on this, probably, by the intervals involved with the "Milne Bay prophet", Tokeriu.

Because of the similarities in so many ways, one could picture a prophet descending from Mount Lamington at some time, which might provide some grist for the theories mill. But I wouldn't place too much emphasis on the volcano aspect - the home of the dead is more important, for Mitre Rock, where Bia's vision occurred, is also (like Victory) a home of the dead.

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Assorted other "cults".

Taro worship, or the worship of the spirit of the taro, began early in 1914 apparently, by agency of Buninia of Taututu on the lower Mamba (see Chinnery & Haddon, 1916/17:449; Williams, 1928); it should be noted that Chinnery gave the name "Kava-Keva" to it. It spread rapidly though, as Williams notes, in most places afield the worship of the spirit of the taro was replaced by the traditional, and accustomed, placation of the spirits of the dead. inadvis.

"Oroda!" was the distinctive cry of the Taro Cult (Williams, 1928:47; Holland, 1933b), and Williams says its use was a sign it had penetrated to an area. in b.

Holland (1933b) also says that payments were made for its introduction; this is an important observation, and one which Williams seems to have missed, as far as I can see. It makes the transmission of Taro more like that for Poraga, as depicted by Waiko (i.e. the 'traditional' pattern).

We see Bp. Newton (APPENDIX. IV.) giving "Oro~~da~~" as the call also of the "Magic Spear" cult. This presumably was Williams' Diroga or 'spear-men' (Ki-embo). These were given a very bad name by Rev. Gill - see Murray quoting him in PAR 1932-33:21-2 - for sorcery, another 'traditional' characteristic.

But now we must look at these cults outside the Binandere language family area.

The Bishop (APPENDIX. VIII) reported the spread of the Taro Cult out of the Binandere area in 1924. It is interesting to note that, if his report is correct, it got to Naniu in its original form - worship (or placation) of the taro spirit (not the dead).

The next year, 1925 (APPENDIX. IX.), it seemed a bit more what one might have expected. However anti-European elements were now present - another Taro Cult "first" as far as I know. It is also rather interesting to note the Bishop's remarks on the attractiveness of the teaching; Williams (1928:85-6) has commented on the need for Christianity, if it is to be acceptable, to adapt to local requirements.

It is at this stage that utter confusion descends. Right in the path of the Binandere missionaries was Naniu. From reports (e.g. Cranswick & Shevill, 1949:91), Naniu was a hot-bed of cult activity; that, or it suffered from a bad image. I do not know if APPENDIX. X. & XII. refer to the same situation but I can only assume that they do.

This is a non-Binandere area, but ORODA has come in with the cult. I find it particularly interesting to have Bogari saying in 1931 that the people forget the ORODA; in context it sounds like a complaint of people forgetting their long-standing tradition, but evidence here indicates that this "tradition" probably only arrived about 7 years earlier! (Readers will be mostly aware of my views that 20 years at most, maybe 15, commonly takes events out of 'remembered history' and into 'legend', at least in the Orokaiva area).

Then we have to move a little further down the coast (and inland) for Asisi (though Cranswick & Shevill, above, characterised proceedings at Naniu, or some of them, as an Assisi orgy) - see APPENDIX. XIII. & XIV. If Asisi meant spirit in that usgae, as XIV said, then it is a "borrow"; I also am suspicious of their "Bego" dancing spears, in relation to Diroga.

However, as Williams has recounted in "Orokaiva Magic", the movements incorporated local adaptations with gay abandon. The best summary of it all is still his "In native religion, theory or doctrine is wholly subordinate to action or ritual" (Orokaiva Magic, 1969 reprint, pp.83-4).

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On the basis of the foregoing it is suggested that, for a cult, you need a) a legend, and ~~or~~ b), a traditional custom or practice. Our prophet somehow becomes accepted as the bearer of a 'true' modification to the legend (re-interpretation of it might be a better expression) and this is preached, plus or minus a modified custom - what I call a cult is then rolling.

The legends do not have to be local ones - I have suggested that they might be drawn from far afield - but if they are legends, they'll be accepted as fact, and so as a basis for belief and possible action.

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Afterthoughts.

- a) The items in the Appendix are arranged in order of date of publication (for published items, anyway).
- b) I have no personal knowledge of Cape Nelson, either as to village layouts or language groupings. The latter, in particular, I regard as just a horrible mess. Those interested will have to pick their way carefully here on this aspect; this paper does not pretend to be accurate, and certainly not for this.
- c) King (PAR 1912-13:155) knew the meaning of Baigona in Mukuan (Mukawan, I suppose) on Cape Vogel, and also knew it was used in Goodenough Bay. This is the ~~Yika~~ affinity referred to in APPENDIX. XVII, which is now linguistically established (Dutton, 1973).
- d) I first read Lawrence's "Road Belong Cargo" while I was at Saiho; most people will be aware of the legend of the two brothers in it which establishes indigenous rights to Cargo. I then proceeded to ask a certain person what was the Mountain Orokaiva legend which did that? He rather flippantly replied that they weren't sophisticated enough to have such a legend.

In reality they don't need one, while the iji eha is in operation - the whites are going to help them. This was amply born out in the Totoima Society, if one is prepared to accept that the mysterious unidentified whites were "returned ancestors". When the iji eha is finally discredited I have no doubt that a suitable legend will be forthcoming. (A suggested possibility involves Orokaiva attitudes to Good Friday).

- e) I (obviously) do not accept legends as being (necessarily) factual or handed down unchanged; in fact they are subject to 're-interpretation' in the light of (present) perceived reality.
- f) On the much-vexed subject of "are cults new (i.e. post-contact)"?

Williams has been bitterly criticised (e.g. Waiko, 1972:45) for his belief that cults, such as Taro, were the result of the social malaise resulting in Orokaiva society from contact with the whites. In fact, if one looks at "Orokaiva Magic" carefully, not only does he quote other contrary suggestions (p. 6), but on p.80 he suggests that such movements probably occurred in the past too.

Waiko (1972) has postulated, similarly, that "cults are a traditional response to an enemy or a natural disaster", and I am now of this view also. However I have also recently read Salisbury, 1958; while I agree with his conclusions, I found his paper to be pretty thin evidence (and apparently the only real such still available) to be quoted in Waiko's fashion.

However the story of Tokeriu again could be of interest and use. Worsley (1970:62-3) tells us that the "agawaga people" had had experience of similar prophecies years before", an interesting clue which he does not elaborate on (possibly because it wouldn't help his thesis on the reason for cults, which is Marxist).

- g) On the question of the spread of cults, in relation to political and "tribal" divisions. Celrichs (APPENDIX. III.) could be read to say that Baigona stopped at the Anglo-German border. This is interesting, especially as the Binanderean language family extends into New Guinea (Dutton, 1973).

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There are no conclusions, apart from the suggestions at the foot of the previous page. The material presented may be of interest, and some points made assist people in making up their own minds. It needs hardly be stressed that I have not necessarily gleaned all relevant information from the items listed in the Bibliography, or interpreted it correctly. even

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(Waiko, 1972, should really be Waiko, n.d., as "Niugini Reader" is undated; Waiko, 1972, is adapted from Waiko, 1973, his Seminar paper).

APPENDIX.

- I. "After a time, however, they are thought able to provide for themselves, for when the volcano, Mount Victory, puffs up its smoke, the natives say, "There are the dead cooking their food!"

(Dealing with the living making provision for the dead man's journey, as with taro in the grave, etc.)

This was one of a number of interesting New Guinea anecdotes, given on p.21 of "Missionary Notes of the Australian Board of Missions" (the predecessor of the A.B.M. Review) for 18th March 1901. They were repeated on p.37 of the "Report of the New Guinea Mission for the year ending 31st March, 1901".

II. "HOW THE TWINS KILLED MANUBADA.

Kototabe and Kelokelo were twin brothers whose father had been killed by Manubada, the great hawk. It came to pass that on a day they played with slings, and made as if to aim at the boys who were their companions. But they said, "Hurt us not, O Kototabe and Kelokelo, but aim at the bird which killed your father."

The boys wondered much what this might mean, and ran home to ask their mother. The widow told them that it was true Manubada had killed their father, but she warned them that none might hope to fight with so great an enemy and yet prevail.

"Nay, mother," answered the children," but when we are bigger we shall slay him who hath slain our father." The widow trembled much at these daring words, but held her peace.

When Kototabe and Kelokelo were now grown they made ready for the journey to Manubada's eyrie. They took a strong canoe, and loaded it with slings and clubs. Then they gave to their mother a branch of dracaena leaves, and said, "Watch these leaves, mother. When they wave thou mayest dance, but if they droop thou must weep, for we shall indeed be dead."

Then set they forth to search for Manubada. Many times on the way they sent stones whizzing from their slings towards the mountains, but not so did they find Manubada. At last they came to the cliff where on high they could see his eyrie; and they sent a big stone flying towards it. Now Manubada was watching from above, and when he saw how few and feeble were the enemy who had come to attack him his fierce anger was aroused. He opened his broad wings, and soared high above Kototabe and Kelokelo in their little canoe below. Then he began to descend.

The lads watched until he was now close to them. Then they slipped quickly into the water, one on each side of the canoe, and dived. Now Manubada in his wrath came down with such speed that he could not stop, and his mighty beak pierced the wood of the canoe, and made him fast to it. Then did he struggle with much force, and waves lashed and beat against the vessel. But it held firm, and Manubada having prevailed not, must perforce rest, that his strength might return to him.

Then did Kototabe and Kelokelo swim to the canoe, and, still one on each side, broke the wings of their enemy. As Manubada was therefore now without power, the lads slew him speedily with their heavy clubs.

When this was done it was time to make for home. Manubada was heavy freight indeed, nevertheless at last they reached their village once more.

Now it came to pass that ere they landed their mother had been to look at the branch of dracaena leaves, and found it was shaking and quivering as though a strong wind were blowing. Thereupon, never doubting her sons' word, the widow began to dance.

"What doest thou, O widow?" asked her neighbours.

"I do but rejoice since my sons have killed Manubada, who slew their father."

"How then could two little lads have killed so great a bird?"
mocked the villagers.

But the widow gave them no heed, and danced on until the canoe
came to the shore.

Then did Kototabe and Kelokelo land, and they showed the spoil to
the men who thronged about them. And Manubada was roasted and divided
into joints, so that every tribe might have a share. The mountain people
were given the head, and, when an enemy attacks them now, they bow the
head that they may not be hurt. But to the coast folk was given the
side, and it is therefore always their custom to leap aside when spears
are flying, and so they cannot be harmed by their enemies. And lo, I
who tell this tale am of the coast, and thou mayest know that the word
is true, for never have I been harmed, though I have fought many fights."

(Ker, 1910:61-3)

III. "One of the most extraordinary, and at the same time far-reaching,
cults, whether it be one of sorcery or totemism I have not so far been
able to determine, has extended along the seaboard of this Division, and
is universally known by the name of "Baigona," this being a snake of the
python family, which has control over all other snakes. I understand
that it has been in existence for some time, but it has only got a hold
in this portion of the Territory to any extent during the last twelve or
eighteen months.

The story of the "Baigona," as told by the people round here, is
as follows:-

It originated in the Winiafi District, which is beyond Cape Nelson,
in the North-Eastern Division, and is situated on the slopes of Mt.
Victory and Mt. Trafalgar. It first made itself known by killing a man
and making all the other people ill. It then appears to have remained
quiet for a little while and not heard of, until one day it killed a
man in the Okeina District, which is on the slopes of the same mountains,
but this side of Cape Nelson. The name of the man "killed" is Maine--
I use the present tense there, because the man is still very much alive.
The Baigona took this man to the top of Mt. Victory (Keroro), and, while
there, the Baigona cut Maine's heart out, dried it in the sun, and then
placed it in his house over the fire, so that it would get well smoked.
Remaining on top of the mountain, Maine was initiated into the mysteries
of the Baigona science, and given certain medicines that would cure all
diseases. He was then allowed to return to his village, taking his heart
with him, which he hung up under his verandah of his house, presumably
as a token that he was a "Medicine Man," similar to those green and red
bottles seen in a chemist's shop in civilization.

Amongst other instructions received by Maine from the Baigona was
that he had to proceed up the coast and in certain areas to appoint other
"Baigona men," all of whom would be junior to himself. This he did, and
there are "Baigonas" all along the coast as far as the German boundary,
and for a long way up the rivers. Needless to say, these men had to pay
for their knowledge."

Resident Magistrate Oelrichs, Kumusi Division, in Papua Annual Report 1911-12:
129; the report is from Buna Bay, and is dated 15th July, 1912.

IV. "Barigi [village constable of Koena village] admits that he learnt
how to do this [Baigona treatment] when he was stationed at Tufi. He
told me that the sickness was caused by bad smoke in the body, and his
treatment got it out. Possibly the treatment was known then, but the
profession of Baigona has only recently been grafted on to it."

Rev. Copland King, on "The Baigona Cult"; Papua Annual Report 1912-13:154-5.

- V. "The more or less active volcano, Mt. Victory, on the north-east coast, is by surrounding natives reputed to be the abode of ghosts (dirava). I have even heard it said that the steam rising from its top is the smoke of the dirava village."

(Strong, 1919:299)

Dirava is Motu; Strong was at Tufi (Cape Nelson) about 1908-12.

- VI. "I went in by a different track to the one we ordinarily use from Buna, and passed through about six villages between Dobodura and Sangara. At one of these I came in contact with the new "Magic Spear" cult, which is taking the place of Taro worship in some of the villages. I was camped at Heronda, and about eight o'clock at night I heard two men rushing round the village. They had rattles on their arms, and were perfectly silent themselves, except for a grunt as they rushed round, and every now and again made a jump and a stamp on the ground. As they passed the houses the people called out "Oroda, oroda." It seemed quite a perfunctory salutation. This went on for some ~~time~~ two hours in the moonlight."

Bp. Henry, in "Touring in the Buna Division"; A.B.M. Review, July 12, 1924, p.78. This episode described took place just before Easter that year.

- VII. "There is an active volcano, Mount Victory, not far from Cape Nelson, which perhaps accounts for the violent storms that one gets at the station now and then.

While staying there I tried to arrange for an expedition to ascend it, but I found it absolutely impossible to get carriers for that purpose.

Again--as for Mount Monckton--I was met on all sides with the story of a huge snake with many heads, whose fiery breath reduced everybody to cinders: presumably an animistic idea of the fiery mountain itself."

(Griffin, 1925:152-3)

This would have been in 1908; I think (Griffin was then R.M. for the Northern Division). Earlier, on p.108, he had dealt with his expedition to Mount Monckton, to the south of Ilimo.

- VIII. "The difficulties at Naniu have been increased by the introduction of the taro or the spear cult from the north. Hitherto these cults have been confined to the Binandere tribes. Evidently missionaries of the cults have come down the coast. The wild dancing accompanied with fits, probably of an epileptic nature, has been introduced, and teaching that if people do not join the new cult they will suffer in various ways; chiefly the taro spirit will be angry and crops will fail."

Bp. Henry, in the New Guinea Mission's Annual Report for 1924 - see p.45 of A.B.M. Review, June 12, 1925.

- IX. "Emissaries of the "Taro Cult" from the North found their way to Wanigela to spread the teaching, which seems to be a strange mixture of heathen ideas with a smattering of Christian teaching. It promises abundance of food, with some suggestions that Papuan skins will become white, and the people be able to get rid of the white people, and run stores of their own; the working of new ideas of a very undigested kind in the Papuan mind. The Wanigela people refused to have anything to do with the new teaching, though it had strong points of appeal to the Papuan mind, with its promise of plenty in the way of material things, and the dancing that accompanies the teaching."

Bp. Henry, in the New Guinea Mission's Annual Report for 1925 - see p.33 of A.B.M. Review, May 12, 1926.

X. "Crodo cult has revived again, but not in the form of dancing, etc. The man who has instituted himself head of the cult here is living in a village close by. The people have to take to him gifts of sago, fish, pig-flesh, betelnut and money--some are offered to the spirit of Crodo, and some of each is thrown into the bush to prevent Mt. Victory becoming active again and burning them all; and some is thrown into the sea to prevent a tidal wave; some is left in the village to keep away evil spirits and sickness. Many of the people are so scared that they are building their homes in the hills--even then they are in fear of Mt. Victory. It is a gospel of fear, and he has scared them well. The man safeguards himself....."

Miss Nellie Hullett, writing from Naniu, February 11th, 1928; see p.90 of A.B.M. Review, July 12, 1928.

XI. The best published version of the story of Totoima that I am aware of is in "The Papuan Villager" Vol.3 No.1, 15th January 1931. However that from "Crokaiva Society", following, is shorter and has most of the details, ~~except~~ including the 'dialects' one which the P.V. version lacks.

"One of the best known of Orokaiva legends concerns a man-monster named Totoima who was in the habit of slaying all whom he met. His sister (or wife), however, while at work in her garden cut her finger on a leaf of sugar-cane and caught the blood in a leaf of taro. Wrapping this up she hid it away in a pot where it was transformed into two children, or, as other versions say, a great number of boys and girls. These children grew up, and with the assistance of their 'mother' managed to dispatch the tyrannical Totoima; after which they waxed in numbers and became the present Crokaiva people. It is only in some versions of the story, however, that these miraculous children born in the pot are made the nucleus of the Orokaiva. The legend necessarily presupposes a previous population on which Totoima could practice his persecutions, and in the more usual version the remnant of these people come flocking in from their hiding-places to devour various parts of the monster's body, and in consequence acquire the several dialects of the Orokaiva tongue. As for any light which this legend might throw on the provenance of the people, it may be said that, although the knowledge of the tale is as widespread as the actual depredations of Totoima are supposed to have been, it is associated especially with the river Gira, where the scenes of the monster's dramatic downfall are pointed out."

(Williams, 1930:155)

XII. "Spent an hour with the V.Cs sounding them as to the actions of BOGARI of DARIRI who is said to be mad. Talks about the end of the world, predicts upheaval of Mt. Victory. Compels the people to bring him food etc. And so on. This is the Mission account of the activities. They want him punished. Fortunately for him I am not one-eyed. His own account is something like this "Yes, I have talked that way. The people are forgetting their old customs. They forget the ORODA. I get wild with them and talk about the end of everything - all the same Bishop. My relatives bring me food, not the village people. I am not mad." I agree. V.Cs also."

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not to be quoted
or cited.

Administration official, 28th February 1931; he was writing at ITONOMATA, which is just north of Naniu I think. Please note that this is an unpublished report, that Copyright for it belongs to the Administration, and also that I do not have permission to use it. No subsequent re-use is requested (and it is towards that end that I have deliberately failed to give the source - officer, designation, report & location - of the quotation).

XIII. "Wanembo Village Believed that God had Ascended and Descended unto them from Heaven."

There is a village of Wanembo, up in the western portion on the Owen Stanley Range on the border of Wedau. (They are like Koiari district.)

But this people know nothing; they are even bush-rangers. They were killing each other as murders.

In 1931 they hoisted an idol in their village and worshipped it. They chose two of their chiefs as their prophets; their names are Direu and Wakadisa. They hoisted an image and put a basin on top of it. And all the worshippers smoked a tobacco leaf (Manisi) and it made their body shake. They made shower bath. When they approached it with their shaken bodies it seemed that they met God and talked with him.

In parts of Northern Division village people heard this news, and at many villages people made their feasts and killed all their pigs, and pulled up taro and everything in their gardens and feasted their friends.

This word appeared in every part: they said, "Let everybody prepare for our fathers; and all the souls are coming up from Hades to meet us. Not even a pig or a dog will remain when they come."

But the Rev. J.D. Bodger heard this news. He took one village policeman and all his boys. The boys were very frightened, for somebody told them that nobody was allowed to go there, because God might kill them all if they go.

When the Rev. Bodger got there they danced out with their weapons to fight against them. But they couldn't do any harm to them for they came in God's name."

Part of Reuben Masiare's story, "The Papuan Villager", Vol.4 No.10, 15th October, 1932, p.80. I have quoted this mainly for the reference in the third paragraph to consequences (or supposed consequences) in the Northern Division.

The tale of Bodger's ^{September 1931} expedition to Wanembo has been told by himself in his "A Parson's Tramp in Papua", first published by SPG in 1932 and reprinted by the New Guinea Mission (London) in 1958. A large section of this appears in Tomlin, 1951:113-8.

There are other mentions of "Asisi" in the March & May 1933 Papuan Villagers, and the former contains a drawing of their dancing spears, called "Bego".

XIV. "Near Boianai a party of men calling themselves Asisi (a word meaning spirit) are doing something of what Kitore did at Wanigela, only they have added the element of hysteria and some of the practices of other cults."

From the 'Editorial Notes', A.B.M. Review, April 1, 1933 (p.194).

I assume this was the source of Murray's comment in PAR 1932-33:21.

XV. Holland's first acquaintance with the Baigona Cult came in 1911 when he joined Rev. Copland King at Ambasi.

"I learned from Mr. King that these men were a sect of sorcerers. It was understood that the cult originated near Cape Nelson, about one hundred miles from Ambasi.

A native man living in that region professed to have been on a visit to the spirits of the dead on Mt. Victory, and claimed that a very important spirit had given him a commission. He was also given a snake spirit, by which he became in league with all the snakes and crocodiles along the coast, and in addition was given the magic contents of his small bag. This man initiated others into his creed.
.....; but no matter how many he initiated into the cult and gave the snake, he always (as Mr. King told me) kept a snake for himself.

The word "Baigona" was a name originated with the cult. This cult spread up and down the coast, and one or two, or even more, on almost every village, adopted it, going through the usual training and admission. The interesting business was not confined to the originator, but other men also initiated new converts until they became a dominating power in the community, making themselves the big men of the village, demanding food for their snake spirits as well as payments for their supposed cures.

It may be well here to explain that the people as a whole are animists: believing in the life hereafter of their deceased ancestors. So much do they live (as if were) on the border of the spirit world that they attribute much of the happenings in their world to the agency of these spirits. We do well to take into account that they have no knowledge of the natural laws of the universe nor of hygiene nor of the natural causes of sickness. Thus they attribute sickness or accident, or even death in most instances, to the agency of the spirits. Therefore, when men seem to have got an inspiration and (according to their ideas) get into league with the other world of spirits, they have little or no difficulty in asserting their authority."

(Holland, 1933a:195)

XVI. "The notice [that the cheque for cargo would come to Serovi on February 8 1972] said that the leader, Matthias, would be present at Serovi with three bank officers, strange creatures all of them.

One would be Eripa, a deceased female, another Totoina, a mythical (rokaiva character; and the third, Banu, an eagle or hawk. And when these had mustered, Matthias would produce the cheque to pay dividends to his followers."

Jack McCarthy, in "Old Govt saying: Cargo Cult is false", Papua New Guinea "Post-Courier", April 14 1972, p.24.

XVII. "You may like to hear a legend about the people who used to live on the lower slopes of Kerorora [i.e. Mount Victory] presumably before the eruption.

These people were greatly harassed by a fierce eagle who killed & ate them & they fled to the East - to Mukawa, & places further East. But there was one family of ~~two~~ 2 brothers who remained behind & with great cunning they eventually captured the eagle & killed it. When the people who had migrated to the East heard that the fearsome bird was dead, some came back but others remained in their new homes, & to this day there is an affinity between their language & that of the people of Kerorora."

From a letter I received last month (December 1974).