

THE PALIAU MOVEMENT IN THE
ADMIRALTY ISLANDS, 1946-1954

THEODORE SCHWARTZ

VOLUME 49 : PART 2
ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS OF
THE AMERICAN MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY
NEW YORK : 1962

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PREFACE

THE PRESENT MONOGRAPH is one of the results of the Admiralty Island Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History, 1953–1954, made possible by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, with supplementary grants from the Frederick G. Voss Anthropological and Archeological Fund of the Museum. The expedition consisted of three members: Margaret Mead, who planned and led the expedition, Lenora Shargo Schwartz, and the writer. Each member kept a separate set of field notes, all of which have been used in synthesizing this account of the Paliau Movement. Mead was in the field from June to December, 1953. She centered her work in Peri Village on the island of Shallalou, where she and Reo Fortune had made a field study 25 years before, in 1928–1929. Lenora Schwartz and I lived in Bunai Village, on the island of Manus (the Great Admiralty), about 1½ miles from Peri, from June, 1953, to July, 1954. The work in Bunai and Peri was closely coordinated. A number of trips were made to other villages within the Movement area, and many informants, including most of the leaders of the Movement throughout the area, visited us frequently in our villages and cooperated willingly in interviews, biographies, and psychological tests.

I am deeply grateful to Dr. Mead for giving me the opportunity to take part in the Manus study. I benefited from her tuition and example both before and during the field trip. I wish that my work could in some way repay my indebtedness to her by approximating more nearly than it does her high standards of field-work and her level of creative thinking in anthropology.

Provision was made in the original Rockefeller Foundation grant for a year's work on expeditionary materials after completion of the field trip. This was administered as an American Museum of Natural History Fellowship. The year, September, 1954, to September, 1955, was spent in the processing of notes and films. During this time I worked out the reconstruction of the Paliau Movement that is presented here. The writing continued through the period when I taught at the University of Michigan in 1955–1956 and at the University of Chicago in 1956–1957. A research fellowship at the

American Museum of Natural History in 1957–1958 enabled me to continue work on the Manus materials and to complete this monograph. An earlier version, here revised and edited, constituted my doctoral dissertation accepted by the University of Pennsylvania in 1958.

In Australia and in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea many people gave us hospitality and services, added to our knowledge of the Territory, and made our stay there more pleasant through their friendship. I hope those who helped and befriended us there are aware of my gratitude. I wish to thank the missionaries whom we met in the Territory who, in their conversations during visits to Bunai and in meetings elsewhere, contributed to our understanding of their missions and of the mission view of the Paliau Movement. They were invariably friendly and helpful. I am grateful also for the cooperation and hospitality extended to me by the officers of the Australian Administration of Manus. Knowing them, I came to respect the dedicated efforts of the Administration on Manus. I hope that this monograph, along with the recent and earlier works of Mead and Fortune, will make some contribution to a better understanding of and relationship with the natives of the Admiralties in the area affected by the Paliau Movement.

I thank Mr. and Mrs. James Landman with whom I found a valued friendship. James Landman was Assistant District Officer on Baluan Island, where the headquarters of the new Council were located, while his wife, Marjorie, taught in the new government school there. We learned much from them about the Administration's Native Council program and about the history and working of the Paliau Movement which they had observed for years.

It is most difficult to express the debt I feel toward the people we studied. The Manus are a remarkable people. They participated in our study with intelligence and intellectual curiosity. The friendships I formed with some of those natives who worked most closely with me were rich and full. I left them with a sense of painful separation and hope that they may gain in some way from this record of their career in the Paliau Movement. In their work with me they

were always interested in my getting the record "straight." I hope that I have done so. The cooperation that Paliu gave us was essential to our work. He is a lonely person, distinct even from his closest followers, putting himself into his Movement and proudly asking recognition for his work and scope for his abilities. I hope that what is recorded here will bring to some readers an appreciation of his role and his accomplishments.

I wish to thank my parents for their support and encouragement during the long period of my training, my field-work, and the writing of this monograph. Lenora Schwartz, in her field-work, contributed directly some of the points in this reconstruction of the Paliu Movement.

The skillful editing by Miss Bella Weitzner, of the American Museum of Natural History,

has helped to remove some of the awkwardness of my writing, though what remains does not reflect fully her skill and taste.

I received valuable critical advice in the writing of this manuscript from Drs. Rhoda Metraux, Margaret Mead, Ward Goodenough, and Mark Benney. I am grateful to them for their judgment and for the considerable time that they spent on this task. I thank Miss Julia Crane, Mrs. Dorothy Perron, and Mrs. Nancy Stockman Bowers for their help in the preparation of the manuscript. Although I have benefited from the help of all whom I have mentioned, I alone am responsible for the shortcomings of the study here presented.

THEODORE SCHWARTZ

Chiconcuac, Mexico
August, 1959

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INTRODUCTION

THIS MONOGRAPH is intended to provide a detailed description and an analysis of the events that rapidly and drastically transformed the cultures of the south coast of the Admiralty Islands between 1945 and 1954. It aims to specify closely the participations of the many actors in these events, particularly through analysis of their orientations toward change. Analysis is directed toward events, their structures, and their personnel sets and toward a delineation of the phases marking structural change in the process of change itself.

The monograph is divided into three parts: two descriptive sections and an analytic section. Most of the theoretical concepts on which the later analysis is based are excluded from the descriptive section. The monograph may be read for knowledge of the complex events that formed the Paliau Movement and the religious cult phases that occurred within it before these concepts are encountered (briefly introduced in the Analysis, pp. 360–362) and the various modes of analysis of the material are explored. I am concerned throughout with the broad domain culture constructs which, as self-reflexive parts of a culture, orient its movement through time and transformation.

The following circumstances of this study make it possible to present what I believe is probably the fullest and most direct treatment of an acculturative movement with its manifestations of the frequently occurring culture contact phenomenon—the cargo cult. First, we had the good fortune to find ourselves in the midst of a second phase of the cargo cult outbreak of 1946–1947 which we had been working to reconstruct from retrospective accounts of events in the recent past. For eight of the 14 months that the expedition was in the field, we were unaware of the Second Cult, which had been kept secret. How we gained access to the Cult, problems of rapport as they were handled, and the series of “breaks” of which we were able to take advantage are described in detail in the body of the monograph. The opportunity to study the development of the second phase at first hand greatly clarified and added to the reconstructed earlier history of Cult and Movement. Some features of Admiralty Island cultures also helped to make this account of the

Paliau Movement possible. The Admiralty Islanders’ interest in accuracy, their extraordinary verbal recall for the details of events, their desire for an audience not associated with the Australian Administration (of the Trust Territory of Papua and New Guinea), or the commercial companies, or any of the missionary groups, their use of the new literacy to keep records—all facilitated the collection of a massive corpus of detailed data. Mechanical instruments, such as the typewriter, camera, and tape recorder with its electric power generator, delighted rather than inhibited them.

This monograph relies heavily on lengthy accounts by many different informants. Most of the accounts were transcribed verbatim, by writing or typing at a rapid dictation speed, using a system of Neo-Melanesian (pidgin English) abbreviations devised by Mead.¹ Some of these taped interviews lasted several hours. One hundred half-hour tapes were recorded, most of them with important interview material. It was almost always possible to get lengthy statements from an informant merely by indicating initially the subject that I wanted him to talk about. I took advantage of this in all my interviews to get the informant’s version of an event or subject as he wanted to present it, with no interruptions until the end with more direct questioning. I frequently reviewed the same events with many different informants, not only with the principal participants but also with more peripheral people.

I had also the incalculable advantage of the perspectives in time and change furnished by the studies made 25 years earlier by Fortune and Mead. In addition to the ethnological base line that these provided for the Manus group (the lagoon-dwelling fishing people), even their briefer notes on some of the people of the nearby fringing islands and the gardening people of the interior of the Great Admiralty were helpful. This early material was particularly useful, because all the data were specified for individuals, among whom were some adults as well as many who were then children and now played major roles in the Paliau Movement. We were able to

¹ See the methodological appendix (Appendix I) to Mead, 1956a.

check accounts of events in the past against contemporaneous observations or accounts of those events in the earlier field notes of Mead and Fortune. My heavy reliance on native accounts, collected and used as I describe, is based partly on this opportunity to check both accuracy and distortion in their recall of different sorts of events. It also helped me often to understand the difficulties encountered by a visiting Administration patrol officer in getting an accurate picture of sensitive matters.

Our many interviews and discussions with Paliau himself, his endorsement of us as "inside," our frequent opportunities to observe him in action in a variety of situations crucial to the development of the Movement, Mead's and my visits with him on Baluan, and affairs of the Movement that brought him to Bunai and Peri (our base villages) also provide material for an unusually intimate picture of one of the most important native leaders in the South Pacific.

Movement-wide events were seen as refracted through the experiences of informants in the two base villages. Mead's notes and observations collected in Peri Village were focused on the changes that had occurred (or had not occurred) there between 1928 and 1953 and included the Paliau Movement in Peri up to December, 1953. These notes were checked and re-checked with my notes and those of Lenora Shargo Schwartz collected in Bunai. My own notes were focused on the Paliau Movement up to July, 1954. Mead's broader study of culture change in Peri Village was published in "New Lives for Old,"¹ in which much more use was made of the time depth that the material afforded than is done in the present monograph which is focused on the 10 years of the history of the Paliau Movement.

Within the broad aims of the Admiralty Island Expedition, many other kinds of material were collected, which form part of the data that influence my view of the events and people referred to here but which have not been specifically employed in this monograph. I studied the Manus language and the Usiai language of the "Number Two Road" as represented by groups living in Bunai Village. I participated with Mead in making ethnographic checks on Manus culture to test the

older material, to fill in some gaps, and to work out the changes and constants over the 25-year period. Additional ethnographic work was done on the Usiai culture of the "Number Two Road" previously undocumented. I collected briefer ethnographic sketches on trips into the interior to other Usiai groups, to other Manus villages, and to Paliau's village on the offshore islet of Baluan. I made a detailed map and census of my home village of Bunai twice, to check on the extensive changes in domestic and neighborhood residence groupings and cooperative house-building groups, after the village had been almost completely rebuilt during my stay. Kinship and social structure of inter-village and inter-tribal relations were also studied, along with broad (not detailed) economic studies. I did Rorschach tests of 60 males, strategically selected for the scattering of their varied roles in Movement development. In addition, Lenora Shargo Schwartz used a variety of tests on larger samples of men, women, and children, and made an intensive study, using the Gesell test and observation, of behavioral development in children. Behavioral observation generally, recorded in our notes, was implemented by the use of tape recording and still and ciné photography. These were often combined. There are events for which we have written observation, full tape recording, and still and moving pictures. More than 20,000 stills and about 20,200 feet of moving pictures were taken. Many of the Cult and Movement activities described here have been filmed. Some stills are used in the monograph (Pls. 14-28); all are available for photographic analysis.

Some Administration reports have been drawn upon. Particularly useful was one on the first cult, written by Marjorie Landman, combined with the investigations by her husband, James Landman, Assistant District Officer. Other documents of great value came from the natives themselves. These were dated accounts of events within the Movement, written out painstakingly in exercise books or on the backs of assorted Australian and American printed forms used during World War II. Here are recorded fragments of the "laws," the church liturgy, the history, the program, "customs" records, and minutes of meetings of the Movement. These helped considerably to fill in the early period.

All the feasible cross-checking does not re-

¹ Mead, 1956a.

solve all doubts about past events, however recent. At times it is obvious that extensive agreement among some accounts means only that the account is highly standardized in the Movement. Statements attributed by natives to a missionary or an Administration officer are not necessarily accurate, but I believe that my informants tended to believe in the accounts they gave. Nevertheless, in spite of these difficulties, I formed the best synthesis that I could of the Paliau Movement as it was, including in my account many long quotations from informants in close translation in order that the reader may have a sense of the native experience.

Aside from documents in English, the material on which this monograph is based was collected in three languages: Manus, the Usiai language of the "Number Two Road," and Neo-Melanesian (pidgin English). Neo-Melanesian is the language of the contact culture, the *lingua franca* of "inter-ethnic" communication, and the language most used in the Paliau Movement.

All Neo-Melanesian words and phrases are Anglicized for the benefit of readers not trained in linguistics. The cognate relationship between English and Neo-Melanesian words is emphasized rather than the actual pronunciation and phonemics of Neo-Melanesian. The reader will find such a phrase as *aloketa man long ples daun i wan kajn tasol* written as *Altogether man long place down i one kind that's all*. Such procedure is to give a stimulant and mnemonic hold for the English speaker who should, however, avoid the assumption that the English words always carry the same meaning in the Neo-Melanesian context.

The Paliau Movement could not have been made intelligible if studied from any one village. We attempted to gain some knowledge of the entire area affected by the Movement (Fig. 1). We worked with informants from most of the villages involved, among whom were most of the principals in the history of the Movement. Our most detailed knowledge is of the experiences of the people of Bunai and Peri. Additionally, we have considerable information from interviews, though less direct observation, in Patusi, Lipan-Mouk on Baluan, Tawi, Mbukey, Nriol, and Johnston Island. We have fewer, though often valuable, interviews from Lengau, Papitalai, Lowa, Sow, and Peli-Kawa. Aside

from Bunai and Peri, I visited only Lipan-Mouk, Patusi, Loitja, and Johnston Island. Bunai was becoming a second center for the Movement area. In Bunai I met and worked with visitors from all the other Movement villages and participated there and in Lipan-Mouk in many of the area-wide meetings that were important in the continuing development of the Movement. The informants who contributed particularly large amounts of the material on which this study is based were those who played the central roles in the Movement and the cults.¹

Before we left New York in the spring of 1953, we knew little about the Paliau Movement, except that it existed and that it had affected the Manus. We knew only that in the 25 years since Mead and Fortune had made their original study the Manus had adopted Catholicism about 1930, that their lives had been disrupted by the Japanese invasion and occupation of the Admiralties between 1942 and 1944, that they had had massive contact with the American armed forces, which, with the Australians, had driven out the Japanese, that the Australian Administration had been restored, and, finally, that the war had been followed by unrest, cargo cults, and the Paliau Movement, named after its founder. Not until we were in Australia did we learn more. We found the Movement referred to as "nationalism," "totalitarianism," and "*Mein Kampf*-ism." We had heard of the reactivation of "seances," possibly as a revival of the old religion. Yet, in spite of these vague reports of cults, I did not anticipate that I would spend more than half of my working time in the field in reconstructing the history of the Movement and the "cargo cult."

The reader who wishes to take fullest advantage of this monograph may place it in the

¹ The following informants made major contributions of great value to the study of the Paliau Movement and the First and Second Cult Phases: Paliau and Lukas of Lipan-Mouk; Lungat and Nreje of Nriol; Kisakui of Tawi; Gabriel of Patusi; Lukas Pokus, Prenis Tjolai, John Kilepak Kisokau, and Johannes Lokes of Peri; Samol, Tjamilo, Simion Kilepak, and Gabriel Suluwan of the Manus section of Bunai; Pondis, Pondro, and Namu of Malei; Kampo and Pita Tapo of Lahan; Bombowai and Sayau of Yiru; Sayau Bombowai of Katin; Pantret and Petrus Popu of Lowaja; Tonri of Sow; and Karol of Papitalai. A larger number of informants gave us less extensive but often important accounts. All these informants, themselves, appear frequently in this monograph.

context of the other publications on the Admiralties listed in the Bibliography. I do not include an extensive description of the older cultures of the Admiralties as studied by Mead and Fortune in 1928.¹

The publications by Mead and Fortune on the Manus culture provide the only full description of an Admiralty Island culture. Aside from Nevermann's useful compilation based on the older sources, there are no descriptions of the cultures of the interior of the Great Admiralty or of the fringe islands.

In this study I do not undertake a comparison of such cults and movements as they occur elsewhere in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea or in other parts of the world. For general discussion, interpretation, and comparative

study of cults and movements, the reader is referred to Ralph Linton's typology of nativistic movements,² Herskovits' discussion of "contra-acculturative movements,"³ Wilson Wallis' "Messiahs—Their Role in Civilization,"⁴ and to the extensive comparative studies being made by Anthony Wallace of what he has called "revitalization movements."⁵ For a summary discussion of "cargo cults" in the Territory of Papua and New Guinea and of various explanations which have been offered for these cults, see "The South Seas in Transition" by W. Stanner.⁶ A survey and an interpretation of Melanesian and Papuan "cargo cults" can be found in "The Trumpet Shall Sound" by Peter Worsley.⁷

¹ The reader is referred to Mead, 1930, 1934, and to Fortune, 1935. A short sketch of the old Manus culture may be found as a chapter in Mead (ed.), 1937. Other shorter works on Manus by these authors are listed in the Bibliography, as well as older sources in German. Particularly useful is Nevermann, 1934.

² Linton, 1943.

³ Herskovits, 1938.

⁴ Wallis, 1943.

⁵ Wallace, 1956a.

⁶ Stanner, 1953.

⁷ Worsley, 1957.

PART 1. RECONSTRUCTION

BACKGROUND OF THE PALIAU MOVEMENT¹

THE ADMIRALTIES are the northernmost extension of Melanesia. They consist of many small islands clustering around the Island of Manus (formerly called the Great Admiralty),² which comprises the greater part of the land mass of the group. Many of these fringing islands are low, coral sand flats. Some are volcanic projections like the Great Admiralty itself. The Great Admiralty is about 50 miles long from east to west and about 16 miles wide from north to south, with its center at about latitude 2° S., longitude 147° E. Most of the islands of the cluster lie within sight of its shores, within about 50 miles from its center.

The total population of the Admiralties, approximately 15,000, is composed of three groups: the Manus, the Usiai, and the Matankor. Bogen estimates (based on a total population of 12,500) 1200 Manus, 6500 Usiai, and 4800 Matankor during the period of the American occupation after World War II.

These three groups may best be described as ecological types. Although the Manus are culturally the most homogeneous, they should not be described politically as a tribe. In 1953 there were 10 Manus villages, all within the Paliau Movement, the Manus group having been totally recruited by it. Before the introduction of European administrations, the Manus villages, like all the villages of the Admiralties, had been politically autonomous units. The Manus, unlike the other two groups, share a common language which manifests only slight dialectic variation from one village to another. Until the Paliau Movement, they were distinguished, as an ecological type, by the fact that they built their villages in the shallow lagoons between the southern shore of the Great Admiralty and its fringing reef or similarly off the shores of the small islands that lie within sight of its southern shore. All the Manus villages were within two days of one another by canoe. The Manus lived by fishing and trading,

acting as middlemen for the area of the South Coast. They were seafarers, highly skilled in building and navigating their rugged, sea-going, outrigger canoes.

Matankor was the name given by the Manus to the people who built their houses on the smaller islands of the archipelago. They had a mixed economy, cultivating fruits and root crops in their gardens, doing some fishing, but were in part dependent on the Manus and Usiai. They built canoes and conducted part of their own trade with other villages. The Matankor were skilled carvers and craftsmen. Each island specialized in some manufactures, such as carved beds, shell beads, or obsidian spear heads. The members of this group do not share a single language or a single culture.

The Usiai occupied the interior of the Great Admiralty. They were gardeners, did not fish, and had no canoes. They feared the sea. Usiai villages depended on trade with the Manus in a system of traditional trade partnership between villages and between individuals. On the North Coast, where there were no Manus villages, the Usiai traded directly with the Matankor. They were despised by the Manus as the "men of the bush." In the past they, like some Matankor groups and unlike the Manus, were cannibals. Their villages were located on hilltop clearings; their houses were built directly on the ground.

Usiai, Manus, and Matankor made war against one another and against villages within their own group. Alliances were unstable. Even the village and clan as political units depended for their cohesion on the prestige of particular leaders—the "big men" so familiar and important in the Melanesian area. Their remembered history is full of split and merger and migration and realignment of the components of villages. The very names "Usiai" and "Matankor" were Manus terms of contempt for these other groups. The Manus tended to be accepted and respected more readily by Europeans.

The Admiralties were discovered by Europeans, possibly in the sixteenth century, but the first assured date is 1616 by Willem Schouten and Jacob LeMaire.³ They were visited oc-

¹ I am indebted throughout this section for background information taken from Bogen, MS.

² The terms "Great Admiralty" and "Admiralty Islands" are used to avoid confusion with the Manus people and the name "Manus" as is sometimes applied to the entire island group.

³ For a more complete account of the discovery and exploration of the Admiralties, see Nevermann, 1934.

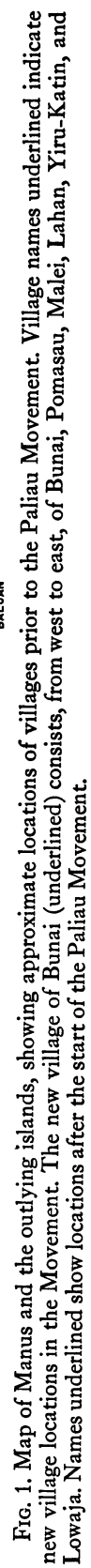


FIG. 1. Map of Manus and the outlying islands, showing approximate locations of villages prior to the Paliau Movement. Village names underlined indicate new village locations in the Movement. The new village of Bunai (underlined) consists, from west to east, of Bunai, Pomasau, Malei, Lahan, Yiru-Katin, and Lowaja. Names underlined show locations after the start of the Paliau Movement.

casionally by explorers, among them Carteret in 1767 and D'Entrecasteaux in 1792. During the following century they were probably visited by occasional traders, whalers, and "blackbirding" slavers. Study of the Admiralties began with the visit of H.M.S. "Challenger" in 1875. In 1884 the German government established a protectorate over the Bismarck Archipelago, including the Admiralties. German warships began the process of pacification. The Germans established most of the plantations that are still being worked in the Admiralties, as well as commercial stations, but not until 1912 did they establish a local government and a police station. They made headway in appointing natives to represent the administration in each village and in inhibiting warfare, cannibalism, and the prostitution of female captives.

In 1914, an Australian expeditionary force took possession of the Admiralties. Later the Admiralties were placed under the Australian New Guinea Mandate of the League of Nations. The Australian Administration of the Mandate was established in 1921. Pacification was completed, and native ordinance was put into effect. A head tax of 10 shillings per adult male was instituted as an incentive to work for Europeans. Indentured labor on ships and plantations had been well established during German times. The Australians appointed, usually, three native officials for each village: a *luluai*, or *kukerai*, as a sort of chief; an assistant to him, or interpreter, the *tultul*; and a *doctor boy* who received some simple training at an Administration hospital. Government headquarters were established at Lorengau which had steamship contact with Australia every six weeks. The Australian system of administration was superimposed on the original politically atomistic system of village autonomy in such a way that the old pattern was preserved, in the main, as far as relationships between native villages were concerned. Vertically each village was linked directly to the Administration; horizontally, there was little organization affecting intra-village relations. The North and the South Coasts each had a paramount *luluai* appointed over the *luluai* of single villages. His authority was limited and was derived primarily from his prestige as a "big man" in the traditional status system and from his influence with the Administration in settling disputes.

By the end of the 1920's, the Christian missions had begun to find ready converts in the Admiralties. The Manus people adopted Christianity about 1930, shortly after they had been studied by Mead and Fortune. They had decided of their own accord, on the basis of *work-boy* experience and rumors of the European missions, that they would discard their old religion and would adopt Roman Catholicism. A Lutheran Evangelical Mission and, later, a Seventh Day Adventist Mission were established during the 1930's. By the beginning of World War II, most of the natives of the Admiralty Islands had been converted by one or another of these missions.

There are some 25 mutually unintelligible languages in the Admiralty Islands.¹ Neo-Melanesian (or pidgin English) had been known to many natives from German times. By the time of our field study I encountered no natives (with the possible exception of a few old women) who were not partially bilingual. Neo-Melanesian had become the language of the contact culture—the language for the expression of new experience. The Neo-Melanesian kinship system was widely used, while the older kinship systems had been greatly modified. Literacy in Neo-Melanesian, which had become general among the men, gave access only to letters and to a literature almost entirely of mission origin.

Work for Europeans became a part of the experience of most male natives at some point in their lives, but there was no tendency toward permanent alienation from the local group. Indentured labor on plantations or in European centers in the Territory took Admiralty Islanders to places such as Rabaul, Lae, and Finschhafen. With the increase of labor for Europeans up to World War II, European currency and objects of European material culture constantly flowed into the native contact culture. The system of affinal exchange, on which much of the Admiralty areal culture centered, persisted throughout all these changes, and the related marriage system, with the exception of polygyny, survived Christian conversion. The contact culture grew by accretion. In the feasts and exchanges of wealth that accompanied the series of affinal exchanges, rolled stacks of Australian shillings and strings of European beads were

¹ Smythe, MS.

hung on the counting lines together with the strings of dogs' teeth and shell beads that had been the native currency. Most of the goods purchasable in the trade stores with the meager wages of a clerk or a plantation worker were desired and accepted readily. The new was added to the remnants of the old. For most people, life continued to center around fishing, gardening, and ceremonial exchange. Goods or cash accumulated by a *work boy* returning to his village after a three-year contract was immediately divided by his relatives and found its way into the continuing pattern of the old economic system. In the past there had been a two-rank system, with relatively few differentiating status systems independent of it. The higher, *lapan* status of the old two-rank system had been partly hereditary, partly achieved, which always required validation through entrepreneurial initiation of exchange. In the contact culture there were now such differentiated persons as *work boy*, *boss boy*, *police boy*, *clerk*, *boat's crew*, and *catechist*. Against the reluctant dependency of the young men on the older men were interposed the alternatives of the *work-boy* world¹ outside the village, from which they could bring back the prestige-building money and goods of the European. This alternative offered a source of wealth independent of the dogs' teeth of the elders, and the possibility of withdrawal from the village as a sanction used against the older men, with which the young men could exercise greater or earlier temporary independence. Yet the young men eventually returned to their villages to live under the influence of their elders within the more diversified synthesis which was the contact culture. A sort of balance had been reached within native contact culture which combined the European Christian and *work-boy* cultures of the Territory with that which had not seemed incompatible to either Europeans or natives in the old Admiralty Island cultures.

Increasing contact among natives of the Territory of New Guinea was producing a Territory-wide contact culture. Those who traveled abstracted the similarities among Melanesian cultures into a concept of the *way belong native* as different from a *way belong white man*. Events of some magnitude in one part of the Territory

¹ See Reed, 1943, for a discussion of the formation and content of the contact culture prior to World War II. See also Mead, 1930.

became known in others through the movements of natives between their villages and distant places of employment. Significantly the beginnings of the Paliau Movement and the preceding local movements during the immediate post-war period were led by Paliau and by Napo of Mbukei, both of whom had traveled extensively while in the Native Constabulary.

The changes mentioned in the above sketch were of great importance in creating the situation in which the Paliau Movement occurred. European government had been imposed and accepted. Warfare and raiding between villages had ceased as the governing states monopolized the use of force. European currency had been introduced, beginning the early stages of the complex process of adopting a cash economy. The flow of European goods had stimulated a demand far in excess of native means of satisfying their new but firmly established needs. The acceptance of Christianity had been rapid and was based in part on native belief that correct religious thinking was inseparably linked to the successful acquisition of wealth, power, and longevity. This acceptance had been, to an extent, provisional, leaving uncertain the continuing valence of much of the old belief system. The availability of alternatives to village life had made the recruitment of the younger men into the old culture more difficult and incomplete. All these major changes greatly affected Manus acculturation and were essential to the post-war appearance of the Paliau Movement. These earlier phases of Manus acculturation are not treated extensively in this monograph, but they provide the background for the period after World War II.

Our knowledge of the beginnings of the Paliau Movement in the Admiralty Islands before World War II indicates that in the early 1940's some leaders and some potential followers favored a more abrupt break with the old culture and a selection from the content of the contact culture in favor of all that was more European. Much of the traditional culture continued in a somewhat integrated adherence to the old village, clan, and kinship systems with an affinal exchange system organized by "big men," with the young men as increasingly disaffected participants in a system that was undermined but had not yet disintegrated. The people of the Admiralties suffered little physical deprivation. Most villages lost little or no land. Generally,

working for Europeans, the presence of European centers, the local administration, the missions, the plantations, the trade stores, and European goods and money were considered by the natives as improvements that enriched their lives by comparison with their own past condition.

An attempt by Napo of Mbukeyi, prior to World War II, which had failed had taken much the same form as that described in the section on The Local Phase (pp. 228-230) for the post-war local movements. A pre-war program of Paliau's had showed signs of success. The war interrupted both movements. But, after the tremendous impact of the war on the contact culture, the local movements were revived with expanded scope, and the Paliau Movement made a new start with a program to transform this contact culture.

In April, 1942, the Japanese occupied the Admiralty Islands against little opposition. They built air strips at Momote and Lorengau, set up coast guard artillery, and established garrisons. They set up a school to teach some selected Admiralty Island natives to speak Japanese and told them that they, the Japanese, were henceforth to be their rulers. By the time of our arrival on Manus in 1953, we found little evidence of Japanese influence on the contact culture. The people told some anecdotes about the war and the Japanese. They reported that they had been forced to work for the Japanese without wages and that there were instances of cruel treatment. They knew several Japanese songs. However, little more survived the war that seemed specifically Japanese. Perhaps fear of being thought a Japanese collaborator after the return of the Australians led to the rapid eradication of what Japanese influence there had been. The Japanese had little direct effect on life in the villages, but there were several important indirect effects. European missionaries were absent for the duration of the war, but some of the native catechists carried on in their churches. Several of the leaders of the Paliau Movement came from among the Catholic native catechists and the Lutheran Evangelical native teachers. The absent Australian Administration and the missions suffered some loss of prestige because of the war. Another important effect of the Japanese occupation was the prolongation of absence from the Admiralties of many natives who had been working on New

Ireland or New Britain at the outbreak of war. The experience of internment, the throwing together of natives from many parts of the Admiralties away from their homes where all were considered and called Manus (dropping the invidious distinctions of Usiai and Matankor) and the many discussions among the younger men caught by the war of plans for attacking the old way of life and the authority of the older men upon their return to their villages contributed directly to the later development of the Movement.

According to Bogen's account, on February 29, 1944, an American reconnaissance force began the attack on the Japanese. By the end of March organized Japanese resistance had ended, though a few Japanese held out for a long time in the interior. The American invasion was begun by the dismounted cavalry of the 5th Regiment, First Division. Anti-aircraft batteries followed, also Construction Battalion units, an infantry regiment, surface warning batteries, and three station hospitals. Most of these remained on Los Negros Island. A naval base was set up, with several naval CB outfits. The United States Air Force took over the Japanese airfields and built additional air strips. Many Americans as well as a great many Japanese had been killed. Even after the fighting ended, several major air and naval accidents swelled the total number of burials in the Lorengau military cemetery.

ANGAU, the Australian New Guinea Administrative Unit, had been established for the Territory after the Japanese invasion. A unit of ANGAU returned to the Admiralties with the first wave of Americans and reestablished the Australian Administration.

It is difficult to assess the effect of the American occupation and of the war in general on the people of the Admiralties. These people had seen the Germans, the Australians, and the Japanese take control of their islands and of their destinies. Now, in 1944, the Australians returned, brought back, as the Manus related it to us, by the power of the Americans. Manus was used as a staging area for the continuing American operations in the Pacific. The force of men and materials built up on Manus was enormously greater than anything the people had ever experienced. If there was a negative side to their relations with the American forces, they forgot it in retrospect. Admiralty Island

natives told us often that the Americans had been friendly and generous. The many natives who had worked for them they had paid well by Territory standards. They gave abundantly of their supplies, food, and clothing. Manus material culture became full of American army surplus. Most natives wore parts of American military uniforms. They rode in American cars and PT boats; Americans fished from native canoes. To the people of Manus the lines that defined the distance between *master* and *boy* seemed to have faded. Native accounts of their experience of the war also emphasize the American Negroes in the Army and in the CB units. Proudly a bridge was pointed out to me as my canoe passed under it in the channel between the Great Admiralty and Los Negros. "Do you know," asked one of the Manus guiding the canoe under the wooden beams, "that this bridge and that road were built entirely by American Negro soldiers?" The significance of the fact that Negroes were doing most of the manual labor escaped them in their pride that people with whom they identified as "black men" had mastered this most impressive American culture. The *way belong native* clearly was not the only possibility for "black men." In the American camps of Quonset huts, which had grown so suddenly out of the flood of materials that had poured from the cargo ships, the native experienced a new model of a way of life in which things were done right, life was set "straight," and men lived in seeming brotherhood and solidarity. This new model was added

to models derived from the mission, the government, the plantations, and the European towns like Rabaul. They desired what they saw. As they had incorporated freely from mission and European administration, they now saw the possibility of a fuller participation in the obviously superior knowledge, wealth, and power of the Americans. They had been given much. Why could they not be made "all right," as the white men were and as the Americans had made the Negroes? Why could they not be brought "inside" the world society, which, in its military forms at least, had come to them in war?

There had been discontent with the old way before the war. Now, it seemed to many of the younger men (particularly those disposed to lead) impossible that the war should fade away, that the American army should go home, as it did, and that under the old forms of the Australian Administration the old, separate course of a native way of life should return. The war had left the people who were to comprise the Paliau Movement with the feeling that their lives had been irrevocably altered. Life could never be the same again. They were not sure what would happen, but something would.

With the end of the war, the Manus *work boys* who had been caught by the war in Rabaul, Finschafen, Talasea, or Lae returned to their villages, some considering what they might do to make of their cultures a more fitting form for their altered selves. At this point we begin our more detailed account.

THE PHASES OF ACCULTURATION IN THE ADMIRALTY ISLANDS SINCE WORLD WAR II

It may be useful to summarize the phases of Manus acculturation that are described more fully in later sections. The period of Manus acculturation through which the Paliau Movement extends I have divided into seven phases. I attempt to distinguish between the Cult and the Movement and to describe their state of relative fusion or separateness as varying from phase to phase of this period of Manus acculturation. The Paliau Movement as well as the Cult runs through all phases. These phases are only partially coincidental with chronological periods in this history of the entire area affected by the Movement and Cult. They begin and end at different times for different parts of

the area, and, for that matter, at different times for different sets of the personnel involved in the events considered here.

THE LOCAL PHASE

This phase was entered during the period immediately after World War II, when a number of individuals attempted to initiate partial programs of change within their own villages. The programs were characterized by similar orientations toward change that involved a repudiation of the older Manus culture or what remained of it. In spite of blanket repudiations of the past, each leader in his program centered on one or another specific aspect or institution

in the older culture for elimination. Their programs were primarily negative, for they focused on what should no longer be done. They were inadequate, however, in a conception of an intervening cultural transformation between the culture that would result from their extirpations and a culture roughly approximating to European culture, which was their goal.

THE INITIAL MOVEMENT PHASE

This phase began in 1946 after the return of Paliau to Manus. He became the leader and center of the Movement that bears his name. Paliau formulated and propagated a program of comprehensive social, economic, political, and religious cultural transformation. His program was more complete. It was culture-wide and far more elaborately specific in its historical derivations and programmatic projections. In the new culture, the *Newfela Fashion* was not to be an end that, once put into effect, would be perpetuated; rather it was to be a vehicle for change. During this phase a beginning was made in the organization of a Movement along the lines of the *Newfela Fashion* and oriented toward long-term transformation in the direction of European culture.

THE FIRST CULT PHASE

Manus acculturation entered this phase with the outbreak of a cargo cult in one of the villages peripheral to the center of the Movement. The Cult itself is often referred to in this monograph by the Neo-Melanesian term "*Noise*." The *Noise* refers to that period in each village during which there was an active, excited belief that the Second Coming of Jesus and of the ancestors bringing *cargo* was imminent. The *Noise* was marked by the destruction of property, mass or individual convulsive seizures, visions or hallucinations, and the experience of direct communication with Jesus or with the dead. It ended abruptly in some villages; in others, it ended in a series of recurrent episodes overlapping the next phase. The *Noise* lasted only a few days to a few weeks in most villages, but the total period from its inception in the village of Nriol at the end of January, 1947, until its last episode among the Usiai villages at Easter, in 1947, covers some three months.

In the Cult a focusing on supernatural means was combined with a rejection of the more programmatic concerns and secular means of the

Movement. There was also an emphasis in the Cult on the imminence of realization of the goal—a life like that of the Europeans. There was a sharp contrast also between organizational centralism in the Movement and particularism in the Cult. The Cult spread rapidly, then collapsed in each village, as it became apparent that its commitments and prophecies would not be fulfilled. Government opposition helped to inhibit further open manifestation of the Cult. The *Noise* left the group of villages that had become involved in it united in an unprecedented solidarity, but this solidarity developed after and not during the active cult phase.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL PHASE

The Movement came to the forefront again after the collapse of the Cult and was embraced by all those villages to which the Cult had extended. The *Newfela Fashion* was put into effect under Paliau's leadership. It passed through an early, almost ritualistic enactment into a more flexible state of improvisation and continual change. The Movement anticipated some of the Administration-planned developments that were being introduced into other parts of the Territory, such as native courts, councils, and cooperatives. Paliau added these to the *Newfela-Fashion* program, substituting for some of the initial institutions of the Movement and helping to fill in the conceptual gap of needed program between the initial and ultimate goals of the Movement.

THE PLATEAU PHASE

This phase was characterized by drift. There was a loss of the momentum of change and a decline in morale. Much of the early *Newfela-Fashion* content dropped out, without being explicitly repudiated or devalued. This period was one of blockage, loss of spontaneity, and of long waiting for the government to make official the gains that had been made by the Movement. Toward the end of this phase (though the period of this phase is least clearly set in time, it runs generally from 1950 to 1953) the people who had dominated the scene during the First Cult Phase again began to come to the fore.

THE SECOND CULT PHASE

The Cult of this phase might also be called

the Ghost Cult (a phrase that would match its main emphasis with native thinking), the Cemetery Cult or the *road belong matmat* (the "way of the cemetery"). This phase and the latter part of the preceding phase were studied directly during our field study (1953-1954). The Second Cult differed from the First in that it succeeded in recruiting only a part of the Movement membership, while the rest of the Movement formed an opposition which eventually put an end to the Cult. My analysis is intensively concerned with the changes brought about in the Cult that differentiate the Second Cult from the First, by the intervening years of development of the Movement, and by the attempt by the adherents of the Second Cult to correct the mistakes of the First Cult, which had failed.

THE OFFICIALIZATION PHASE

Just before the end of our stay in the field, the South Coast Council was finally made official, elections were held, and taxes were collected. The inauguration of a government-sponsored cooperative plan was imminent. Within the Movement a change in orientation resulted from the experience in the previous phase of conflict between the Cult and the Movement. This change amounted to a renewal of the openness of the Movement by separating it from its origins and by making its separateness from the Cult more explicit.

The Organizational and Plateau Phases are treated here in only a summary way, and the Officialization Phase is treated only as an epilogue to the Field Study of the Second Cult Phase.

THE LOCAL PHASE

The Movement toward a new culture that I here describe included a large section of the Admiralties. It did not have a single point of origin. Within the area that it eventually encompassed, there were at least six local attempts to formulate a new culture, which would be more satisfyingly integrated, within itself and within the world, than the preceding culture of the contact period. These early local movements were strikingly similar. Each was associated with a single man and his own village or small group of related villages. Perhaps their most significant similarity was their failure, in contrast to the later Paliau Movement which successfully recruited the same populations. It is important, then, to examine these first attempts and to ascertain from them the states of readiness and resistance that would condition the inauguration of a new culture.

NAPO OF MBUKEI

Napo's attempt at transforming the culture of his own village is one of the earliest known in the South Admiralty area. Napo was from Mbukey, the westernmost of the Manus-speaking villages. It was a landless village. The Mbukey chain of islands had been alienated to the Germans, who made them into a European-owned coconut plantation. The people of Mbukey took their living from the sea, the reef, and the lagoon. Some went out beyond the

bounds of the small world that lay within a two-day reach of their canoes.

Like most of the other leaders of the later Movement, Napo left the village in his early teens to work for the white man. After five years of work for a company, he joined the Native Constabulary. After three years as a *police boy* in the Sepik Area of New Guinea, he returned to his village on leave. This was about 1937, when Napo was about 23 years old. He did not want to return to the old routine of village life, to the "hard work of the big men of before." The incentives of his father's culture could not move him into the endless round of work to amass wealth in dogs' teeth and shell beads that would be hung on lines at feasts he might give to testify to his importance. Like the other members of his village group, he was a Christian. The ghosts that had prodded men into the complex network of bride-wealth exchange through which so much of the old culture had moved were banished. Christian or not, the village offered only the old round of activities to compete with the excitement of the expanded world within which the young man who went to work could move. Yet the young men of Manus, though they went away to work for long periods of time, wanted to return to their village, to marry, and to live there. Napo also wanted to return. He wanted to remake the way of life of the village, into which he no

longer fitted, and to terminate the unbroken lines of activity that came down from the past but offered no satisfaction to his generation.

He offered his age mates an iconoclastic attack on the keystone of the old system that called for the elimination of the great exchanges of wealth connected with marriage. Opposed by the conservatism of the older generation, who wished to continue as much of the past culture as was not ruled incompatible with Catholic teaching by the missionary, and opposed by the missionary himself, Napo was unsuccessful. He left the village to serve another term as *police boy*.

Napo found scope for his abilities and opportunity to grow in experience while serving in the Middle Sepik Area of New Guinea. He had served his apprenticeship working with Australian patrol officers, who maintained superficial administrative supervision over the area, and had learned the workings of the law from his participation in government courts. Now he had his "flag," i.e., he was put in charge of an outlying station for a year. Here his great responsibility was to keep order and to promote and maintain changes desired by the Administration. Whatever satisfaction the administration of these foreign villages may have afforded him, his thinking at this time still centered around what he would do when he returned to Manus.

When Napo came back to Mbukei in 1940, he attempted again to lead his village into a new life. Again he addressed himself to the young men, this time with a broader, more detailed criticism of the existing culture. As he recalled it, the essentials of his initial speeches were as follows:

Our traditional way of life is no good. All of the ways in which we act trouble our minds so that we don't think straight about God. Everything we do ruins us. We are always in anger. It would be better if we changed the culture of our ancestors and made a new one of our own.¹ Why is it that all of the white men have stores and you and I are unable to

¹ "Culture" here is a translation of the Neo-Melanesian word *fashion* which may be translated variously by the English words "way," "fashion," "custom," or "culture," depending on the scope of behavior referred to in the Neo-Melanesian context. It might be said of some behavior that it is the *fashion* of a particular person, or it is the *fashion* of children, or of women, or of the people of a particular hamlet, or that it is the *fashion* of Usiai, or of natives, or the *fashion* of men everywhere.

take a dog's tooth or anything that we can give in the store to get something?

This brief speech is much condensed. It is sufficient to note here that Napo's attack was against the whole indigenous culture. He concentrated, however, on the economic activities that centered around bride-wealth exchange and advocated dropping native currency in favor of Australian.

Again he met opposition from the older men. The *luluai* complained to the missionary and to Kisekup of Bunai who was the government-appointed paramount *luluai* of the South Coast of Manus. They joined in the opposition. It is impossible now to know the actual attitude of the mission. But Napo describes it thus:

The Father heard about it and he was angry at me. He forbade me to go to church. He wasn't angry at me because I had any idea of changing the talk of the mission. "No," he said, "You are no *masta*,² you are no white man. You are incapable of acquiring all that belongs to us *white skin*. You must confine yourselves only to the ways of the black man." All the men in the village said that the Father told them this. But I said, "Never mind. He is a white man and I am a native. I will do as I wish with my own village."

Despite opposition, Napo established himself as a leader among the younger men. The mission, satisfied that he was not attempting to interfere in religion, lifted the ban on his receiving communion. The war interrupted the further development of his plan. As of that time, Napo knew which old activities he wanted discontinued but was unable to propose any new activities that would fit into a coherent and satisfying schema for the future. He wanted to remove his followers from the village to work for wages at a nearby plantation.

By the end of World War II, Napo had influenced the older men only to the point of their promising that they would set a date for the termination of the old activities. In the meantime, however, as many of the economic and ceremonial obligations of the old system as possible were to be met. The last big feast still had to be made. At this point Napo began to hear of other men who were trying to introduce programs similar to his elsewhere in Manus. There was an excitement all over Manus at this time.

² *Masta* is the Neo-Melanesian term of address used by natives speaking to white men. Natives are addressed as *boy*.

He told his followers that something of great importance was about to happen. Whatever it might be, they were eager for it. Napo's was no longer a local movement. He was looking beyond himself and his village for a plan of action that would move the whole village quickly and radically out of the past. Napo went first to Bonyalo of Peri, hoping that he had such a plan. Later, he heard news of Paliau.

BONYALO OF PERI

In 1928, when Mead and Fortune were in Rabaul, New Britain, choosing the specific village that they would study, they were influenced in their selection of Peri by the fact that the government school at Rabaul had a school boy from that village who had learned a little English and who could act as an interpreter. This adolescent, Bonyalo, proved to be a dull and reluctant helper.¹ The idea of sending boys out of the village to a distant school was not well received at the time. It is suspected that the village sent the boys who were least promising and least likely to be missed. Meeting Bonyalo 25 years later, one still got the impression that he was dull compared with his age mates, yet he was, at this later time, regarded with great respect by the Manus. He was responsible for the literacy of hundreds of natives whom he had taught to read and write Neo-Melanesian. It was Bonyalo who led Peri in its initial movement toward a new culture immediately after the war.

Bonyalo had lived away from Manus during most of the 25 years since he had returned to the government school in 1929. On his temporary return in 1928, he showed contempt for his own culture. He had worked for many years as a clerk in the office of the technical school in Rabaul. For the six years just before the war he worked as a clerk in the government store at Kokapo. He issued rations for the Native Constabulary and while doing so he met Paliau. Unlike a number of the other leaders, Bonyalo claims no advance intention of remaking his own village at this time. During the war he worked for two years for the Japanese in Kavieng as a fisherman, with hundreds of other Admiralty Islanders who had been captured there. At the end of the war he worked for ANGAU; then he

returned to Peri in 1945. The village had returned to its normal composition and appearance. Photographs taken of the village at that time by members of the American armed forces show almost no outward signs of change when compared with those taken by Mead and Fortune in 1928. Peri had suffered relatively little hardship in the war. In the post-war period the village had a far greater cash income than it could ever have hoped for before the war. In addition to this income, derived from wage labor on the American bases, the village was acquiring a new kind of material wealth—tools, scrap galvanized iron, electrical cable, airfield stripping, planks and plywood flooring, army cots, lockers, blankets, mattresses, chairs, kitchen utensils, and clothing. All this wealth was acquired easily as gifts or payments from the American troops or was salvaged from the heaps in which the Americans so indifferently discarded these extremely useful and highly desirable objects. There was greater wealth than ever, but in terms of their new level of aspiration the natives were poverty stricken. Many natives had already formed an image of themselves and their villages as sharing completely in the culture of the white men. Others hung rolls of American dollars or Australian shillings on the lines used for display of wealth along with their dogs' teeth and shell beads, each new item being incorporated as a syncretic addition to the familiar culture. For Bonyalo, who had spent more than half of his life in the European centers, the village and its life seemed to be all too much as they were when he had left them. He took the lead immediately in trying to bring Peri to a clean break with its past.

Putting his initial approach in a form reminiscent of the past, Bonyalo killed a large sea turtle and called the young men of the village to a feast. Bonyalo hoped at first to move the village, by persuasion, into discarding the remnants of the old culture, although he expected the resistance of the older men. He was in his mid-thirties, a member of the age group that provided most of the leadership of the new movements in Manus. Bonyalo's approach was cautious. He avoided the religious area of the culture. To avoid trouble with the government, he kept a book recording the content of his meetings. After the older men had shown their opposition, Bonyalo's adherents went by canoe

¹ See references to Banyalo (here spelled Bonyalo) in Mead, 1930, 1956a; and in Fortune, 1935.

at night to a nearby uninhabited island where they met in secret. Bonyalo's program was essentially the same as that which Napo had offered in Mbukei. Napo, who came hopefully to Bonyalo looking for a more effective approach than his own, went back in disappointment.

Bonyalo called for a standardization of the bride price as a single payment of £10, Australian currency. There were to be no more *metcha* payments (what Mead has called "the silver wedding payment which a rich and successful man makes for a wife to whom he has been married fifteen or twenty years"¹). He did not advocate the abolition of bride price but removed it from its key place in the old economy by making it a single cash payment, without reciprocal gifts of foodstuffs on the part of the bride's family. A young man, regardless of the status or wealth of his father, could then earn the cash as a wage laborer. He would no longer be obligated to many years of dependent service to the man who financed his marriage with a large payment of dogs' teeth and shell money. Bonyalo called for a cessation of the practice of child betrothal. Young men and women were to marry according to their own preference. Premarital sexual relations were to be permitted.

Among the feasts and payments of the past that were to be restricted was the *pwaro*, a payment made by a husband to his wife's family in return for the care she received in her confinement. The wife was cared for by her kin until 10 days after the birth, at which time the husband made the *pwaro* payment. Bonyalo declared that the wife should have the baby in the husband's house under the care of two or three of her own female relatives. The husband's obligation would be met by a small cash payment to each of these women, who were to return to their homes 10 days after the childbirth, thus restoring the privacy and autonomy of each household. His program was more extensive than is outlined above but was at first somewhat vague. It involved periodic meetings in which village affairs were to be decided. It called for concentration on working for money. Since the village life offered virtually no such opportunities, the only avenue was to go away to work.

Bonyalo was encouraged by an ANGAU

patrol officer who visited Peri. He read Bonyalo's record book with approval but warned him to confine his activities to his own village. Other villages could copy if they wished, but Bonyalo was not to attempt to propagate his ideas beyond the village by persuasion. According to Bonyalo, the ANGAU officer told them that if he and his followers continued their efforts at organization along the new lines and continued their meetings, the government would give them a council, i.e., some limited form of local self government.

He had made a beginning, but the movement in Peri collapsed soon afterward. The "big men" of the village continued to involve the younger men in the affairs of the old culture. John Kilepak, who should have been a bulwark of the new system, made a large payment to obtain a wife for his "younger brother," Karol Matawaj, from the neighboring village of Patusi. Pokanau, a *luluai* of Peri, supported the continuation of the old marriage system, encouraged by Kisekup of Bunai, who, as paramount *luluai*, had been called in to suppress Napo's activities in Mbukei before the war. Samol of Bunai, who was leading a movement there similar to Bonyalo's in Peri, joined with Bonyalo to complain to the government about the insistence of the *lulus* on large exchanges of bride wealth. The opposition of the government to what its representatives sometimes misunderstood as outright bride purchase was of long standing. Therefore Kisekup and Pokanau were told that they would lose their hats, the insignia of their office, if they continued to support the old system of bride price. Kilepak paid the bride price, however, as the movement was still local. To get a bride for this brother he had to meet the demands of the bride's Patusi relatives. Bonyalo then insisted that Kilepak could make the payment but could not accept the return gift of foodstuffs from the bride's relatives. Such non-acceptance would have been almost as effective in breaking up the old system, which depended on equal, reciprocal exchange between the families linked by marriage, the husband's backers paying in imperishable wealth and receiving a quantity of pigs, taro, sago, and coconut oil in return. The receiving parties rarely kept the payments. The currency or food was usually sent on to meet other obligations. Bonyalo's condition that Kilepak could pay but could receive nothing in return was also

¹ Mead, 1930, 83 ff.

a part of the newly proposed sex ethic, which made the morality of sexual relations dependent on some payment to the woman. He argued that if Kilepak paid and then accepted payment in return, it was tantamount to getting the bride for nothing, which would enable the bride's relatives to demand further payment in the future, and the old cycle of payment and repayment from which the young men sought to escape would continue.

The "last straw" for Bonyalo came when one of his followers made a *pwaro* feast to help his aged mother in this *work belong before*. Bonyalo was angry. He felt that there was no possibility of a real break with the past as long as the younger men lived with their elders, to whom they were obligated, and were subjected to their jeers and taunts when they failed to meet the obligations. At this time he heard that Samol, whose movement in Bunai was encountering similar obstacles, had taken the young men of the village with him and moved to Lompwa, down the coast from Bunai. Samol owned this site, where he built a new settlement and school for those who wanted to follow the new way. Bonyalo owned no land. Among his group of young men was Makis, a half-caste Buka, the son of a Solomon Island native who had been brought to Manus as an indentured laborer and who had settled there permanently on the Tjalalo plantation near Peri. Makis told the manager of the Nropwa plantation, which was located on two small islands about 3 miles from Peri, about Bonyalo's plans and his difficulties. The manager invited Bonyalo to bring his men to Nropwa where they could live and work as wage laborers gathering coconuts and smoking them in the preparation of copra. The wife of the manager promised to set up a school for the children. Bonyalo agreed, considering himself fortunate again in having the friendly support of Europeans.

Before Bonyalo left for Nropwa, he was visited by Paliau who had just returned from Rabaul. Paliau, who had heard of Bonyalo's plan to run away to Nropwa, had come to dissuade him. As Bonyalo recalls the visit:

He spoke to me now. "I have heard that you want to go to Nropwa so I came." I said, "Yes, I am tired of the village." Then he said: "You can't tire. It is your village. You have to be strong about it. There is no one else who will make your village for you. Only you can do it." He said: "I didn't come to

persuade you. I came to hear what you have to say. When I was still in Rabaul I heard of you. Everyone said that you were strong for this idea here." Then he said: "That is good. I have come to help you. You and I will work together. It is a good idea to hold meetings in the village and to let the government know about them. If you do something in secret there will be trouble. If you like, I can help by giving you some ideas. Now forget about Nropwa. Let it go. Now you and I can talk here first, then in two or three days I will go back to Lipan. We are making a meeting house on Baluan. We will open it on Friday. This is not a matter of persuading people. A man can come if he wants to." Then I told him I was just going to work here and there for a while. I said: "You do it in your own village. They will all see. Let them observe, then, if they want to do the same in my village I will help them later."

Bonyalo rejected Paliau's offer of help. Although Bonyalo said that he was abandoning temporarily the hope of winning the support of the whole village of Peri, he thought that his ability to remove the young men who were the main working force of the village would help to persuade the elders to accept the alterations that he wanted to introduce into their way of life.

Soon after this Bonyalo went to Nropwa with two work lines of men, one from Peri and one from Patusi. Included were all the most important and most intelligent of the young men of these two villages. Without them the older men of Peri could have no hope of continuing the ceremonial and economic activities of the past. Bonyalo's plan might have succeeded. The setting up of the school was postponed for a while. The plantation manager said he was waiting for Samol of Bunai, who was thinking of leaving his new site at Lompwa to join the group on Nropwa. Before Bonyalo's men had collected their first month's wages, the separate existence of his movement came to an end. The *Noise* had reached the South Coast.

SAMOL OF BUNAI

Samol was of the same age group as Napo and Bonyalo. He also had left his village in his adolescence to work for the white man. Unlike Napo and Bonyalo, he did not leave Manus. He worked for about 10 years as a clerk in a store in Lorengau, the administrative capital of the Admiralties. From Lorengau he returned frequently to Bunai which was only one day dis-

tant by canoe. Samol learned to read from other native workers. He learned only enough rudimentary arithmetic to handle Australian currency. He had never attended a government or mission school, yet in his late twenties he became a Catholic mission *catechist*. As a *catechist* he faithfully kept his day book, daily recording in his neat hand Neo-Melanesian notations about church services held. He was built much like Napo, small in stature, with a light, linear frame, coupled with maximum musculature. They were also similar in personality, in quiet authority, and quick intelligence. Such characteristics were to be expected of Samol. He belonged to a high-ranking family and had, moreover, been adopted by Kisekup, the paramount *luluai*, to be his successor. Samol had spent the war years on Baluan Island in the Admiralties, working as a *catechist* in spite of the absence of the missionaries. He continued to hold services until the end of the war, when he worked for a short time as a laborer in the construction of the American base. He says that an American chaplain was his friend. Samol, as were the other Manus, was tremendously impressed by the numbers and the wealth of the American armed forces. One day, for example, as we walked into Lorengau along the road from the point where we had left my canoe, he described to me in great detail the way the Americans had built the first hard-top, motor-vehicle road in Manus with dynamite and huge earth-moving machines. Fifteen miles from all this activity his village had stood out over the lagoon, still much as it had been when he was born.

In almost all respects Samol's attempt in Bunai to modify much of what survived of the past was unsuccessful. His program was almost identical to that of Napo and Bonyalo. He differed somewhat in that he stressed broad changes, particularly in advocating the elimination of all avoidance behavior, which had in the past so profoundly affected the relationship between men and women.

Mead has pointed out that Manus interpersonal behavior among consanguineal or affinal kin falls into three categories: joking relationships, the relationship between brother and sister marked by affectionate solicitude, and avoidance relationships.¹ From the time of

their early betrothal, the engaged boys and girls avoided not only one another but also a number of their future in-laws of opposite sex. They felt shame in the presence of these people. Women even carried a cape with which to hide their faces in the event of a sudden appearance of one of their male relatives by marriage. To the list of changes that we mention above in the programs of Napo and Bonyalo, Samol added the elimination of these avoidance relationships and the accompanying shame. People were to eat at tables. Husband and wife were to eat together, talk together, and walk together, just as husbands and wives did among white men.

Samol wanted to remain in Bunai as a teacher, but, when his program of change brought him into conflict with his adopted father and placed his followers in similar positions of conflict, he led them from the village. His plans were vague. In general they would look for the means of making money. Samol began building a large house that was to be his school. He had brought only a small portion of the village of Bunai with him to Lompwa. He hoped that his own absence would be the lever that might bring Kisekup to agree to let Samol try out his idea for a new kind of society. When the *Noise* came to Bunai, Samol and his group missed its early impact, and for a while Samol was opposed to becoming involved in it.

LUKAS OF MOUK

Lukas must have been about 30 years old when he returned to Manus after the war. He had worked for a few years before the war as an *engine boy* at Vunapope, the Catholic mission headquarters near Rabaul. Later he worked as an *engine boy* on a small boat based at Rabaul. When the Japanese came, he had just finished his contract period as boat captain on the ship of an Australian, Jack Thurstone. At the start of the war Lukas was with a group of Manus who had been caught in Talasea, New Britain. He volunteered to help the remaining Australian troops escape safely from New Britain. His experiences won him a Loyal Service Medal and the respect of the Australians who knew him. While he stayed with the Manus colony at Talasea, the Lakalai and Kombe tribes of that area were in the throes of a cargo cult. Lukas thought these natives were "crazy." According to him, the Lakalai, led by Batari of Kama-

¹ Mead, 1934.

lake, took the Catholic missionary as prisoner, smoked him for a while as if he were copra, and later turned him over to the Japanese. According to Lukas, the Kombe, whose cult leader had proclaimed himself king, had driven another Catholic priest from his island mission station at Poi. This missionary and the one at Bitokara, in their fear of the anti-mission feelings of the cult followers, engaged Lukas and another Manus to guard them. The cargo cult was interrupted by the arrival of the Japanese. In connection with Lukas' experience, it should be noted here, because the fact is important, as is shown below, that many Manus had had some contact with cargo cults. There had been many such cults throughout Melanesia and New Guinea since the earliest periods of contact with Europeans.

The Japanese sent Lukas to Rabaul, where he worked as a laborer. Lukas thought a good deal about the way of life of the natives during the months that he hid from the bombing of Rabaul by the Americans. He summed up his line of thinking as follows:

The thoughts that I found went like this. God made all of the men on earth. But as far as the condition of all natives I don't think that this was so. Why is it? All white men, they are men. They have two hands and two legs. We also have the same. What is it with us natives? They can fly in airplanes and sail on the sea in ships while we stay just as we are. Now these thoughts were always within me.

At this time Lukas knew Paliau, who was in charge of native laborers from other islands who worked for the Japanese in Rabaul. During the bombing Lukas and nine other natives built a canoe and sailed down the coast to Nakanai and to Karua, where they found American and Australian troops for whom Lukas worked for a while. Finally he was sent to Finschhafen, New Guinea, and from there to Manus, in August, 1944.

When he returned to his village, Mouk, a Manus-speaking village near Baluan, he tried to put into effect the ideas that he had been formulating during his long absence. He called the village to meetings, omitting the older men who he believed would not abandon the ways of the past. He told the men that the work and ways of the past were like a killing poison. As an alternative to leaving the village, he laid down a series of rules that they were to follow in their relations with their elders.

If your father wants you to go look for food, you ask him what the food is for. If he says it is for a ceremonial exchange, you can't go with him. If he says it is for eating, all right, you can go help him find food. The meaning of my talk is as follows. You know, you of this village, we have no land. We work too hard to find food. We range from the Great Admiralty to Rambutjon. Our bodies are weary from all this work. When we carry food to the village, it isn't used properly as food for children or for men, it goes for making ceremonial exchange. Our food supply is exhausted too quickly, then hard work finds us again. All this work is what makes you and me die. Now we have to rid ourselves of all this. Where is the mark of all this work? It leaves no mark, not the slightest. It is like this. If you can't comprehend it with your minds, you can see it with your two eyes. Look at Nropwa. It is like all the plantations. The white man did not make them. The white man's work is only in telling us to do the cutting. He says, "You and I will cut the bush. You and I will clear it and plant coconuts." Now our work is cutting the bush and planting the coconuts. He just sits down. He doesn't do it. Now why is it that you and I can't make something for ourselves. With everything it is the same. Things don't just appear for the white man. If we did not exist, if we didn't produce coconuts or work copra, where would his cargo come from? Or his store, what could he put in it? I think he could do nothing. It is our hard work that does it. Now today, why can't we do this on our own ground in the same way?

His speech, as he recalled it for me, went on and on in this vein, urging the men of his village to direct their labor along more productive lines for their own benefit, to do the same work for themselves that they did for the white men, and to end the fruitless waste of their labor in the endless round of the old ceremonial exchanges. The young men that he harangued told their fathers of Lukas' program. They answered that Lukas was a nobody. Who was he to talk of abolishing the past? He was not of a high-ranking family. When Lukas again called a meeting, few of the men came. Lukas stayed in the village but shunned all the traditional feasts. He had failed; he was looking for someone who might have a better idea of how to move men out of the culture in which they had spent their lives. In desperation, Lukas called together those young men who were willing to follow him to a secret meeting on the small islet near the village. He proposed running away to America on an American warship. They would go up to one in their canoe, ask to come aboard, and then

plead to be taken to America. He set out with nine other Mouks. They were pursued by the older men in other canoes and brought back before they reached the American naval base.

Later Lukas heard of Bonyalo's activities in Peri. He went to Peri to see if Bonyalo had what he was looking for—a substitute for the past and for the past-in-the-present. Lukas' criticism of Bonyalo's plan will aid in the understanding of the failure of the local movements. He recalled the conversation as follows:

I went to Bonyalo and asked, "What are these meetings of yours? I want to hear." When he [Bonyalo] spoke, it was not like something firmly rooted in the ground, it was like something that just floated. That was the essence of it. I didn't believe in his talk. First he said that he wanted to send all the young men to work copra on Mbukei Island. Then I asked, "When you are through working copra, then what will you do?" "Then I will send it to the plantation manager on Nropwa." "Then what will you do?" Then he said, "If we get a lot of money I want to make a store." Then I answered: "True, your idea is all right, but it is like a tree that has neither branches nor roots. You work only on the middle. You think about it."

In this manner Lukas told Bonyalo that his plan was incomplete, that it was concerned only with the immediate, and that its ultimate goals were mainly undefined. The means he offered contained little real novelty. Lukas felt that work for Europeans resulted in little tangible benefit to natives. Lukas went on to tell Bonyalo that the idea of the store was naive and that the European stores had a government and, ultimately, Europe behind them. Lukas felt that the store, like the rest of Bonyalo's plan, was meaningless without the broader context of the rest of European society.

Lukas returned to Mouk to try again. He spoke against the old marriage system, arguing that marriages by the old system of infant betrothal and exchanges between the contracting families were bad and marked by lifelong resentment of the coerced husband and wife. Mead's study of Manus marriage in 1928 attests to the validity of his point. Samol in Bunai had also argued that the system could be altered to produce better marriages, though his focus was on the system of avoidance behavior which erected a barrier of shame between husband and wife. But however Lukas formulated his attack on the past, he offered no addition to the

fragmentary plans for the future which he himself rejected as inadequate. Having failed to move, and himself desiring to be moved, Lukas waited for Paliau's return from Rabaul.

LUNGAT OF NRIOL

Nriol is another Manus village, which was at this time built over the in-reef waters adjacent to Rambutjon, one of the larger of the small islands that fringe the Great Admiralty. Nriol was the easternmost extension of the Manus-speaking villages. Under favorable conditions a canoe from Nriol could reach Bunai, on the south coast of the Great Admiralty, in one day, or it could reach Baluan in one day, and Mbukei in two. The nearest neighbors were the Matankor villages of Rambutjon.

Lungat, together with Napo, Bonyalo, Samol, and Lukas, demonstrated later that he had the ability to be a leader on the village level. But he was unique among the leaders of this early local phase in that he claimed that he received his calling and the content of his message in a dream. Lungat was younger than the others, in his early twenties, when he returned to Nriol after the war. Shortly after the war his two brothers died. Both had been *catechists* and teachers in the village. Lungat says that he mourned them for a long time and thought of them constantly. The following is his report of the dream.

I was asleep and I dreamed. I dreamed about Tomas Sion [his brother]. He was in Heaven. He was holding a flag. He held a flag and he came down in a cloud from the east. He didn't come from Heaven directly, he came from the east. He came straight to me and he spoke to me as follows. "Lungat, I am talking to you. You see, we, your two brothers, we are dead. Many men of Nriol have died. They didn't just die [without cause] they died because of religion. This religion of the mission which was brought to Nriol and shown to us, and to all Manus villages as far as Mbukei, its beginning was in Nriol. This religion, we haven't gotten it right. We aren't doing it right and it is killing many men in all villages. Nriol is almost finished now. Now I am talking to you. Tomorrow, you tell our fathers, Pokau, and Pokow, that they are to get all the men of Nriol together and tell them to get rid of all the customs of the past—throw them out. All the ways of the past, all the quarrels, all the feasts, all the ceremonial exchanges. You must lose completely the culture of our ancestors. When you are clear of it, then you will be all right." When he came he held a ring and the feather of a bird like the kind

they write with, a pen. He took the ring and he said, "Lungat, this ring belongs to you. Put it on your hand." Then he took the pen and put it in my hand. Then he made the sign of a cross on my shoulder. Then he said, "This is the mark of us, *Takondo* [spirits of the dead]. It is the mark of all of us who are in Heaven. I have brought these three things that I give to you. This mark belongs to you." He gave me this feather, this ring, and this cross. Then I awoke.

The other local movements had no explicit mystical component. Napo and Bonyalo had tried to avoid coming into conflict with the mission. They had attacked the old culture with specific criticisms. Samol had continued to teach the standard catechism. Lukas had said that the old system was killing them, because of the ceaseless work that it involved. Lungat had, in his dream, received the sanction of Heaven (the Christian Heaven) through the ghost of the dead Catholic *catechist*. At the same time this sanction was of an earlier religion which had been concerned neither with a heaven nor with a god, but with the ghosts of one's village and house. He had the ring, the feather, and the cross, indisputable signs of the validity of his revelation.

Yet Lungat did not succeed. He told Pokau and Pokow, "Nothing happened. No one responded." At that stage he did not even have the partial successes of the others. As he put it, "I was not a man of high rank. I was not an important man. I was young, just married, but with no children. I was ashamed to stand up to speak."

The dream did have its effect on him if on no one else. Like the other early leaders he traveled from place to place looking for other men with ideas that might succeed. He found nothing until he went to hear Paliau.

KAMPO OF LAHAN, AN USIAI VILLAGE

We have relatively little information about the local phase among the Usiai. The five men who are discussed above were Manus-speaking people from lagoon villages. Among the Manus there was a relative superabundance of men who were or could have been leaders in the new movements, but there was a dearth of such competent men among the Usiai. In the interior of the Great Admiralty later affected by the Paliau Movement, only one village seems to

have had a significant local phase. Its leader was Kampo, a *catechist* who, in addition, had had a long history of work for Europeans. Working as a cook, Kampo had been to New Britain and New Guinea. He spent the war in Manus working, only when he had to, for the Japanese. After the war he took casual jobs for a while to be near the Americans. He became a gambler in the excitement of the big gambling sessions of the immediate post-war period. Lahan was the scene of some of the biggest of these. His interest in gambling did not last long. He felt an unusual sense of responsibility for his village and for the Usiai in general. He became the *luluai* of his village, but there were no ready lines of political structure along which he could extend his leadership to other Usiai villages. Kampo possessed all the legitimacy that preferred position in the old social structure could give him. He was a *lapan* (member of a family of high rank) and early in life had given some of the larger feasts needed to validate his rank. He was also literate in Neo-Melanesian and had the combined sophistication of a Roman Catholic *catechist* and a *work boy*. Europeans liked him.

Kampo's greatest desire, after the war, was to see the Usiai united into larger units, to have them make copra plantations of their own. Such a program was always a good possibility for the Usiai. They had ample land, only a small part of which was used, although it would take a great initial investment of labor to clear the dense tropical forest and to keep it cleared for about eight years until the coconut palms matured. Kampo thought that this plan would provide the economic means to bring his village to a living standard closer to that of the European. He tried to make as many changes as possible in the Usiai cultural style of village life. He had his people build their houses off the ground, on piles, imitating in this both the Europeans and the Manus. He had them build tables and chairs and buy the few essentials of European clothing that they could afford. He was opposed by some of the older people in his village, but his leadership was already established. In spite of this beginning he was dissatisfied. He sent for Pita Tapo, who, then working at Sepalau, the post-war ANGAU headquarters, was reputed to be intelligent and to know a great deal about the ways of the white men. Tapo's education had been picked

up working as a house boy or learned from other natives. He had worked for the Japanese in New Ireland during the war. He had been sent to school to learn Japanese. There he learned to write Neo-Melanesian from other students, but the war ended before they could learn Japanese.

Tapo went from one village to another on the "Number Two Road" attempting to bring together into a single village these widely scattered segments of a group of villages sharing a common dialect. Tapo found apathy in each village. He found the young men away, scattered among the various European work centers and few who felt there was any real possibility of fundamental change in the direction of the European. All had the general desire to have some of the things Europeans had, and to live as Europeans lived, but European culture could not become an activating goal for them as long as they could see no means of attainment and no mapping of the route of transition.

Ridiculed by other Usiai as "white men" probably helped the people of Lahan to strengthen their involvement in the Movement. They had so long been despised for being Usiai that they felt pride in being differentiated from the mass of *bush kanaka* (a derogatory term for the "backward" natives of the interior). In spite of the alterations that Kampo had effected, the pattern of their daily lives was little changed. Through intermarriage their village was linked to the other Usiai villages. Through these links they continued to be involved in feasts and ceremonial exchanges in these villages. Lahan was a small hamlet of not more than 90 men, women, and children. Another hamlet, Bulihan, which had in the past tended to form a unit with Lahan, was hostile to Kampo's local movement.

Kampo and Tapo felt that the Usiai of Lahan were too few in number for any new economic undertaking large enough to make an appreciable difference in their lives, and they realized, too, the fact of their isolation. If they could grow copra they would have to carry it out—a long hike to the coast even for a native accustomed to the often barely perceptible trails that rarely crossed level ground. The galvanized iron from which they hoped to build houses of European style would have to be carried in the same way. Kampo and Tapo had started a movement (although for the moment it was stationary) by erecting a few symbols of their

ultimate goal, e.g., eating on tables that were decorated with flowers arranged in beer-bottle vases.

There may have been a number of other movements similar to that of Lahan among the Usiai and among the Matankor of the North Coast.

Another type of attempted organization in the immediate post-war period took the form of a loose union of war veterans—men who had fought against the Japanese in New Guinea under Australian leadership. These men had been taught to drill and to use rifles. Sayau of Yiru, my informant, estimated that they killed about 50 Japanese in a day of fighting to each five of their own men that they lost. Even among these volunteers there was little feeling that this war concerned them directly. Most of them fought on foreign ground. When the war was over and they had had their final parade and received their medals and citations, they were returned to their villages. They soon became bitter, claiming that many unfulfilled promises had been made to them. William Matbe, declared to be Manus' outstanding war hero (he had been particularly fearless in fighting against the Japanese in the bush and is said to have killed a great many of them), came from a North Coast Usiai tribe. He kept the 20 or more veterans together until 1949. They had three main grievances. First, they claimed that they had been told that when the fighting was over there would be a good "price" for their service. They never received this. They say that they were told that they could ask favors of the government and would receive special help and consideration. This was not true. The last might be Sayau's particular complaint. It is in many respects characteristic of him and of the Usiai in general. As Sayau put it:

Third, they said, "We want to give you a citation and a medal." "What is this," I thought? I don't know what this thing is that they called me up for and gave me. You white men, you know about these things, but we natives, we don't understand. I think it is worthless. But I should rejoice in it and I should wear it—why? You didn't explain its meaning to me adequately. I don't understand. If I put it on anyway (without knowing what it is all about) and you see me, you will laugh very hard at me.

Sayau said that he had thrown away the medal and citation. (I know of a similar instance.) He insisted that he did not understand

the meaning of the medal, in the absence of any more tangible reward for his service. Sayau was sure that either there was some hidden meaning in the medal that was deliberately being withheld, or the recipients had been tricked into accepting these worthless and unredeemable tokens in place of the promised payment. In either case he believed he had been put into a position in which he afforded the white man secret amusement. He was shamed and reacted accordingly with deep hostility. Sayau said the group presented itself to the government on two occasions to ask that the war-time promises be kept, but without success. Neither Matbe nor Sayau had any desire to return to their villages. Instead of trying to change the village, they stayed in Lorengau. Matbe persuaded the men to pool all the money they could raise to start a store. This was his only plan. The store had an initial capitalization of about £300. It failed after five months. Matbe and others of the group entered into the fever of heavy gambling and lost the capital playing *Lucky*.¹ The group broke up, and Sayau and Matbe took jobs in Lorengau.

In addition to the attempts at local movements led by Napo of Mbukei, Bonyalo of Peri, Samol of Bunai, Lukas of Mouk, Lungat of Nriol, and Kampo and Tapo of Lahan, another local movement, which like Napo's began in the late 1930's, was led by Paliau and centered on Baluan. Paliau's pre-war attempt at a movement based on a program of rapid culture change is described in the following section.

In the local movements we see the conditions, attitudes, and ideas maturing that formed the matrix from which the Paliau Movement emerged. The ideas involved were widespread throughout those parts of Melanesia where contact and degree of sophistication were comparable to those of the Admiralties. This content had become a part of the real contact culture of the Territory available to anyone who would assert a program and his own leadership. Turning now to the beginning of the post-war Paliau Movement, we encounter a change in scale in the area affected, in the scope of political organization, in the kind of leadership, and in the synthesis of an over-all program of cultural change.

THE INITIAL MOVEMENT PHASE

In 1945 Paliau of Baluan, in a letter sent from Rabaul to the *luluais* of Mouk and Baluan, called on the people of the two islands to build a large meeting house to prepare for his return. When he arrived they were to assemble to hear his talk. They did not build the meeting house, they said, because Paliau was being held for court in Rabaul. He might be imprisoned or he might die. They would wait for his return.

Immediately on his arrival in the Admiralties in 1946, he began to gather a following from villages on the South Coast of Manus. Paliau is the most outstanding figure in the Admiralties, and he is undoubtedly one of the most significant native leaders in Melanesia and New Guinea.

Paliau's home village was Lipan, on Baluan Island. He spent several weeks in Bunai during the course of our stay there. We were able to observe him during the most critical period of the development of the Movement that bears

his name and we spent two weeks on Baluan mainly to work with him. Paliau came to have a closer relationship to me than he had had with any other white man. He was eminently capable of relationships with white men based on equality and mutual respect. Government officers had to "deal" with him. Some of them liked him, some gave him grudging respect, many disliked or distrusted him, and some hated him and hoped for his destruction. Some missionaries considered him to be the Antichrist; some considered him to be, at best, a Protestant. The natives that remained with the missions and did not follow Paliau have accepted the missionary view. Paliau is many things to those who follow him.

PALIAU'S STORY OF HIS LIFE

Paliau was born on Baluan in Lipan, one of the half dozen Matankor villages on this island. Baluan is a rocky volcanic cone not more than 3 miles in length and 1 mile in width. It is in sight of the south coast of the Admiralties 27 miles away. In culture and language the people of Baluan are most closely related to those of

¹ *Lucky* is a three-card game something like Twenty-One, or Black Jack, often played for stakes which are very high relative to the earning power of natives.

the islands of Pwam and Lou, and slightly more distantly to the Matankor of Rambutjon. In physical type they differ sufficiently from the rest of the people of the Admiralties for one to distinguish them, usually, from other natives. They are noted for their somewhat lighter skin color. The people of Baluan were primarily gardeners who grew sweet potatoes, taro, and various fruits. They did some fishing and built canoes, but they traded for part of their supply of fish with the Manus of Mouk. The culture of Baluan fitted generally within the range of variation of a culture area extending over the whole of the Admiralties. One of the striking differences that existed in the past was the drinking of kava. The preparation and use of this stimulating beverage were found in the Admiralties only in Baluan and neighboring Lou and Pwam. On Baluan, ceremonial exchange, feasts, and display of wealth seem to have centered more around the deaths and the mourning observances of important men than around marriage, but this additional emphasis on death was within the more familiar system of affinal exchange.

Traditionally, Paliau would have been favored, by descent from the highest-ranking family of the Lipan division of Baluan, as the leader of the people of Lipan. He traces his descent from Lolokai, one of the "big men" of five generations ago, whose leadership had been recognized by all Baluan.

The following account is a close translation of a dictated autobiographical sketch, beginning with his childhood and continuing through his return to Manus after the war.¹

When I was born to my mother and father, they were still "cranky." [This can mean "insane" or "foolish," but in this context means "backward."] They couldn't make known to me the time or the month that I was born in. I was the same as John here [Paliau's son, aged seven] when my mother died first and my father died next. It was only a short time. I was still John's age. I cannot see their faces at all. Then I just drifted around. They did

not bear another brother to me. They had one daughter who died, then they had me. Soon after, they died. It is the same today, I am just one. When they died I didn't stay just with one person. I was not looked after properly then. I was midway between them all. I was in the middle between Joseph Pati and Ninow Namei. The latter and my mother had the same mother and father. Joseph Pati is a man [a clan brother of Paliau's father] and Ninow Namei is a woman. I was in the middle between the two. But I wasn't properly cared for. Why? My parents were dead. Later when I was a little older Joseph lived in his own house and Ninow lived in hers. After my father died Ninow took me. She took care of me. But it was characteristic of me even as a child, I didn't stay put. The two of them quarreled over me. Joseph Pati angrily told Ninow she would have to let me stay with him sometimes. Both of them were right, but it was my way as a child not to stay put with either of them. I stayed here and there among all of the men now. Then I left the two of them altogether and stayed with Kalowin, an old man of Lipan. He was kin to my father and I stayed on my father's land. He looked after me. Later there was a quarrel between him and Joseph Pati. . . . Later I used to play with other children. When we finished playing, I used to follow them. I went to their mothers and fathers for meals. When their parents gave them food I took some too. I ate the food of everyone around the village. Then I was older.

While I was still young my eyes saw clearly all the big feasts they used to make before. They made big feasts with pigs, gathered all the yams and sweet potatoes and heaped them together. They could get as many as 100 or 200 pigs. Then they made a feast. Their money was dogs' teeth and shell beads. When they made the big feasts, they didn't just do it for nothing. One man would talk, he is the most important man on Baluan. Then he would hold a meeting of his men to make the feast. When it was time for the feast they beat the slit gongs and danced to them. All the men would get a shell from the ocean—a white shell. They would put it on their penises and they would dance with them. Not the women though, they put on new grass skirts to dance. When they dressed up they adorned themselves with shell beads. The meaning of this dance was that they rejoiced in this feast that they made that everyone came to look at. Another meaning it had when all the men put on shells and went to dance, was [as if they said], "I am a man of know-how; I have a great deal of wealth; I have dogs' teeth and shell beads; the rest of you are just rubbish in the village; you are not accustomed to doing this dance." It is like this. If I am "rubbish" in having no dogs' teeth, no food and no pigs, then I can't make this dance. This is the mark of men who have much

¹ This account is remarkable in that it is an almost unbroken narrative by Paliau. I made no suggestions about the content, but simply stressed that I wanted a detailed story of his life on which he could spend as much or as little time as he wished. The few places where I deleted partly repetitive or less informative sections, to keep this account within readable bounds, are noted. In translation I have tried to maintain the simplicity of the Neo-Melanesian style.

wealth, who raise many pigs, and who make large gardens. All of us children were schooled in this custom. Some learned and some didn't. I didn't learn. Why? Because I knew it was no good. I tried it once. This attempt was not my idea, it was Joseph's. He made what we call a *sinai* [a carved beam on which this dance is done]. They put it on two posts. He sent me onto it. He told me to go up on it for the first time. Then I was to come down on the beam with one of my legs toward one side, and with my other leg toward the other side. Then I return to the middle and make a speech, the speech Joseph had taught me. I came back to the middle and wanted to make my speech on top of this wooden beam. I wanted to speak but my mouth mixed it up. Now I don't know what I said. I was confused. I babbled. I jumped down and turned my back on all the men who were watching the dance. When I jumped down, I didn't go straight to a house. I collapsed onto the grass, along with all the decoration on my body, dogs' teeth, shell beads. They had put red paint in my hair and marked my eyes with red paint. I collapsed on the grass. I was extremely sick. . . . It wasn't an hour till I became sick, I think it was only two minutes until I became sick. No one knew about me, no one saw me. Why? Because I fell down in the tall grass. When the feast was over late in the afternoon my body was a little strong then, I got up. I went home, then I was all right.

This old man, the aged father of Paliau [an older brother of Paliau's grandfather who was also named Paliau] whom Joseph Pati had called to this feast that Joseph was making for a woman [as an affinal payment to the old man], was there. The feast lasted two weeks. When it was over this old man for whom the feast was made died. When I was sick, if I died, I think this old man would not have died. When my sickness was finished, I was all right, then this man died. I knew this feast had been for him. He had already eaten. He received it along with these pigs and distributed it among his clan. Then he died. Now my mind was decided like this. This custom was no good. I was through with it now. When they made big feasts I didn't go. I could hear them, I could see them when they were made but I wouldn't try it any more myself. When they made the feasts and when the feast was over a strong sickness used to break out in the village. When a feast was finished and the sickness occurred it used to kill 20 or 30 men. Later they used to say that spirits, *tamberan*,¹ kill us. The meaning of *tamberan* was this: if one man dies first, his ghost takes all of us. The ghost of one goes and kills another. If 20 men die, they say that 10 are reciprocation for 10.

¹ On Manus the word *tamberan*, used elsewhere for the supernatural patron of the men's cult, is used only for spirits of the dead.

When a big feast is finished, there is a famine on Baluan. Why? If they make big gardens and then the gardens are ready, the man who is to make a feast sends word all over Baluan. Everyone digs up all the food to make a big feast. I considered it and I thought it wasn't right . . .

By the time I was a little older I found that all my age mates had died from this way of life. If an older man pulled them into it later they died from it. When one died many more in the village followed them. They all had to die. But I didn't believe this talk about the spirits of the dead. Why didn't I believe it? It was the way of children; they are ignorant. When I was a child my parents died. I never used to conform properly to any belief. Times when there was much sickness, the time of rain, darkness, thunder, and lightning, all the kin of my father and mother would be cross with me. They would scold me like this, "When it is a bad time, when a man has died, when spirits of the dead roam about, you must sit down good, you can't run about." I wouldn't listen, I wouldn't stay put. If there was a big rain and they spoke to me, I would go out in the rain. Why? It is the way of children. They are ignorant. They can't be afraid. That's how it is, that when I was older I didn't believe in *tamberan*. I said this talk of *tamberan* is a lie.

GOING AWAY TO WORK

Time passed, then I was more grown up. I think I was about 15 years old when they put me down for government tax. I wasn't finished with all of these ideas. What ideas? The idea that I wouldn't accept the talk of the big man who said there were ghosts in the village and my thoughts about all the big feasts. Now that I was older I realized that these feasts caused the loss of many men of Baluan. This continued to stay in my mind. Now, at this time I didn't travel by canoe. I didn't go to the big place [the Great Admiralty]; I just stayed with the men of the island. Just once, when I was younger, I heard the name Lorengau, and I thought it was one of the big places of the white men. Then once I was taken in a canoe. We went to Lorengau. When I arrived, I saw it was just another place like our own. I was not familiar with Mbukei, I hadn't gone there. I had gone to Lou; I had gone to Pwam. As for Mouk [the Manus village near Baluan], all the old men of before had said that I had an ancestor there. When I was still small my father used to take me to Mouk. It is the way of children. If their father goes they cry to go with him. They used to go to a small islet here, Takumai. My Manus grandfather that they had spoken of was named Sangol. He belonged to the same clan as Pwankiau who is still alive. He is the old man here in the house over the lagoon. Following this line of relationship through this ancestor, my father used to take me to the house

of Pwankiau. I also follow this story and I have taken this old man Pwankiau to live with me here. I associated only with the young men of Baluan. In Mouk I just went straight to Pwankiau. When my father was still alive he used to send all sorts of food to Pwankiau. I only went around with the children of Pwankiau. And almost until I was 15 I just stayed in the village. Then I was marked to pay taxes to the government.

I heard this from the patrol officer who collected the tax. I stood up before his eyes and he said, "Next year you will pay tax, now you cannot." Then I thought, "I am not a fully grown man yet, and they have marked me to be taxed." Then I thought about finding money. I started working for a Chinese named Leyu. I worked for two years. I didn't have whiskers yet. I was a young boy, not a young man. This Chinese looked at me and said I wasn't capable of hard work, I was just capable of cooking. He said I was too small. He wanted to send me back, but I was persistent. Why? Because the patrol officer had said I was to be taxed. I wouldn't have any money. This Chinese for whom I cooked, Leyu, had a business collecting and marketing *Trochus* shell. Later he brought another Chinese to help him in this work. This Chinese who assisted was Akan... This Chinese Akan didn't have a servant. Soon Leyu dismissed me as his cook and sent me to Akan. I worked as cook for him for two years. During this time that I cooked for him I received two shillings a month, one length of cloth per month, and two sticks of tobacco, a little matches, and a little soap each week. When I finished, I was given £5 for these two years. When I finished my work I was angry, while I was at work also I was angry. My anger was for this reason, these two Chinese didn't pay well. I was angry, but I didn't quarrel with them. I wasn't lazy about work. I just kept it to myself. When I had finished the two years I divided the £5. For £2.10 I bought myself some things in the store. The other £2.10 I brought to the village. I gave it to Joseph Pati and all the kin of my father and mother. When they saw that I had come back, and they came to see me, they all cried. The meaning of their crying was this. I was lost for two years when their eyes couldn't see me. When I came back they all looked with recognition at my face that was like the face of my father who had died. They all saw that I looked like my mother who had died. Because of this all the kin of my father and mother came to cry over me. When Joseph Pati saw all these people he opened my box that I had bought at the store. He took all the small things that I had brought along with this £2.10 and he divided it among all these relatives of my father and mother who had come.

What I have just told is the same for all the men of Manus. The first time that I went to work I saw

that this was not right. Why did I see it wasn't right? I went to find money for the government tax, so that I wouldn't go to jail over it. I had also bought a few little things such as *laplap* [a length of cloth worn as clothing, like a wrap-around skirt from waist to knees, worn by both men and women] and some other things from the store also. Then Joseph Pati divided it up among all these people, and I am again rubbish. I no longer have anything. This sort of thing didn't just happen to me; it happened to all the men of Baluan and Manus together. Others who had gone among the white men previously had come and received the same treatment also. They couldn't hold on to a single thing. They all thought it was all right. But I understood now, and I thought it was wrong. It made nothing of me. Why was this? They all valued all this money from before that belonged to our ancestors—dogs' teeth and shell beads. They all valued all the ornaments of the past, the grass skirts and the leaves used for adornment. The women used leaves. The men pounded the bark of a tree and wore it. They all thought about all these things, then when they went to work for the white man and came back they threw away all their money on their kin. Now I was poor. Now what? I was angry in my mind, but I didn't express anger with my mouth. Soon the *kiap* [government officer] would come for money and I had none.

I thought again of going to ask this Chinese if I could work for him. I went with him again for another two years. I went and stayed with this Chinese, Akan, who was still in the same business. I got my pay just as before. The monthly rate was the same. When the two years were up I received again £5... I sent the money on to the village, but I didn't go. Another Chinese wanted me again. He was named Akim. He wanted me to go shoot pigeons for him with a shotgun. I cooked, too. I stayed with him for six months. Then he beat me. He wanted me to herd the goats of the doctor into the house. I refused to obey. I said, "These goats are not mine, they are the doctor's." Then he beat me. I pushed his arm away. He went to get his gun to shoot me with it, but I ran away into the bush. Later I went to the government officer and told him. He said, "Never mind, go back to the village. That's the way Chinese are. You two will always be cross and they don't think. Eventually he will really shoot you."

I went back to my village. My money was gone. They had already divided it up among all the brothers, sisters, and other relatives of my mother.

PALIAU IN THE NATIVE POLICE

I had no money. Now I wanted to go to work as policeman. I joined for two years the first time. When I went away to the police I still did not have

whiskers yet. I wasn't able to have the full outfit of a policeman. I just went with the *kiap*. After one year I was given the full equipment of a policeman. I worked in the bush [the interior, away from the European centers]. I worked at finding this *masta* that they had killed, Master Bom. He was looking for gold and was killed by the natives of the bush. We went to right this wrong. We caught the natives, many of whom went to jail. They were not jailed to be killed but to teach them the ways of the white man and of the coast. When they had learned we brought them back to tell those who were in the bush. The men of the interior had no knowledge of the coastal area. The white men called them the Kukakuka. When they saw us they wanted to kill us, too. I worked in this part of the interior in teaching them and pacifying them for two years. During this two years the Kukakuka killed two *kiaps* and another white man who were on patrol. They also killed a line of native police and their sergeant, Hanis of Madang. I had finished two years now, and I returned to my village. While I worked as a policeman I was paid the same as when I had worked for the Chinese. When I was finished, I spent all this money on buying things. My box was full. I brought it all to Baluan. There was no difference. It was just the same. All the relatives came, and the old man Joseph opened my box and gave out everything. Joseph had taken the place of my dead father. All the Baluans are alike in this custom, should Joseph be different? He was the same as the rest. The Manus of the sea were the same. The Mouks, too, all the same.

When they divide up everything, then they make a big feast just as in the past. If they get two cases of tobacco they will break open all the cases and string the tobacco along a line with all the other things of the white men that had come. Then they dance. The man who makes this will boast to all the other men of Manus that they are not enough to do this, to bring together so many things of the white men that they have all come to see. Some who looked at all this thought it was all right. Why is it that I knew it was wrong? I knew it was wrong, but I couldn't express my anger over it, I just thought it to myself.

I stayed in the Admiralties for two years at this time. I just hung around. I went along with anyone who was going anywhere, just coming and going. If they made a big feast on Lou, I went along to observe. When they made a feast, I ate with them all. That in my mind I knew it all to be wrong, this I kept to myself . . .

I went to see every part of Manus. For what reason did I go around observing like this? I thought that this practice of letting everything of value be dispersed among everyone, does it exist only in Baluan or is it everywhere in the Admiralties? I

didn't speak out about it, I just thought about it like this. This way of doing things cannot help us. The way of our distant ancestors is still with us. It was becoming clearer in my mind. The white man has long been in our midst. Always he puts us to some task. When the patrol officer comes among us and one man isn't clean, the officer will be angry. If the government sends word to clean the road, and if they do not clean it, they will go to jail. With houses, too, if they don't build their houses well, they can go to jail. If they don't have money for taxes they go to jail. If there is no *house kiap* [a rest house in the village for government officers on patrol] or no latrine, there will be jail. Many of us have been in jail. But they don't learn. They persist in all these ways of the past that I have already mentioned. I saw that everywhere in the Admiralties; it was the same as in Baluan.

When two years had passed I joined the police again for another two years. This time I went to Rabaul. As policeman I was sent out to work among the natives of the bush. Everything about the natives around Rabaul was not different in kind from the Admiralties. It was the same. All the specific customs were somewhat different, but as far as making big feasts and losing money as if it were something of no value, this was the same as in the Admiralties. When I went back to work as a policeman, I didn't do it for nothing. I did it from anger at the natives of the Admiralties. This was in my mind. When I left I thought that I would never go back to Baluan. I found that I didn't like the way of life of the Admiralties. I could never go back. But when I went to Rabaul it was the same as in the Admiralties. I left Rabaul and went to Salamoa. It was the same there. I went as policeman to Madang. I took in all the ways of the natives of Madang. It was just the same. I went to Finschaven and observed the customs of the natives there. It was again the same. Lae, also, and Kavieng were the same. Then I thought, our cultures are only of one kind. Now where does this leave me? Well, I just stayed at work as policeman. I stayed for 12 years altogether. If I saw a man from Baluan I asked him, "The ways of the old men of Baluan, do they still exist or are they finished?" And he would say, "They still exist and what is wrong with this? It is still our culture." . . . [After Paliau had been away three years, he took leave to visit Baluan again.] After three years I wasn't just vacationing. I came to look again at the Baluan culture and I came to bring a little money.

PRE-WAR BEGINNINGS OF THE PALIAU MOVEMENT

Always I received two shillings for one month. I didn't waste it, I put it away securely. I bought a case of tobacco that I sent ahead of me back to the village. It was sent to Joseph Pati with this

message: "You have wasted plenty of things of mine in the past but this case of tobacco you cannot touch. If you forget what I say I will come and I will be extremely angry." This time he followed my instructions. This case of tobacco that I sent brought £15. When I came back on leave after these three years I had £15 more in addition. Five pounds more was from the two shillings that I received each month that I saved. There were £20 altogether. I didn't buy anything. I just took this £20 and went to look over the Baluan culture. This £20 along with the £15 that Joseph Pati had gotten for the case of tobacco made £35. I came and asked Joseph where the money for the tobacco was. He got it and now there was £35. I told him: "This £35 does not belong to you, it is mine. I tell you this clearly. I have something to say about it. I want to talk to the *kukerai* [the government-appointed headman, same as *luluai*]. He has the hat given to him by the government. I want the *kukerai* and the *tultul* [a government-appointed interpreter, a lesser official]. I want to talk about this £35." I told them, "I want you to call together all your men, all the men and women of Lipan." . . . When everyone had gathered I took this £35 and I showed it to them all. . . . "This seven *fuse* [seven rolls of shillings with £5 in each] is to stay with the *kukerai*. *Kukerai*, you take care of it. It is to look after all the men and women of Lipan. But it is not your money, it is mine. I give it to you, for you to look after your people. The purpose of this money is this. Each year when the *kiap* comes to collect the tax, whoever does not have his tax money or is short on it, you must pay them for him. If you give a man 10 shillings to pay the tax, you must write the name of this man, then when the *kiap* has left, this man is to pay back the money. Why must he return the money? If it is returned to you, you can take care of everyone for all the years to come behind. I am showing you a good road, by which all your men can avoid going to jail. Why should they pay back the money? It would be no good if the money were used up. Now your men can stay in the village with you. This is the reason I left Baluan. I didn't have tax money when the *kiap* called me. If you get into trouble over this seven *fuse*, if the *kiap* dismisses you and another 'boss' is put in your place, you must turn this money over to him. The new boss can look after his men with it. Why? Because this is not your money, it is mine. I give it to you to look after the men over whom you are boss. And you can't just ignore a man of another *luluai* and another clan of Baluan, if his man does not have money, you must send the money to him; later he will pay it back to you. You must help Lou and Pwam and Mouk also. When the *kiap* goes to collect the tax, you must go along with him to take care of whoever does not have tax money." I said this. Then I put the seven *fuse* into the hands of the boss, the *luluai*.

The *luluai* followed my instructions and paid tax for the men of Baluan, Mouk, Pwam, and Lou. Then the *kiap* found out about this man who went around paying the tax on Baluan, Mouk, Pwam, and Lou. I had previously instructed the *luluai* that if he is found out by the *kiap* he is not to mention my name, he must say that it is his money. When the *kiap* found out, he wrote the name of the men taxed on small slips of paper. These he gave to the *luluai* saying, "If this man doesn't return your money, send me word and he will be jailed." The *kiap* asked him whose money it was. He said that it was his own . . .

All this work was done quietly, just the way that I have told you. Everyone heard about it and gave their backing to the *luluai's* work. When the six months of my vacation had finished, I went back to Rabaul. I was still a policeman. I finished another year. I took my £15, one of which I had saved out of my monthly two-shilling pay. I signed on again as a policeman and then took my leave to go home. I came, and with this three *fuse* there was now £50. The £35 from before was still there. The *luluai* paid the tax and then was paid back. I called for everyone to come together . . . [Paliau called a meeting and asked the people of Baluan if the money had been used properly and if they approved of his plan. They said yes.] "You look. I am putting three more *fuse* to go with the seven from before. Now if you think that this has been a good thing, you should put what you have with it to help." They all thought about it, then they said: "This road that you are making for us is clear to us. We no longer go to jail." Now I silenced them. I said: "You keep quiet. This is the work of the *luluai*. It is not my work. You can't name me." All right, they were all for it now. All of them put in their money. These were only the people of Lipan. The *luluai* was Ngi Asinkiau and the *tultul* was Lipamu. Everyone in Lipan put in £5 each until there was £500. The money was in the care of the *luluai*. I advised him. I told him: "You cannot make court against a man of another boss. You can't be angry at them. Take care of all men from Lou, Pwam, and Mouk. Look out for whatever trouble might arise among them. If they are angry, you must go quickly into their midst and stop it. If the men of another village come and fight with some of the men of your village, you can't seek revenge. You can't be too angry. You must do only what is good. All of these big feasts that are given on Baluan, sometimes you should think about them. If you got rid of a few of them, you won't regret it. They cause sickness, and many of our people of Lipan die."

I told them this, then I went back. My leave was finished . . . As for this money, they saved more and more until they had £2000. He took £50 and sent it to me in Rabaul, saying: "I didn't take this money

from the fund. It is my own. Find a company that sells galvanized iron and send it to me. I want to make my house with it." But I didn't get the iron quickly. Two years passed. I brought the £50 back to the village . . . When I went back to Rabaul I couldn't get galvanized iron. I bought a small boat . . . [Paliau bought a small boat, but it was ruined before he could get it back to Baluan. The money stayed with this *luluai* all through the war. It was evidently dispersed after the war, but this point is not clear.]

PALIAU'S WAR EXPERIENCE

I break off the verbatim transcription of Paliau's autobiography at this point. His account of the war is filled with a great deal of specific detail about his movements, which it is necessary to condense. The following is derived from his account.

When the war reached Rabaul, Paliau was first sergeant in the police. There was no native sergeant major over him at this time. He was in charge of the 280 police. When the Japanese came in 1942, the police went into the bush, with the police master and a few remaining Europeans. Paliau and five other policemen stayed behind to bury the police rifles and ammunition. Some of the native police escaped with the Australians. Paliau and many others were cut off. The Australians told them to hide in the bush and that they would return before long to drive out the Japanese. Until August, 1943, Paliau hid in the bush. Most of the local tribes cooperated with the Japanese much as they had with the Australians. Many of the native police had long since given themselves up. The Japanese knew of Paliau and made special efforts to find the "*boss belong black soldier belong Australia*," as the other policemen had reported him. The local natives were afraid of him and his men. They reported him to a missionary who, in turn, sent word to the Japanese, who came in two trucks to get him. They fired at him as he fled into the bush from the house in which he had been staying, but he escaped. Finally, in August of 1943, Paliau, feeling that he would soon be captured, weary of the fugitive life in the bush and short of food, gave himself up. He presented himself to the section of the Japanese administration known as the *Mensiepu*, which was the civil administration that supervised the native population. He was put on trial. He was asked whether he had hidden any Australians in the bush. He

said that he had not and that he had lost contact with the Australians for over a year. Finally, the Japanese told him that he had to work for them as a police officer in charge of the native populations in Rabaul. Paliau told himself that if he did not give the Japanese immediate obedience, they would cut his throat. He remembered also that the Australians had told the natives that, if the Japanese captured them, they were to obey to save their lives.

Paliau's main idea was to look after the various groups of natives from Manus and other parts of the Territory who had been caught in Rabaul by the war. He gathered them in groups according to their place of origin and assigned a native policeman to supervise each group. He had them all plant gardens, to grow their own food, while they worked for the Japanese. During this time, Paliau says, he had nothing to do with the Japanese treatment of Australians, with the killing of any Australians or natives. He organized the native community, judged disputes among the natives, and brought native complaints about the actions of Japanese soldiers to the attention of the Japanese administration. He claims that when he reported an offense against natives by a Japanese soldier, that soldier was punished.

When the Americans began bombing Rabaul, in 1944, Paliau was slightly wounded in the leg. He left Rabaul and went to the Manus settlement nearby. He stayed with this group of men from villages scattered throughout Manus until the fighting was over in 1945. Among this group was Manoi of Patusi, who is mentioned above in connection with the Peri local movement. When news came that an American warship was in Rabaul harbor and that the Australians had reestablished their administration in Rabaul, Paliau put on his old police uniform and presented himself to the government officer. He was sent back to bring in the Manus. There were many more Manus natives among the police who returned with the Australians. They were overjoyed at finding Paliau alive. A group of Sepik police, however, wanted to kill him, accusing him of helping the Japanese. They called him the *kiap* of the Japanese. The Manus group was put to work clearing Rabaul and building houses and native compounds.

Paliau was brought to court as a Japanese collaborator and tried for alleged war crimes. The rest of the Manus were returned to their

home island, but Paliau was kept in Rabaul for a year while his trial continued intermittently. When he was not on trial, he was put to work. At night he slept in the jail.

It was in May, 1945, that Paliau sent his letter to Manus calling for the erection of a meeting house and announcing that he would have important things to say when he returned. The letter was addressed to the *luluai* of Mouk and the *luluai* of Lipan who had administered Paliau's pre-war plan in Baluan. This letter is cited by adherents of the later Paliau Movement as the beginning of everything. It is the starting point of history for them.

From the standpoint of the Australians, Paliau was a collaborator. He had worked for the Japanese and had been given an important position by them, a fact that differentiated him from the mass of other natives who had worked for the Japanese, few of them by choice. Paliau maintained that he had wronged neither natives nor Australians, and in the year that he was held in Rabaul nothing was proved against him. Still, he resented the hostility directed toward him. Finally, in October, 1946, the trials of natives suspected of war crimes were discontinued. Paliau was told he was free and would be sent back to Manus. The compound master was supposed to put him on a ship. Paliau was kept waiting. Many ships went. He tells of going from one *kia*p to another without being given a pass. He was bitter over his continued rejection by the Europeans. He said: "If I had done anything wrong, they had ample opportunity to convict me, but they didn't. They released me. Why did their anger persist?"

Paliau was considered a martyr by his fellow Manus who had been in Rabaul with him. He had done a job that had given him great prestige among the natives. He had organized the settlement of the heterogeneous mass of native internees in Rabaul. He had organized their internal affairs with courts and meetings. (In questioning Manus natives who had been in the refugee settlement at Talasea, New Britain, at a distance from Rabaul, one finds that Paliau had played a part there also. He circulated a letter warning them to save their lives and bide their time, and to obey the Japanese, who were dangerous, all of which was essentially what they had been told by the departing Australians.) Paliau's many years with the native police were at this time negated by Australian antip-

athy toward him as a collaborator. He had reached a high rank before the war. At this time he was through with it. His sole interest was to establish his leadership in the transformation of native society.

Up to this point, Paliau's life story is not a history, but a statement of what he feels is important in his life. It is what he would like Europeans to know about his life. He sees himself at the present time in the light of the Movement that bears his name, though not quite as his followers see him. Thus his autobiography is concerned mainly with the tracing of the development of his ideas. How he arrived at his ideas and his later role interested him deeply. He asks himself at several points, "Why did I see that all this was wrong when the rest of them didn't?"

Let us review the picture he gives of his development. Paliau's first emphasis was on his early loss of his parents. Probably among the natives of Baluan there was a close relationship between father and son similar to that described for the Manus by Mead.¹ Paliau had neither brother nor sister. He feels that he belonged to no one after he was orphaned. He feels that he has been alone all his life. He felt outside his culture even before he knew any other. The culture was associated with his foster father, Joseph Pati, because of whom he frequently experienced shame and anger. His experience with the phallic shell dance can be considered a crucial point in his rejection of his culture. He expressed that rejection at a point when participation in adult cultural concerns was demanded for the first time.

Paliau's emphasis on his relationship to the lagoon-dwelling Manus of Mouk village indicates the early beginning of his later strong identification with that group. Spontaneously, in narrating his autobiography, Paliau felt it important to relate the development of his ideas to his expanding experience with the world beyond his home island. He had traveled very little until his later teens. He feels that his break with his culture preceded this expansion of his experience of the world. His statement of disbelief in the spirits of the dead, which was a nuclear belief in Melanesian cultures, is again dated to his childhood. It is interesting, in the light of Mead's description of the Manus child's

¹ Mead, 1930, see particularly Chaps. 4 and 8.

skepticism about adult religious beliefs, that Paliau derives his own skepticism from the fearless autonomy of the child who was too ignorant to be afraid of the ghosts that people the adult world.¹ Paliau rejected the explanation for a series of deaths as a *tamberan* phenomenon. Rather he connected the deaths with a fault in the culture. The deaths resulted because the feasts and dances used up all the food, involved strenuous preparatory labor and too much eating and dancing, and were too prolonged. But that the feasts and the attendant eating and dancing were the cause of killing the people of Baluan was only part of his reasoning. Mainly, it was because in some way, as yet undefined, they were *wrong*. They were wrong just as the dissipation of the *work-boy's* hard-won pay was wrong. No one achieved anything. Life was an endless round of work and dispersion followed by the compulsion to return to work. The old culture had failed to involve him in its value system.

Paliau described his travels as a means of comparison of cultures. He had decided not to return to Baluan, but he found nothing better anywhere in native society. He abstracted the basic similarity of Melanesian cultures. At the same time he saw the general form of the relationship of the *work boy* to the Melanesian base culture. The *work boy* returned to the village and demonstrated his success on a line strung with tobacco, *laplaps*, and money; or he returned but remained outside his culture. Finding nothing desirable within the village, he returned again to work.

Paliau's account of his attempt to change the culture of Baluan is also of great importance. I was able to check parts of his story sufficiently to confirm that he had led a local movement as early as 1937. He frequently mentioned that, as his ideas developed, he thought about them but said nothing. Because he was too young, without prestige or a plan of action that went beyond a negative program to discontinue the old culture in which his elders still actively par-

ticipated, and because he had no tangible substitute with immediate advantages to offer, he kept silent. At that time he made no attempt to remain as leader and executor of his plan. He had made himself known as a leader. His project had been successful; he had induced others to contribute until a sum of money had been collected, larger than any single *work boy* could have dreamed. The amount he named, £2000, seems extremely improbable for a pre-war collection. Informants who knew that the fund existed were not aware of its amount.

Even on his last return to Baluan before the war, four years or more after he initiated the revolving fund plan, he felt that he was not ready to call for a general break with the old culture, though he had begun to introduce the idea at this time. It was on this last leave from Rabaul before the war that he first mentioned his plan to build a meeting house on Baluan. Meanwhile, when he was a sergeant in the native police in Rabaul, he cultivated men from many different Manus villages. These men can be more closely described as followers than friends. They tell of Paliau's having plans for "getting up the place" when he went back. These plans reached maturity during the year following the defeat of the Japanese.

In Paliau's autobiographical sketch (dictated to me) and in his account of post-war events and the history of the Movement (recorded at length on tape), he omitted almost completely one area of his ideas until he was specifically questioned. He did not mention Christianity. Paliau is one of the few natives whom we encountered who had no baptismal name. When questioned, he said that Christianity had come slowly to Baluan. People who seemed about to die were baptized. If they recovered, they remained Christians. The Catholic mission had been established while as a boy he was away at work for Akim. Paliau was never baptized. Asked about his religion, he said he was a Catholic. He apparently acquired his knowledge of mission Christianity from many different sources. He had from time to time attended the services of various missions, usually Catholic, in Rabaul and elsewhere during his period in the native police. He had mastered most of what the native, Christian, *work-boy* culture had to offer by way of ideological and religious content. Paliau did not attend a mission school. He learned to read and write Neo-Melanesian

¹ Mead, 1930, Chap. 6; 1932; 1956a, Chap. 6. Mead discusses the marked discontinuity in Manus socialization, the postponement until adulthood of the recruitment of the Manus child and youth into the economic and religious systems, and a latent deviance resulting from this late assumption of what the Manus believed to be the burden of adult affairs and responsibility, which provided one of the important bases for the Manus adoption of new cultural models in a rapid transformation.

from other natives. John Murphy, with whom Paliau served as a native constable in the Kuku-kuku area early in his career as a policeman, told me that Paliau kept to himself more than is usual for a native in the police, and that he tried to learn anything he could, for example, to teach himself English from books that he could not understand.

Paliau accepted Christianity as true, validated by the obvious power and superiority of of the white men who brought it. He accepted the God and the Christ of the missions, but he revised most of the content of the mission teaching, departing widely from orthodox Catholic doctrine. We examine the content of the Paliau Movement below. His rejection of his tribal culture had preceded intensive contact with Christianity. His local pre-war movement seems to have been completely secular. During the war and just after it, however, his program became embedded in the concepts of native Christianity.

It is during the war and the period immediately following it that we find Paliau becoming, in the eyes of his followers, not merely a reformer with a program but a man whose program was the latest chapter in the history of the relationship between man and God, a man who had experienced direct revelation. The ideas about the world and native society that he had developed in silence for so long and had presented cautiously, bit by bit within his local sphere, were ready for full presentation. He permitted others to extend his actual self into a legend that supported the validation of his broader message of a new culture. He did not present his program to those whose lives he hoped to transform by it, as the result of a long development of the thought and experience of one man or as a program about which he could be either right or wrong. He represented it as having come to him full-blown in dream and in vision directly from the mind of Jesus. He drew his form of presentation from the diffuse substratum of Melanesian Christianity, in which dream and vision are the channels of communicating true revelation.

Paliau spoke of the war as a *tryim belong God*. The war had been sent to open forcibly the minds of the natives like a bomb that strikes a concrete structure. During the time that Paliau and his companions hid from the Japanese in the bush, he had dreamt several times of being

found by Japanese patrols. He told the others of his dream and persuaded them to flee just in time to escape the Japanese.

During the period of the American bombing, he had another dream that predicted the arrival of American bombers the next day and a bomb that would destroy the house in which they were staying. This dream also came true, and flight from the house had saved their lives. These dreams became widely known. In another dream he predicted that 208 planes would appear the next afternoon. The next day 208 planes flew overhead. He admits to these dreams freely. He feels that dreams that prove to be accurately predictive are sent from God and that he was being specifically favored.

The crucial experience of revelation at this time is supposed to have occurred in a dream in which Christ appeared to him first in the form of an ox and then was transformed into the figure of a white man. This dream has come to have almost as many versions as it has narrators. We collected variants of it from Europeans, from natives hostile to the Movement, and from many of Paliau's closest adherents. Paliau himself was most guarded in talking about his dreams. He admitted that he had them but discounted their importance in his development. He knew of various versions that existed, calling them distortions and exaggerations of what he actually said. He accepted this magnification of himself in legend. He provided abundant material for the proliferation of images of himself in the minds of his followers. The more heroic versions of the recent history of his life became a part of the "Long Story of God," which is given below.

PALIAU'S RETURN TO MANUS

Paliau arrived at Sepalau, ANGAU headquarters in Manus, on October 10, 1946. A document written by one of his followers in that same month lists the conditions that he found of which he disapproved. He found many natives advocating plans for change. He found all the local movements in an impasse with an intractable older generation. Independent of these movements were others that advocated that natives should demand a pound a day as a minimum wage. About the time of, or just before, Paliau's return to Manus, a movement had been organized by a paramount *luluai* from the North Coast to ask the Americans to

take over Manus. A petition written in Neo-Melanesian was presented by a delegation of natives to officers in charge of the American base. Nothing came of it. ANGAU was very unpopular among the natives, who viewed it as a barrier between themselves and the Americans. Paliau himself showed little interest in the Americans as a possible means for the advancement of native society. Most of his later adherents had had more contact with the Americans than he. He planned first some unification of native society, and then that this union as a unit later move toward a closer approximation to the condition of the white man.

Paliau's rejection of various schemes for native advancement can be illustrated by his criticism of William Matbe's store. He had returned to Manus on the same ship that brought Matbe and the other Manus "black soldiers" home. He had spoken to Matbe but could not enlist him. Matbe is described as an individualist and a gambler who would be little interested in becoming a part of a larger social unit. Paliau came to the store after it was in operation and predicted its failure within five months. The store was "wrong." The men who organized it were interested only in their own advancement, he told them, while they allowed their own villages to follow the old ways. A few men had too little strength to make any appreciable change in native society. Paliau's prediction of failure was correct. Up to 1954 there had been few attempts, none successful, at small group or private native enterprise in Manus.

Paliau sent word ahead to Baluan to announce his return and called for the construction of a meeting house. Three days later he returned to Baluan. It is not possible to trace all his activities during this initial period of organization of the Movement. Before presenting the content of his talks to his rapidly growing group of followers, we should consider how they were recruited, how they were attracted to Baluan, and how they were approached by Paliau.

Paliau's attempt to recruit Bonyalo is described briefly above, in connection with the development of Bonyalo's local movement in Peri (pp. 230-232). Bonyalo had known Paliau when the latter was in the police. He had cause to respect Paliau, but at the same time he could reject Paliau's proposal and speak to him as an equal. Paliau's speech to Bonyalo demon-

strates his initial recruiting approach. He came in a canoe. He went straight to Bonyalo without attempting to speak to anyone else in Peri. When Bonyalo asked him why he had come, Paliau showed him his canoe. "Do you see any cargo on it?" Paliau said. There was none. "You see," said Paliau, "I have not come to trade, I have come to talk." This conversation made a sufficient impression to be worth recounting seven years later. The empty canoe distinguishes this visit from the visits of all other Matankor canoes to Manus villages. Paliau had learned to dramatize himself and his idea. Having failed to persuade Bonyalo not to leave the village, Paliau invited Peri to come to the meetings on Baluan. Possibly because of Bonyalo's attitude, no one from Peri attended the early meetings of the Initial Movement Phase.

Napo of Mbukei, who had reached a stalemate in his own village, was ready to join anyone who had a plan that might succeed where his had failed. The men of Mbukei knew that Paliau had returned. They knew he had important plans, but, when they questioned the men of Mouk who had already joined with Paliau, the Mouks would tell them nothing. Paliau had told them not to reveal the content of the Baluan meetings. But Napo saw that the Mouks no longer wore *laplaps* or grass skirts. Thirty men of Mbukei went to Baluan, in three canoes.

Lungat of Nriol was attracted in the same way. He had gone to friends on the islands of Pak and Tong, hoping to find a person with ideas that he could follow. He had returned to Rambutjon, disappointed. Later, a man from Pak who was on his way to Baluan told him, in strictest confidence, that he was going to help to build a meeting house in which all men from all villages would gather to discuss the condition of the native and his culture. Lungat kept this information to himself, until a canoe from Mouk arrived one day, seeking sago leaf for thatching the new meeting house. Meetings had been going on since Paliau's return, but Lungat could learn nothing of the specific content. He asked one of the crew who replied, "I am unable to tell you." Then Lungat said, "I think this talk which you are all making at the meetings is the talk of God." The other, seeing that he knew the truth, replied: "That is it. It is nothing else. But I cannot tell you more.

Whether you come or do not come, it is up to you." Lungat thought of his two brothers who had died and of their message. He approached another clan brother, Alois Nreje, with the idea of going to Baluan. They borrowed a canoe. They, with their wives and another Nriol man, Lukas Pomileu, started for Baluan. They took with them an aged woman who wanted to see her relatives and whose thoughts were on the work of her kin according to the old ways. These thoughts brought the canoe to grief. A head wind came up, driving them back to Rambutjon which they reached just as the canoe was about to sink. That night Lungat's clan brothers returned from the Great Admiralty with their father's big canoe. With this added crew and the larger canoe, and without the old woman whose thoughts were so dangerous, they set out the next morning. This time there were the five "brothers," Lungat, Nreje, Muli, Pomileu, and Wapei, with three of their wives. A strong cross wind brought them to Baluan the following morning. They poled their canoe around the island to Mouk, where they tied their canoe to the posts of the house of Lungat's father-in-law. Paliau was in Mouk, where meetings were being held on the *arakeu* (the artificially built-up island that had served as a platform for work and the display of wealth, feasts, and dances). He took charge of assigning them to the houses in which they would sleep and be fed. The next morning Lungat went out to find Paliau and met Paliau coming to him. That morning Paliau had met with the leaders of Mouk to ask about these men from Rambutjon, who were unknown to him. He asked the Mouks who among the men of Nriol could speak for them. They named Lungat. Lungat was pleased. In his account Lungat enumerated again all the other men from Rambutjon who could have been named, most of whom were older. Paliau asked Lungat, "Why did you come here to Baluan?" Lungat said: "Yes, Paliau, I didn't come here to find food. I didn't come about the work of our ancestors. I came because I heard of this house you are building. We have come to hear the talk that you will make in this house." Paliau replied:

Your thought is a good one. This house belongs to all of us. I intended that it be built only by those who are here in Mouk and Baluan, but he who comes from another place by his own volition can come inside. Now that you have come, I will tell you. You

know that in the past all the white men have lied to us. All the missionaries have lied to us. They brought the name of Jesus and of his church. They told of his coming to earth, of his work and his death for our redemption. But the true talk of Jesus, this they didn't tell us. The inner meaning of the work of Jesus they didn't tell us. But now I have found this. I, myself, have found it."

Paliau went on to say that the talk which Jesus had brought when he came among the white men had created great dissension. The white men had decided to conceal His message to keep it from reaching the black men. It was as if they had wrapped it up, tied it, and encased it in cement. Then the war came and broke open this cement. He was glad that the men of Nriol had come to hear the truth that he would soon reveal in the meeting house.

In the account of this period given by Kisakiu of Tawi Village, other aspects of the recruiting of the Paliau Movement emerge. Kisakiu of Tawi and Manoi of Loitja were young men. They were not leaders in their villages, although they might have become leaders at a later age had the old system persisted. They came to Mouk in connection with a feast that was in preparation in Tawi at the time. Mouk was already in the Movement; the atmosphere there was conspicuously different, but the Mouks were not talking. One of Kisakiu's mother's brothers told him that Paliau had taught them something, but they were not allowed to reveal it. Kisakiu responded, as Napo and Lungat had, by wanting to be on the inside. He and Manoi went across to Baluan where they saw the meeting house that was being built.

They decided to see Paliau. Paliau shook hands with them, brought them to his house, and told his wife to bring them food. Then they sat around a table and talked. Paliau told them that he knew who they were. He said that when he saw their canoe coming from the direction of Johnston Island he had written a note inviting them to come to see him. They were impressed, but told Paliau that they had not received such a note. Then he told them that what he had to say was absolute truth, but that they must want to hear it. They had to join voluntarily, knowing that a great deal of trouble would result from what Paliau would say. Without further explanation he told them that they might not succeed, but that, if they did, they

would be *all right*. (In the Neo-Melanesian discourses of the Movement, to be "all right" means to be raised to the wealth, status, and condition of the rest of the world. Thus they say, "Jesus made the white man all right," or "The Americans taught the American Negroes and made them all right.") Paliau spoke at length to these two young men. Then he asked them if they would help in the "work." They agreed and were told: "You, Manoi, will go look after the people of Loitja. The *luluai* is for the work of the government, whereas your work is to expound on this talk [of the movement] to all the men and women. You, Kisakiu, will be in charge of Tawi."

Kisakiu and Manoi then returned to Tawi. They had been appointed *pesman*¹ by Paliau. They were to relay his ideas and lead the Movement within their villages. They found that the elders of their villages were unimpressed. In Paliau's name they urged discarding the ways of the past. Among both the older and the younger men were some who answered that they did not want any change. Kisakiu and Manoi then were angry. The others told them that until the king or the government speaks, they would not listen. Kisakiu said he was angry for two months, but his arguments had no further success. Then two letters came from Paliau, one for him and one for Napo of Mbukei. Kisakiu passed through Loitja on his way back to the village with the letters. The people of Loitja asked him to read the letters to them, but he said that they were addressed to Tawi and could not be read in any other place. In Tawi he waited until after church service on Sunday. The *luluai*, who had opposed Kisakiu, permitted him to read the letter to the village. It said that the meetings had begun and invited Tawi to send people to hear them. Tawi did not want to remain on the outside now that the much-talked about meetings were actually in progress. The villagers agreed to hasten the big feast that was to be given. They could not abandon the feast that had been the center of village activities for almost a year, but they could say that it was to be the last feast, which would satisfy the old men whose entrepreneurial

activities were to culminate in this feast. Under similar circumstances 20 years ago, Peri Village had planned its last big feast that involved a kind of phallic dancing that would be unacceptable to the mission; when it was completed, the missionaries were called in. Similarly, Napo in Mbukei had brought his local movement to a point at which the village had promised to set a date before which all obligations derived from the old system would be met. Tawi, preoccupied with making its feast, did not send anyone to the meetings on Baluan. The feast was never properly completed, however, as it was interrupted by the *Noise*.

Only two men from Bunai went to Baluan to attend the meetings. These were Akustin Tjamilo and his brother Alois Posanau. Tjamilo told of Paliau's early visits to Bunai. Paliau invited Samol and anyone else from Bunai to come to the meetings. Samol and most of the villagers were skeptical. Tjamilo said that Paliau shook slightly (*guria liklik*) when he spoke and that he spoke with great intensity. At that time Tjamilo was young and of no importance in the village. When Paliau returned to Baluan, Tjamilo and Posanau followed. Tjamilo's experience there was the most important in his life. As he sees it, he became a man during the weeks that followed.

THE CONTENT OF THE EARLY MEETINGS

The content of these early meetings is derived from many informants. There is a large area of agreement about that which was said, even when specific details are compared in the various accounts. Most of what follows is derived from three of the best sources in terms of completeness, detail, and the first-hand participation of the informants—Paliau, Lukas of Mouk, and Tjamilo of Bunai. Other informants have been used to check the reliability of these accounts either as statements of actual occurrences or as narrations of a more or less standardized belief about what occurred.

The meetings started after October 13, 1946, and were held at first in the *arakeu* of Mouk Village. Even after the meeting house had been nearly completed, night meetings were still held in Mouk. To them came mainly the people of Baluan, Mouk, and Pwam. During this early period Paliau traveled to key villages in search of support. Early in November meetings

¹ *Pesman* was the title given to local leaders in the Initial Movement Phase. Some Europeans interpreted this as "best man." I believe it to be derived from "face-man" in the sense that these men were the "face" or representatives of their villages.

were held in Mouk to organize the building of the meeting house. Paliau told of a dream he had of such a meeting house when he was in Baluan on his last visit before the war:

I dreamt of something that rose up almost to the sky. It was very long. There were two things that projected down from the top. They looked like megaphones that are used for shouting. They started at the top and came down. It [this building] was very red. It looked red at the top. It came down, down, down straight upon this piece of ground here near the store [in the center of Lipan Village]. When it came down and reached the ground it looked like a cloth surrounding us. It had taken the form of a building. We were inside and its door was shut. It was a house with a door. I wanted to open the door to go outside, but the door was stuck. I pushed the door three times, but it was as if a man, though it was no man, pushed back. That was all. I found an image here according to which I could make a house.

Paliau saw this as a meeting house, or place for talking. God had sent this dream as he sends all good dreams. After his return to Baluan, Paliau reminded his listeners of this dream.

In the meeting on November 6, 1946, Paliau began by talking about the importance of building the meeting house. I give below a close translation of his speech as he remembers it. Europeans told us that the members of the movement *talk picture* a great deal in their meetings. Natives told us that the talk of the missionaries was full of *talk picture*. Paliau was supposed to be the master of this form of speech. The phrase *talk picture* covered parables, extended analogies, and metaphors. It was occasionally intended as a form of indirect reference to material well known to insiders, for the purpose of concealing meaning from an outsider. It could occasionally be used to criticize or accuse a person or group present at a meeting, dramatizing the content of the criticism but softening the resulting interpersonal conflict. Most frequently the parable was used to make a speech more striking, more memorable, and more convincing—to fix its content for the listener. The following illustrates Paliau's style of speaking in parables. It also introduces part of the initial ideology of the *Newfela Fashion* (or the "New Way").

I pictured a house. I said this house is a good thing. As for the function of this house I said, "Look at the framework of this house, all these timbers are

the bones of this house; they are like the bones of us human beings. This beam that rests at the top of the house is like our backbone. These, which form the sides, are like our ribs. The bones of the side are attached to the backbone. The floor inside the house is like the abdomen of men. The part of the house that has the front ladder is like the head of a man. There is a door in the other part that is like the anus of man. The windows of this house are like the ears and nose by which man gets his breath. The posts that support the house are like the legs and arms of men. Everything that is inside of the house is like all the organs and the heart of man. Why is it that everything in the house is just like everything in men? The part of the house that is like the anus of us men has another door that leads to the cook-house. The door near the house ladder is like the mouth of us men; as it leads back to the door of the cook-house, it is like the bowels of men. All the fastenings that bind the house together are like the muscles, ligaments, tendons, and blood vessels of our bodies. Everything for building a good house is needed also for making a good man. Who does this building? It is God Himself who builds man. He knows that you and I, who are men, cannot sleep unprotected on the ground or the sea; we must sleep in houses. His building is to build the souls of us men that sleep within our bodies, which are their houses. If our bodies are broken, our souls have no houses and must go back to God, our Father. Why? The breath of the souls of men is the breath of His mouth. While our souls are inside our bodies, these are their houses. But where are our bodies to sleep? The house is like the "skin" of the body. If our bodies had no house, we couldn't sleep. Would our bodies sleep under stones? No! Would they sleep on the water or on the ground? No! They must stay in houses, to protect them from the rain, to hide them from the sun. That is why we live in houses. When we talk, do we talk under a stone or do we sit down to talk on the water, or do we just sit on the ground? No, we must make a house in which men can talk. We must go inside to discuss what good way of life there is for us to follow that will make us and our villages all right. If we want to talk about anything on earth, if there is a place where we can talk, to straighten out the ways of our villages, this is good. But if one village does not have a meeting house, but talks round and about in every part of the lagoon or in the bush, this is not right. This place cannot be made all right. Why? Because all men and everything on the earth are, as I have said in this story about a house, all are only the buildings of God, the Father of all. The pattern for our work already exists on earth in the bodies of men. If we think intensely about God, our Father, if all of our ways that are no good are thrown out, He is one who will have compassion on

us, His children. He can make our heads become clear with good thoughts. With these good thoughts that will come to us, we can find a good work and a good way of life. Only the meeting house will make us all right. It was like this with Jesus, Whose name we have heard over and over, when He was on earth and went from place to place talking; sometimes He spoke here and there in the open, and sometimes He went inside a house to make some important talk to all men. He taught that that which is no good must be cast aside and not practised by us. He said we must think about and follow that which is good. He showed us that He was God, Father of all of us. It is the same now. We must make a meeting house. We must think in it, we must meet in it. All of our ways that are no good, we must cast aside."

Paliau continued in his general proclamation of the break with the ways of the ancestors. He argued that much had been learned from the white man. The government taught about the ways of the body and of the law, while the word of God dealt with religion and the spirit. If we combine the ways of the white man with those of our ancestors, he said, only death and ruination can result.

The talk of God is like a sorcery charm. If you speak the word of God and you think good thoughts and do good things with it, that is all right. But if you mix the words of God with the evil ways of your ancestors, this will ruin you.

The comparison is with a sorcery charm associated with some proscribed behavior. The charm can do good for the user as long as the proscribed behavior is avoided, but otherwise it can result in death. So Christianity, by its admixture with the remnants of the old culture, has been prevented from making the native "all right." The comparison with a sorcery charm, *poison* in Neo-Melanesian, is *talk picture*. The idea that mixture of the new with the old can cause death is not considered incompatible with the idea that the old culture was wrong and in itself enough to cause death. Paliau elaborated on this theme in the "Long Story of God."

All informants agree that the first order of business in the meetings was a thorough revision of Christianity as taught by the missions. The Movement had to be given a place in history and in the universe. Paliau had created a coherent story out of all that he knew. Each new recruit to the Movement learned the story by hearing it over and over and by writing it in the school exercise books that recorded the native literature of this period.

THE "LONG STORY OF GOD"

Tjamilo's version follows. He arrived in Lipan after the meeting house had been almost completed and attended the first meeting in the new house. A speaker's platform had been built in the middle of the floor, with a "box" in which Paliau stood when he spoke. Six of his more important followers sat on a bench on this platform. Paliau began.

A very long time ago God existed in the mists.¹ We know of no mother or father for Him. Heaven and earth did not yet exist. God was one and alone. The mists in which He stayed were cold. Then God thought. When He thought, the heavens opened up. When the heavens were made, He thought and brought the sun first. Second, He thought and brought the moon. Third, He thought and the stars came. Now He created all the angels. All these angels were incorporeal. They were the same as God. They stayed with Him in Heaven. Then God thought and created the earth. First He made stone. Then He made the ground. Then He made the grass. The grass was for firm ground. He made trees that were good. They grew unattended. The ground was brown. He put all the fish in the sea. Then He made the birds. He made cows and pigs. He also made the seas. When all this was ready, God thought and created Adam and Eve. Adam and Eve came down into Paradise. They were not human yet. One slept in one place and the other slept in another place. Their bodies were not fixed to their bones yet. Now God made the flesh to go on their bones. But they were still not human yet. They slept on the ground. God blew a little of His breath into their mouths and told them to rise.

At this point Lukas' version has God speak as follows:

"This is an order to you men of the earth. You two represent all men. I made you two first as the parents of all the people of earth. If you two are all right, all men will be all right. If you are wrong, all men must be wrong.

"Now I bring all the prophets upon the earth. The prophets cannot be born of the womb of a woman. They come from the strength of God." Now God spoke to Adam and Eve: "You two live under my first order. You, Adam, you must stay at a distance. You, Eve, you must stay at a distance. Your house is ready. You two must go into the house. The

¹ In Neo-Melanesian this is "*God i stop inside long snow*." *Snow*, in Neo-Melanesian, denotes clouds that are non-distinct, diffuse, and the mist that obscures a distant island. They also have heard of the white cold snow that is like ice and that falls from the sky in America and Australia.

rain can wash and the sun can burn everything in Paradise, but you two must live in a house. Still you must keep your distance from one another. You, Adam, you stay to this side; you, Eve, you stay to this side. If you think, your thought will come to me, God, your Father. You have only to think and a child can appear to you. You, Adam, if you want a son, a son can appear. You, Eve, if you want a daughter, a daughter can appear. But you two must stay apart. If your belief is in me, God, your Father, you can have children. Food, also, can appear. Now you are living according to my first order. Now, for all the prophets that are created at the same time as you, you two are the 'face' for all of them. Just as you two can think, so they can think, and whatever they desire can appear out of nothing for them. All right, you two stay here, and I will go back to Heaven."

Adam and Eve stayed in Paradise. Whatever they desired appeared for them. It was the same for the prophets. They lived in accordance with God's law. But after a short time, some of the angels were envious of God. The First Angel thought: "Why do we have to obey the talk of God? What is He and what are we? He is pure spirit; we are also pure spirit.^[1] When He thinks, everything that He thinks of comes up through the power of His thought. It is the same with us also. Then why should we obey Him?" God was not in their company. He was in another part of Heaven. But God is a true God. Why? Because He created all of them. He could perceive their thoughts. He asked them: "Why do you speak ill of Me among yourselves? It is true that you are incorporeal and I, too, am incorporeal. But you are angels and I am the One who created you. Now that you have envied Me, I must separate you." Then He divided them into two halves. He said: "All of you who are in Lucifer's group, get out. You who are in Michael's group, you must cast out all these angels who aren't good. They shall wander about in all places. Now all of you who belong to Michael's line will remain in Heaven. You will stay with Me. You are My followers."^[2]

Shortly after this, one of the bad angels whom God had cast out came down to Adam and Eve. He came to tempt them. He said: "Now you two live under God's first order. Now today, if you listen to me you can be a spirit just like God. If you do not listen to me you will be in the wrong." While he was still at a distance he projected these thoughts. Why? Because God had not taken away his *thinkthink*. All the power of the bad angels was still with them. He looked into their minds and said: "Adam has a better mind; Eve has a lesser mind. If I approach Eve, I will succeed, but if I try Adam I

won't. He is a man and has the stronger mind." Then he came to Eve, and he said: "You two must lie together and copulate, then you will be like God. If you don't listen to me, I think you will not succeed in becoming like God."

Lukas' version mentions the devil's speaking through a snake that was friendly with Eve. The rest is almost exactly identical in wording.

Eve had heard the talk of the evil angel. She aroused the desires of Adam who came to her. Adam could not resist because his desires were one with hers. He consented. The angel from a distance shouted in exultation. One went on top of the other, and the angel exulted because they had sinned. God already knew this. He came and called to them. They had run away and hidden. God called to them. They came. God spoke: "Now you two have sinned. Now I retract my first order to you. You have followed the talk of Satan. You are his now. You have lost My favor. Now the first order of things is revoked. All the prophets and the earth, too, are in the wrong. You two stood for all men of the world. Now that you are wrong, they are wrong with you. Now you will have hard work all the time. You, Eve, you belong to Adam. He will come to you. You two must work hard to have children. You, Eve, you must cry out and you must suffer pain as well. The child will be in your womb; you will cry and you will know pain."

Some versions include, "You will strain at the timbers of the house until the child is born." Lukas' version brings in the beginning of shame at this point. When God called to Eve, she said she couldn't come because she had no grass skirt. God asked who told her about grass skirts. "The snake," she said. Then God banished the snake to the bush. But shame had come among men.

"You, Adam, now I will tell you what your work is to be. You must find food. If you work hard and long in your gardens you will have food. Now, you two get out. I no longer want to see you." During the time before there was sin on earth, God used to appear to all the prophets also. God used to speak to them, and they could speak to God. They knew all about the heavens above because they could talk to God. Now God was hidden from them. Everything was wrong on the earth now. All the prophets, who had been created with the earth, fought and quarreled among themselves now. They could not know God, their Father, now. He had concealed himself. They scattered over the earth. Each went to stay in a place of his own. Each said that he was king

¹ In Neo-Melanesian this is *i no got meat* or *em i wind nothing* or *em i thinkthink thats all*.

² In Neo-Melanesian, *youfela i boy belong me straight*.

of his territory. Everyone made war everywhere in the world. The world was completely wrong now.

Lukas, in his account, elaborated on the period after the Fall, equating it with the condition of the natives before the coming of the white men. There was incessant warfare and great hardship. Men no longer knew God. They worshipped many idols and devils. They thought that they had originated in stones, or trees, or animals. In Tjamilo's version, there follows a brief reference to Cain and Abel. God smeared the blood of Abel on the forehead of Cain and condemned him to roam the world in misery. Death in the world originated in this fratricide. In other contexts, death results directly from the fall of Adam and Eve. Here Tjamilo's account continues:

Now God saw that the earth was full of evil. This period ends with the generation of Noah. God sent a flood to all places. God told Noah: "You must make a big ark. Then you must gather together your brothers, your fowls and pigeons. My word is with you. If everyone does not listen to your message, you must go into this ark and you must go far away. All these men will remain." Now God sent the great flood upon them. Some men clung to the branches of trees. Some stayed on the ground and died. Those who climbed trees were struck by the tidal wave and fell down. Now God watched. He thought of the world. He said: "What will I do? I wanted to put an end to the world, but after all, Who is it that created these men? No, I think I will send Jesus down."

Now Jesus was given the power of His Father. He came to earth together with 12 of His angels. These 12 angels were His councilors.¹ They surrounded Jesus who was their chairman. He sent the angel Gabriel who went ahead to Maria. Maria was a German white woman.² The Angels came down to Maria in Germany. Gabriel spoke to her, "Maria, soon you will give birth to Jesus Redeemer, who will bring order to the earth." Maria answered: "I have no husband. How am I to give birth to Jesus?" Gabriel replied, "It is through the power of God that you will give birth to Jesus Redeemer." Maria consented: "It is all right. I am just a woman. If it is the will of God to give Him to me, that is good. But I am unworthy." Now Jesus came down into the womb of Maria. Then everyone said to Joseph, "Joseph, you brought this child into the womb of Maria." Joseph denied it: "We were not

lovers. Why do you lie about me?" Then Joseph watched Maria. Maria took her ladle to fetch water from the well. Joseph followed her. He carried an ax to kill her. Then Gabriel appeared. He laid his hand on the handle of the ax saying, "You are not enough to kill Maria and the child that is in her womb." The angel threw down the ax from Joseph's hand: "This child in the womb of Maria is not yours, Joseph. It belongs to God. Its name is Jesus Redeemer. He is to save the world which is full of evil. This child Jesus, you must watch over Him. You must take care of Maria and the child that is in her. You two are not to marry. It is not your child. It is a sign to all the men of the earth. You must watch over Him." When the child was big in Maria and her time was finished, an angel came to them, telling them to take the child, Jesus, and go to a stable for sheep. Maria obeyed and brought Jesus to the house of the sheep. She laid Jesus on half of a shell from which the sheep usually ate, but first she covered it with a cloth.³ While Jesus slept all the men who cared for the sheep came to worship him. An angel talked to all men saying: "All of you go quickly. Maria has already given birth to Jesus the Redeemer. Everyone must go to see Him, and shake hands with Him." Some men worshipped Him truly and knelt. Some men walked by on the road and scoffed. They said: "He is small and insignificant. Why do you men come to obey Him? You and I are already the kings of the earth, but He, what did He come for?" But the men who knelt said, "He is the true child of God." Their belief told them that He was the Son of God. He is the Redeemer to teach all men of the world.

Lukas and Paliau at this point explain why Jesus chose to come to earth as a child to be born to Maria. It was to demonstrate to all men the dual nature of their being. All men are both *thinkthink* and *meat*, that is, all are both God and man.

Tjamilo's account continues:

When Jesus was a little older and stronger, Maria and Joseph brought Him to the house of worship in Jerusalem.⁴ They showed Jesus to Simeon and Anna. All the prophets who had lived on the earth before, except for Simeon and Anna, had died. The name of Christ had preceded Him. Johannes had brought it. When people asked Johannes, he would tell them: "I am just a man who cries out in the wilderness. Christ is yet to come. I am not Christ." Now Simeon and Anna heard this from Johannes.

¹ This is an anachronism. The organization of heaven in terms of councilors and chairmen dates from 1953. In 1946 they might have been called the *pesman* of Jesus.

² The idea that Maria was a German is found only in Tjamilo's account. Others leave the point open, with Maria as a white woman; in Neo-Melanesian she is a *missis*.

³ The shell is *clamshell* in Neo-Melanesian, the cloth is a *towel*. These are only in Tjamilo's account.

⁴ Church is *house lotu* in Neo-Melanesian. *Lotu* means worship or religion. It is used also as a verb, *all i lotu long Jesus*.

They said that they wanted to see Christ before they died. They waited and waited. Finally Maria and Joseph carried Jesus to Jerusalem. Now Anna and Simeon said to Jesus: "We have seen you, Christ. We are very old; our eyes are nearly blind. We have looked upon you; we shake hands with you; now we can die." Soon they died. When Jesus was in the house of worship in Jerusalem, He raised two of his fingers and said: "I am God and I am man. All the men of the earth are God and man. My mind-soul comes from God, My Father. The minds of you men of the earth come also from God, our Father. My body came from the womb of Maria. It is the same as your bodies which come from the wombs of your mothers." Jesus did not say this with his mouth. He was not old enough yet. He thought these words. Jesus stayed in Jerusalem for 30 years. When He was a man He did the work of a carpenter. He took a plank. Joseph gave Him a saw. He sawed the plank saying, "I have come first as carpenter [or builder], I will be carpenter to all the men of the world." When His 30 years were finished and He had become a fully grown man, he traveled around to all the places of the Jews. He took with Him this big book the Bible.¹ With His 12 apostles He went among the Jews. When Jesus spoke in a place, what did He do [or say]? Jesus said men should not be angry. They should not quarrel and fight. "I am Jesus. I have come down because of all these ways of men. Everyone must listen and obey. All the ways of your ancestors from the past, now, at this time, you must be rid of them. I, Jesus, have come to take the lead in this. I, Jesus, I am like a dividing line; the sin of Adam and Eve lies behind me. I have come to the fore. All men must follow me, Jesus, alone. The wrongs of Adam and of the angels lie behind me. I have come forward to teach all men. There must be no more dissension, no more fighting, no more struggle over land. It is because of things of this sort that I have come." Whatever Jesus did or said in any place, his apostles wrote down. Jesus continued to work among the Jews. He taught continually and worked hard, very hard.

Lukas refers to some of the events in the life of Jesus. He gives particular emphasis to the curing of the sick. Jesus accomplished this by sending his thoughts to God. Jesus said, "You too, if you send your thoughts to God to cure the sickness of another man, you can succeed." Lukas compares the work of Jesus to gardening. Jesus went from place to place clearing the ground and planting a garden. By the time He finished work at the next place, the previous place would be overgrown; the people of that place would have abandoned the good ways

¹ Bible is *book taboo* (*tambu*).

that He had shown them and returned to the ways of their ancestors.

Tjamilo's account continues:

When Jesus had finished His work, He looked over the world at the thinking of men everywhere. Some places were all right, some were not all right yet. Jesus knew that soon He would be killed. Why? Because He was both God and man. He knew that His day was near. He said, "These parts that are not all right yet, when I die I can pay for them."²

"All the men of *Judah*³ caught Jesus now. They pulled Him along the road. They beat Him. They said to Him: "What are you now? You are nothing but a *boy*. There are already mighty men in the world. Now you who come later, do you think that you will be king of the world?" They mocked Him. They spit in His eye. But Jesus was not angry. He didn't return their talk. Jesus delivered Himself into the hands of the policemen. They had made ready a cross of wood. Now they bound John Brown at the left hand of Jesus. Jesus was on the right. They put Jesus onto the cross on top of the mountain, Korokata. They put two nails in His arms and two nails in His legs. They bound thorny vines around His head. The head of the police cried out loudly: "Nail him to the wooden cross! Nail him to the wooden cross!" Then they put a spear into his breast. Maria and Joseph were nearby under the cross. Maria brought water to him, but they threw it out. Jesus hung now from the cross. At three o'clock he died. He cried out to God, His Father: "My power is finished now. I have given My spirit and My body." Then He died.

They put Jesus into His grave and stationed guards to watch over it. They were afraid that Maria and her women would steal His body and then spread the lie that Jesus had arisen from the grave. The guards stood watch.

When Jesus was still alive, He had said, "After three days I will arise again." The men who had killed Him scoffed. They said: "What kind of talk is this? The prophets of old died and did not arise again. What man can die and then return?" When three days had passed, Jesus arose again from His grave. His light appeared, and the earth shook. Now all the police near the grave were thrown down. When they got up, each said, "Jesus is my God, my Master." But Jesus answered them, saying: "Why,

² *Me can payim em*. The verb *payim* is homonymous for pay and buy. A man who pays a fine is buying, or paying for his wrong. Thus, *Jesus i payim wrong belong man long die belong em*.

³ There is a confused conception of the meaning of "Judah." It is thought to refer to the people of a country called Judah, but there are contexts in which its meaning is extended to white men generally, and to men of "government" specifically.

when you saw Me before, did you seize Me? You said that I lied. Now I don't believe you. I believe all these people who did not look upon Me and lay their hands on Me before."

Then Jesus called for Thomas. "Come touch the place of the nails and of the spear." Thomas came close to him. He touched the wounds made by the nails and the spear. Then he spoke: "It is true, it is true, my God, my Master. Now I see you and I believe." But Thomas had been one of Jesus' men. When pressure was brought against Jesus, the Jews had asked Thomas, "Are you or are you not a follower of Jesus?" Thomas had answered that he was not one of Jesus' men. This was his lie. Now that he saw Jesus risen from the grave, he believed. But Jesus was both God and man. He understood all this. He said, "If I do not die, I think My word will last only until the sun goes down." Jesus knew the intentions of the Jews. They wanted to confine His message to the house of worship in Jerusalem. They said, "We must kill Him together with His teachings, which must not be allowed to get out to all parts of the world." But Jesus was God and He was man. He knew. At this time the advent of the law of Jesus was near. He told His apostles, all 12: "Bring My word everywhere from sunup to sundown.¹ Bring it to every place where God, My Father, put people." The apostles heard this from Jesus. Then Jesus left them to return to His Father in Heaven. Now all the apostles wanted to bring the word of Jesus to us. But all the Judah [they equated the Judah with the government], they blocked this talk. The government said: "You cannot bring this message to the native. If you do, I will cut your throat. Why? Because I have police and soldiers. You must obey me. You cannot spread these ideas. Wait, you must submit these laws of Jesus to an assembly.² You must alter the book. The real talk of Jesus must be omitted. Instead, you must use *talk picture*. For the sake of deception, this must be made into a different book. You missionaries can take with you another book, but the true Bible must remain here. This book that changes the talk of Jesus will be passed off on the native."

The events in the life of Jesus are thought of as happening in some distant land ruled by the *Judah*. The coming of Christ changed the course of history in the countries of the white men. There, it is thought, the condition of the

Fall was ended. It is thought by some that the white man returned to the First Order of God, but this idea does not belong in the "Long Story of God." The government is equated with the *man belong killim Jesus*, as Lukas put it. The missionaries follow the path of the apostles, but they are either intimidated or unwilling themselves to fulfill the intention of Jesus by extending his teaching to the native. Therefore, since the death of Jesus (thought of as being from three to six generations in the past), the natives remained isolated, suffering under the conditions of the hard life that had been their lot since the sin of Adam and Eve.

The "Long Story of God" does not stop with the death of Jesus; it continues into the present. Paliau told his listeners that God again felt compassion for the native. He sent the sailing ships from Europe—German and English. Captain Cook went from island to island leaving the markers of the government. (Paliau knew Cook to be English; Tjamilo called him German.) Then God sent the Germans, who brought law and government. They set up *luluais* in each village, with the hat and the stick as their badges of office. The Germans banned warfare. They used the natives to clear plantations and work copra. With them came the mission.

After listing the changes made by the Germans, Tjamilo continued his account of the "Long Story of God," saying:

The Germans taught us nothing. They were here for many years. Who could find them out? Now God said: "They must get out. They must go back. They have used men as if they were trucks. Men are men." But the Germans used men as if they were trucks, so God sent them back. All right, now he turned his thoughts toward Australia. Australia came and replaced Germany. They went on and on, but didn't teach the native anything. The Australian treated the natives like oxen. Now God said that they must get out. Then God considered Japan. Now the Japanese came in the war and took Manus. The Japanese did not show us the road; instead they killed many men. God told them to clear out. "All right," God thought, "Each country that I tried was inadequate. They didn't show the real road to Me, God. Why? Because all the men of earth are only human. I made three loaves of bread. One was brown, one was white, and one was black. The pay for two of the loaves has come. I have seen it. The pay for the black bread has not arrived. . . . Did they throw it into a hole or what?" Now the Man who made the bread thought about it. "I will go take a look. Did the bread all burn up, or is some of

¹ *Sunup* and *sundown* are meant not only in the temporal sense but also in the spatial sense. The sun comes up among the white men and sets among the natives, somewhere just west of Manus.

² This assembly to write a false Bible is said in one account to have been held in England in Parliament. This belief probably derives from some account of the writing of the King James version of the Bible.

it left?" All right, the Man who was boss over this bread saw that a part of it still remained. Part had fallen upon America. Now Jesus said: "You must go. I want to try you, America. I have already tried all other countries. Take my flag, take all this food and all these ships and go. Never mind Japan; you can defeat them. This flag of mine is the flag of the black men, you will fight under it."

Japan came now to fight, but America came later, Jesus came ahead of them. He came as lightning and as an airplane marked with a cross. Now he came to Paliau in Rabaul. First he had searched all over Manus without finding a single man whose mind was *straight*. He came down now to Paliau in Rabaul. America came after Jesus. America wanted to bring all these things straight to us, the natives of Manus. America wanted to show us the road that would make us *all right*. They kept in mind the words of Jesus. But the Australians blocked them. They put sentries along the road. They said to us, "You cannot go to the Americans, stay at a distance." Now the Americans did not speak to us. They returned to their own country. Everything they left, the Australians took. America did not forget the talk of Jesus, but the Australians kept them from us. Now God watched. These men who are with us now [the Australians], will they help us or not? We are watching. If they do not help us but continue to keep us down, then there will be another country that will come. Why? Because God has not forgotten the Territory of New Guinea. Soon He will get rid of them all.

The long preceding account gives the history as Paliau presented it in the first meetings on Baluan in 1946. Parts of it may be anachronisms, which relate to later phases of the Movement, but I do not think so. Tjamilo, on whose memory I have drawn at length, was the main propagator, on the South Coast, of the content of these meetings. Whatever his particular distortions may be, they became the accepted version for a large part of the area affected by the Movement. His version coincides very closely, and in many places exactly, with the version of Lukas of Mouk. What is given above is skeletal. There is a great deal of interpretation of the "meaning" of the stories told by the mission. Most of the adults who believed in the revision of Christian doctrine by the Movement were also able to give the orthodox Catholic or Lutheran versions. These were the *talk picture* of the mission designed after the death of Christ to keep the truth of the Christian revelation from the native. But this monopoly on true revelation was now broken. Paliau had been shown

the way by Jesus, who, angered by the continued failure of the white men to share His teachings with the native, came directly to finish His mission to end the suffering of men for the original sin of Adam and Eve. Next the parts of this "Long Story of God" that are concerned with Paliau's revelation are considered, and some of the most important interpretations of Christianity that he contributed to the active ideology of the Movement are discussed.

A composite drawn from various accounts of Jesus' appearance to Paliau can be made by including all the material that cross checks among the several informants. Paliau and other Manus had fled to the bush outside Rabaul to wait out the American bombing. Jesus had sent the Americans to end the war and to act as His agents in bringing the truth to the natives. At the same time Jesus Himself came to select the native who would lead all the rest. He went to Manus but could find no one who was fit to lead. When Jesus saw how the Manus lived, landless, like fish in the water, He felt great compassion for them. Jesus finally found Paliau in Rabaul. He was the only man capable of the task that Jesus had for him. Jesus came in a plane marked with a cross. When the plane appeared, Paliau was hiding, afraid that he would be hit by the bombs of the Americans. Jesus appeared to him in the form of an ox. The thought came into Paliau's mind that he should not be afraid. The ox turned into a tall white man with a beard.

The link between Paliau and this man was between their minds. They communicated without speaking audibly. They went into a house together. The "master" sat down in one chair and bade Paliau sit down in another. The house was filled with a bright light that could be seen at a great distance. At the same time they seemed to be surrounded by clouds, or smoke. Jesus showed Paliau a book. It was the original *book tabu*, the Bible. It had been encased in concrete, and the book itself was half metal, half stone. No one could open it, and no hack saw could have made an impression on the metal. Such was the knowledge that had been concealed from the natives. Now Paliau was given part of this knowledge. All the content of the early meetings is said to have been revealed to him at this time. He was told that he and the rest of the Manus would be delivered safely to their homes. Paliau was to go straight to the

people of Mouk who were singled out as the *mark* of the poverty of all natives. The Mouks were the *rubbish* people who were to be the first to share this revelation. After this visitation Paliau continued to be inspired and empowered by his appointed role as the spokesman of Jesus. He told his companions of his contact with Christ. He had his minor prophetic dreams after this time, predicting the coming of bombers.

Such is, in general, the shared plot of the story. The details vary in different versions. Pita Tapo, an Usiai, says that Paliau had this visitation in 1942, while he was hiding from the Japanese. Tapo's story agrees with that of Lukas Pokus of Peri Village. Both say that Paliau, as a result of his possession by Jesus, was able to win his trials by the Japanese and the Australians by mentioning the name of King Berra at a crucial point in each trial. At the mention of this name, both the Japanese and the Australians were thrown into confusion. Not daring to kill Paliau, they released him. I first heard of King Berra in connection with these stories. The name, which has occurred as a part of the content of cult beliefs in various parts of Melanesia, is a distortion of the name "Canberra," the capital and governmental seat of Australia.

Most of the persons who told me the story of the ox related it as if the events had had physical form. Others described it as a dream that came in natural sleep; still others, as a vision that came to Paliau as he was possessed by Jesus. Paliau himself was reluctant to talk about the religious aspects of his Movement and his life. When I first asked him about the stories that were told about him, he denied them. He said, "Who am I that Jesus should come to me?" Later when I confronted him with the stories his own followers told about him, he admitted to having had a dream that was the source of these stories. When he was being held in Rabaul by the Australians during the war crimes trials, he was worried by his long detention and was afraid that he would be imprisoned or executed.

A friend who was still serving in the native police told Paliau that he would try to collect money to "pay the court," which usually means to pay a fine, though there was no question of a fine. That night Paliau dreamt about the ox. He was frightened at first; later he was no longer

afraid. The ox became a white man. Paliau was told not to worry about the trial. Paliau would not have to "pay"; He, the "Master," would pay. Paliau was reassured. The dream became a sign that he was being favored by God. He explained that all such dreams come from God; they are His way of communicating with men. He said that the men who conducted his trial wanted to punish him and that they did not do so was a confirmation of this dream. As for the mention of King Berra during the trial, in the section of his autobiography dealing with the trial, he tells how, after almost a year of intermittent court sessions, word came from Canberra, which he knows to be a place, the capital of Australia, that all unconcluded war crimes trials against natives were to be discontinued.

Paliau's admission that he had this dream left open the question as to whether he was the source of the other versions that place this incident as occurring before his trial. Whether or not he actually had this experience, there can be little doubt that my informants had heard these stories from him. Finally, just before we left the field, Paliau admitted that he had said these things during the early meetings. Here I leave it for the moment; below, in consideration of the later history of the Movement, further clarification of Paliau's role and beliefs is given. We can now examine further the content of Paliau's first presentation.

The "Long Story of God" tells of the conspiracy on the part of both mission and government to keep the native in ignorance. Worse yet, by teaching them partial truths and false beliefs and allowing them to continue customs derived from the old culture, incompatible with the teachings of Jesus, the missionaries were causing an increase in death and sickness among the natives. Christianity in error was considered to be more dangerous than had been the old culture, coupled as it was with complete ignorance. Paliau and his followers believed that the missions had lied and had given the native a Bible in which truth had been disguised. Paliau reinterpreted the teachings of the missionaries.

The series of revisions of mission doctrine begins with the story of Adam and Eve. Here they are disturbed by the *talk picture* in what the missionaries call the forbidden fruit of the tree. I paraphrase the natives' argument. What is this fruit that eating it could lead to such drastic manifestations of God's anger? What

could be the act that condemned all men to hardship? The sin was obviously that of sexual intercourse between Adam and Eve. This is what was prohibited. This was the condition of the First Order of God. Adam and Eve were led by Satan into committing the same sin that had caused his expulsion from Heaven, the sin of disobedience to God, of not "hearing the talk" of God.

The story of Cain and Abel was also revised in a rather strange way. The name Cain was equated with the word "kind," both pronounced alike as "kajn." In Neo-Melanesian, the expression *all kind kind kind belong em*, means "all their undesirable ways." The native is therefore Cain, condemned to suffering. The white man is Abel, which is a word in the language of the white man that is otherwise pronounced "happy." The lot of the white man is to be happy, while the native is in misery. I have heard both Paliau and Tjamilo use such an interpretation.

An account by Tjamilo follows.

The mission lied also about the inner meanings of the life of Christ. They told us many things without explaining them. The *Evangelio*, for example, was never explained by the mission. Every time we went to church the missionary would tell us about the *Evangelio*. Our backsides would ache from the benches, but they never explained. The real meaning of the *Evangelio* is that when Jesus preached among the Jews many scoffed at Him and challenged Him, saying that if He was the Son of God, He should cause the dead to rise, or throw Himself from a roof without suffering harm, or turn a stone into bread and eat it. There were those who spit at Jesus. When these things happened, Petrus, Johannes, Markus, Thomas, Mateus, and Lukas wrote them down to serve as a lesson to us men who would come later. The lesson is that we are to believe and not listen to the scoffers and spies among us. But the missionary didn't tell us this. He said that it was a devil who tempted Jesus. What kind of devil? These were men who spied and disbelieved. The mission lied.

The mission was also said to have lied about what it called *Imperno* and *Purgatorio*. The mission explained these in Neo-Melanesian as *fire belong marsalai*. Outside the Neo-Melanesian literature of the missions, the word *marsalai* denotes the malevolent spirits of the bush. The folklore of the old culture is peopled with these demons. They could cause the death of human beings. Missionaries had told their converts not

to believe in *marsalai*, but they had also borrowed the word to translate the devils and the demons of Christianity. Paliau called this talk about *fire belong marsalai* a lie. *Imperno* was simply the ground in which one was buried when one died. Christ was buried in the ground, then after three days His *thinkthink* ascended to Heaven. It is this way with all men. Your body went into the ground and your mind-soul went back to God. *Purgatorio*, another "fire" in which men were supposed to pay for their minor sins after death, was also a lie of the missionary. *Purgatorio* was the *house calaboose* into which the government put people who had done some wrong. It was not a fire, it was not in Heaven, and it had nothing to do with *marsalai*. Such was the mission's way of avoiding talking about the coercive power of the government.

It is the same with that which the missionary called the *Ecclesia Catholica*. The missionary says that this is a "big house" to which all the men of the earth belong. What house? This house is the ground that covers us all after death, that is all. Why didn't the missionary come right out and say this?

Or when the missionary spoke of "God being enough for all places and people," why didn't he explain that this meant that each man was both God and man? God is the *thinkthink* within each of us. This mind-soul comes from God when we are born. During our lives our thoughts come from God and go back to Him. When we die our *thinkthink* goes back to God; our bodies stay in the ground.

They said the teachings of the mission were filled with lies and unexplained *talk picture*. A paraphrase of several accounts follows: What did they mean when they said that the door of Heaven was closed? They never explained; until now we never questioned. Now we have found its meaning. The closed door means that man was barred from knowledge. There is no actual door; this is just a "picture" of the ignorance of the native. But now Paliau has opened this door. Now we are beginning to understand and to know the truth. When the angels and the first men were arrogant and thought they were equal to God, He made their *thinkthink* insufficient. Men lived in ignorance of one another and of God. The white men had been given knowledge, but they continued to withhold this knowledge from the native. That was the meaning of "the door of Heaven is closed." This interpretation applies also to the key to Heaven that God put into the hand of Petrus.

What kind of key is this that the missionary speaks of? It is not a key. It is the minds of men. As long as men cling to the ways of the past and follow all of the *fashion no good* of their fathers, their minds are closed, this key remains unturned in the lock. But now we have found the meaning of the key. Our minds must be cleared of the ways of Lucifer, we must think of God, then our minds will open. We will be all right. Now this key is in the hand of Paliau. It is just like the key that God gave to Petrus, but it is not a real key, it is knowledge. Paliau has gone ahead in finding knowledge. He holds the key that will open the door for us.

All mission teaching and practice were re-examined in this manner. Followers of the Movement rejected confession to the missionary. They argued that confession was inadequate to clear men of their wrongs; therefore this practice was responsible for the death of many natives. The only effective procedure, when you have committed a wrong against another man, was to straighten it out with the person wronged, to demonstrate to Jesus that the anger is finished by shaking hands. Only then would sickness be prevented.

It was further argued that the mission compounded the harm it did the natives by permitting the natives to believe that confession removed their sins. Having confessed and paid penance by saying his rosary a given number of times, the native went to Communion the next day. Communion was one part of the mission teaching that Paliau did not revise; he declared that the ritual of the mass was not understood. It probably was another lie on the part of the mission, but it was allowed to stand for the time being. Paliau at this time did not advocate a break with the mission (though his revisions, in effect, amounted to it), nor did he advise his followers not to attend services. The narration of the above material on the "lies" of the missionaries was filled with hostility and resentment.

This hostility, however, does not lack profound ambivalence. It was not Christianity that was being rejected, for it was believed that the truth of Christianity enabled the white man to rise to his present status which was desired by the native. If conversion to Christianity and up to 20 years of membership in one or another of the local missions had not appreciably brought them nearer to the condition of the white man according to their own evaluation, then it must

be because they had been given a watered-down version of the teachings of Jesus that had redeemed the white man. Death and sickness resulted from a defective relationship with God. Yet their mortality rate had not decreased during the mission period; in fact, they felt that it had increased. The true religion was being deliberately withheld from them.

One informant attributed to Paliau the belief that the multiplicity of missions was another aspect of the conspiracy to maintain the backwardness of the natives. Why were there three different missions in Manus and still others elsewhere in Melanesia? Why did the Catholics denounce the Seventh Day Adventists as enemies of Christ, while the Seventh Day Adventists called the Catholics "the beasts of Rome?" Obviously there could be only one truth—the missions had been divided to confuse the natives. The missions divided the truth among them so that no native member of any one mission could learn the whole truth. But in their own land, the white men had only one church. The differences between the missions meant little to the natives. It was much more important to them that a particular mission had been the first to arrive in their territory, or that it taught in Neo-Melanesian rather than in the native vernacular, than that it practiced confession while another mission did not. In spite of the fact that Paliau's revisions had thus far eliminated from Catholic teachings the more striking differences between Catholicism and Protestantism, he and his followers continued to consider themselves Catholics.

In the eyes of the natives, the very motives of the missionary were suspect. Why did the missionary leave his home in Germany, Ireland, or America to spend six to eight years at a time running an isolated mission station? On the one hand, Paliau declared in these meetings that "the native is the copra of the missionary." It was suggested that the missionary got paid according to the number of converts that he made or that were under his supervision, which fits the widespread belief of Melanesian natives that no white man leaves the fabulous luxury of his far-off cities to come to New Guinea without being very well paid for his work. On the other hand, the missionary had another place in the scheme of things. The mission was established by Christ to bring His word to the natives. The missionary followed the road of the Apostles

but did not bring the truth because the government, which was the lineal descendant of the men who had killed Christ, had killed all the Apostles and had threatened the missionaries with a similar fate if they brought the real Bible to the natives. Even the Americans who had been sent to bring the truth had failed them. They were preparing to leave Manus to return to America. There was no other channel now—only direct revelation and experimentation. Paliau had brought the beginnings of knowledge. Once they had got rid of the vestiges of the old culture, still more would be opened up to them. This was the time of the “last talk of God,” when His word was to be extended to the only group that had been omitted, the black men.

Paliau's religious teachings were by no means merely a rejection of parts of the mission doctrine. He mapped out the relations between religion and all aspects of everyday life. Again, he drew upon ideas current in the diffuse substratum of Melanesian Christianity. We mention above a few examples of how his revisions of the usual mission version of the Bible recast it into more familiar terms for the native. The sin of Adam and Eve was simply sexual union; Heaven and Hell were translated into earthly terms; Purgatory was the jail of the secular authorities. Through a development of the concept of the *thinkthink* the religious and the secular were made coextensive.

The *thinkthink* derives from God. It is God in each man; in this sense, all men are like Jesus, both God and man. The body is the house of the *thinkthink*. In death the body is like an uninhabited house; it is left to decay, the fate of the inanimate. The house must be a suitable residence for the *thinkthink*; the *thinkthink* must keep the house in good condition. There is a further elaboration of the house and inhabitant analogy. The house, in Paliau's parable, is like the body. Its front door is the mouth, its back door is the anus. Its windows are the eyes, ears, and nose. Within this structure the physiology of the *thinkthink* is described. Paliau emphasized anger or overt and covert hostility as the primary disturbance of the equilibrium of the *thinkthink*. Lukas recalls Paliau's discourse on the subject as follows:

If you had no mouth or no anus, when your ears admitted something that provoked you, anger

would remain within you. How could it get out? When you are angry inside, your mouth has to express it, it must get it out. Then the *wind* of this anger will escape. But if you keep your mouth fastened, the anger remains in your thoughts. This makes you sick. It is the same as with your body, if you eat a great deal your stomach will be filled up. If the *road* to your anus is blocked, this food cannot get out. You will become sick. If it goes out, you will be all right. God made everything to work this way. If you block the path of your thoughts, if your mind is clogged by bad thoughts, and if you don't talk it out, you will be sick and you will die. . . . Mind cannot win over the body, body cannot win over the mind. The two are different, but inseparable. The *thinkthink* can go to another island, but the body is heavy, it cannot follow.

Health and life depend on the care of body and *thinkthink*. Informants sometimes spoke of the relationship between sickness and the state of the *thinkthink* as if disturbance in the latter automatically produced the sickness. At other times they made the more complex statement that when a person thinks or acts according to *fashion no good*, God is immediately aware and in His anger produces the effect of illness in the body. One who either cleaves to the good or who straightens out his *thinkthink* when it goes wrong can live to be an old man. When his back is bent, his eyes are blind, and his teeth are gone, then he can die, his age testifying to his virtue. If a man dies young, a wrong that has not been straightened out is involved. A child, not yet responsible for his own *thinkthink*, suffers sickness or death for its parents' sins.

Such concepts centering around the *thinkthink* were to ramify widely throughout Paliau's design of a new culture. The old way of life was permeated with *fashion no good*, adherence to which was highly noxious. The laws of the new society were like a series of health rules essential to life. The relationship between sickness and the state of the *thinkthink* was to be one of the main sanctions of the new society.

But *thinkthink* was even broader in its meaning. It was also “knowledge” and “understanding.” Paliau was not saying that his knowledge was complete and final. From the beginning of the Movement, he spoke of the need to “find” and to “try” new *thinkthink*.

Important as Paliau's religious ideas were, they were only one part of what he offered as a guide to the construction of a new culture. The nature of the rest of his plan is examined below.

THE PLAN FOR THE REORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY

Paliau, immediately on his return to Manus, began to establish a new political structure within which he hoped to unite all the Admiralties. He had little precedent to draw upon. In the old culture, Manus, Matankor, and Usiai were sharply divided, though their ecological differentiation made them essential economic complements. There were few political institutions above the village level. The village was the significant political unit. Within the village the patrilineal clans had a considerable scope for autonomous action. Cooperation between clans or between villages depended on the organization of economic activities by individual important men whose ability to command manpower depended in part on hereditary rank but even more on the constant validation of their statuses by their entrepreneurial activities. Economic cooperation between villages of different linguistic groups followed the lines of traditional trade partnerships, or occasionally the lines of those marriages that had not followed the more generally preferred practice of endogamy within the linguistic group. Without fundamentally altering the politically atomistic structure of Melanesian society, the Germans and Australians had set up officials in each village who acted as intermediaries between the government and the village and who maintained order within the village. The *luluai*, appointed by the government, was frequently the ranking man in the village. Sometimes one of the more prominent *luluais* exerted an influence on villages other than his own. The government had recognized the need for native officials who would have superior authority over other *luluais* and who could arbitrate inter-village disputes. There were two paramount *luluais*, Sebaso on the North Coast, and Kisekup on the South Coast. The *luluais* mediated between a centralized administration and the dispersed, small, village units. Few villages had a total census of more than 300 people; even the smallest villages rarely acted as a unit.

Paliau sought to build new, larger units. He tried to reverse the process of schism that had led to the settlement pattern described above. He attacked all the dividing lines of native society as inimical to the desire to have a life similar to that of Europeans. "Although the

bodies of men have many parents," he said, "the *thinkthinks* of all men have only one source in God." The meeting house symbolized the new unity. He himself was a Matankor of Lipan Village, but he identified strongly with the Manus and was particularly anxious to gain their support. Paliau said that since his youth he had deplored the three-way division of the Admiralty Islands people and the attendant mutual contempt, hostility, and resentment. He preached that all natives were alike in their condition and in the broad outlines of Melanesian culture. Cultural differences were to be of no importance to those who would follow him. These differences derived from the past and would be abandoned with it. The names Usiai and Matankor were no longer to be used. All natives of this group of islands should call themselves Manus, after the fashion of the Europeans who had taken this term which had once applied only to a single group, to replace the older German name *Die Admiralitäts Inseln*. The Usiai were not yet included in this initial phase of the Paliau Movement. Usiai leaders would have been welcomed, but Paliau's single attempt to enlist William Matbe and his followers had failed. Both Matankor and Manus participated in these meetings, but from the first the Manus were the mainstay of the Movement. In this early phase Paliau leaned most heavily on the Manus of Mouk Village, to whom Jesus had directed him to give priority. The Mouks were his emissaries. Their canoes gathered the building materials for the meeting house. Their altered bearing, their more European-like clothing, and the conspicuous secrecy that they maintained in their travels attracted many listeners to these early meetings. Plans were already formulated for the Mouks to move on to the land where they would build a new village adjacent to Lipan, Paliau's village. Paliau, from the beginning of the Movement, urged the other Manus villages to abandon their homes, "fit only for fish," in favor of new villages built on the nearby beaches.

In each village represented at these meetings, Paliau appointed a *pesman*, who was to bring the program of the Movement to his own village. These were young men, upstarts by the standards of the old culture. All those who took their positions in this early phase had, of their own accord, presented themselves to Paliau. For a while, some villages had both *luluai* and

pesman, the one representing the Australian Administration in Lorengau, the other representing the *Newfela Fashion* emanating from Paliau and the meeting house in Baluan.

Within the village there was to be a new order of life. Paliau wanted to end the internal divisions and to weld the people of each village into a community capable of working in unity. The old clans were to have no explicitly recognized role in the new village structure. In Neo-Melanesian, clans were called *banis*,¹ a word derived from, and still used in other contexts to mean, "fence." In discourses devoted to condemnation of the past, clans were pictured as "each pulling in its own direction." The *pesman* of the village was to be *boss* of all, regardless of clan memberships; he was expected to be impartial, not yielding to the pressures of kin and clan. The proscription of the old intra-village distinctions included the two-rank system. Paliau said that there was only one *lapan* (man of high rank) and that was God; all men were His *boys*, all are *rubbish men* compared with Him. This was consistent with the democratic tone that ran through Paliau's concepts of the society he wished to form. Ascribed statuses were de-emphasized; the result was to be a leveled and more unified community.

The society he conceived of would also involve a radical attenuation of the kinds of individualism that characterized the pre-contact and the contact cultures. Movement members were enjoined not to leave the village to work for white men, but to stay at home at least during the time required to launch the new culture. Such a plan would rule out the many possibilities for individuation and differentiation of personal experience afforded by the range of the *work-boy* world. The men of the older generation also were to discontinue the activities in the organization of economic exchange that would have made them eminent among their age mates. They would eliminate much that had socially differentiated child from adult, male from female, the older from the younger men, entrepreneur from dependent, higher from lower rank, *work-boy* from villager, clan from

clan, village from village, linguistic group from linguistic group, one sect of Christian converts from another, and native from European. (We must emphasize again that we are considering the specific content or the implications of Paliau's program for cultural change as it stood in this early period. We shall see, below, that many of the differentials of social groups in the old system still had a place, although they were profoundly modified, in the new system.) The program, calling for brotherhood and de-emphasizing the differentials between men and between groups, aimed at extending the cooperative alignment of the efforts of individuals beyond individualism, beyond local kin group, to the village and the Movement.

In order that these larger social and political groupings should have the solidarity that he felt success of the Movement would require, Paliau in his speeches stressed the principle of "hearing the talk." "Hearing the talk" meant discipline and obedience. Adam and Eve did not hear the talk of God. The conditions after the Fall were the result. After the coming of Jesus the white men were *all right*. They knew and obeyed the laws of God. They had leaders who had real authority. White men could make a group decision and carry it out. The natives also had to find and follow the laws of God. They would have to obey the leaders they chose. Eventually when they had their flag and government they would have jails and police to punish those who would not "hear the talk."

But what is the *talk*? It is the word of God, transmitted through men who have good ideas that conform or add to the content of the *Newfela Fashion*. It is the discussion at meetings, or the testimony in a court trial before a decision is reached; after this, the group decision becomes the *talk* that must be heard. For everyday interpersonal relations, "hearing the talk" means avoiding the disruption of these relations by anger. On the one hand, there is the injunction against anger; on the other, the belief that anger must not be bottled up, but must be expressed. The *thinkthink* is nourished and strengthened by "hearing the talk" of God and the community. Food and medicine are to the body what the talk is to the *thinkthink* weakened by ignorance, sickened by sin, rendered immobile by obsession, or disrupted by anger. Blockage, either in not "hearing the talk" or in refusing to express a grievance or to confess to a

¹ Paliau used the term "*banis*" in place of the more commonly used Neo-Melanesian term "*liklik* place," or "little place." These applied to clans or clan hamlets within villages. Paliau's choice of terms emphasizes the clan as a division, while the other term, "small place," emphasized its social and territorial coherence.

wrong, would mean a serious break in the communicative linkage between members of the community and would endanger the lives of individuals and the unity of the group.

In addition to the general principle of "hearing the talk," Paliau stressed other related commandments. Trouble within the group must be prevented, if possible, and contained when it occurred. Directed to this end there were "laws" against boasting to the disparagement of others, malicious gossip, being suspicious or angry without very definite proof of a wrong, taking sides in quarrels (even in cases in which close relatives quarrel with non-relatives), and deliberately or carelessly causing another to be provoked to anger.

The causes of sickness and death would be minimized by the program for maintaining the unity and harmony of the group. The *pesman* and the community were responsible for seeking and hearing confession of unacceptable thoughts or acts, for exposing grievances, and effecting reconciliations. Paliau also spoke of physical causes of disease, such as dirt on the body or on food. He believed also that hard work and inferior food shortened the life span of natives. But sickness was primarily a disorder of the *thinkthink*, and death was a reclamation of a man's *thinkthink* by God. Paliau did not reject European medicine, as such, but he argued that the medicine cannot cure many sicknesses because the *thinkthink* has not yet been rectified; only when this is done can the medicine succeed.

The person who seeks to maintain life and health in accordance with this theory of sickness and death will in doing so also act in perfect accord with the culture to be—the *Newfela Fashion*. The interval between funerals seems short in Manus villages. The infant mortality rate is high, and the love of children is intense. These powerful moral sanctions were to be built into the new culture. Paliau's program was offered as literally vital—a new way of life on which life itself depended.

Had Paliau succeeded in winning support during this early phase and had he been able to carry out those parts of his program that would have been immediately realizable through available means, the resultant culture would have been a marked departure from the previously existing contact culture, but it would still have been far removed from approximation to Euro-

pean culture. Paliau considered the increase of the economic means available to natives to be crucial. Much of the ultimate goal of the Movement obviously depended on the wealth, technology, and material culture of the European. The various accounts of the meetings of the initial phase of the Movement agree on the details of Paliau's discussion of the economics of the new culture.

It is in the section of his program dealing with economics that we are able to establish that he was not simply a cult leader proclaiming the imminence of the millennium when the desired state of equivalence with the white man would be attained through supernatural means, but was attempting to formulate a culture-wide program for change. Religion was only one part, though it was effective throughout the whole of the culture. The religious formulation placed the Movement in history; it explained the disparity between native and European; and it provided an immediately applicable set of sanctions to reënforce the dicta of the *Newfela Fashion*. It provided Paliau and his program with the support of God, establishing him as more than merely another leader with a plan that would lead men from a known base into an unknown future. The religion was an essential but not a sufficient means to the Movement's ends. In addition to living in accordance with the true religion, it was still necessary that the natives build new groups and new villages, and reform their relationships to one another, and that they work together to develop their economic potential.

Economic development had been a central point in a number of the local movements that preceded Paliau's return. Many of these early ideas—setting up stores or native "companies," supplying all the labor for a plantation, completing the transition to a cash economy by abandoning the remaining uses of the native currency, creating native-owned plantations—were widely current among Melanesian peoples of an acculturative level similar to that of the Manus, but in Manus none of these approaches had been adequately tried, and none, where they had been tried, had been part of a comprehensive program.

Paliau had an integrated economic plan. He offered a series of first steps, with existing native economic potential as his point of departure. The portions of these early meetings that dealt

with economic plans are often referred to as *talk belong money*. Money was the central theme. Paliau elaborated on his pre-war idea of setting up as large a cash fund as possible to serve community purposes. Government taxation, which had stimulated Paliau to set up the pre-war fund, had not been resumed after the war. The new fund was planned to provide for the capitalization of the Movement. But where was the cash to come from? This problem was especially acute, because Paliau was advocating that the young men should not go away to work for white men. Their labor would be needed for the rebuilding of the native villages along new lines. Such a plan would cut off the main source of cash income.

Paliau announced that the Australian government was going to compensate natives for losses of life and property resulting from the war. My informants in 1953 said that they first heard of the coming payments of war damages from Paliau, who had picked up the rumors in Rabaul.

During 1945 the Australian government had made surveys of the extent of damage and in 1946 had begun to make payments. (Some Australian sources criticized the Native Compensation Plan for making payments to individual natives.¹) The purpose of the payments was to assist rehabilitation and recapitalization of native society. It was hoped that the payments would lessen the post-war discontent of the natives. The actual effects of the plan were disappointing, because much of the money was dissipated on minor purchases from trade stores and added little to the productive capital of the village.

Even before war damages were paid, a great deal of money was in native hands as compared to what had been before the war. Much of this money was in American currency derived from employment on the American base or from sales of souvenirs and foodstuffs to the Americans.

Paliau aimed at preventing the dispersion of this wealth. He called for regular collections to be made in all the villages that joined the Movement. The fund was started immediately in Baluan and Mouk. The name of each man who had money in the fund was listed, with the amount paid. The money itself was kept in a box in Paliau's house. The *pesman* in each vil-

lage was in charge of making the collections and seeing to it that whatever money came into the village would not be wasted. The fund plan was accepted with enthusiasm. The idea was not new. In the past, *work boys* had frequently pooled their wages, each one of a group in his turn collecting the entire wages of a group. Or, a small group of *work boys* might pool their wages to purchase a guitar or phonograph that would be jointly owned. Few natives had confidence in their ability to save their small wages or, if they did, to protect their savings from the requests of their kin. The government had provided a precedent by establishing banking facilities for natives, but very few of the South Coast Manus natives used them. Only one man in the villages of Peri and Bunai, comprising a thousand natives, had a bank book.

Paliau's approach appealed to and elaborated on generally accepted native economic theory. New ways of obtaining money must be found. The money must be amassed. The greater the amount and the greater its concentration, the greater would be its power to advance the native. The ultimate purpose of accumulating the money was to purchase the *cargo* of the white men. By acquiring and saving money, the native could purchase ships, trucks, and galvanized iron for houses. He could set up and stock his own stores and companies.

Paliau realized that any appreciable advance toward the goal that he was formulating depended on finding new sources of money income. He spoke of natives' starting their own plantations, having their own stores, and transporting their cargo with their own ships. All these objectives of the Movement were to be attained in the near future, but all must wait until the first steps in the organization of the new society were completed.

The initial plan for economic change was limited in scope. Its main points can be briefly summarized. Productive activities were no longer to be organized within the structure of ceremonial exchange that persisted from the old culture. The feasts and exchanges, as well as the old currency of shell beads and dogs' teeth, were to be discontinued. Marriage payments were to be fixed at a single, small, cash payment. The new economy would stress organization of work at the village level. Work would be centered around the immediate program of the Movement, such as the building of new villages, and

¹ Stanner, 1953, 118 ff.

around the special needs of the members of the village. Decisions concerning village work were to be made in meetings of the entire village. Trade between villages or within the village was to be communalized, i.e., made in a cooperative spirit of brotherhood. Land rights were to be treated in a similar spirit. This communalization was stated as a general principle for all economic activity consistent with the emphasis on solidarity in the new social and political organization. Finally, the initial program called for keeping within the Movement all available labor and money, by discouraging men from going away to work for Europeans, and by the collection of all cash into a central fund. The labor and money thus conserved were considered to be essential for the launching of the new culture.

Paliau's plan for economic change demanded great productive effort from his followers. Yet, even if all these first steps were successfully taken, there would still remain a wide hiatus between the attained state of the new culture and the ultimate cultural state to which they aspired. In this initial phase, Paliau was primarily concerned with starting the Movement. He offered a program of planned cultural

change that would give its followers a new way of life immediately, a new coherent ordering of native society that would serve as a vehicle for continued change in the direction of the ultimate goal-culture modeled after European society. Paliau called what he was offering a "road." He could not map out the entire course of this road, but he could put the Manus on it, describe the end, and assert that it was attainable.

One cannot know whether Paliau would have succeeded in effecting change along the lines laid down in these initial meetings. From his center in Mouk and his new meeting house, his ideas had already spread over a wide area. Though he had recruited few whole villages, he had attracted and enlisted a number of men who were to be leaders in the Movement. Paliau's message—in part intact, in part transformed or reinterpreted—was carried out from this center by these initial adherents to their own villages and beyond their villages, where it thinned out into rumor. From the periphery, the backlash of these ideas came in the form of the *Noise*, which was to alter the course of the Movement drastically.

THE NOISE¹

Rumors spread from Baluan. Paliau was revealing new truth formerly hidden from natives. The white man with his hoarded Christ-given knowledge had risen above the condition of man after the Fall. Now the way was open to the native. When the native was made *all right*, the last work of Jesus would be finished.

The ancestral culture was now thought of as imbued with endless hard labor leading only to sickness and death. Now it was to be discarded, sharply and suddenly. The way of life of the white men was to be substituted, though the method was variously and ambiguously conceived by Paliau's followers.

Everywhere there was excitement and the uncertain anticipation of the coming experience

of rapid transformation. How was it possible for people to abandon a culture that throughout their lives inhered not only in every perception, thought, and act, but in objects and concepts around and within them? Could they really apprehend those new valued objects and concepts toward which they were reaching?

Paliau had proposed to the Manus a program of concrete first steps, but he had also raised the promise of much more. As the desires of his followers crystallized around the extended meanings of his words, these first steps seemed scarcely related to their ultimate goals and could be so conceived only by some mystic linkage that made them the ritual keys to immediate supernatural fulfillment. Thus a program for cultural transformation extending through time and change to the final, intensely valued goal was short-circuited. The time, the work, and the uncertainty that Paliau's plan would entail disappeared as the people were possessed by the intense desire for the realization of the longed-for goal. The practical means toward immediate

¹ The First Cult includes the *Noise* as the most dramatic and extreme manifestation of the Cult, just as the *Noise* includes the *guria*. Where they are not specifically distinguished, the three terms can be used almost synonymously. In the discussion to follow, Fig. 3 may be consulted for a schematic presentation of the transmission of the First Cult.

ends became magical, ritual means toward the realization of the ultimate. The supernatural means and the rationale for the transformation of the program were drawn from the rich and ready substratum of native-Christian belief.

The period of the initial meetings was one of excited anticipation and portent. In Mouk, the village that had given Paliau his earliest support and that had begun the community organization and communal work immediately, there were already signs of direct supernatural sponsorship of their activities. Lukas of Mouk described the feeling of these days when he tried to explain why he had been swept into the *Noise*:

At the time that we started these ideas we thought that all this trouble that we, the men who came behind, have is not because of our own wrongs but because of the wrongs of the angels and of Adam and Eve. Why should we be burdened with all this pain and hard work because of them? We must leave this wrong of theirs behind us. We must start on the good way of life that was the First Order of God. If we lose these evil ways of theirs, eventually God will hear us. That is what we thought. We tried to follow this. We tried to live with only good *thinkthink*. At this time when we worked according to good *thinkthink* exclusively, everything came easy for us. When we went to clear ground for our new village we were occupied with this. We did not need to fish. The fish just died and we got them. The wind obeyed us. The *Noise* had not occurred yet. In the past we used to build a shelter on our canoes, but now we needed no shelter. Why? Because the rain didn't wet us, there were only good winds for us to sail by. Birds used to come right up to us. Our thoughts were strong about all of this. Why was everything so easy now? If we think, God can hear our words. Everything can come to us. Then in February, 1947, the *Noise* started in Rambutjon.

NRIOL

Paliau had been actively promoting his Movement for three months. The canoes of the eager and the curious had begun to arrive. His meeting house was crowded. He, or his early followers, repeated the "Long Story of God" and the details of his program for the benefit of each new arrival. At this time Paliau was described as being constantly active, sleeping little, personally addressing himself at great length to each new arrival, winning each small group and the crowds at the twice-daily meetings with his skilled oratory.

When the group from Rambutjon was ready

to leave, Paliau gave them a final warning. He reminded them that Lungat was entrusted with carrying out Paliau's ideas. They were to carry out the break with the past after winning their elders to Paliau's program. By holding daily meetings, Lungat was to propagate the truth that he brought back from Baluan. He was to record the dreams of the people of Nriol, for they contained the voice of God. Paliau warned them that the ideas he had given them were powerful. If not followed correctly, they would bring ruin to the village of Nriol. Something very bad would happen, and men would kill one another. With this, he sent off the Nriol canoe.

Lungat's canoe returned to Nriol. The people were scattered, fishing on the reefs or cutting sago in the bush. By nightfall, Lungat gathered them for their first meeting. With the remarkable verbal recall typical of Manus natives, he repeated all that he had heard from Paliau. He proclaimed the break with the past, outlined the *Newfela Fashion*, the "Long Story of God," and the way of the *thinkthink*. In contrast to his earlier rejection, when he had presented his own dream-inspired attempt at local reform, now he immediately won the consent of the older men and of the *luluai*, Tjukui. Enmeshed in the complex network of economic obligation, these men spent the next few days trying to settle their affairs, and to make at least token settlement of their debts from past birth, betrothal, marriage, and mourning feasts. The problems involved in closing accounts were great, and the movement toward settlement was slow. Each night they met with Lungat as village leader. They discussed the newly interpreted "true" version of Christianity and rehearsed resentfully the "lies" of the missionaries. Lungat began collecting dreams. He interpreted some; others he wrote down to take to Paliau.

A few days after Lungat's return from Baluan, most of the villagers were sent out to collect sago. They were to sleep several nights in the bush. The first night an ancestor of Nriol appeared in a dream to a man of this group. He commanded him to take the whole party back to the village immediately, as the people were hungry. The man awoke in the morning and ignored the dream. The villagers went up a stream to cut sago palms. One of the palms, despite careful cutting, fell in the wrong direction and onto their canoe, breaking it. The man

who had dreamed then realized that this catastrophe was due to his ignoring the command of the dead. He told the others about the dream. They hurried back to the village to tell Lungat, who scolded the erring dreamer for disobeying the dictates of his *thinkthink*. Whatever the dead were trying to communicate was not clear. Lungat made ready a canoe to go to meetings on Baluan.

That night, Wapei, an unmarried youth, had a visitation in which he received a message of vital importance to Nriol. As Lungat was about to leave the next morning, Wapei, with an excited but commanding air strange for his youth and position, told his clan brothers, Lungat, and the others in the canoe that they could not leave. Lungat argued at first but then yielded to the possessed imperiousness of Wapei's manner. Wapei said: "Why are you going to Paliau to hear the word of God? Paliau has said that God is everywhere. He is here too." Wapei commanded the men of Nriol not to listen to the talk of a man from any other village. He told them that Jesus had appeared to him in a dream. Jesus had told him that Nriol was to receive its *cargo* on Sunday. At this time Jesus would come to earth accompanied by the dead of Nriol. Most tangibly, the *cargo* meant everything desirable of the white man's material culture—planes, ships, bulldozers, sheet metal, money, and the good food available in the stores. But beyond this flood of objects, the coming of the *cargo* also signified that the native would live on a par with the white man. It meant power. Some say that Wapei was told that when the dead of Nriol returned they would have white skins. Such a declaration is not improbable. The *cargo* would be brought in ships and planes manned by the villagers' own ancestors and would appear, as well, in the graveyard at the moment of the return of the dead.

As Wapei addressed the assembled village, he trembled violently, each muscle straining against its anatomical antagonist. All who saw him say that his eyes looked *another kind*. All believed him instantly. Immediately he became the prophet and leader of a Cargo cult. Wapei said that man was about to return to the First Order of God, the way of the *thinkthink* described by Paliau as the condition of Adam and Eve and the prophets before the Fall from Paradise. But first much had to be done by way

of purification which required the strict obedience of everyone to the commands of Jesus as mediated through Wapei. Everyone was to think only good thoughts. No one was to gather food. They must fast but would not be hungry. Washing, sleeping indoors, and leaving the village were also prohibited. Everything in their houses was to be thrown into the sea or burned: not only the dogs' teeth, shell money, pots, and oil that represented the values of the past, but also all the white men's goods they had managed to secure from the trade stores or from the scrap heaps of the American army. Perhaps even more like amputation, they were to destroy their canoes and sails. Nothing could have been further from the inclinations of the Manus; it was like sacrificing a part of themselves. Discarding all their possessions was to insure, on the one hand, a clean break with the past and, on the other, was to provide space for the abundance that would come with the *cargo*. It also gave each man a desperate investment in the validity of the cult beliefs. A man who had nothing was *rubbish*. The *cargo* had to come. Many began to experience signs of its imminent arrival.

On Sunday, a few days later, no *cargo* came. Wapei adapted quickly, saying this was the wrong Sunday. Jesus had really referred to the next Sunday. They waited through the next week. Each day they spent long hours in the village church praying with a focused intensity, their *thinkthinks* concentrated on God, their bodies trembling violently with the feeling of His nearness.

This was the *guria*, the trembling of the body which in some individuals became at times fully uncontrolled convulsions. (*Guria* in Neo-Melanesian is applied to shaking of any magnitude from major earthquakes to the trembling of a person in fear or in fever.) This was the *Noise*, as they say in Neo-Melanesian, "*skin belong me i noise too much*" (my body shook violently).¹ The *guria* affected everyone in Nriol in the rapid contagion of excitement. The *guria* was taken as evidence of divine possession. The utterances of one in its grip were given eager attention.

¹ *Guria* and *noise* are nearly synonymous, but *guria* tends, more often, to be used for convulsive phenomena specifically, while *noise* is more often used to denote the collected aspect of the supernatural force immanent in the Cult itself.

Wapei policed the village in what is described as a reign of terror. Lungat had become simply a follower. All the villagers now say they lived in fear of Wapei's increasingly erratic actions. Men and women walked about with their hands clasped in prayer. Many had private visions in which they communicated further with the dead, always in confirmation of Wapei's original revelation. The dead spoke to one man by whistling. The whistles of the ghosts of dead relatives had not been heard in Manus since 1930, when they gave up the protection of their fathers' ghosts for that of Jesus and the Christian God. Now the whistles of the dead, familiar from their childhood memories of seances, served as proof of the approaching return of these *cargo*-laden ghosts. One man claimed that money had been laid on a table he had built like a model he had seen in a dream. This was a token gift from a dead brother.

On Wednesday of this week of waiting, several Mouk canoes arrived in Nriol to pick up a load of sago palm leaf that was to be used to thatch a storehouse that Paliau wanted built. The Mouks were not permitted to come beyond the beach. Wapei approached them, ordering them to return to Mouk immediately to be on hand to receive their *cargo*, which would come on Sunday. He told them about Jesus' message and about the promised return of the ancestors.¹ Wapei was angered at the disbelief of the Mouks. He called the men of Nriol. They came to stand in an attitude of prayer before the Mouks. Wapei said they were in contact with God. Then the Nriols began to run about, shaking violently. The Mouks were frightened. The *guria* helped convince them that Wapei spoke the truth. When the Mouks said they wanted to remain for a time, Wapei said, "Look, your canoe is on fire." They turned and saw the flames. Wapei ordered the fire to stop, and it did—there were no signs of fire on the canoe. The Mouks left, carrying the *Noise* with them, first to Pusu, another Rambutjon village, then to Mouk and Baluan.

Wapei policed the village, threatening, scolding, and preaching. He whipped men with rattan switches. At one point he whipped a young man and woman after removing their *laplaps* and exposing them before the village.

¹ Landman, MS. My accounts from Rambutjon informants agree closely with Landman's accounts from Mouk informants concerning this contact.

All was accepted by the people of his village as somehow mysteriously necessary if the *cargo* were to arrive.

As Sunday approached, the excitement mounted. On Friday the *guria* became particularly violent. People fell down when they tried to walk. Wapei led the prayers in the church. Then he went outside, ripped the Cross from above the door, and threw it into the sea, commanding the men to tear down the church. No one offered to explain why this was done, except that everything had to be destroyed. Evidently the initial round of the throwing away and destruction of property had not been complete. More possessions that could be destroyed were found; more canoes were burned. They say they felt no hunger, not even the children, who were as strong as the adults without food. Everyone stayed on the beach the two nights following. Some saw lights of airplanes. Others heard what they could not see—the sound of ships, of winches lowering an invisible cargo, the clank of metal being unloaded. On Saturday, Wapei confirmed that the *cargo* would come at dawn on Sunday. His behavior seemed frantic. Some of the people were beginning to have doubts as they suffered from the extremes of his rule. He struck several older men and women, including the old *luluai*. He quarreled with Alois Nreje, his older "brother," who until then had been convinced that Wapei was right but who protested against the beatings. He yielded again in fear of Wapei's madness. Wapei threatened Nreje with a fish spear, commanded him to kneel, then pressed the spear against Nreje's chest, but did not break the skin. Nreje said, "If you want to kill me, you can." But Wapei released him.

That night Wapei lined up the people of Nriol on the beach to await the coming of the *cargo* at dawn. Although lights were seen again, no ships arrived, no *cargo* arrived to replace their lost possessions. No new way of life came suddenly to replace the ways of the past which, with their dogs' teeth, they had once and for all cast into the sea.

Wapei knew that he had erred. He was not wrong about the *cargo* or the promise of a return to the First Order of God, but somehow his acts had lost this opportunity for the people of Nriol. According to the joint account given to me by Lungat and Alois Nreje, Wapei made the following speech to his brothers:

You, my two brothers [Muli and Nreje], I have completely spoiled the talk of God. This message from God was no lie. It is true. Lungat brought it and was teaching it to you and me, then I changed what he was saying. That I wanted to follow this through, that was all right, but I didn't do it right, now I am fully in the wrong. Now what? I am not capable of setting everything straight now. Now I desire that you, my two brothers, should kill me. Lungat used to tell us of it, and we all listened, but I drew this talk of his and this work to myself. I wanted to carry it out. Now I am wrong. Nothing will appear now. Now kill me."

Nreje said that even on Saturday Wapei had told him that if he were wrong he would want his brothers to kill him. The story is also current, though denied by Nreje and Lungat, that Wapei wanted to be killed so that he could, in the realm of the dead, see what had happened to the *cargo*. This may be untrue, but it is definite from Nreje's and Lungat's account that the hope for the cargo was not dead, that it was felt that Wapei's death might atone for his mistakes and might yet bring the *cargo*. Nreje told Muli to kill Wapei. Wapei was still making a speech on the beach when Muli cleft his skull and neck with a bush knife left by the Americans, which had survived the throwing-away period of the *Noise*.

At this point the accounts I recorded differ from the version gleaned from the somewhat confused testimony at the murder trial. At that time, the people of Nriol, anxious to attribute as much as possible of their behavior in the *Noise* to sheer madness and to Wapei, said that they had come to their senses immediately after his death and burial. Now that the source of contamination was gone, the *Noise* ended abruptly. They attributed everything that had occurred to a passing insanity which, with the beliefs and erratic behavior inspired by fear of Wapei, was not past. Eight years later, when Nreje and Muli were newly released from prison, Nreje and Lungat specifically denied that the *Noise* had ended with Wapei's death.

By his own account, Lungat had gone to his house to avoid seeing Wapei killed. When the people had buried Wapei, they were all filled with sorrow at his death and at the failure of their *cargo* to arrive. But after the funeral, the *guria* started anew as violently as before. Lungat ordered that the casting out of all possessions be completed. Wapei's instructions were

to be carried out. The fast was continued. For another week the situation was just like that preceding Wapei's death. More lights were seen. Some people reported seeing planes and hearing the sound of automobiles. Other villagers told the Nriols that they saw searchlights over Nriol. These were reported seen as far distant as Tong and Pak Islands. The men of Nriol saw the lights over Baluan after the *Noise* had reached there. They knew the *Noise* had spread. "It ran [like a wave] from our village and broke over all the other Manus villages." No one set another date. By the following Thursday, or Sunday at the latest, the *Noise* was over in Nriol. "Our heads cleared. We knew our chance had been spoiled and was over. We were extremely hungry." The people of Nriol dispersed to find fish and sago and were so occupied when the Australian government officers arrived to investigate the reports of murder and rebellion.

MOUK AND BALUAN

The people in the canoes from Mouk, who had gone ashore at Nriol to gather sago palm leaf for the completion of the Baluan meeting house and for the store that was to house the pooled surplus food resources of the Baluan and Mouk natives, instead fell instantly into step with the shaking, praying, expectant heirs to a God-sent *cargo*. They believed Wapei. The ideas that he shouted at them were not unfamiliar, for they had heard talk of *Noise* and *cargo* in other parts of the Territory of New Guinea for many years. There were also the sure signs of true revelation. What else but the presence of God could shake the bodies of men so violently? The "big men" of the village were confronting them in attitudes of prayer at the bidding of Wapei—a strange transformation for an otherwise unimportant youth. The men of Nriol had thrown away all they possessed and were bidding them to do likewise. Only the promise of immediate replacement could have induced them to risk this unimaginable self-impoverishment. Then Wapei had caused a fire to appear on their canoe, only to disappear without a trace at his command. The Mouks were convinced. They left, denied the hospitality of men who refused to share that which had been directly consigned to them and which would be delivered by their own ancestors. Wapei urged them to lose no time in returning

to Mouk, where on Sunday they could claim their own *cargo* from the ghosts of their own lineage.

The Mouks slept that night at Pusu, another village on Rambutjon. In the morning they prayed in the small church at Pusu. Several of the men, among them Tajan and Pwankiau, an old man, began to shake. They, too, received confirmation of Wapei's message and with it the mark of the validity of their experience—the *guria*. In joy and excitement over what they knew was coming they set sail for Mouk, arriving after nightfall.

During the day Paliau had spoken at length about the importance of money and his plan for collecting it. This speech was for the benefit of newcomers to the Movement, Tjamilo and Posanau of Bunai on the mainland, and 30 men from the Mbukei islands led by Napo. That night Paliau retold the "Long Story of God," not in the meeting house on Baluan where the afternoon session had been held, but on the small cleared islet in the midst of the Mouk lagoon houses. While he was speaking, shouting was heard from the first of the returning canoes. Tajan shouted as he approached:

It is true! It is true! The talk of God is true. Our *cargo* is coming. The First Order of God is arrived. The way of the *thinkthink* is here. We must cry out to God. God said we must hurry to prepare ourselves. We must set our *thinkthinks* straight. Hello! Hello! God our Father says that our *cargo* is coming.

He went on and on through the night, telling of the happenings at Nriol, of Wapei's message. It is said that, possessed as he was, he was heard to speak languages other than Neo-Melanesian and Manus. At times Tajan spoke in the language of the Australians. As he spoke, his whole body trembled, and his eyes rolled. People who heard him began to repeat his cries. They also shouted, "Hello! Hello! God, our Father." They also began to tremble. Some fell to the ground in shuddering, thrashing convulsions. Others listened eagerly to every word of his revelations amidst these signs of its truth.

Then Tajan ran up to Paliau, knelt and shook Paliau's hand, saying:

It is true! It is all true! What you have said is true. Why, Paliau, did you bring this message to Baluan? God didn't designate Baluan. Jesus marked this place, Mouk specifically. Jesus said this. "This village, Mouk, its name is *rubbish*. It has no land from

which to get either food or fresh water. It has no rattan. It has no trees for making canoes. It is truly impoverished. The Mouks range over all of Manus. They find their food everywhere." Now God is sorry and has great compassion for us. He came down upon you at Rabaul. He was in the lightning when his plane came down at the place called Tomas, where you were. He came as an ox, then as a spirit. There were two chairs. You sat in one. Jesus sat in the other. He brought this talk to you. They brought the saw and sawed the iron book that was His. "This book," He said, "I have put my breath into it." When they wanted to throw it into the fire, they could not. When they wanted to cut it with a hack saw they couldn't. Now you must bring my word straight to Mouk. It is a poor place. There are coconut palms on it. You know it, near Baluan. You know it. You must bring it straight to them." Why did you go to Lipan? Why didn't you bring it exclusively to Mouk?

Paliau replied that Tajan was telling the truth, that he had brought the word straight to Mouk, but also that he had had to go back to his own village and kin after he had returned from Rabaul. Tajan told Paliau that his teachings had all been true. Now they had been confirmed. He had brought the message of God direct to the men of Lomot.¹ Tajan announced that he had been instructed by Jesus that everyone was to follow the *road belong thinkthink* wherever it might lead. Paliau said: "It is true. All this is just what I have already told all of you. The way is the way of the *thinkthink*, that is all. You must follow this carefully. Your thoughts must be strong and good." But he also warned them to beware, that this *Noise* might be a trial.² But the *Noise* had arrived, and all who were on Mouk were possessed by it, including Paliau, Lukas of Mouk, Tjamilo of Bunai, and Napo of Mbukei.

Soon the second canoe returning from Rambutjon was beached at Mouk. Pwankiau, the old man who had made the passage from Rambutjon in the grip of the *guria*, had seen much, though his eyeballs had rolled upward. He told of seeing the ships on their way to Mouk. He had been near enough to speak to the returning dead who manned the ships. He had seen cars moving back and forth in the sky. He had seen bright lights over Mouk and had heard the sounds of many planes flying overhead. Mouk's

¹ An archaic word for the Mouks used in oblique reference.

² That is, a test by God, or a deception by the devil.

price was ready, though its intended recipients were not quite prepared.

One prerequisite was to cast out everything in the houses. One informant says such disposal was begun by two men, Kanawi and Paje, two days after the start of the *Noise*. These men had private visions of *cargo* and of the need to discard all their possessions. It is more likely that the throwing away began immediately. Part of Tajan's message had been that Nriol had destroyed all it owned. Then the house cleaning proceeded in spurts, brought nearer to completeness by each succeeding message from those who awaited resurrection.

On the morning of the second day, everyone gathered in the church, where the intense efforts to reach out for God with all the strength of their minds threw them into convulsions again. The way of the *thinkthink* was carried to an extreme not contemplated in Paliau's original exposition of a philosophy that coupled mind, body, and society. The *road belong thinkthink* was like a grotesque exercise intended to restore to the *thinkthink* its original function and power of creating through thought all desired objects. They started from Paliau's statements that God was the *thinkthink* in each man, that God knew each man's thoughts, and that these thoughts had to be both morally good and "straight," in the sense of being well arranged and free of disturbance. In the logic of the *Noise* it followed that, once a person had a thought to do something, it was as if he had announced his intentions to God. If he did not carry out that intention, but permitted himself to become distracted into doing something else, then he had lied to God. If he thought of going to a certain person's house, he must go straight to it. He must control his eyes and ears so that he was not deflected from his course by distracting stimuli. If someone called to him on the road he must ignore him. When he arrived at his destination he could think another thought, then act on it. As my informants described their adherence to the way of the *thinkthink*, I could visualize their moving in straight lines from point to point, setting aside their usual amiable receptivity to the social interceptions of others, fearful lest they spoil their chances of realizing that idyllic state which they thought of as the First Order of God.

Tajan and others who led the response to the *Noise* initiated other activities aimed at remov-

ing the last barriers to the waiting ships. Tajan ordered that two flags be set up. It was said that these were American flags. After the morning of prayer and *guria* in the church, the men of Mouk marched and drilled between these two flags throughout the afternoon. It was decided that no non-Mouks (evidently other than Paliau and those visitors already there) were to be permitted to approach Mouk. At night, two canoes approached from the direction of Rambutjon. These were probably the canoes of Kosa, a native of Tawi Village, returning to the main island by way of Mouk. Before he came ashore he shouted that he had seen ships approaching Mouk. Tajan sent Lukas with a group of men to repel these intruders. As they ran toward the canoe, Tajan went ahead shouting, "Kill them. Kill them." Kosa and his canoes left in haste, carrying the *Noise* to the South Coast of Manus.

Though Paliau was also caught up in the *Noise* and experienced the *guria* with the others, he had little to say during these first three days after his initial acceptance of it. The next morning in the church he warned the Mouks against doing anything that would spoil their chances in whatever was happening. Then he left Mouk for Baluan, a short distance away. Baluan was peripheral to the *Noise* at Mouk and participated to a much lesser extent. The Baluan hamlets that were adherents of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission had not joined Paliau's Movement. They barricaded themselves against the *Noise*, which they interpreted as the work of the false prophet who they had been told would come before the millennium promised by their own religion.

On Mouk, a man named Popau had a vision in which he learned that the *cargo* was to come that very night (either Saturday or Sunday night). The dead were to arise from their graves on the small projecting cone of an islet that served the Mouks as a cemetery. Everyone assembled to march to the cemetery. Throughout the night they waited in a ring around the graves. As it grew lighter and lighter in the morning, they returned to the village, which they had stripped bare in the preceding days. They knew that something had gone wrong; most of them realized that there would be no *cargo*.

Lukas had gone to fetch Paliau and the money that had been collected in the Move-

ment. Returning to Mouk, Lukas threw the box of money into the sea, thus completing the throwing away. Supposedly it sank into the great depths beyond the reef. Simon and Kusun of Mouk had sent Lukas on this errand, arguing irrefutably: "That which is Caesar's, throw away. Only that which is God's is of any consequence in His First Order of things." This well-learned division between Caesar and God, which was to be used in so many different ways, prevailed during the *Noise* and sheared off from Paliau's Movement, temporarily at least, the material basis of his program.

Upon reaching Mouk, Paliau and Lukas found the collapsing remnants of the *Noise*. One man, Kitjani, wearing a metal bowl as a helmet, was posted as a guard at the wharf to watch for the *cargo*. Another group of men watched a part of the ground near a crab hole that had been designated in a revelation as a place where the *cargo* would appear. At this point Paliau declared that the *Noise* was ended. Something had gone wrong. There would be no *cargo*. At his order everyone set about recovering as many as they could of the useful objects that had been thrown away.

Henceforth, Paliau was again in control. He claims to have predicted Wapei's murder. He sent a canoe to Nriol to confirm his prediction. Paliau spoke in the church the next morning. He blamed the failure of the *Noise* on Wapei. By revising Paliau's teachings, Wapei had brought ruin on Rambutjon and Mouk. He told them that the *Noise* had been true, that it had been sent by God, but that it had had *tryim* of the devil in it. Wapei and the others had been the instruments of this trial. They had lied and misled the people into madness. Now the First Order was lost. They were irretrievably in the wrong. It is said that everyone in the church cried in sorrow and self pity and that some began to shake again in response to this part of Paliau's speech. He said that during the *Noise* God had come down to them. Now He had gone back to Heaven. Wapei was cast in the role of Adam and Eve—the Fall had been reenacted. Thus, without repudiating the validity of the beliefs on which the *Noise* was premised, Paliau declared it to be at an end. Now, he told them, all that remained was a return to the Second Order. Everyone must return to the original program. He sent the Mouks from the church to dive for the box of money

that had been thrown away. It was one of the final, miraculous manifestations of the *Noise* that the box was found on one of the outer aprons of the reef, where another few feet would have meant its loss beyond recovery. Paliau's final act in the period of the *Noise* was to brief his followers on their position when the government officers arrived to investigate.

TAWI

My fullest account of the *Noise* in Tawi Village comes from Kisakiu, the young, intelligent leader who had been chosen by Paliau as his *pesman* in Tawi. Part of my previous account is briefly recapitulated here.

About two months before the *Noise*, Kisakiu had returned to Tawi, where he had attempted to enlist his elders and age mates in Paliau's Movement. He encountered some resistance. The village was angrily divided. This state was resolved by the arrival of a letter from Paliau himself—an invitation, read by Kisakiu, for Tawi to come to the meeting house on Baluan. The letter, a message with obvious authority, succeeded where Kisakiu with no such visible token had failed. The *luluai* and the big men of the village decided to hasten preparations for the big *tajawai* feast and clear from the boards their most pressing obligations to the past. Then they would be ready for the changes Paliau urged upon them.

The *tajawai* involved most members of the village directly. Several of the big men of the village were to make large payments of dogs' teeth and shell money on their own marriages and were to receive many pigs and much taro and oil in return. One old man, Kosa, went as far as Nriol to collect what he could from the in-laws of his daughter who had married there. He found Nriol in the height of the *Noise*, heard of the coming *cargo*, and witnessed the willing destruction of property.

As Kosa headed back for Mouk, he saw that the talk of *cargo* was true. He heard the automobiles; he saw the red, yellow, and blue lights over the village. As he neared the beach, he saw the huge ships unloading *cargo* for the fortunate Mouks. He thought, "*Mouk i alright finish now.*" But as he attempted to go ashore, shouting to the Mouks about the ships that he saw, he was repelled by Tajan's men who seemed intent on killing him. Kosa finally came ashore at Patusi, where he spent the night. The next morning he

went on to Loitja, then to Tawi. From him the South Coast villages received the news, not of a promised *cargo*, but of a *cargo* already arrived in Rambuton and Mouk.

Kosa came upon the people of his own village in the midst of the *tajawai* feast. His news did not immediately terminate the feast and his describing the *guria* did not induce it, but did introduce a tense, excited expectancy. Shortly afterward, Tuain and Matawai, two old men, poled their canoes in from the reef, reporting that they had seen a large ship at anchor at the Tawi passage. The ship had a flag and letters on its side which they, being illiterate, could not read. Kisakiu went ashore, climbed to a high point nearby, but could not see the ship. When he returned to the village, everyone saw a column of smoke on the horizon. They accepted the theory that this must be one of the ships bringing *cargo* to Mouk. Kisakiu then suggested to the assembled village that they had better get rid of everything connected with the feast. "That's all that I said. Then everyone began throwing out everything they owned." Their cooking utensils, the food for the feast, the beads and dogs' teeth worn for the occasion, and the leaf skirts of the women were all thrown into the lagoon. The women wore the cloth *laplaps* that they reserved for church. Oto, one of Kisakiu's brothers, while alone in the men's house, was visited by God, a tall man with a long beard whose face radiated light. God did not speak to Oto, but Kisakiu was convinced now that Tawi's *cargo* was coming that very night.

The second to be visited was a youth named Kisokau, who, when he saw his dead father, was seized with convulsions. Kisakiu was called. The boy was shaking violently, shouting his father's name, pointing to the ghost that no one else could see. Kisokau saw and named many more of the dead of Tawi. A man named Kusunan, standing nearby, began to *guria* and to see all those named by Kisokau. Everyone gathered around these two communicants with the dead, waiting in the moonlight throughout the night. Kisakiu sent everyone home to sleep except for the two, who continued to shake and shout until morning.

The next morning in the village church, Kisakiu again told all that he had learned from Paliau of the "Long Story of God." Everyone joined in intense prayerful thinking directed

toward God. As they left the church, everyone began to *guria*. People ran and fell, rolling on the ground, crying or shouting, their skins covered with sand. They called out the names of Jesus and of Paliau. They saw and spoke to their dead brothers, fathers, sisters, and children. They all saw the ships in broad daylight and heard the noise of galvanized iron sheets being unloaded. Then it rained; it was as if a cloud of dust covered the village. They could not see at any distance. Then they heard plainly the sound of an anchor chain. (Kisakiu interjected into his narrative at this point, "Even I heard this.") The ship was captained by Posangat, the spirit of a man who had been *luluai* of Tawi a generation ago. One of Posangat's kin relayed the message: "The white men who teach us lie to us. Now everything that we want is here. You can see it." Posangat gave instructions that everything must be discarded before the *cargo* could be received. Then the Tawi men set their canoes adrift and threw their sails into the sea.

At this point a canoe, manned by Peri and Patusi natives, sent by the manager of the Nropwa plantation arrived to investigate rumors of the Tawi *Noise*. They were forced to leave, chased by a threatening crowd of Tawi men who shouted that this *cargo* was only for the followers of Posangat.

The *Noise* continued. They waited in the clearing another day and night for the *cargo* which all the signs indicated was tantalizingly near. Kisakiu, who had returned to his house, suddenly smelled the powder and vaseline of many men wearing white trousers. He also smelled the food that was part of the *cargo*. No one had eaten since the *Noise* started. Each new bit of evidence maintained the level of excitement and belief during the days of waiting, but they could not continue to transfer their expectations to the next day. Release finally came in a message from the dead. Manoi, the *pesman* of Lojtja, who was in Tawi through most of the *Noise*, heard the whistles of his dead brother coming from inside the church. He saw no one when he entered, but he continued to hear and interpret his brother's whistles. The message that he relayed to the meeting of the whole village was that the *Noise* was to cease. The *cargo* would not come now. The spirit had said they were to go straight to Paliau who had a letter for them from God.

Kisakiu, with the men who had been most affected by the *Noise*, sailed for Baluan. He saluted Paliau, shook his hand, and then told him about the Tawi *Noise*. Paliau called a meeting of Mouk, Baluan, and the Mbukei visitors, at which the men from Tawi related their experiences and heard about the Mouk *Noise*. Then Paliau spoke: "You men of Mouk, listen. I told you not to tell the people of Big Manus about the talk that I brought you. I told you that God would take care of these places. Now what you have heard from Kisakiu confirms what I told you. The spirit who appeared to Manoi said that I have a letter for you. It is true. I have your letter. It is the word of God. This is the letter I have for you." Then Paliau repeated for the men from Tawi his "Long Story of God."

Paliau took Kisakiu aside to brief him on the position he was to take when the patrol officers arrived in Tawi. He told them to return without sleeping and to take down the American flags which the people of Tawi, like the Mouks, had erected for their marching. They were to inaugurate the *Newfela Fashion* and to defy all attempts by the Australians to make them abandon it. According to Kisakiu, Paliau advised him how to reply to any threat that he would be killed, "You may kill me, but my blood will spill on my own soil." Kisakiu, still in his early twenties, said that he was afraid he would forget parts of what Paliau had told him when he returned to Tawi. Paliau reassured him; when he stood before his village the words would come because they were neither Paliau's nor Kisakiu's, but belonged to Jesus. If He willed it, Kisakiu would remember.

When back in Tawi, Kisakiu spoke; the *Noise* ended. The ships were gone. The dead retreated. It was not that their belief was now considered invalid, but that they had lost their opportunity and had, in some way, failed. The *cargo*, so nearly in their grasp, had been withdrawn. They retrieved what they could of their trade-store utensils and their American war materials. They willingly let the objects that represented the old culture sink beyond recovery into the deep water beyond the reefs.

The *Noise* with its varying manifestations continued to spread from Tawi. Su, an Usiai from Peli Village, was the first of the bush people to encounter the *Noise* in Tawi. He carried it to Peli and Bowai in the bush. These villages

were on the far end of the South Coast from our own village, and we have little information about them.

PATUSI

Until the time of the *Noise*, no one from Patusi had attended Paliau's meetings on Baluan. The young men had been absorbed into Bonyalo's scheme. Led by Karol Manoi, they were on Nropwa plantation working copra. Kosa of Tawi, returning from Rambutjon by way of Mouk, came ashore on the South Coast at Patusi where he spent the night, with the news that the *cargo* had already arrived in Nriol and Mouk.

When the *Noise* began in Tawi, Piluan and another woman from Bunai Village, who had been taking part in the *tajawai* feast in Tawi, left to return to Bunai. She herself saw the ships anchored at Tawi unloading their *cargo* as she left, and carried the news of the arrival of *cargo* in Tawi all along the South Coast. In Patusi, she told the villagers that they should wait no longer. Many ships manned by the dead were on their way to each village. Responsive to Piluan and to reports and rumors that had preceded her, the people of Patusi threw out or destroyed everything that night. Ponowan, an old man of Patusi who had hurried to Peri to make some final marriage payments while dogs' teeth were still legal tender, found the lagoon littered with the debris of Patusi's cast-off possessions. The next day the young men of Patusi working on Nropwa saw carved wooden bowls drifting out to sea.

The footsteps and voices of the dead were heard on the cleared islet at Patusi; their footprints were found. After church the next morning the *guria* began, first with a young man, Poselok, then with an older man, Popeo, who brought from the dead the assurance that everything thrown away would be replaced with money. While he was speaking, his wife shouted to him to come quickly to his house where some money had just appeared on the table. Popeo came back with a £1 note, the first tangible, indisputable evidence of the *cargo*. Then his wife shouted again. An additional 10 shillings had materialized. The money was passed around for everyone to hold and examine. A group of Peri men also saw this money and took news of it back to their village. Popeo said that he was in communication with his

brother Popei who had been, when alive, *luluai* of Patusi.

Piluan had gone on to Bunai. From there the news of ships at Tawi reached Nropwa. The young men of Peri and Patusi working there were skeptical at first. Gabriel of Patusi captained the canoe the plantation manager sent to Tawi. Before they were forced to leave Tawi, they heard about Posangat's ship and saw the ecstatic excitement of the Tawi people. Gabriel spent the night in Patusi before returning to Nropwa. His skepticism left him when he saw the money. Popeo held a number of seances, in which the ghost, Popei, whistled communications to him, whistling whenever the answer to a question asked him was "yes" and remaining silent when the answer was "no." Gabriel's aged father, approaching the house where a seance was being held, saw Popei, dressed in white shirt and white trousers, sitting in the doorway of the house. When Gabriel returned to Nropwa the next day, he reported evasively that no ships had been seen at Tawi, and then deserted with the rest of his work line.

Karol Manoi still did not accept the validity of the *Noise*. In Patusi, he threatened to report the situation to the patrol officers. He was particularly angry because the people of Patusi said that his own brother, Popei, had returned. That night Manoi participated in a seance in which he served as the interrogator. Manoi became angry at Popei because his answers indicated that the *work-money* scheme that Manoi endorsed was mistaken and futile and that the patrol officers would not come to Patusi in response to Manoi's complaint. He left that night, taking with him the £1.10 to which he felt entitled as brother of the ghostly donor.

In Patusi the *guria* lasted four days, during which most of the village had experienced it to some degree. After days of fruitless waiting, they heard that Tjamilo and Posanau of Bunai had returned from Mouk with full knowledge of Paliu's teachings and the final word on the *Noise*.

PERI

Events in Patusi and nearby Peri are always closely linked. During the *Noise*, Peri men visited Patusi, anxious to learn more about what was happening. They were not forced to leave, as outsiders had been in Nriol, Mouk, and Tawi.

At the start of the *Noise*, the most enterprising young men were absent from Peri. Bonyalo, who, for the time being at least, had refused Paliu's offer of collaboration as well as the invitation for Peri to attend his meetings, had gone with his followers to work on Nropwa plantation. Peri, like Patusi and Bunai, knew about Paliu's meetings only through rumor.

Only those who had constituted a conservative opposition to Bonyalo and who had demonstrated little interest in Paliu's meetings were in Peri when Piluan arrived there, telling them of the *Noise*. It is the more remarkable, therefore, that they believed her report and were transported by it into the *Noise*. Had she passed on mere hearsay tales of *cargo*, the reaction might have been different, but she reported events, ships, and *cargo* that she had seen with her own eyes. She said:

There is a ship with many "black men" of Tawi on board. It is very big. It has already anchored at Tawi. Tawi Village is completely filled with *cargo*. We saw all this, then we left. When we were near Lojtja we saw many many more ships running beyond the reef. There is one ship for each village. Our ships are on the way, Tawi's has already arrived. These ships are bringing the *cargo* and everything that belongs to you. Listen, people of Peri, many big ships are coming. All our people who have died are now coming to us. The *cargo* has already been landed in Tawi. Why haven't the ships come in here? We are blocked by all the things of the past that we own. All these things of ours are like a reef keeping out the ships. The ships cannot come inside. If you throw everything away, then the ships will come with your *cargo*. When the ships unload the *cargo*, your village will be so full that you will have no room to walk. Your houses will be full.

The people of Peri spent the night emptying their houses of everything. Many even threw out their fireplaces, firewood, and food. It is interesting that in no village did they burn or destroy the houses themselves.

The Catholic missionary for the South Coast used Peri as his base. He first became aware of the *Noise* when he awoke to find the lagoon littered with all the possessions of his congregation. His immediate reaction was to denounce the *Noise* as the work of the Devil. He was infuriated by this sudden aberration of the people whom he had come to think of as the best Catholics in the Territory. Whatever they had said at the time, in 1954 the villagers believed

that they had met his arguments defiantly, saying that what they did was their affair, the mission had hidden the true word of Jesus from them, and they would no longer listen to the priest. They said that they had taken their fate into their own hands; whether it brought them ruin or success, it was their own concern. They continued with the Cargo Cult, even with the missionary in their midst, marking the beginning of a complete break with the mission from which they had first heard about Christianity.

Each morning of the succeeding days, while the people waited for the *cargo*-laden ships to arrive, they filled the church, not for the usual brief services, but for an entire morning of prayer and the preparation of the *thinkthink* on which the coming of the *cargo* depended. The Catholic priest discontinued Communion. Later many natives claimed that they had not quit the church but had been cast out.

Nothing happened. Perhaps there was something they did not know—some essential prerequisite to the reception of the *cargo*. They made short trips to the neighboring villages for information. In Patusi they learned about Popei's visits and about the money that had been sent as a sign of the imminence of the day of redemption for the black man.

As they waited, their empty houses were like bridges burned behind them. They grew anxious lest Peri miss the reward that had already made other Manus villages *all right*. They decided to send a canoe to Mouk to learn what was happening there, but the young men picked for the crew refused to go for fear that they might be absent from the village when the *cargo* arrived. Few people in Peri crossed the threshold to waking visions of incoming ships; rather, their most direct experience was through dreams. Early in the *Noise*, Mikail Kilepak, a stable and respected man, dreamed that he saw a warship and an airplane at the passage in the reef near Peri. He saw the ghosts of ancestors on board; among them in a prominent position was Tjolai, the deceased *luluai* of Peri. A white man, Jesus, stood at the mast. But the ships went back. Their entrance was blocked.

One woman dreamed that she saw the *cargo* being landed. Planes, cars, and ships came to the village, which in her dream was no longer located over the sea but in a large clearing on land. The unloading of the metal objects made a great din.

During the first week of the *Noise*, one man, Kristof Noan, an aged cripple, responded in such an extreme way as to frighten the people of Peri. He removed his *laplap* and went about the village shouting angry obscenities at the *luluai*, the missionary, and the men and women of the village. He spoke of fighting the white men. The planes that flew overhead belonged to the natives as well as to the white men. They were wrongfully withheld by the white men. He feared no one and would not be silenced. He menaced others with a spear. For a week and a half he refused to eat, saying that he was not hungry, that the native food was no good, and that he was being nourished by God. At night four men were assigned to guard him lest he attack people with an ax. His insanity was attributed to his thinking about things that he had thrown away; Noan's wife said that on the morning after the throwing away he had recovered a bowl and carried it back to the house. A cure was effected by discarding the bowl again and talking to him constantly of *goodfela thinkthink* until his madness subsided. Noan's extreme reaction probably helped to buffer the effect of the *Noise* in Peri.

About two weeks after the start of the *Noise* in Peri, the first patrol of the Australian Administration sent out to investigate reports of the cult outbreak stopped briefly at Nropwa, then at Peri, and continued to Baluan where the *Noise* was already under control. Lukas Pokus, a young man with no important status in Peri, decided to set out alone for Mouk to acquire the essential knowledge lacking in Peri. At the same time others in Peri heard that Akustin Tjamilo and Alois Posanau had returned to Bunai from Mouk with full knowledge of Paliau's teachings and news of the *Noise* there.

Tjamilo, who, as the man who brought the talk of God, was suddenly elevated to a position of leadership by the *Noise*, brought the *guria* to Bunai and Peri. In retelling the events that had occurred in Mouk, he emphasized the evidence for the validity of the cult beliefs. The ships had come, the dead had been among them, and the *cargo* had been almost within their grasp and had certainly been seen and heard. For the moment they were thwarted by the wrongdoing of Wapei and others, and because the process of recruitment of the cult, of purification of the *thinkthink*, and the casting out of the past were

as yet incomplete. Tjamilo elaborated on the mystical aspects of Paliau's teachings and intensified the anti-white (particularly the anti-Australian and anti-mission) content by his own hostility.

Posanau began to *guria* and in the excited atmosphere set off another spasm of mass convulsive seizures. Johannes Pominis, one of the visitors from Peri, began to *guria* while still in Bunai. Returning to Peri he brought Posanau, Tjamilo's brother, with him. Pokenau, the *luluai* in Peri, moved by the *Noise* from his position as the bulwark against change, assembled as many of the people of Peri as could be crowded into his house to be instructed by Posanau in the "Long Story of God." This revised, "true" version of Christianity was not only written down but memorized as Posanau spoke. Johannes Pominis' *guria* spread to several people, but Peri was never shaken by mass contagion. Pominis spoke of going to Nropwa to claim from the plantation manager there the merchandise in the trade store that rightfully belonged to the native. He declared that he would go to Baluan to receive further revelations from God. At this point, Lukas Pokus returned from Mouk. He denounced Pominis' words and *guria* as satanic. His own, in contrast, were genuinely God-sent.

Lukas Pokus had left Peri quietly at three o'clock in the afternoon and, with only a small sail, arrived at Mouk by midnight. He poled his canoe silently among the houses. Wherever he went, he heard the people speaking of God. The atmosphere of suspicious hostility frightened him. After he had been seen and identified, the *pesman*, Lukas of Mouk, asked whether he had been sent by the patrol officer or by the mission, or had come to trade. He replied that he had come to learn the talk of God. All that night he was tutored by Lukas of Mouk and others. He learned the "Long Story of God" and the laws of the *Newfela Fashion*. He was shown the marching and the accompanying songs (among them "John Brown's Body"). He observed the Mouks practicing the new, rigid, village routine.

By this time, Paliau had been taken to Lorengau by the patrol investigating Wapei's death. Unable to see Paliau, after three days in Mouk, Lukas Pokus returned to Peri. As the wind was unfavorable, he paddled for approxi-

mately 12 of the 25 miles between Mouk and Peri. When the sun set, the sea became very rough. Afraid that his canoe would be swamped, Lukas prayed that God would calm the sea. His prayer was instantly answered. He heard the sound of an airplane in one ear and a whistle, as if a man were calling, in the other. God was heavy upon him now. He could see Him with his eyes, but could not touch Him. Then God spoke to him at length, repeating everything that Lukas had been taught in Mouk. Essentially, he heard the "Long Story of God" again. Driven by this experience, Lukas went ashore on Nropwa before going to Peri. He was able to persuade most of the remaining plantation workers to return to the village. Only Bonyalo, John Kilepak, and Karol Manoi of Patusi remained for the first and last month of Bonyalo's venture. Then they too returned to become leaders of the reorganization of their villages after the *Noise*.

On arriving in Peri, Lukas Pokus went immediately to the church, where, as he concentrated his thoughts on God, he began to *guria* violently. He silenced Johannes Pominis as a false prophet and attacked Tjamilo and Posanau as well. He told Pominis, "*Thinkthink belong you i no catchim true God, you savi noise long skin belong you nothing thats all.*" This may be translated roughly without exhausting its meaning as, "You are not spiritually in communication with God, this quaking of your body is merely something of the flesh."

Lukas Bonyalo (not the Bonyalo of the local phase) also experienced the *guria* in a vision in which the three *persona* of God appeared to him. Lukas Bonyalo aided Lukas Pokus in refuting and curing Pominis. Pokus then dreamt that God instructed him to turn over his spiritual leadership of the village to Lukas Bonyalo. The dream was made known to the village in a meeting, as were all dreams with content that seemed at all significant. During this terminal period of the cult phase, these two men were the teachers of the village. Lukas' house was filled to capacity, as Pokenau's had been when Posanau of Bunai had first brought the "Long Story of God" to Peri. The reorganization of Peri in the direction of the *Newfela Fashion* began, in effect, under Lukas Pokus' leadership with the ritual-like observance of marching, singing, and village routine. Some still hoped

that this ritual would bring about a sudden miraculous change in their lives, but most people realized that they had returned to Paliau's road—a road of uncertain length along which they moved as they changed toward the ultimate goal.

BUNAI AND THE USIAI NOISE

Piluan arrived at her home village of Bunai to complete the spread of the *Noise* to the South Coast lagoon villages. The people of Bunai knew only what she told them—that somehow, through the work of Paliau at Mouk, the coming of Jesus and of their ancestors was imminent and was already an accomplished fact in Nriol, Mouk, and Tawi. Tjamilo and Posanau had not yet returned from Mouk. The people of Bunai and those of Pomatjau, a small village that was always closely linked with Bunai, emptied their houses in preparation for the *cargo*. Some were seized by the *gurua*; each night many saw the lights of ships beyond the reefs. One young man in his late teens saw a glowing horse in the mangrove swamps at night; other men who ran to see it arrived too late. The next day a group of adolescents and one eight-year old saw a white man, presumed to be Jesus, in the water near the village. But until Tjamilo returned from Mouk, the *Noise* in Bunai was a diluted, peripheral variety.

Tjamilo's return reawakened hope and excitement over the possibility that the *cargo* might come after all. Tjamilo told them that the *Noise* in Mouk had been frustrated by the wrongdoing of Wapei, and by others who made false improvisations on the basic truths Paliau had brought. Tjamilo and Posanau, with their first-hand experience of Paliau and the *Noise* on Mouk, were almost desperately sought out by the people who had over-committed themselves to the promise of a cult of which they had only fragmentary knowledge. Tjamilo's house was jammed as men of Bunai, Patusi, Peri, and Pomatjau wrote or committed to memory the "Long Story of God," the commandments of the *Newfela Fashion*, and the village rituals of mass simultaneous activity.

After church on the second day, as Tjamilo was preaching outdoors, his brother Posanau began to *gurua*. He stood up in the midst of the crowd, calling the people to come close. He wept as he said: "We must all love each other.

We must all stay together. If there is only a little tobacco we must all smoke it. If there is only one small pepper leaf, break it, we will all eat. However little food there is, we will all eat. We must love each other. We must have compassion with each other. One man must not be angry at another or think ill of another." He went on like this in joy and sorrow, weeping and shaking. With Posanau as the model, the *gurua* possessed most of the people of Bunai. Of the 50 or more men and women who could definitely be remembered as having had a convulsive seizure, most were in their late teens or early twenties. In addition to these, there were a few of the oldest of the village. With the exception of Suluwan, who had only a little *gurua* involving his head, none was a leader in the village then nor did any one of them become leaders subsequently.

Tjamilo, who, as he put it, was nothing before the *Noise* and was made by it, remained controlled though fervent in his teachings. Samol was still with the small group that he had removed from the village before the *Noise*, when he had been blocked in his attempts at reform by the conservatism of his adopted father, Kisekup, the paramount *luluai*. Tjamilo was the unquestioned leader of Bunai, at least for the duration of the *Noise*. In every village, the older men who had resisted reform programs now joined enthusiastically in the *Noise*, and with conversion resigned their leadership. At Paliau's meetings, the "big men" of the villages who attended had been called upon to speak. Each renounced the old culture. At Tjamilo's meeting, following the first pulse of the *gurua* which Posanau had triggered, the "big men" of Bunai rose in turn to accept the slogan, "*Newfela thinkthink, newfela man.*"

As far as the administration knew, the *Noise* was ended or at least quiescent at this time. An official, who introduced himself to the natives as "Masta John," came to speak at Bunai. He had asked the *luluais* of Peri, Patusi, and Pomatjau, and of all the Usiai villages of the "Number Two Road," to come to Bunai to hear him. He told this assemblage that the government was not angry with them, that it was good that they had broken with the past. He advised them to *work money* by selling their labor and their produce. Villagers who worked hard to advance themselves would eventually

earn a limited local self government in the form of native village councils. He assured them that Paliau was not under arrest, but that he was taking him to Port Moresby to learn more about the government.

The visiting Usiai were impressed not so much with what the officer said as with the admirable unanimity and determination with which the people of Bunai lived according to the new village routines of the *Newfela Fashion*. The delegation from the village of Lahan, led by Mikail Kampo and Pita Tapo, came to Bunai primarily to seek the "inside meaning" of the *Noise*, which the Manus had conspicuously concealed from them.

The Usiai had first heard of the *Noise* at the *bung*, the regularly held markets at which they traded their garden produce for Manus fish. At a recent market, some older Manus men had presented large quantities of dogs' teeth and shell beads, which they had supposedly thrown into the sea, for cash sale to the Usiai who still valued them even above cash. Kampo and Tapo of Lahan had heard the rumors of *cargo* and of the special dispensation of revealed knowledge that God had sent to the Manus through Paliau. Kampo had friends among the Manus. He implored Gabriel Suluwan of Pomatjau to teach him this *Newfela thinkthink* which now activated Bunai. Gabriel's reply reveals an additional aspect of the secretive exclusiveness of each village in the *Noise*. "It is true," he said, "God is the Father of all of us, but we are afraid. We are not adequate to tell you the ways of God. The ways of God and His words—it would be dangerous if we presented them incorrectly. It would be bad if later this talk turned to *poison*¹ and killed us." Suluwan feared that, wrongly used, as it had been by Wapei, the new *thinkthink* would lead to disaster. He feared also that the Usiai would report them to the Australians. Kampo reassured him that he would hold to the line with which each village had met the Australians and that he would insist that these ideas had occurred to him directly and had no other source than God.

Suluwan finally allowed Kampo to copy from the book in which he had written much of the

content of cult belief. One passage read: "God, Father, I desire the First Order. All of my strength belongs to [or stems from] you. All my *thinkthink* belongs to you. But I am worthless [*rubbish*]. I am unworthy of you."

Then Suluwan brought Kampo and Tapo to Tjamilo, who, after some show of reluctance, agreed to confide in them. "All right, I will tell you. If you go report, or if you make trouble, it is all right. My body can be imprisoned, it can pay, but my *thinkthink*, no man can kill it, it is something which belongs to God." (Such speeches of defiance occur in all accounts of the *Noise* in each village. Tjamilo said repeatedly, "Let them kill me, let them beat me." Kampo's party was tutored for three days by Tjamilo and Suluwan. When they left, Tjamilo took them in his canoe to the beach. In parting he told them that soon after their return in their village in the interior they too would feel the full force of the *guria*.)

Pita Tapo returned to his job in Sepalau. Kampo began immediately to reorganize his village, following the Bunai pattern. The first project was a new church; work was reorganized, with lines of men or women acting in concert. No longer was each individual permitted to go to his own family plot; instead, they were to go in larger groups (in work lines) to work each plot communally in succession. When the church was completed, Kampo postponed its use until he could return to Bunai to complete his transcription of the new liturgy, for they were no longer to worship in the manner in which they had been taught by the mission.

Tapo was summoned. He arrived in Lahan at Easter time. Every day the people of Lahan concentrated only on God and on their desire for the First Order. When the *guria* came, the village seemed to be enveloped in a mist or cloud, so that it was hard to see. (The same thing had happened in Tawi.) Torrential rain fell while the sun shone. Several rainbows were seen. On first day the *tultul*, Lukas, and four young men fell to the ground, their bodies thrashing about. They received no message. On the second day, four women began to shake while they were working in the gardens. One of them, the wife of the *tultul*, saw her dead father and mother. They offered her food and clothing, but she was unable to touch them.

On the third day, Tapo began to *guria*. He saw stars in heaven as if they were near him. He

¹ *Poison* can be translated from Neo-Melanesian as "black magic" or "sorcery." Its extension here is to the more general idea, based on the older one, of a spell, charm, or magical device (or anything supernatural) which, if not used properly, may harm the user.

heard the voices of angels. He was filled with joyous compassion toward all the people he saw. He knew then that all he had heard from the Manus was true. He felt sorry for everyone for having to work so hard and longed for the First Order of God in which one's desires were self-satisfying. He described, without a pause, all that was being revealed to him. Late in the afternoon he fell into a coma-like state. Kampo publicly interpreted the coma as the result of a wrong in the village that had never been straightened out and himself confessed an old wrong. He had seduced his brother's wife. Kampo and his brother now resolved this old anger by shaking hands. Kampo declared that the way of the past, in which each man must avoid the house and wife of his brother, was now at an end. All the avoidances patterned on the old kinship system were evil ways of the past. Now there was to be no more shame.

After an hour Tapo revived. His mind was extremely clear. He had received his instructions. First he lined up everyone in the village, taking a long time to place them in their strict order of birth from the aged to the infants. Then he addressed them as follows:

Soon we must get rid of all the hats of our *luluais* and *tultuls*. God says they must all go. Then all the men who have died in the past will arise in their graves. God said this. Soon Jesus will come to hold court for us, for all white men and black men. All the men who have died, they are many, we who are alive are few. Soon I will put all our houses into one long straight line. These houses must follow the law of God, they cannot be crooked, they must be perfectly straight, like God's word. All of us in Manus, and all places of the native will be one, one place and one people. One man will be our leader [*boss*]. When this leader is chosen, it will not be only we who will establish him, there will be some white men also, some men of Australia, of America, of China, and of other countries as well. They will all meet in Lorengau to discuss this man who will be our leader. His name is Paliau. There will be another, from another part of Manus. He will be second. [Tapo claims this position as second in command to Paliau.] America will take over Manus.

While I slept, God came to me. As he came down, the sun hid, the moon hid, the stars hid. A mist came down with God inside. There were many angels with Him, they who guard Him. When He does come down, He will come to hold court. All the men who have died will arise in their graves. Then God will hold court [of justice] for all who have died and for us who are alive.

Then I saw many houses appear. All these houses were in straight lines. There were a great many flowers lining the road. In this place, when men go inside this house, they go into something like a box, a pulley takes them up to the room above. They don't go up a ladder. There were plenty of cars. Later these cars will come to get us. And this place, we will see it also. Then I saw many white men sitting down to eat at a table. I said, "God says that he has forgiven us, yet we still must work." Then God said: "Soon all the white men and black men will be good friends. They can live together, talk together, work together."

Americans and American Negroes have a more prominent position in Tapo's revelations than in any other. Paliau had had less contact with the Americans than many of his followers. Tapo continued:

In America they have taught the Negroes. Now they are like the [white] Americans. When this war started, the Negroes of America arose to help America make war. They have their own ships. But as for us natives, God is extremely angry at the Australians. They didn't teach us correctly the word of God which Jesus brought. If they had taught it to us right, we would have been a country by now. But this didn't happen and God is angry. He sees us natives and is sorry for us, for so many of us died during the war. If they had given us knowledge before and many of us died, it would have been all right. But they didn't. We remain in ignorance and many of us die because of the many wrongs of our ways. If it weren't for America and its Negroes we wouldn't be here now. All of us would be finished. . . . Japan didn't believe in God and it lost. Australia, too, doesn't believe in God, and it lost. Why? Because they want only themselves to be all right. . . . The Americans are truly men of Jesus. When they ask God, God gives them great knowledge. America likes us, it is sorry for us, but Australia is boss over us, and its way is blocked. . . . In the future the Australians will no longer be able to do this work. We will have our own courts, our own offices, and our own government officers.

Tapo had been told by God that the hats given to the village officials appointed by the government, as well as the village census books, must be burned. However, although these ideas were part of God's revelation to him, Tapo had previously learned them from Tjamilo. Most probably they originated with Paliau, although I never checked this point with him. In the *Nriol Noise*, Wapei attempted to induce the *luluai* to burn his hat and book. It seems less likely that the idea originated with Wapei than

that he had heard of it, as Tjamilo says he had, from Paliau.

The story of the Australian conspiracy to withhold the *cargo* intended for the natives is treated as one of the most secret of the inner meanings of the *Noise*. This is Tjamilo's version:

When the *kiap* comes to collect taxes each year, he goes all around Manus. He collects 10 shillings each year. When he has collected the tax, he writes down the names. "Who is your dead father? Who is your dead grandfather? Which of your children are still alive, which have died?" All right, I give my father's name, Laloan. He reads it, then he lies to me like this. "I have taken out your father's name." But he didn't take it out. He wrote it into another book. He does the same everywhere in Manus. There is a place for each village and for each man's name.

When he has collected the taxes and the names he goes back to Lorengau. Then he types them [the names] into a book along with the money collected. All right, he brings this to Port Moresby. The money stays in Port Moresby, but the book is sent to the *ass belong place* [the capital, origin, or other center of a country, but in the cult belief, a specific place]. This place is near America, beyond America. The book goes straight to this place.

Now this money, it is like the money that men brought to Jesus. Jesus looked at the money and said, "This money has the head of Caesar on it. It doesn't belong to me. *Thinkthink* belongs to Me and to God, My Father." Now I see it this way, this money belongs to Caesar [*Kaiser* in Neo-Melanesian] and must go back to the government. But the names of men, these are really the most important road to God. The book is sent straight along this road. With the money the government buys from all countries—America, Japan, Germany, France. The money does not go to the *ass belong place*. All the men who have died, the ancestors, do not receive this money, but this book, this is really the road of the native and of all the white men also. This book goes to this place which is the *place belong think* [place of the spirits of the dead and of God]. Jesus is there, together with the dead. There are angels there also. When these men who die think of Jesus, Jesus sends this *thinkthink* on to God, His Father. Now God sends an abundance of goods back to Him.

Now when this book arrives at this place, my father's name is in it and the name of my village. Now Laloan, my father, sends this *cargo* back. Laloan writes my name, Tjamilo, on the case along with his name. There is a book also in which all this is recorded. Now the ancestors just think, and a sling loads the *cargo* on the ship. This ship is extremely large. They have only to think and the ship is filled. . . . All right, the ship now goes to

Australia. They take all the *cargo* ashore. They look at the labeling and break open the cases. There is a customs official who inspects and breaks open the cases. They change the planks and put on new labels. Now the British send it to all parts of the world. Carpenters^[1] get theirs, the company^[2] gets theirs, the government gets theirs. Now we have thought out all this.^[3]

According to belief during the Cult, there was much more to this conspiracy. Thus the *luluais* who are given hats with no real power are the guardians of the very books by means of which the Australians stock their stores with the *cargo* that is rightfully the natives'. It was Tjamilo's individual elaboration that the natives should make their own books and get the direct access to the *ass belong place* which they would have if there were a restoration of the First Order of God. Tapo describes the *ass belong place* as a huge ship, bigger than Manus. It is looked after by a powerful but dimly perceived being, King Berra, who also appeared in the legends about Paliau in which he secured his deliverance from the courts of the Japanese and the Australians by mentioning King Berra's name. After his return from Mouk, Tjamilo taught the village a song about Berra, *Oh Berra You Come or Me Wait*.

Experimentally I tried telling Tjamilo that King Berra was not a person or a king but a perversion of the name of the capital or *ass belong place* of Australia, Canberra. He said that a patrol officer had told the natives this, but they had naturally assumed the officer was lying. Paliau, who Tjamilo claims brought the King Berra story to Manus, understands perfectly that Canberra is the Australian capital. The King Berra myth occurred in widely separated cargo cults and is probably generally known in the Territory.

Tapo succeeded without difficulty in persuading his own village of Lahan to burn its hats and books. The *Noise* was transmitted from Lahan to Yiru, Katin, Kapo, and Nuang, and received some support at least in Bulihan, Karun, and Soniru. The hats and books were

¹ A large South Sea trading firm.

² Edgell and Whiteley, Ltd.

³ The cargo theory has its ingenious though paranoid-like logic, which is apparent when we consider the native's fragmentary picture of production and supply in the outside world and when we consider the autistic function of the supernatural pieces with which he completes this fragmented pattern.

destroyed in these villages as well. Kampo of Lahan and Bombowai of Yiru burned their hats at Tapo's insistence, but they themselves received confirmatory visions and *guria* that supported the hat and book burning.

The Usiai had originally intended to put the *Newfela Fashion* into effect while remaining in the interior, but they were invited by Gabriel Suluwan and Tjamilo to leave the interior and to amalgamate with Bunai and Pomatjau in a village on the beach. Feeling emancipated and defiant after their burning of these symbols of their ties to the Australian Administration, most families in the village of Lahan went to Bunai.

Bunai, which had sponsored the Usiai *Noise*, was now caught in a backlash of the cult excitement, somewhat like that which had recoiled upon Mouk from Nriol. Tapo came to persuade other villages to join in the hat and book burning. His speeches were filled with hostility toward the government; he spoke with the authority of one whose body and mind had been severely shaken by the nearness of God. He claimed that he was now second only to Paliau, who was at this time in Port Moresby. Kisekup,

the paramount *luluai*, refused to burn his hat. Tapo himself burned Suluwan's book, the Pomatjau census book. In Bunai the *tultul* Kanawi burned his own hat, and another *tultul*'s hat was taken by a young man and burned.

Peri did not join in this last manifestation of the *Noise*. Lukas Bonyalo heard Tapo speak in Bunai and was attracted by his ideas. He returned home to bring the rest of Peri to hear Tapo. The canoes were filled for the trip to Bunai. In the new fashion, the fleet lined up, with Lukas' canoe in the lead to give the signal for the others to start moving simultaneously. On their way to Bunai they met a Peri canoe returning from Bunai where the men had heard Tapo and had rejected his ideas. The appeal of revelations had worn off. Government action against those who had burned the hats and books was anticipated by everyone, except the few who still believed the millennium to be imminent. When the government patrol officers who had arrested Tapo, Kampo, and those who had followed their example arrived in Peri, the village greeted the patrol by singing "God Save the King." Tapo spent 13 months in jail, Kampo a year, and the others shorter terms.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND PLATEAU PHASES¹

The *Noise* ended in village after village with the disappointed recognition that the coming of the *cargo* and the First Order of God had, at least, been postponed. After it was realized that the First Order was not forthcoming, Paliau called for a resumption of the Movement at the point at which it had been interrupted by the *Noise*. He phrased this in terms of returning to the Second Order, the program he had outlined previously.

The status of the Cult beliefs was left ambiguous. Paliau had said only that the Cult was unsuccessful and that it was necessary to work through the Movement. Paliau vaguely attributed the failures of the Cult to Wapei's assumption of the leadership. He did not say that

the idea of the Cult was wrong, or that its many manifestations were mere delusions. Some informants told us that the Cult had been temporary insanity. However, the *Noise* had been a profoundly important experience in their lives. Only a few were not convinced that they had been brought close to God, to the *cargo*, and to the dead. The rationalizations of some of the cult leaders were more complicated. "We were not ready, there was too much bad *thinkthink* in our old culture and in ourselves for us to get rid of so quickly." Some, like Paliau, blamed it on Wapei; some, on the murder of Wapei. Widespread also was the feeling that in some way the Australians were responsible for blocking the coming of the *cargo*. The idea was also prevalent that the *Noise* had been a trial imposed on them by God and that the real *Noise* was yet to come. Others said that it had been a work of the devil to deceive them. Some were capable of saying that the visions of the *Noise* were an illusion created by the strength of their own desires, like dreaming about something very badly wanted. But none was positive in these explana-

¹ This section is intended only to sketch events and the culture of the Movement villages in the Organizational and Plateau Phases to provide continuity and background to the rest of this study. This sketch may be filled in from Mead's picture of the *Newfela Fashion* in Peri (1956a). Other aspects of the ethnography of the *Newfela Fashion* as it appeared in the composite village of New Bunai remain to be described.

tions. Depending on their own orientations, the informants favored one or another explanation, but most found it possible to entertain all of them.

The initial act of the return to the Second Order was to recover money that had been thrown into the Mouk reef. It was found, lodged on the edge of the reef, although Lukas claimed that he had tossed it into the deep water beyond. As the aura of the Cult gradually faded during the succeeding months, the "miraculous" recovery of the money was a sign that they were on the right track.

Paliau's activities at the end of the *Noise* in 1947 were based on his certainty that he would be detained by the government. He sent notes to a number of the leaders on the South Coast who had not been previously involved in the Movement. He also sent instructions about the line to be taken in answer to government questioning about the Cult. Each individual was to insist that the *Noise* had occurred independently within each village.

Paliau quickly became aware that the Cult had contributed to the spread of the Movement. He worked to organize the expanded membership. Confusion and disorganization lasted several weeks in the villages that had experienced the Cult. They sought to learn now the content of the pre-*Noise* meetings as well as the Cult experiences of other villages. All the villages that had become involved in the *Noise* were left as members of the Movement. All looked toward Paliau to tell them what to do next.

The Cult had left some 33 villages (as their count goes) united in a political unity with a solidarity that had no precedent in native political systems in the Admiralties. All who had experienced the *Noise* felt bound to one another by it. They said that the *Noise* had changed them, that it had shaken them loose from their past. They felt superior to the surrounding Usiai and Matankor villages which had not been chosen or had not chosen to be near God during the *Noise*. They were bound more closely in defiance of the ridicule and censure directed at them by non-Movement natives, by some of the government officers, and by the missionaries. When they marched, they marched defiantly, with a feeling, aided by the detention of Paliau and the imprisonment of the leaders who had burned the hats and books, that they

were martyrs. They broke with their missions, a move implied even in the pre-*Noise* teachings of Paliau in which he exposed the "lies" of the missionaries. The Roman Catholic natives were cut off from the church by the mission priests. They were united in their continued hostility to the Australians and the missions. They were united around the person of Paliau, even in his absence, though many, brought into the Movement with the spread of the *Noise*, had had no contact with him. A series of ballads were composed about Paliau's triumph over the Administration. It was said that the local Administration officers and the missionaries had wanted to kill him. They could not, because Paliau had spoken on his own behalf, and because he was protected by Jesus as well as by the highest government officials.

The Administration held Paliau responsible for starting the Cult. He was considered to be its prophet. He was sent from Lorengau to Port Moresby for indoctrination. There he was told about the program that the government planned for the natives. The Administration expected that the Movement started by Paliau could be molded to their own program.

In Paliau's absence the Movement continued along the lines he had laid down in the pre-Cult meetings. As much as possible of the *Newfela Fashion* was put into effect. Each village had *pesmen* appointed earlier by Paliau or elected after the *Noise*. They had, in addition, men whom they called *teachers* who taught the *Newfela Fashion*, that is, the word of God through the word of Paliau. As it was brought into being its "laws" and behavioral prescriptions were treated as sacred.

While the Usiai and Manus were still living in the old villages, they attempted to put into effect as much of the *Newfela Fashion* as possible. Under the leadership of their *teachers*, they were taught to march and drill. They were taught to order their lives according to a routine that coordinated the activities of the whole village. This routine was derived from such models as the plantation, the *kiap's* patrol, and the army camp. To the signal of the village gong (war surplus acetylene drums hung from a frame), they all left their houses together in the morning, bathed together, and went to church together and to the line-up to be assigned their part in village work. Noon and afternoon bells signaled the end of work, the time to bathe

again, to eat, and to attend church. Finally, after a curfew at about nine o'clock, they remained in their houses. Daily meetings preceded by singing and marching were filled with endless reiterations of the new "laws," the vices of the past, and the virtues of the *Newfela Fashion*. The emphasis was on ritual simultaneity. There was an attempt to perform each activity in unison.

They carried out the broad injunctions of the *Newfela Fashion* covering interpersonal relations in the same way. They were to lose shame, a particularly troublesome commandment. They were never quite sure what was involved in losing shame and how far they should go in giving expression to their impulses. Both in the late period of the Cult and for a short time during the beginnings of the *Newfela Fashion*, they carried it to the point of experimental nudism and mixed bathing. Along with shame they were also to rid themselves of anger. The meetings were the occasion for public confession, the constant exhortation of men, women, and children who harbored any ill feelings toward anyone else to reveal these feelings so that by reconciliation the sickness or death that such feelings induced could be avoided. When sickness did occur, the leaders elicited confessions of angry feelings or of other wrong thinking that, it was believed, caused the illness. The metaphysics of the *thinkthink* were elaborated so as to form a part of the new religion, as a rationale and sanctioning system for the new ideals of interpersonal relations.

Their attempts at living the new life in the old villages were hampered by the effect of the old surroundings in re-integrating the older pattern of life. Paliau had planned for the Manus to leave the lagoons. They and the Usiai were to burn their old villages and build new ones on the beach. The move to the beach started in 1947, and was completed by 1949. Some villages, such as Peri, retained much of their old autonomy by continuing to be a separate village unit on the beach. Others joined composite villages or closely related, nearly contiguous sets of villages.

New Bunai developed into such a composite village of 700 people and seven hamlet components. Both in size and in political complexity, these new composite villages were unprecedented in the Admiralty Islands. Much in their internal political organization had to be created

through trial and error over many years. During the peripheral, last stages of the *Noise*, Bunai and Pomatjau had decided to combine. These two Manus villages became the tutors of the Usiai of Lahan and the "Number Two Road," both in the *Noise* and in the Organizational Phase. When Bunai and Pomatjau moved to the beach, they were joined by Lahan and Yiru and later by Malei and Lowaja, in addition to many individuals and small groups from other Usiai villages that had not joined the Movement.

These people moved to the new villages with the slogan, "a new place for a new way of life." They warned all who did not want to follow the *Newfela Fashion* to stay behind. Almost without exception they burnt the old villages and moved into new ones that had been built in unison, in conformity with the most orderly pattern that space would allow. Some Usiai villages, however, left some remnants behind. The houses were built in a more European form, mainly of native materials but with some war surplus sheet iron, canvas, and plywood. Wherever possible, each village had a road and a gate and a wharf symbolizing its unity, as well as a rectangular *ring* in the village clearing where meetings were held.

Immediately after the *Noise*, many of the local leaders still led by virtue of their role in the Cult. Within the following months, however, the Cult leaders were replaced. A number of the men whose status had risen with the Cult were nearly illiterate, among them Tjamilo and Posanau in Bunai, Lukas Pokus and Lukas Bonyalo in Peri, and Tapo of Lahan. Some of these Cult leaders went into rapid eclipse. The *teachers* wrote down the "Long Story of God" and the "laws" of the Movement. They continued to record dreams if they seemed important and intelligible. The *Newfela Fashion* placed a high value on literacy, so that even Tjamilo, whose verbal memory was phenomenal, who knew the "Long Story of God" and all the speeches of each of Paliau's meetings, was placed at a disadvantage. However, their illiteracy was not all that undermined their leadership. Originally achieving leadership in the Cult, they remained Cult leaders who viewed with suspicion and impatience the secular preoccupation of this new phase.

In the first years of the *Newfela Fashion*, the new economic system apparently operated suc-

cessfully. It was based on free exchange, with no strict accounting either within the village or between the Usiai and Manus who were in the Movement. This was the system of *maremare*, which in religious texts is translatable as "compassion, mercy, Christian, brotherly giving." In practice, applied religiously to exchange and to the use of land and reef, it amounted to a limited communal economic system. Ultimate rights to land and property were retained, but one was expected to share freely the yield from fishing or gardening and to give permission freely for others to use one's land, sago, or reef.

An attempt was made to bring much of economic exchange to the village level. Each new village had a wharf with a shed on it, called the *custom house*, and an official, the *customs*. The *customs* recorded everything that was brought to the village from other villages, so that a return could be made later. Visitors moving among villages were expected to carry passes written by the heads of their own villages. In each village, work meetings were held weekly to decide on communal work to which lines of men, women, or children, depending on the task, would be assigned at the daily morning line-up. Sometimes a week was set for building up a supply of sago, or a day was set for a communal fish drive or for work on the village road. Specific days were set for individual work. Every effort was made to contain the economy within the Movement. Although the collection of a cash fund continued, work for Europeans, one of the main sources of cash, was discouraged by the village leaders. Local Europeans accused the Movement leaders of establishing forced labor, military camp totalitarianism, and the forced restraint of those who wished to work for Europeans.

The Movement did not adhere to its original rigid form. Paliau and his followers, to a small extent, continued to add new ideas. As the new villages were completed, Paliau organized regular, Movement-wide meetings coordinated with village meetings. He added all that he had learned of the program of the Administration in Port Moresby¹ and put into effect a system approximating that of the Native Councils before the Administration was ready to introduce it

¹ Worsley, 1957, 188. Worsley gives a date, July 29, 1947, for Paliau's return from his first indoctrination period in Port Moresby. By this time Paliau's followers had carried out much of his initial plan.

officially. He changed the title of *pesman* to *council*,² and added a second level of leadership within each village that he called *committee*. He led in the conventionalization of the religion, dropping much that he had introduced into the initial Movement, and much that the Cult had brought with it. The "Long Story of God" fell into disuse. It was replaced by a liturgy borrowed largely from the Catholic and Evangelical services. In 1948, one man from each village was sent to Baluan to be trained by Paliau as the religious functionary of his village. The men wrote and used the more conventionalized liturgy.

After 1949 the aim of the Movement was to obtain recognition from the Administration of their existing organization, and to have the government establish a Native Council that would include the whole Movement as a recognized political unit, with Paliau as its head. They also wanted secular schools and a cooperative for the organization and capitalization of their production and for the marketing of their produce.

Paliau's lead in the Movement continued.³ When a Council with headquarters in Baluan was established in part of the Movement area in 1950, though it left the South Coast mainland to *wait-council* until 1954, Paliau was credited with having brought it in and was elected its chairman.

During the period between the establishment of the Baluan Council and its extension to the South Coast, the Movement lost momentum. The South Coast villages had the form but not the legality of the Council. These villages waited three years, with no major added innovations, in discontent and increasing apathy. They were not satisfied to continue as an audience for the Baluan Council. On Baluan also, shortly after the establishment of the Council, a government school, and a store, the Council leaders also began to look toward the extension of the Council to the entire Movement area as the next step.

² *Council* and *committee* as used in the Paliau movement may refer to an individual. Each village elected a leader who was called *council* and others who were called, individually, *committee*.

³ Worsley, 1957, 190-192. Paliau was arrested again in 1950 for illegal activities and sent for another indoctrination visit to the government center in Port Moresby. In his absence the Council was inaugurated.

Just as 1946 is taken as the starting point of Movement history, 1950 seems to be the conventionally accepted transition period between the vigorous outpouring of energy and creative work that marked the Organizational Phase and the loss in momentum and decline in morale that marked the Plateau Phase. The initial objectives of the Movement had been realized. The new villages were well established. The Council, though it was not to be extended to the larger part of the Movement area until 1954, signaled a degree of recognition and acceptance of the Movement by the Administration. Yet by 1951 and 1952 the people of the Movement felt as if they had made little progress toward their ultimate goals for a long while. Elaboration and minor changes in the *Newfela Fashion* and the Council were not accepted as major accomplishments.

Our field study began in June, 1953, during the latter part of the Plateau Phase. This state of low morale was noticeable, though we did not appreciate it fully at the time. Our own arrival tended to mask the effects of the decline; also, we were comparing the state of the *Newfela Fashion*, as we found it, with other villages not in the Movement, and with Manus of 1928 as Mead and Fortune had described it. Against this background the Manus seemed well off.

Nevertheless a state of drift was apparent. The new villages looked ramshackle. The houses and churches had been built six years previously, a period that approached the limit of usability of what were still essentially native-thatched houses, though they were now on the beach and had had windows, verandas, plank floors, and room divisions. More significantly obvious repairs that could have been made were being neglected. Roofs leaked and were not re-thatched. In the composite village of Bunai, which was strung along a narrow strip of beach for almost a mile, the earliest houses had apparently been constructed more completely according to plan. Many of the houses of the late-coming Usiai had been less ambitiously begun and never finished. In Bunai the church was in ruins, though it was still being used. Part of its roof had been torn off by storms and had not been repaired for a year. The wharfs were collapsing. What had been the *custom house* had collapsed, but no one seemed to be concerned about it. Aside from this physical deterioration of the new villages, there were obvious signs

that the *Newfela Fashion* was not being supported with anything approaching unanimity. Unless some extraordinary event was the occasion, attendance at meetings was poor. People who did attend straggled in more than an hour late. The leaders spent much of their time scolding those who attended and shouting their reproaches in the direction of the houses where those who had become bored with the repetitious speeches of the meetings had stayed. Church attendance was poor; only a handful attended most of the week-day morning and afternoon services. There were complaints that the sermons were too long. Sunday, however, was treated as a holiday. The church was well filled with people dressed in their best European-like clothing.

Through most of the Plateau Phase, there was a state of relaxed indifference in the religion of the *Newfela Fashion*. The content of religious services, in Bunai at least, where Samol did most of the preaching, was mild, political, and secular. The emphasis was on the prevalence of social sin. The identification of the *Newfela Fashion* with virtue and a failure to live by it with sin served not so much to impart a religious tone to village life as to secularize the religion. Sermons usually had much to say about *bighead* (arrogant stubbornness), adultery, and divorce. They were replete with invocations to "hear the talk." Toward the end of the Plateau Phase, the intensity and frequency of religious reference increased.

There were many indications of lapse of early, valued forms and of malfunctioning within the *Newfela Fashion*. Politically, the *Newfela Fashion* had introduced principles of organization that were without precedent either in the old culture or in the contact culture that had been organized politically by the Administration. The leaders were having difficulty in maintaining organization, coordination, morale, and the feeling of solidarity within the Movement and its new political units. They complained everywhere that their followers were *bighead*, they would not *hearim talk, all boy i go nabout nabout*. The villages were reverting to their earlier, more atomistic, and more individualistic form of organization. More and more young men were leaving the villages to work for the white men, in spite of the disapproval of the village leaders.

The Usiai were having even greater difficul-

ties than the Manus in these respects. The leaders were uneasy about the "post-revolutionary generation." A sizable group of their younger men were becoming uninterested in the Movement and insubordinate to their elders, which was also a reversion to the earlier pattern established in the contact culture. Insubordination of the younger men, though incompatible with the aspirations of the new society, had been expected of Usiai youth in the past. They have a song with the refrain *monkey belong Usiai no got ear belong em* (Usiai boys have no ears). A conspicuous group of these young men spent much of their time gambling, playing ukeleles and guitars, disrupting the composite village of Bunai with their indiscreet adulteries, disdaining the affairs of the *Newfela Fashion*, and rarely doing any work. These "minstrels" (as we came to call them) represented a conspicuous extreme of a common trend. They could point in their own defense to the widespread adulteries and gambling that relieved the boredom of the older men.

I can only mention here some of the many kinds of difficulties in which the *Newfela Fashion* found itself during the Plateau Phase. Some of these grew out of the *wait-council* period, during which all leaders found themselves in ambiguous positions of being *council* within the Movement, but with their offices lacking legitimacy. Their roles and the sanctions for their authority were poorly defined and subversive from the point of view of the government, although most government officers, after 1950, conveniently overlooked these assumptions of authority. Everything depended on the Movement members' keeping within the system. Anyone disgruntled at a decision made in a Movement court could complain to a government officer and possibly have those who heard the case arrested for holding illegal courts. Though this worried the village leaders, it was a useful check on the courts, which contributed in part to the general willingness to resort to them.

Throughout the Movement generally, within the official Council area as well as in the *wait-council* area, the prestige and efficacy of the leadership suffered some decline. Paliau's prestige had also waned somewhat. He had hoped that the Movement could be extended to include all the Admiralties. The Movement

failed to expand appreciably beyond the limits reached in the *Noise*. A few North Coast villages came into the Movement later, but they signified the limit of its spread until 1954. The Movement had been contained by the Administration, which had deliberately "clipped Paliau's wings," and by the missions which, after losing heavily to the Movement, worked to hold the rest of their converts against further defections. Paliau, who could have been occupied in using his talents for political organization, was instead confined to local duties within the Baluan Council where he was too domineering a presence not to become involved in numerous petty quarrels with the Mouks, who were rapidly attaining political maturity in the center of the Movement. A superabundance of capable leadership was crowded into an organization with too little scope for leadership. Paliau was unable to maintain the constant flow of innovation expected of him. His abilities at translating European concepts and program into the *Newfela Fashion* culture were used in the process of educating the Movement members in the use of the Council organization. But all this was considered as detail rather than as another major step toward the goal-culture. Paliau's conflicts with the Mouks were supported by the South Coast villages where his image as a leader was less worn by day-to-day familiarity, and where his occasional visits produced, at least briefly, a rallying of enthusiasm for the *Newfela Fashion*. But he was offering nothing new; instead he was reviewing, drilling, and censuring because everything that he had proposed years before had not been carried out.

With the decline in morale within the *Newfela Fashion*, the cohesion in the early enthusiasm of the Movement dissipated. One of the main problems of Bunai, a complex, composite village, was the maintenance of the "brotherhood" between the Manus and the Usiai. As the spirit of *maremare* waned, Usiai and Manus free exchange was commuted to a cash basis, with all the old quarrelsomeness of the traditional markets. Quarrels over land rights, dating back for generations, which had been submerged in the interests of unity within the *Newfela Fashion*, were reasserted and pressed to settlement. Manus contempt for the Usiai and their reciprocal hostility came more and more nakedly into the open. Factions in each hamlet threat-

ened a split. The Usiai employed the threat of withdrawal from the composite village as an effective sanction against the Manus.

A long series of symptomatic crises marked the loss of solidarity within the Movement. But there was no desire to abandon it. On the contrary, the obvious signs of decline were the source of the increasing concern that led eventually to the end of the Plateau Phase.

Many difficulties appeared in the economic functioning of the *Newfela Fashion*. The economic development of the Movement lagged behind the advances in social and political organization. The communalism of the early *Newfela Fashion* had not been maintained, though in the early period it appears to have worked well for a time. The failure of the *Newfela-Fashion* internal economic system was a part of the symptomatology of the period of low morale, with many indications that the system would emerge in altered form. From the first the Movement had been relatively deficient in program and means for an economic development that would make possible the approximation of the *Newfela Fashion* to a culture of increasingly more European type.

Paliau's plan for collecting the cash derived from war damages and the Americans had been carried out. The approximately £8000 he collected was taken into safekeeping by the Government, which suspected that he had simply appropriated this money for his own use. The Movement asked the Administration to buy a ship with the money, but the Administration discouraged such a purchase. The Movement members would have had little *cargo* for such a ship at their stage of development. Aside from this original collection of cash, the resources of the people for adding to it were meager. They had some sporadic income from collecting *Trochus* shell but, confined as they were to working the reefs that were traditionally theirs, the supply was small. The Usiai, who had little liking for the sea, particularly for diving near the reef, did not benefit at all from *Trochus*. Their supply of copra was negligible. The Usiai, who had relatively large tracts of land in the interior, had not yet begun to develop plantations of their own. Lack of transportation into the interior was one of the main difficulties in such a development. The Manus had hoped to find some way of converting their

skills at fishing into a cash income, but they had not progressed further than making a few individual experiments that did not involve the Movement as a whole. They had received little government aid for any of these possible lines of development. By acting as a direct marketing agent, and by-passing the trade stores, the government did enable them to get the highest prevailing prices on what copra and *Trochus* they had.

Paliau had told his followers that they would find their wealth in their waters and in their land. He himself was of little help in carrying such lines of economic development beyond their conception. Many among the Manus would have been able to take the lead in a fishing enterprise encouraged by the government. Their ideas seemed fairly realistic. They tried at first to smoke their surplus fish (in the traditional way, to a board-like state of temporary preservation) to supply the native labor market in Lorengau and at the Naval and Air Force bases. Kampo, among the Usiai, had ambitions and workable plans for starting large plantations that would rival those of the Europeans in size. His plans required a long period of extremely hard labor that would begin yielding an income in about 10 years. These plans generated little enthusiasm. Kampo and his followers believed that such a development would necessarily be a part of the Council and Cooperative program and that it would require government assistance. In the Organizational Phase, the people had accomplished most of what they conceived as being possible without the help of, or in spite of, the Australians. Now, despite their continued anti-Australian feelings and their lack of confidence that aid could be had from that source, the Movement had reached a point at which it depended on the Australians for further major development.

The Movement attempted to restrain its young men from going away to work for Europeans for any long period. The aim was to direct their energies into building within the Movement. Less explicitly the aim was to keep the authority of the Movement from suffering the effect of the attractive competitive alternatives of the *work-boy* world. Further, refusing to work for Europeans served as an expression of hostility to the Europeans, based on the conviction that natives were exploited and underpaid

when they worked for white men. But with the dissipation of the enthusiastic feeling of solidarity following the Organizational Phase, the number of men working outside the village increased. It was still probably much lower than at pre-war levels, for which we have no records. Some hamlets of Bunai and the village of Mbukey earned an appreciable amount of cash by agreeing, as a group, to handle the work of a nearby plantation. This arrangement was on a cash basis, unlike the older system of paying meager wages supplemented by food and tobacco rations to each individual. But such arrangements were not feasible for any considerable part of the manpower of the Movement villages.

The result both of this lack of economic development and of a source of cash commensurate with native desires for European goods was a frustrated realization that in many of the most tangible, and in some of the most fundamental, ways the natives were still close to where they had started in the contact culture. Many of their possessions, on which they had come to depend and to value over native materials, were derived from American war surplus. All these things (pressure lamps, tools, galvanized iron, gasoline drums, clothing) continued to break down, rust, and wear out. They did not have sufficient cash resources to replace these treasures of European material culture with their expensive equivalents in the trade stores. Moreover, as the extension of the Council actually approached, they became concerned about the source of the money for the new taxes and for a sufficiently large amount of money for shares to provide the capital for a cooperative. They began to realize that another of the most important symbols of the early Movement would have to be abandoned—the £8000 fund to buy them the ship that was to give them independent access to markets, to *cargo*, and to the outside world. This fund could not be touched without a painful sacrifice of early *Newfela-Fashion* values. They had placed it at the disposal of the Movement as a whole. They had told the government, which had wanted to redistribute it, that they, as individuals, had no further claim to it. They had told Paliau that he alone was to decide on the use of the money for the good of the Movement as a whole. In 1953, with much embarrassment, they reversed themselves.

One other aspect of Paliau's initial plan for the *Newfela Fashion* was that the ecological specialization of Manus, Usiai, and Matankor was to cease. Each was to have a mixed economy. The Usiai and Matankor were to give land to the Manus, who were to learn to maintain their own gardens. The Usiai were to learn to build and use canoes to supplement their gardening with fishing. These changes would be necessary if Paliau's idea about eliminating the differences between the three groups was to succeed. All were to be Manus. Nothing more was to be heard of the words "Usiai" and "Matankor." However, after a few initial reluctant attempts to overcome their aversion to handling earth (let alone working with it), the Manus abandoned their gardens, with the exception of Samol, the leader of Bunai, who maintained his conspicuously. The Usiai, on the other hand, went further in the direction indicated for them than they or the Manus had expected. While they did not manifest the skill and ease of the Manus in canoes, they did overcome their fear of and aversion to the sea sufficiently to learn to handle canoes and to maintain and to build them. They began to supplement their diets with the yield of the simple forms of fishing in the lagoon, carried on mainly by older men, and women, and children. They used their canoes to travel along the coast and up the river part way to their gardens in the interior. The effect of Usiai acculturation to the Manus specialties and of the Manus failure to adopt the less prestigious, and (for them) distasteful, Usiai fishing produced an imbalance in the new system that was to the disadvantage of the Manus. The Usiai became less dependent on the Manus, while the Manus were as dependent on them as before. It seemed unlikely that the Manus would reverse themselves to learn gardening, while the Usiai continued to acquire the necessary skills for using the sea-going canoe. The system of communal exchange between the two groups within the Movement (Manus and Usiai on the South Coast) collapsed and was replaced by trade or cash payment between individuals. The Manus of other villages that had not joined with Usiai to form composite villages continued to trade at regular markets with non-Movement Usiai. Much of the Manus-Usiai conflict of the Plateau Phase related to this new imbalance, with the Usiai using their improved position to press for a

more equal share of prestige and respect within the Movement.

Further difficulties in the *Newfela Fashion* in the Plateau Phase involved the relations of the Movement to the Administration and the outside world. The Movement was encumbered by a not wholly inappropriate but practically maladaptive anti-Australianism. Many natives were extremely suspicious of the motives of Europeans. None was completely free of this suspicion. Another group, including many of the leaders of the Movement, and notably Paliau himself, was capable of discriminating among European acts and individuals. They commonly thought of the "government" almost apart from the particular officers of that government and could displace freely from one to the other. Within the Movement distrust and rejection of the missions were almost universal, though some of the Manus of Mouk seemed ready to return to the Catholic mission. This possibility of backsliding by the Mouks was frequently condemned by the leaders of other villages.

The people of the Movement still felt that they were being isolated and deliberately suppressed by the Administration. The Adminis-

tration's introduction of the Council to only half of the Movement area, its fear of the Movement as incipient nationalism, vaguely subversive, and its dislike for Paliau served to check the development and spread of the Movement, engendering further suspicion and hostility. Most of the burden of maintaining friendly contact between the Movement and the Administration was borne by the Assistant District Officer in charge of the Council on Baluan.

The Movement was for a time too isolated. It was set apart from the rest of the native population of Manus. It was denied the recognition and sponsorship of the Administration (since the Movement was far from being coincidental with the Council), and it was isolated from access to that outside world of which it wished to be a part.

The Second Cult emerged from the Plateau Phase. Its occurrence, in conflict with the Movement, and the final extension of the Council to the South Coast terminated the Plateau Phase and drift in the Movement and its *Newfela Fashion*. The overlapping end of the Plateau Phase is considered in the tracing of the emergence of the Second Cult in the next section.

PART 2. FIELD STUDY OF THE SECOND CULT PHASE

HOW WE BECAME AWARE OF AND GAINED ACCESS TO THE SECOND CULT

ON MARCH 27, 1954, after we had been in Manus for eight months, we experienced a profound shock. After months of work on the reconstruction of the Cargo Cult of 1947, we suddenly discovered that we were in the midst of another such cult, in many respects a re-enactment of the earlier cult which we had been regarding as past history. Furthermore, we learned abruptly that the village in which we had been living since June, 1953, in the belief that we had excellent rapport and that we had a fairly good picture of all that was really important in its present life and culture, was in the throes of the greatest crisis of its eight-year history. We were witnessing, finally, not the beginnings of this Second Cult, but its climax. The Cult itself had been in existence for more than a year.

From the beginning we had approached the subject of the First Cult somewhat cautiously. Our informants also took the same attitude, glossing over the 1947 Cult episode, dismissing it as of little importance or as a temporary aberration that had come and gone in a day, leaving no remnant. Occasionally in oblique and mystical reference our informants implied, in contradiction, that the *Noise* was the basis for all that happened subsequently. We allowed the picture of the *Noise* to emerge without much pressure of direct inquiry while we became more and more a part of the lives of our informants, studying the old culture, kinship, language, and so on. But they, as surely as we, were approaching the subject. In Peri, Mead had collected much pertinent material, while we, in Bunai, had begun to break into the whole range of untouchable subjects through the uninhibited interviews offered by Pita Tapo about the Usiai *Noise*.

During the period of the first eruption of a new volcano (see p. 305) Mead had picked up the tone of the Second Cult early in her stay in Peri, particularly in the statements and behavior of Prenis Tjolai. She felt that there was a latent irrational potential which should not be stimulated by direct probing. She felt from the first a strong moral commitment to the strengths of the Movement and a sense of responsibility in a situation in which our own

interests and position could be very influential. She did not wish to stir up an irrational and destructive element that she believed to be present. She did not have specific knowledge of the Second Cult. The people of Peri Village, only a few of whom were explicitly committed to the Second Cult, consciously and carefully excluded her from knowledge of the Cult, which they did not approve of and which was not a part of the image they wanted the world to have of them. In Bunai, also, we were successfully excluded for eight months, even by those informants who were closest to us as well as by those who were giving us reliable information on the First Cult, always emphasizing that the latter was ancient history.

Although we were unaware of it, part of the difficulty in eliciting accounts of the First Cult arose because much that we sought was not actually dead in the past, however recent, but was part of a still-thriving ideology concealed from Europeans who had denounced it in its earlier appearance as madness and subversion.

On November 29, 1953, the Bunai young men who worked for the manager of Nropwa plantation mentioned to me that they were going to a big feast on Johnston Island. They spoke of a fabulous amount being spent on food and that there would be several days of gambling, dancing, and feasting. Asked about the occasion for the feast, they were vague, saying it was for a dead man. I had never visited this tiny island with its Manus village. I was puzzled, because we had not heard previously of so large an undertaking in a Manus village, and also by the description of the nature of the feast. Equally puzzling were the attempts that were made to dissuade me from going, such as my being told that the sea was too rough for my small canoe, which was contrary to the opinion of my own boat's crew, in whose judgment I had well-justified confidence. Two other canoes from my village also went, one before and one after mine. In Peri I learned that a canoe with the teacher, Prenis Tjolai, and the school boys had gone a few days earlier.

The peculiarities of the situation continued. I arrived on Johnston Island at night, to find the Peri school boys and others of their age

dancing to ukeleles. The dancing, which continued for the next few days, differed from all other dances that I had seen previously or witnessed afterward. Everyone danced as if it were a solemn duty. There was none of the usual joking or horseplay, none of the shouts from the musicians, none of the attempts to vary the monotonously similar songs and dances. I could walk around the entire island within 20 minutes; yet, despite my persistent attempts, I was never successful in finding the *council*, Kisakiu.¹ Whenever I asked for him in the village, I was told he was on the other side of the island. The *luluai* told me that the feast was merely to celebrate the completion of a new graveyard on which they had all worked very hard. They had decided to call all their relatives from other Manus villages to attend it. That was all there was to it.

I had no reason to doubt him. I saw and photographed the new *matmat* (graveyard). It was really impressive by Manus standards. The sun was reflected glaringly from the freshly laid cover of clean white coral sand. It had a kind of regularity that graveyards not "planted" all at once, as was this one, cannot have. Each grave in the perfect lines of graves was marked by a cross, with the name of the deceased and the date of death, when known, carved on it. The *matmat* was enclosed by a fence painted with white lime, which would have to be constantly renewed as the rain washed it off. At each end was a large wooden cross. On one side two gates side by side, with a large wooden cross between them, were replicas of those each of the villages had erected when they were first built in their new locations. These older gates were still standing, broken and decaying. I had yet to learn in subsequent interviews about their full symbolic reference. I was told that one had to go in through the right gate, then proceed around the graveyard counterclockwise before leaving by the left gate. A similar gate had been newly erected or repaired at the entrance to the village.

I attended church services and a meeting before I left Johnston Island. The only differences between them and those that I had attended in Bunai and Peri were that the church had, as far as I could see, nearly 100 per cent

attendance, while the meeting, also heavily attended though its contents were trivial, was preceded by a half hour of singing of the songs that had been important in the ritualized *New-fela Fashion* of the early post-Cult phase of the Movement. I did not learn until long afterward that I had been in the propagating center of a new cult and that this feast, among other things, was held to honor the ghostly *teacher* of the village. All the visitors from other villages, including Peri and Bunai, had come to attend in the nightly seances about which I was kept in ignorance. I could register only that Johnston Island was more conservative in preserving the tone and much of the specific content and practice of the early Movement. Two of my closest informants, John Kilepak and Johannes Lokes, who had come with me as my boat's crew, did not mention the Cult, though they had had full knowledge of it for more than a year and were aware of what was happening while we were on the island.

As far as could be observed, the Johnston Island graveyard was admired by people from other villages, leading them to call for new *matmats* in their own villages. In Bunai, the subject was raised by Tjamilo during December of 1953. At this time he wanted the old cemetery refurbished, which would involve cutting the coconut palms that grew there. Samol, the head of Bunai, opposed the idea, based on his knowledge of the cult context, while I wondered at the extent of the conflict. Tjamilo, with a few who supported him, cut the palms when Samol was absent from the village and made plans to build a fence and gates. Later, in Peri, as Mead's canoe moved off into the distance, taking her toward home, I noticed an old man of Bunai digging a skeleton out of the beach near the water's edge. He said that it was the skeleton of his brother, pointing out how well preserved the skull was after the years of smoking it had received when it had hung in a bowl in his house as his guardian ghost. Tjamilo had called for a gathering of the remains of the dead who had been buried in scattered beach graves near the old villages.

A few days later in Bunai, when many villagers were about to leave for Baluan to spend Christmas, Tjamilo was ready to lead his first re-burial procession. Eight skeletons had been collected, including the skeleton of Tjamilo's father. Each had been cleaned, wrapped in new

¹ *Council* Kisakiu of Johnston Island, not *council* Kisakiu of Tawi.

cloth, and carefully arranged in a wooden box. The villagers did not hesitate to show me the skulls and showed no particular reverence or respect in handling the bones. They became as interested as I in examining the skulls closely and spoke freely of the deceased. When everything was ready, Tjamilo formed a procession to march the length of the village from the church and through the Usiai section (only Manus were involved) to the graveyard. All the participants, some 30 adults and as many children, were dressed in their best clothing. Crosses made for each grave were carried in the lead. The children carried bunches of decorative green leaves. Tjamilo carried the Australian flag. Before they started, he told me that they were going to sing a song that I would not know—"a song belonging to all black men." They sang this song, "John Brown's Body," all the way to the graveyard. I had heard the song several times before and thought it was just one of the songs that they had learned from the Americans, together with "Lay That Pistol Down." Talk of rebuilding the graveyard was interrupted by the general exodus from the village of people who were going to Baluan for Christmas.

In many respects the Baluan trip was the turning point in the field trip for us. During the 10 days we spent there, we entered into a close relation with Paliau. He allowed us to subject him to a series of psychological tests, helped with a brief inquiry into the old Baluan culture of which he had considerable knowledge (considering the amount of time he spent escaping it as a youth), and finally he delivered a marathon autobiography, dictating continuously for almost 10 hours throughout a night. This performance was typical of the stories told of him in the early part of Movement, when he was said to have slept little and to have held extremely long meetings. In addition to this work directly with Paliau, I was able to attend all the meetings he held with his leaders when I was accepted as "inside." Paliau made statements to his leaders when I was not present to the effect that he had told me everything during his all-night session, that there were no longer any secrets from me, which was by no means true. He had been quite selective, but his statements helped to give me access to the Cult.

Another event on Baluan was to affect our participation. One morning, while we walked

along the road toward the house of the Assistant District Officer, we noticed a white man bathing in the shallow water near the beach. We said "Good morning" and were answered. We thought little of it, though it was an odd place and time for a European to be bathing. But a sight-seeing boat with Australian naval personnel had been there the day before, while another was due on this day. When we mentioned the European to the Assistant District Officer, he said that there should be no white men on the island other than his family and ourselves, unless this fellow had stayed over-night somewhere on the island, which did not seem likely. He sent the native constable out to find him. The constable returned saying that there was no such person on the island, but that he had warned everyone to search for him. Another boatload of sightseers arrived later, but nothing more was seen of our bather. We dismissed the incident with our usual assumption that there was some natural explanation, even if we did not know what it was. The natives, however, continued to search and to speculate. Paliau, while taking a Mosaic test, suggested to Lenora Schwartz that perhaps we had seen an angel. That evening a new explanation was offered and acted upon by the councillors. It had been decided that the man was an Australian from the Air Force who had been sent to kill us because we were now "inside" with the natives and because the Australians were jealous and afraid of us. A guard of 10 *councils*, with kerosene pressure lamps, was posted around the house, while others continued to search the island. We protested, but not too vigorously. I had learned that when I tried to change their opinions on highly charged subjects connected with the *Newfela Fashion*, I alienated them as informants. If I expressed disapproval or disagreement concerning a subject, it was not discussed with me again.

By the next morning the exhausted men who had kept vigils throughout the night reported that no one had been seen. Although another explanation for the man on the beach was later found and accepted by the natives, the idea that we had to be guarded against the Australians because we were "*inside long all native*" recurred at every visit of Australians to the village (with the exception of the Landmans who were trusted to this extent) and even at one time when a plane flew low over our village. It

was not until March, when the secrets of the Second Cult were revealed to us, that we learned that, while we were on Baluan, many others who had been attracted to the Cult were spending Christmas on Johnston Island about 10 miles away. There, in a seance just before Christmas, the tutelary ghost of the Cult had prophesied that Christ would appear on Baluan that Christmas. When this news reached Baluan after Christmas, the whole episode became clear. We had been the only ones who had seen Christ. We were assured that had we been closer we would have seen the marks of the stigmata on His hands. We did not learn of this, however, until after other events led us just as accidentally into the Second Cult.

Upon our return from Baluan, a number of informants volunteered to tell us all about the *Noise*. Because we were Americans, they had wanted to tell us and to ask us about it for a long time, but they had been afraid until Paliau had reassured them. A group of four men came every night for a week to dictate their stories: Tjamilo, Talimelion, Kanawi, and Kisekup. These were the four *committee* of the Manus section of Bunai. They said that Tjamilo knew and remembered more about it than anyone else. Much of the content of these interviews is presented above in the section on the First Cult. A succession of other informants, Manus, Usiai, and people from other villages, followed.

Throughout this period of intensive work on the First Cult, talk of building a new *matmat* continued at meetings. Tjamilo began to receive the support of a few of the younger men—among them Pwatjumel, a brother-in-law of Samol, and usually his close supporter. Pwatjumel had a dream in which he saw a graveyard set up as it should be. His drawing of it showed it to be a close replica of the one on Johnston Island which he had heard about, but had not visited.

On February 26, 1954, a few days before I was to leave for a trip into the interior, another event occurred which gave me a chance to observe something that I had heard described several times but that was now to be fully enacted for me, a death and resurrection. In the morning I was called to see Ponram, an old man of Yiru. His son, who came for me, said his father was dead. In the excitement it was not clear whether he meant *die*, in which case his father may merely have lost consciousness, or

die finish, which would mean that he was dead. He was described as having gone through violent convulsions, but now *meat belong em i die altogether, all rope belong em i slack*—he was in a completely limp coma. As I hurried there, I thought it must be cerebral malaria. We had seen several deaths from this disease. I told them to send for the *doctor boy* (the Native Medical Assistant) who was stationed in the village. Ponram was unconscious, and saliva was running down from his lips. The *doctor boy* began to give him intravenous quinine. Almost instantly Ponram began to show signs of life, making chewing motions with his mouth. I dismissed the idea of malaria when I noticed that his temperature and pulse were normal. He began to chew a betel nut placed in his mouth.

The house was crowded with people. Something seemed to be expected. Ponram was being supported from behind by one of his six grown sons. Several of the old men and women of the hamlet were grouped around him, among them his wife, and Sayau Bombowai, the *committee* from Katin. Ponram's eyes were open, staring vacantly; his tongue lolled out. No one spoke or wailed. Everyone stared at him intently. Occasionally he made protracted, empty *aaaaaaa* sounds, seemingly involuntary vocalizations. His body seemed relaxed. He made sudden, but not spasmodic, random movements. His muscle tonus seemed normal. While his limbs were moving in this random manner, the one into which the Medical Assistant was injecting quinine was perfectly still. He made a motion with one hand which was interpreted by his sons as a request for another betel nut. Such was the beginning of several hours of communication with gestures as he came more and more to a normal state. His eyes began to focus on people or objects. He seemed dazed. For a while he stared at his hand. Someone made a commotion in the crowd, provoking immediate shouts of "*iiiish*, quiet," from all over the room. The house was still filling up as word got around. As I began to understand what was happening, I started taking a series of photographs (Pl. 18).

After repeatedly opening and closing his hand, he counted his fingers. The *doctor boy* explained that he was counting his sons. Another added that he was calling for those sons who were on Nropwa. Sayau Bombowai, the old former *luluai*, did most of the translating, with suggestions from others in the crowd. Pantret,

the *council* of Lowaja, had come close to me to translate for me. Sayau Bombowai began to question Ponram, using gestures like those Ponram was using which were much like those used by the deaf mute of this hamlet. Ponram was sitting up now, gesturing more vigorously and dramatically. Everyone seemed to know just what was happening, what to do, how to translate, as if they had experienced it all before. Sometimes Ponram would repeat a gesture until someone in the audience caught on and interpreted it aloud. Then Ponram would turn toward that person and smile. More than anything else it resembled the parlor game of charades. Stretching his arms over his head he indicated that he had been to Heaven. He had died as a punishment for his wrongdoing and had been brought to God. Now he had been sent back to tell of many things that had been revealed to him. He began to recite, with gestures, all the sins that he had ever committed for which he had been punished. He had beaten his wife and children repeatedly; he had stolen as a child. He indicated that his son, Poteri, should stand up, then acted out that one woman should not have two men. (Poteri was living with a woman in the same house with her aged husband, with the husband's consent.) Then Ponram spoke in gestures against divorce. He continued to pronounce against all the things so often condemned in the *Newfela Fashion*. Although all this had been heard by everyone almost daily since the start of the Movement, it was now given again as direct revelation and listened to with the utmost intensity. He handed a shirt to two of his sons, instructing them to suspend it between them while he pretended to write on it. He was totally illiterate. As he wrote he shook his head approvingly. He next mentioned some of the people that he had seen in Heaven. Understanding the meaning of his mute acting depended upon the crowd's trial-and-error guesses and their familiarity with the plot. He pantomimed the act of putting on trousers which was translated as "I am an old man. I wear trousers and a shirt, while you young men wear *laplaps*." He was actually wearing a *laplap*. He called for an enamel plate, showed that it was clean, and beamed his approval. He made motions as if eating with a spoon, indicating that this is good. He called for an old wooden bowl, threw it to

the floor—this was bad, this represented the past.

By this time Ponram seemed fully awake and fully alert, thoroughly enjoying being the center of attention. As his consciousness seemed to return he began to whistle as an accompaniment to his gestures. The whistles were like those that had been demonstrated for me as the way the mediums sounded in the seances of the old religion. Continuing the exposition of his revelation, he kept looking about for props. He picked up a taro, took several bites, spitting each out in disgust. This kind of food was no good. Then he took up the enamel plate again in approval—only European foods were good. He took hold of the nipple of his breast, shaking his head approvingly, then again spit out taro, which was translated as "the habit of women of feeding children with pre-masticated taro is no good, they should feed them with the breast alone. The taro and sago are fit only for pigs and dogs." For each point in a long list of contrasts, there were exclamations from the crowd of "true," or *nru konan* in his Usiai language.

The audience was more relaxed at this point and occasionally amused by his pantomimes. He continued to condemn all things native and to praise all things European. He listed again everything he had done that was wrong (omitting several recent misdeeds for which he had been brought to court). He tore a piece of newspaper for each sin, then gave all the slips to the *doctor boy*. He began to use me as a prop. He pointed to my watch, making the *plenty, plenty* gesture typical of the village deaf mute when he described the wealth of the American army during the war.

Ponram no longer held the undivided attention of the audience, but he recaptured it when he began to construct a model of the gate to Heaven out of firewood. Here the Johnston Island cemetery came into the foreground again. Ponram said that he had been told to return to urge the building of the new cemetery for Bunai. The door that he built had a turnstile in it, such as each village had had during the early part of the Movement. The cross bars of the turnstile were called the Star, symbolic of Heaven. When this was finished he seemed to run out of ideas and repeated much of what he had already done. As a variation he called for his wife, whom he had just confessed to beat-

ing. He had her sit beside him. Taking the plate, he pretended to feed her with a spoon. Then he raised a cup to her lips, giving her tea while she very seriously pretended to eat and sip. This was the *Newfela-Fashion* model for the husband and wife, sitting together to eat as Europeans do. As the repetitious lecture continued, he again lost the attention of the crowd. Then he began to make noises with his mouth, as if speech were returning. The crowd again closed in around him, eager and expectant, as if they knew what was coming. He began to speak very rapidly in his Usiai dialect. His voice was a high-pitched falsetto. He repeated orally everything that had previously been acted out in gesture. His discourse took on the highly stylized form for *Newfela-Fashion* speeches. He recited long lists of formulas for all the virtues and vices approved or condemned in the *Newfela Fashion*. At last, at about 2:30 in the afternoon, he lay back exhausted. The crowd dispersed.

Word of Ponram's death, vision, and resurrection had spread through the village. Shortly thereafter, an account of the incident was given to the meeting on Baluan and to other South Coast meetings.

Ponram's death and resurrection were used in meetings for months afterward and were cited as warnings to skeptics. Kampo of Lahan said in a speech, in which he berated the rank and file for their laxity and *bighead*, that those skeptics who said that they wanted to see Christ with their own eyes and hear Him with their own ears should look at Ponram and be convinced, or else be taken to see Christ as he had been taken and probably not return.

Ponram's resurrection helped to clarify and co-ordinate unrelated events that I had observed or heard of. In going through a journal written by Kampo of Lahan dealing with outstanding events in which he had figured since the move to the beach, I found an entry for September 17, 1949, which I summarize as follows.

Kampo had quarreled with his wife, Nam-buleo. The following day they went to present their grievances against each other to the government officer at Patusi Patrol Post. When they stopped to rest at a house on their way back to Bunai, she suddenly collapsed, seemingly lifeless. Not until the following morning

when in her own village did she regain consciousness, though she could neither hear nor speak. Her eyes were closed but she ate, smoked, and walked about outside. She did not return to normal for two more days. Toward the end of her seizure she was able to tell that she had died and her *thinkthink* had gone to Heaven. When she came out of the house, she looked to the interior of the island, noting how rough and hilly the terrain was, and said that all this was no good. In Heaven the ground was perfectly flat, with a long, broad, clear road. All the houses were in perfect lines. There was no hard work in carrying things. Anything you wanted, you had only to think and it was there. It was not even necessary to eat; if you wanted food, you just thought and your belly was filled. You had only to think and you were sitting in a car. You didn't have to climb into it. She saw people that she knew who had died. When she wanted to shake their hands, they said, "Wait, you go straight to God first." When she saw God, He wasn't sitting on something, He was just there. God asked her, "What did you come here for?" She said, "I don't know." God told her: "You must go back. You must change your ways, your stubbornness, your lying, your disobedience. If you don't I will bring you back here for good." Then she saw her mother, father, and sister. She shook hands with them, then returned. Kampo added that Sayau Bombowai's wife had died and returned shortly before his own wife's experience. He said: "It was like what had happened to many people during the *Noise*. It happens occasionally as a warning to men."

Two months before Ponram's resurrection, we had been involved in another event that we did not fully understand and that we had taken literally. Another old Usiai of Yiru, Jakob, had been fishing in the shallow lagoon at night. We were called to see him when he was reported to be dying from the bite of a poisonous sea creature. His condition was roughly like that of Ponram, a limp paralysis with the loss of speech and hearing, with gradual recovery within the next hour. We were told that a snake had bitten him. Later he said it had been a crab, though it had not broken the skin. His philosophizing during the coming-out period was carefully and sympathetically attended by a house full of spectators. He was convinced he was dy-

ing, that his "neck was fast"; he could neither eat nor drink. He spoke at first with his hands, later in a garbled weak speech. He went through the *Newfela-Fashion* repertoire. His particular emphasis was on cautioning about the dangers of the sea. He said that the children should not be allowed to go into the water. His total recovery took about the same time as Ponram's, with careful nurturing by his children who spoon-fed him. For some time afterward he was treated with unusual respect.

Jakob elicited much less response than Ponram. He was correspondingly less transformed by his experience than was Ponram, in whom the ready response of his audience produced a quick expansion of his personality as he moved into the role of the righteous which was, for him, a novel guise. Both he and Jakob were known as trouble makers. Ponram had recently been brought into court for urging his sons to thrash the husband of his adopted daughter. Similarly Jakob had instigated a quarrel that almost split his hamlet. Ponram had always worn a *laplap* until he began to wear European clothing after his "death." He attended meetings, where his pious but totally unoriginal speeches were received with respect. Ponram lent his moral weight to the *matmat* project. His "death" and the form of the revelation as well as the extent of the interest in it, were a part of the developing Cult of which I was still unaware. I regarded these happenings as interesting but unarticulated persistences of the earlier Cult. They increased my awareness of the continued vitality of the earlier Cult beliefs and of the degree to which they had become an accepted part of native Christianity.

I left Bunai on a trip to Nrano, an Usiai village in the interior. Before I went inland from Patusi, I spent a day there attempting to reconstruct the Patusi experience of the *Noise*. While there I noticed the open hostility between the Manus of Patusi and the two Usiai villages that had made their settlements contiguous to Patusi.

In Nrano I observed several of the ceremonies of exchange characteristic of the old Admiralty cultures still being enacted by the older men of the village before the uninterested eyes of the younger men. These were the *stink fashion belong before* that I had been warned against when I left Bunai. The men of Nrano jeered the Bunai Usiai who were with me, calling them "Manus."

My companions were quietly contemptuous. The Usiai who were with me were Pondis, the young *council* of Malei, and several younger boys from Malei, Yiru, and Lowaja. We became very friendly in the course of the trip, a closeness that persisted for some time afterward, until the Cult climax alienated them almost completely.

After my return from Nrano, there was a noticeable change in the atmosphere of the village. Rapport with some parts of the village and some individuals had suddenly almost disappeared. We were no longer called to meetings in the Usiai section. There was a feeling of tension in the village. Conflict between Samol, Tjamilo, and some of the Usiai leaders had sharpened. Throughout this period I continued to work on the reconstruction of the 1947 *Noise*. Our current notes for this period are full of threads belonging to the developing fabric of the cult and its opposition. Seemingly without unusual provocation, the *kibungs* (meetings) were now full of highly emotional, religious speeches about decline in morale, morals, and political cohesion. The building of a graveyard, which seemed no extraordinary project, was over-rationalized and backed by every conceivable sanction. Speeches condemning the laxity of the people in not heeding the leaders, not responding to the sounding of the gongs, not attending church, or neglecting their houses were mixed with increasing allusions to the golden years just after 1946 when things had been done properly. The "Long Story of God," which during most of our stay had scarcely entered into the church sermons, began to recur in open meetings.

The demoralization of which they spoke was real. Everyone was saying the place was *i wrong finish*. A visit from the Council officer had brought another indefinite postponement of the Council. A fund shortage had recently been revealed, showing how the leaders had compromised themselves.

A recent *kibung* of the South Coast leaders called to discuss the disposition of the funds that had been collected in the early part of the Movement had led to a show of particularism reversing the early position of the Movement. When the money had originally been collected in 1947-1950, each village had agreed that it would not ask for the return of its contribution. The fund was placed at Paliau's disposal to buy

whatever he thought best for the Movement. Later it had been decided that the money would be used to buy a ship. The government had tried to persuade each village to redistribute the money to each donor, but the idea had been resisted for years. Now, at this areal meeting, one after another of the leaders said they had been instructed by their villages to ask that the money be distributed. Samol favored the redistribution. Bunai had a particularly large share of this money. Samol and his "father," Kisekup, had contributed almost enough money for Samol to repay the money he held for the village that he had lost in gambling. Tjamilo and a few others objected to dispersing the fund, argued for the ship, and sought also to embarrass the leaders.

Paliau's prestige was also at stake. His opponents on Mouk were urging the villages within the Movement to be more independent of Paliau. In a speech one Mouk man said that when the money was entrusted to Paliau they were all like children; now they were grown up and no longer needed the same kind of leadership. The decision to allow Paliau to decide on the disposition of the money prevailed, only to be met with his refusal to make the decision for them. The question was not resolved for the time being. This period, on the eve of the coming of the Council, marks the culmination of the Plateau Phase of the Movement and represents a sharp drop in momentum and morale just prior to a new energization.

I noted the emotional tone of this period. I saw Tjamilo and some of the Usiai become more excited, and more hostile and more reserved with me almost overnight. Kampo of Lahan, on the other hand, seemed disturbed and full of conflicts. A speech at a meeting on March 4, 1954, which I recorded verbatim without understanding exactly to what he was addressing himself contained the following passage:

We must take good care of the dead. Jesus has spoken. Eventually they will all arise. All our people whom we have lost, do you think you will see them? The *Master* and *Missis* [T. S. and L. S.] they will outlive all of us. They will grow old and we will die. You must look out good for all the men who have died. Make a fence, a cemetery. With them [the dead] also it is the same. They cry to us about all our bad ways. "Now we want to come to you. We already have attained the good life. We want to arise again, but you block our path with your evil ways." God is very close to us. To whoever is skept-

tical [*bighead*] He will make a sign so that you will see Him truly. You are in error over this road where-by Jesus died and then arose again. We talk all the time about material things [*something belong meat belong you-me*], but some of the time we must think about God who made us.

Of all the open-meeting speeches of this period, this one contained the most overt references to the beliefs of the developing Cult in the return of the dead. Kampo was unaccountably depressed and withdrawn during this month. He spent much time with us and became absorbed in a set of carvings he was making for us. His ambivalent position did not become clear until later.

The speeches were full of the phrase, "We must return to the ways of 1946." The ever more apparent hostility between the Manus and the Usiai was matched by the more frequent speeches about brotherhood—the principle of *maremare* (compassion and communalism). In a way that I did not fully understand, the Manus were under attack by the Usiai. Many among the Manus fell into the spirit of the moment with speeches about brotherhood, supporting the idea that the village was full of bad feelings that should be exorcised. These were ideas of which no one could or did disapprove. Kisekup, too, joined in the speeches. Samol was absent from the village for a time. The Usiai, more aggressive at meetings than usual, pressed the advantage of their position in the new moral revival. They called for a rectification of the grievance that above all was disturbing their *thinkthink*—the question of the ownership of the land on which the village was situated.

Some background to this situation is needed. This land had been claimed by the Manus of Tjalalo, Nropwa, and Pomatjau. The Usiai of Pwa and Lesei, once autonomous villages that had been incorporated into Lowaja, had long contested the Manus claim to this land before district officer after district officer—German, Australian, and Japanese. In each case, Kisekup, the paramount *luluai* for the region, who was the expert in such matters and who previously had been more highly skilled than any Usiai leader at dealing with Administration officers, successfully maintained the Manus claim, even though the Manus admitted to themselves and to the Usiai that it was really Usiai land.

The land ownership question is complex. The

Manus were wont to gather coconuts, sago, and forest materials from the area, but the feeling was that it was rightfully Usiai. In the eyes of the government, however, the Manus owned it. When the Usiai moved to the beach, the Manus had welcomed them, permitting them use of the land. The Manus in this case had been the *man belong ground* and were in the stronger and more secure position. Just the reverse was the situation of the Mouks who had moved ashore on Baluan Island onto Lipan ground. In the emphasized communalism of the Movement, while use of land or other resources was to be freely granted, there was no question of any change in ownership. Now the Usiai, with the Manus in a position of heightened righteousness, demanded that the Manus rectify their false claim to the land and, in the spirit of brotherhood, declare themselves once more landless.

The Manus did not try to retreat from their position. In the name of the *Newfela Fashion* Kisekup and the other elders who claimed the land of their lineages conceded Usiai ownership. The Manus said that it did not really matter, that since the beginning of the Movement they had had no thought of individual or group land ownership within the Movement. The Usiai also said that it did not matter, that they also had no thought of exclusive ownership, but they wanted the Manus concession of Usiai ownership entered in the books of the government as soon as possible. A mass hand-shaking ceremony was held, more formal than that which had followed a near fight earlier between the Usiai and Manus. The Usiai formed into two long lines in order of size, from the adults down to the smallest children who could stand alone. The Manus formed one long line, which moved along the front line of Usiai, then turned and went back down the second until each Manus had shaken the hand of each Usiai man, woman, and child.

In the changed tone of the meetings I noticed also an increased use of long distributive formulas of address in the speeches. As an extreme example, a speaker addressed his speech to "you, all children, women, men, mother, father, brother, sister, young men, young women, old men, old women, you altogether, you must listen." Great emphasis was placed on equality and on universal participation. Finally, in a concluding speech, Popu of

Lowaja reviewed the history of the Movement to the effect that in 1946 everything had been right while now everything was wrong. He said that 1950 had been the turning point when things had begun to work out badly and attributed the lapse from the purity of 1946 to fear of the white men who wanted to "down" the Movement, particularly to one or two *kiaps* (district officers) who had made it their mission to break the Paliau Movement. Just as 1946 had become the conventionally accepted date for the beginning of all things referring to the period several months preceding the *Noise* (and in the usage of many also referring to events of the *Noise* and the post-*Noise* period of the Movement up to 1949), 1950 became the accepted date for the "Fall." The discourses describing this "Fall" parallel descriptions of the Fall of Adam and Eve from grace.

There is scarcely an entry in our notes for the months of February and March that does not fall into place within the Cult context. The Cult was being kept secret not only from us, but from others within the Movement who were being excluded. Most of the latter had not yet expressed opposition to it, though it was expected of them. Others who desired inclusion were also being excluded. Much of the increased activity of Tjamilo and the sharpening of his conflict with Samol were aimed at gaining leadership in the Cult.

As in the beginnings of the Paliau Movement, secrecy and exclusion were employed in the recruiting for the Cult. As the secrecy became more conspicuous, the Cult finally became visible to us, although more explicit knowledge of it and access to it still depended on a series of accidents that we exploited. Such accidents were by this time almost inevitable. Our role as an essential audience continued. We were needed by the Cult.

Meanwhile I had intensified my study of the older Usiai culture, which depended upon reconstruction, as the Usiai had not been studied to any extent by Mead and Fortune. I had been tape recording narrations of past events by the oldest men. Now I began to have difficulty in getting informants. Several men from Lowaja whom I expected failed repeatedly to appear. When I went to Lowaja I happened into a meeting that was being held in the house farthest from the road. Everyone in the hamlet seemed crowded into that house. My presence

seemed embarrassing. The men whom I had been seeking promised to come to my house, but did not come. On the road, men with whom I had had the closest relationships turned their eyes away. Among them was Popu of Lowaja, my main Usiai informant, and Pondis of Malei who had accompanied me on my expedition into the interior and who had previously spent a great deal of time in my house.

The grievance-settling meetings between the Manus and Usiai, in which the Manus had made every concession asked of them, were followed now by an increase in hostility, though there was a cross-cutting of Manus-Usiai lines that did not yet make sense.

On March 22, 1954, we were suddenly aware of the reasons for the changes we had observed. I had planned to continue in the evening my tape recording of Usiai ethnographic texts. My informants had again failed to appear. On a brilliantly moonlit night I walked to Lahan to look for them. A meeting was in progress, with Kampo addressing visitors from the North Coast Usiai village of Lowa. He had just returned from a week in the interior to find himself excluded from the sort of meetings that I had encountered in Lowaja. Now, as I sat and listened, he was making long tutorial speeches about the principles of the *Newfela Fashion* to these people who had heard it all innumerable times. He was saying over and over, "There is nothing that just materializes; everything comes from hard work." Going on to Lowaja, I could find none of my informants. Returning near midnight through Malei hamlet, which was near our house, I noticed that everybody was

still awake, fully dressed in their best clothing. In our house I found the adolescent, Kampo Monrai of Malei, working with Lenora Schwartz, who was very excited by what she was hearing. Earlier she had walked out to Malei, when Kampo Monrai came up to her on the road. He asked her, "Did you hear the whistles?" in a voice that made her answer "Yes" instead of "What whistles?" It was the *mark* on Malei, he said. All through the previous night and this night the whistling of the dead was everywhere. The *mark* was on the wife of Pulu Nrabokwi and everyone was very excited. Lenora Schwartz, encouraging his belief that she knew all about it, brought him back to the house where she got the first interview from which we obtained our knowledge of the Second Cult, which we often thought of as the Ghost Cult. After eight months in the village, we finally gained access to that which mattered most to our informants—the Cult and its conflict with the Movement. They had freely given us information on kinship, land tenure, language, and ideas on child rearing, and later even on the earlier cult episode. But they had withheld, until we seemed already to know of it, that which moved and excited them, that which had given promise and intensity to their lives during the time that we knew them.

At this point I interrupt the narrative to return to the beginnings of the Second Cult and to give a full, synthetic account of it, based on dozens of interviews with its chief actors and on our observation and participation in the events that followed.

THE SECOND CULT AND ITS DEVELOPMENT

THE SECOND CULT IN JOHNSTON ISLAND AND TAWI

The Ghost Cult of 1953–1954 started with the appearance of Thomas, the ghost of a young man from Johnston Island who had died December 24, 1952. The people of Johnston Island had originally been part of the village of Tawi, the westernmost of the old Manus villages in the South Coast lagoon. The Johnston Island Manus had built their settlement on this small island after the *Noise*, in which they had participated fully while still in Tawi. They wanted to be closer to the Baluan center of the

Movement, and their own land on which to build a *Newfela-Fashion* type of village and road.

Thomas went to Tawi, just before his death, to borrow money for gambling from his "brothers" there. They had just won a large sum, but they gave him only £5. He hoped to win and then give them money, though he did not tell them so. Instead, he thought angrily that they had not given him enough, considering how much they had won. He did not express his anger. It remained in his *thinkthink*, producing the illness that killed him.

On Christmas Eve, all the men and women of

Tawi went to church in Peli, an Usiai village near Tawi. Kisakui, the *council* of Tawi, one of the youngest leaders in the Movement, left the old *luluai* to guard the village and the money that was kept there. During the night the *luluai* woke, hearing men walking around the village. He looked out and saw many men. They seemed to be looking around the village. They went into each house and then came down again. Although it was dark, he recognized some of them. They were all men of Tawi who had died—some very long ago, some recently. When they all seemed to have left, he saw another man standing, dressed completely in white. As he wondered who he was, the voice of the *luluai*'s dead father entered his *think-think*, not through his ears, but directly into his thoughts. His father told him that the man he had seen was Thomas of Johnston Island. Frightened, the *luluai* covered himself with a sail and went to sleep.

Thomas did not appear in Johnston Island itself until January. Three women had gone to Kalopa, a small island on which they had gardens and coconut palms. Thomas was there. They did not see him, but they heard him whistle and smelled the powder he had on him. They asked what it was in the garden that smelled like something belonging to white men. When they returned to Johnston Island, Thomas went with them in their canoe. That night he appeared in the house of Kamanra, making his presence known by a whistle. Kamanra asked: "Who is it? Are you Thomas?" There was an affirmative whistle.¹ Kamanra's wife, Sapa, had been deathly sick. Now she was possessed

by Thomas. Her body was heavy with his presence; it was as if she had died. (It was also said that Thomas spoke and whistled through her, but most informants insist that the whistles came direct from Thomas.) Kamanra went to the *council* of Johnston Island with the news of Thomas' appearance. The *council* said that they would test him first. "If he is good he can stay, if not we will get rid of him." Everyone crowded into the house while the *council* questioned the ghost. He asked him if he was good or bad. When he asked, "Are you bad?" there was no reply. When he asked, "Are you good?" Thomas whistled, "Yes." They asked him what had caused his death by phrasing each possible alternative as a question. When he was asked, "Did you die because of anger at your brother?" he said, "Yes." He also replied affirmatively when asked if the woman he possessed would recover from her illness. As the questioning continued a great deal of information was revealed. As Thomas' messages were repeated, the original form of question and answer was forgotten immediately. People simply said that Thomas said that Jesus had sent him to Johnston Island because, of all the Movement villages, this one had drifted farthest from the revealed ideals of the *Newfela Fashion*. Their village was rotten with sin. Their island would be *capsized* into the sea unless they returned immediately to the way of God under the tutelage of Thomas. They ran through the days of the week to see if Thomas would come again. He said that he would come every Friday night. A special room was built for him in Sapa's house.

Thomas' role in the village and in the Movement area expanded constantly from this time forward. Yet it did not occur to any of the people I interviewed who had attended the seances on Johnston Island, even the hostile and the disbelievers, to think that the *council* of Johnston Island had much to do with it. He had merely questioned Thomas. He was simply a passive agent eliciting the messages that Thomas brought from Jesus. There were many proofs of the validity of these revelations. Not only had Thomas said "Yes" when asked if he was good; he was also asked repeatedly, "You are incapable of lying to us, aren't you, being a ghost sent by Jesus from the *Sky*?" The answer was always unhesitatingly affirmative.

Johnston Island, like other villages within

¹ As mentioned above, in the account of seances in Patusi during the *Noise* in 1947, the ghosts usually communicate through whistling. They respond to questions that must be framed so as to require "yes" or "no" answers. A whistle signified "yes"; silence meant "no." The questions might be quite complex, but the ghosts were limited to this simple binary system of communication. This is more related to the binaries of divination devices in the old Manus culture than to the discursive whistlings of the ghosts through a medium in the old seances. This restricted pattern of ghostly communication, usual in the modern Manus cults, gave to the male cult leader the principal role in injecting the content of cult belief while he seemed to be only questioner rather than author. The binary system was the most common, but occasionally the ghosts did more discursive whistling which had to be interpreted, usually by the same persons who were the interrogators. Or less frequently, as in dreams, the ghost injected thoughts directly into the mind of the receiver. For a comparison with the past, see Fortune, 1935, 29–30, 35.

the Movement, had not solved successfully the problem of the regulation of the less-restricted sexual activities that the *Newfela Fashion* permitted. Adultery was notoriously prevalent. It had been facilitated by the building of four small houses, which could be used by lovers, on the far side of the island. Even in other villages, where adultery was only slightly less prevalent, the building of these houses was considered to have gone beyond the uneasy and ambivalent permissiveness of the *Newfela Fashion*. They were called the *house pamuk* of Johnston Island (*house pamuk* referring to a form of communal license formerly practiced by the Usiai).¹ Furthermore, the aim of the *Newfela-Fashion* position on adultery was to lessen the disruptive effects it might have on marriage and the family. Many divorces arising from adultery had taken place on Johnston Island. Thomas gave these moral failures as among the reasons for his coming. One of his first commands was the destruction of these houses.

But they were not all that was wrong. What I had been hearing in Bunai meetings about the "Fall" of the *Newfela Fashion* since 1950 was expounded at this time by Thomas. He, as well as the other ghosts that came after him in other villages, was particularly concerned about the weakening authority of the village leaders. Again and again the seances involved denunciations of *bighead*, of *no hearim talk*, of *sackim talk*. The unity, the simultaneity of action in the early days of the Movement, was contrasted with the present condition in which each person followed his own desires.

The society of the dead in the *Sky* was described as an example to the living. There were said to be three places, the earth (*place down*), the *Sky*, and Heaven. Only one road leads from the earth to God in Heaven, that is, the road of the *thinkthink*. But living man does not have direct access to God. The dead and Jesus, who was their *council*, are intermediaries between man and God. The dead live with Jesus in the *Sky*, not in Heaven. The *Sky* was a place somewhere near America. (In one speech by Thomas, "The dead are with the Americans.") This was the *ass belong place*. All this is close to the beliefs of the First Cult, but the *Sky* had been brought up to date and had been given more content. Thomas gave a picture of the *Sky* in which the dead responded immediately to

every bell that called them to meetings. They did not drift in or stay home as mortals did when called to meetings. They heard the talk of the *boss*, Jesus. He had only to say a thing once and they obeyed. They never missed Church in the huge building where Jesus conducted services. This building was expanded periodically in response to the thought commands of Jesus. Also in the *Sky* were three court houses through which each person must pass when he died. Each of these courts was more severe in judgment than the preceding. There was also a *calaboose* for those who were found guilty by courts, with one-, two-, or three-year sentences. The description of the *Sky* was much like that of the First Cult. Heaven was perfectly flat, as Paradise was before the Fall. There were broad roads, good houses made of galvanized iron, many automobiles, and flowers growing everywhere. The dead had learned good ways. They were *all right finish*. When they thought of the living, they cried in sorrow. They would have liked to rejoin the living to teach them, to make them "all right" too, but the road was blocked by all the sins of men. Now Thomas had been sent as the first of the *teachers* to come. Each of the 33 villages was to have its own *teacher* sent by Jesus from among their own dead. First it was necessary to accept Thomas and to begin to carry out his commands.

The ghosts were angry at their treatment by the living. When the new villages had been built, they were provided with cemeteries. But those who had died before the move to the beach had been left in their scattered graves in the bush, along the beaches, or on the small islands of Old Tawi and Old Peri, which also was an obstacle to the reunion with the dead. The dead were to arise in their graves, which could not happen until these graves were neatly arranged in straight rows in good *matmats* and the bones laid out properly in each grave. Such was the major project ordered by Thomas. He pointed out that, when Jesus had died, His bones had not been scattered and forgotten. He had been buried in a grave out of which He arose after three days. The *matmat* was to be the opening between earth and *Sky*, which was something the white men knew about. Had not the Americans exhumed all their war dead for re-burial in proper cemeteries in America?

Early in 1953 Johnston Island began work

¹Mead, 1930, 252.

on the new cemetery. The morale of the village was immediately restored by the excitement of Cult activities and by the many revelations of the validity of this new Cult. The village routine characteristic of the earliest period of life in the new villages was restored. Everyone joined in the line-up and accepted without question the work assignments of their *council* and *committee*. Everyone went to *washwash* (bathe) together. As I saw on my visit to Johnston Island in November, the church was crowded twice a day for especially lengthy services. Meetings were fully attended and were preceded by a period of singing of the earlier Cult songs. The marching and drilling of the early Movement were also revived, supported by the discovery one morning of the footprints of many ghosts who had marched in the village at night.

A constant effort was made to rid the village of all wrong thought and action. Public confession was revived in the form of daily "wrong straightening" *kibungs*, in which Thomas assisted. At his seances he pointed out sins or hidden ill feelings that had not been confessed. Then the people involved either confessed and shook hands or were punished by sickness or ill fortune. Through the woman who became his medium, Prenisiska Sapa, Thomas was called on to diagnose the sin or anger that was causing any sickness that occurred. A new kind of omen or sign of sin appeared during the Second Cult on Johnston Island. Occasionally, crosses in the new graveyard fell over during the night, which Thomas said was done by the ghost whose grave was marked by the cross, to indicate displeasure as a warning about trouble or sin in his living family. Thomas then helped to uncover this trouble so that it could be straightened out. He was useful also in making correct predictions about the best places to look for fish or turtles. Food came into the village in an abundance that the people had not known before. All this is reminiscent of the old Manus religion, but these disguised revivals were not seen as such by the Cult adherents but as at last the true, revealed, Christianity practiced under the almost constant supervision of Jesus, through Thomas, through Sapa, and the *council* of Johnston Island.

While all their energies were being expended on the building of the cemetery and the collection of the bones of the dead, the presence of

the dead was felt all around them. One man found 10 shillings that had appeared out of nowhere upon his table. This generated much excitement. It was tangible proof of the "pay" that was to come. (This almost duplicates the Patusi incidents of the First Cult.) Even the materialization of several sticks of tobacco was accepted as a sign of the imminence of fulfilled promise.

The collection of the bones of the dead was complicated by the difficulties in finding old graves and in identifying the occupants of many that were found.¹ Thomas helped. Sometimes they could learn by questioning where to dig or whose skeleton they had found. When they found several graves, they placed markers on them, then Thomas would tell them under which marker to look. In this way more than 100 skeletons were gathered. It was necessary for them to travel back and forth to the mainland by canoe, to Tawi, or to other burial places along the coast. Thomas predicted the weather and wind in his seances on the night before an expedition. Often, at night, when they returned to the village with the skeletons of their dead, these dead appeared to them or made some sign that they were now on Johnston Island with their bones. As in the old religion, the association between the bones and the ghost continued. Now, as then, it was necessary to care for the bones of the dead in return for guardianship and material well being, as well as for protection from sickness. Several sicknesses that occurred during this period were attributed to failure to bring in some overlooked skeleton of an ancestor or to an improper state of the *thinkthink* while the bones of the dead were handled.

As the bones were gathered it was necessary to wash them with a good-smelling soap, smear them with vaseline, sprinkle them with talcum powder, and wrap them in new, or at least good, cloth, as was done with a recent corpse. Then the bones were laid out in small wooden boxes. There was no room in the cemetery for

¹ Between the 1920's and 1940's there were both government regulations and mission injunctions that the dead be buried in proper cemeteries. Old burial places had been abandoned when villages moved to new sites. The Manus said that when they planned to adopt Christianity they threw the skulls of their Sir Ghosts into the sea. That many of these were probably buried is indicated by those skulls of former Sir Ghosts that turned up for re-burial in the Second Cult.

larger coffins. (When the crowding of the relatively small graveyard was pointed out later to a Cult adherent in Bunai, the *tultul* of the Manus section, he replied that the space was sufficient. After it was completed, when the *Day Behind* [Last Day] arrived, there would be no more deaths.) Until the cemetery was ready, these boxes of bones remained in the house in a place of honor, with flowers in bottles placed around them. For this interval at least, the skulls of the dead had returned to the Manus houses.

Behind all this was the promise of the Cult—the same promise which the First Cult had failed to fulfill.

This is what the dead told us: "If you are strong, Jesus told us and it is true, if you do well all the work of the road of the *thinkthink*, then whatever you desire will appear. As with Adam and Eve before in the place where God put them, there will be again the First Order of God. If you straighten out your *thinkthink*, we can send things to you. If you are not strong and you continue to follow all kinds of evil ways, we will not be able to come near you. Whatever you like, it is not difficult, we can give it to you. Now you work hard to make money. You buy things in the store. All these things, if you are all right, we can give you. The only difficulty is in your own minds. It is you who are in the wrong." . . . *Cargo* is things, like what we see in stores. We think like this. We work hard, work hard, work hard until we die to get one shilling to buy a little something. In a short time it is used up. Now we think that it is true. All these things that we desire are near now if we hold fast to what they [the dead] say. They say it is not hard. We only have to clear our *thinkthink*. Money, too. They say if they want to give us money, they can. They showed us a bag of money.

Thomas is said to have appeared holding a bag of money. One night, after the new *matmat* had been completed, the sound of an approaching car was heard simultaneously with Thomas' whistle. Although these sounds seemed to be further evidence, there were many skeptics. Each informant who believed in the Second Cult said he was in doubt at first. One young man from Tawi concealed himself under the house of Sapa at an early seance. When the *council* inside called Thomas' name, the man under the house whistled. Then another whistle was heard from inside the house. This time it was really Thomas who exposed the skeptic under the house, so converted the group of

Tawi visitors. Unlike the instantaneous contagion of the First Cult, this one recruited more slowly and deliberately, working against resistance based on the failure of the First Cult. Even those who joined most eagerly followed the style of doubt before conversion.

Coupled with the promise of a "price" for their labors on behalf of the dead was a threat of destruction if Thomas' message should be rejected. This was their last chance, he told them. Jesus was extremely angry that they should continue to defeat His will after the pain He had suffered for them. Later, in June, 1953, when a volcano erupted in the sea between Low and Baluan, Thomas said that it was a sign from God—a final warning. The seance in which this was said was unusual. The *council* was questioning Thomas. He asked, "Do you have something to say about this fire that is in the middle between Lou and Pwam?" "Yes." "Was this sent to burn up one village or was it sent to destroy all of us together?" When he asked about one village there was silence. Then Thomas began to whistle at length instead of merely replying to the questions. Everyone was confused except the *council* who translated it: "This fire is a sign of this work we are doing. We forgot about the work of 1946, but now we want to pursue it again. Thomas said that if you do not do this, this fire will destroy all of you. If some join in this work and some do not, this fire will appear under those [latter] villages. The fire will eat away beneath these villages and people will in astonishment see their villages go under." Then Thomas said good night in his usual way, whistling three times. On the third whistle everyone said, "Good night, Thomas." Then he was gone.

From the first, Thomas had urged his people to hurry in their work. The urgency was never fully explained. It was said that Jesus had lost patience with them and that they were working against their own destruction. The *Day Behind* was imminent. What they were doing would guarantee their attainment of the happy state to be established for those who passed judgment. When the *Day Behind* came it would affect the whole world, white man and black man, but it would open first in Manus, for the long-deprived black man was the last work of Jesus. On that day the entire world would be thrown into darkness. All men would be thrown down to the ground in a *guria* that would make

that of the first *Noise* seem insignificant. When it was over, all men would stand before the judgment. The world would be made over. The sea would become dry land. (The rest of the description parallels that of the *Sky* given above. There is an emphasis on the leveling out of the world into a park-like condition.)

Thomas made it clear that his mission concerned not only Johnston Island, but all the villages within the Movement. He sent for people in other villages. The *council* of Johnston Island did a good deal of personal proselytizing. Hospitality was given to anyone who came to attend the seances. The canoes of the Johnston Islanders going back and forth to the mainland to gather the skeletons of dead relatives had the same effect as had the Mouk canoes gathering materials for the meeting house in 1946. Selectively, from every village within the Movement, some were drawn to Johnston Island who were to become the center of a Cult faction on their return to their own villages. Many of those who returned from Johnston Island were explicitly advocates only of the building of better cemeteries, with no mention of Johnston Island and with only oblique reference to the full context and possible rewards.

Visitors from each village had been told that once the *matmat* work was begun, when people were gathering, cleaning, handling the bones of their dead and keeping them for a time within their houses, a *teacher* would appear for that village. There were to be 33 *teachers*, with Thomas as the head. Accordingly, when other *teachers* began to appear (as in Bunai and Nuang), each of these ghosts confirmed everything that Thomas had said and recognized his leadership. Each village or hamlet to "come inside" the Cult had its medium, sometimes several, and each had its interpreters. Each made some minor variations and additions to Cult practice and belief. In general, there was a high degree of standardization. To its believers it was of considerable importance to the validation of the Cult for each village to have a direct revelation that, at the same time, paralleled that of Johnston Island and other villages. Village particularism manifested itself in spite of centralization which was more pronounced in the Second Cult than in the First.

THE SECOND CULT IN TAWI

Tawi, where Thomas had made his first ap-

pearance, became a part of the Cult almost from the beginning. The story of the conversion of the Tawi "skeptics" is mentioned above (p. 305). After the initial visit of the dead to inspect the village, where they noted disapprovingly the lack of an adequate cemetery, the people of Tawi worked closely with their relatives on Johnston Island. The *matmats* in both places were completed simultaneously. In many cases some decision was needed about which of the two cemeteries should receive the remains of ancestors common to the two villages. Such remains were claimed by the closest direct living descendant. Thomas had specifically instructed each person to bring in only his own kin. Each must find the bones of his father, mother, and siblings.

For almost a year no *teacher* appeared for Tawi. There were signs of the presence of the dead, but no one like Thomas who came to speak regularly. Kisakui of Tawi and many others sailed back and forth, between Tawi and Johnston Island, to attend Thomas' seances.

No inconsistency seemed to be felt in the maintenance of almost constant *Lucky* playing (a card game something like poker, played for high cash stakes) in these two villages. Many of those who came to Johnston Island to hear Thomas stayed for prolonged gambling sessions. The *councils* of Johnston Island and of Tawi were both avid gamblers. Thomas himself had been mainly preoccupied with *Lucky* and met his death indirectly through it. During a big *Lucky* session in Tawi attended by men from Peri and Bunai, the ghost of the *luluai* of Loitja began visiting Kisakui. He was first seen by Suluwan, the leader of Bunai's Pomatjau hamlet, who had been gambling in Tawi. Suluwan had lost his money and was returning to Kisakui's house to sleep when he saw clearly the ghost of the *luluai*, Ponowan. The ghost followed him into the house where Kisakui also saw him. The ghost did not reappear to speak until after everyone slept. Then he woke Suluwan to ask him about his gambling luck. Suluwan said he had only £1 left. (This was not considered enough for play as 10 shillings to £1 is bet on a single hand.) Ponowan told him to return to the game with his £1, and he would win. Suluwan did as he was told. He played through the night and the next day, winning £40. He owed a great deal of money in almost every village. While he played, Kisakui and his

brother took what he owed them from his cache of winnings. They left him only £15. Suluwan's rage *buggered up* his *thinkthink*, so that he lost from then on. Luck in gambling was conceived of as being dependent on virtue and as vulnerable to anger as luck in fishing or good health.

Ponowan began to appear to Kisakiu, waking him at night with a whistle. He was awakened from a dream about a woman who was dying. He asked if it was his father who was near. There was no answer. Then he thought of Ponowan who had adopted him. Ponowan answered with a whistle. Kisakiu asked if he had a message for him. Ponowan emitted a long series of whistles which Kisakiu could not understand. He interrupted to ask questions in the hope that Ponowan might be the *teacher* for whom Tawi had been waiting. He asked Ponowan if he had gone before God when he died and now had been sent down to them. He asked if he had died because of someone's *wrong*. He asked, "Did you die because your *thinkthink* had been *buggered up* because when you spoke to your people about the ways of God and right thinking, they did not listen to you?" Ponowan whistled, "Yes." After more questioning, Ponowan said that he had come to do the same work that Thomas did on Johnston Island. He promised to come back regularly. At the time of my interview with Kisakiu in April, 1954, more than a week had passed since Ponowan's latest appearance. Kisakiu was worried lest some unrevealed sins within his village were keeping him away. He was planning to hold a meeting about it as soon as he got back to Tawi.

On the night that Kisakiu had first spoken to Ponowan, he had been wakened from a dream about a woman dying. The next morning a woman Njamoto died in childbirth. "When she died, she came back also, but not in a good way. She went to the *Sky*, then she returned. Now she roams about inside our village. Her spirit doesn't come up right; it comes up as a *stink*. Thomas said that with a man, his spirit is all right; it can go to the *Sky*. But with a woman, her spirit is bad [wrong] if she has lost plenty of children. She must wander around and around among you to look for a good place for herself." The moral burden of the Cult was particularly hard on women, as further examples from other villages show.

Suluwan left Tawi on Good Friday, 1954. Before he left, he witnessed the first two days of a new way of observing *Paska* (Easter). Thomas had instructed the people of Tawi and Johnston Island as follows: "On Thursday Jesus is with God. On this day they must pull out and lay down all the wooden crosses in the *matmat*. On Friday, when Jesus was nailed to the cross, they must stand up all the crosses on the graves. Jesus will be with the dead on Saturday. On Sunday He will arise. On Sunday flags must be placed in all the *matmats*. Jesus has won. All the dead too, they will have won. All will come back. If you do not obey, there will be an ordeal put upon you."

These instructions were carried out in Tawi and Johnston Island during Easter of 1954 as the Cult rapidly neared a climax. The people almost committed themselves to the fervent hope that on the Sunday of Easter the *Day Behind* would come and the dead would arise with Jesus. Still the commitment was limited. The promised *tryim* or ordeal actually happened to only two men. One was the *council* of Johnston Island who was returning from making the Easter announcement in Tawi. He was in Thomas' own canoe which had been named the *Marsalai* in defiance of doubters who said that Thomas was a *marsalai* (a non-human spirit from older Melanesian belief). Instead of returning directly to Johnston Island, he and his companion decided to spear fish by the light of a kerosene lamp along an out-of-the-way reef. During the night, as they slept in the canoe, a crocodile came aboard and was about to eat them, but then it disappeared. They hurried back to Johnston Island to carry out the *Paska* ceremonies.

FURTHER SPREAD OF THE SECOND CULT

I know nothing about the possible involvement of Peli-Kawa which was usually influenced by Tawi. Loitja had its Cult adherents, but they were handicapped by the lack of suitable dry ground for a *matmat*. In the cluster of three villages, the Manus Patusi, Usiai Nuang, and Kapo, Patusi was strongly inclined toward the Cult. These villagers had begun the building of the *matmat* and the collection of bones even before the time of my visit there in November, 1953. The development of the Cult there, however, was inhibited by the arguments

of Gabriel, the young *council*. My interviews in this village in November formed a part of the conflict between Gabriel and the old *luluai*, Tjawan, who supported the Cult. I provided aid to Gabriel without realizing it. The Patusi situation is considered below in the discussion of the opposition to the Cult (p. 330).

In Nuang and Kapo, however, as in Tawi and Johnston Island, there was no opposition to the Cult. On the contrary, these two Usiai villages, led by their *councils*, Pokanau and Nakwam, were fanatic in their adherence to the Cult. Having adopted the model of Johnston Island, they kept further connection with the island minimal. The relation of Nuang and Kapo to the Manus village of Patusi, almost contiguous to their own, had never been so close as the relation between the Manus and Usiai sections of New Bunai, though they were sufficiently closely linked to each other to consider Nuang-Kapo an amalgamated village.

In the past, in their old locations, Nuang and Kapo had been closely related to the two hamlets of Malei and Lowaja, now parts of New Bunai. These four villages had been located close to the South Coast, while Lahan, Yiru, and Katin had come from farther in the interior. This close relationship was reënforced in the Second Cult. The content of Cult belief and practice had been transmitted to the Bunai Usiai through Nuang and Kapo.

Pita Tapo of Lahan, who had been the main prophet of the Usiai *Noise* in 1947, left Bunai for three months in 1954 to stay in Nuang and Kapo where he would again be in an atmosphere which recalled his lost influence during the more secular years of the Movement. Men of Malei and Lowaja went, as he did, to "school" in Nuang and Kapo. Most of the content of the seances there, which consisted of the teachings of two ghosts, a woman medium, and the *councils* who provided extended interpretations, duplicate very closely those on Johnston Island. Kapo, like Yiru, had a man "die" and return to life. This man was in the *Sky* from six o'clock in the evening to six o'clock the next morning. His experience also duplicated that of Ponram in Yiru and Kampo's wife. Heaven was the same. He shook hands with thousands of the dead and had passed through two of the three courts when he was taken aside by the spirit of the recently deceased *committee* of Kapo who sent him back

again. He was warned that he was not ready to pass the third court. If he did not pass, his throat would either be cut immediately or he would be jailed. He was sent back as a warning to others.

A few new elements and emphases, however, were added in the Nuang-Kapo seances. The ghosts added to their description of the perfect *kibungs* held in the *Sky* the fact that, unlike the *kibungs* held in the earthly village, they always followed the rule that discussion and action on one proposal had to be completed before other subjects could be introduced. This rule, to which the ghosts now lent their example, was one that I had seen Paliau repeatedly attempt to impress on meetings, without very much success.

The two ghosts of Kapo explained also that they could not be expected to remain in the village all the time. They would come to the village only when some new work was beginning. The rest of the time the ghost attended meetings in other villages and reported to Johnston Island occasionally.

Tapo was warned against accompanying the men who exhumed the old skeletons. It was extremely dangerous work. Women, men with large families, and men with many wrongs still in their *thinkthink*, such as Tapo, would sicken. Young people because of their innocence were useful for this work. In Nuang and Kapo there was a strong emphasis on marching, drill, singing, and uniforms (factors examined more closely in Bunai). During Tapo's stay in Kapo, the Cult, as it had been developing in Bunai, came into the open. Tapo returned to Lahan to attempt to install it and to assert his leadership in a sphere of activity in which he once again felt competent.

THE SECOND CULT IN NEW BUNAI MALEI AND LOWAJA

Malei and Lowaja were the only hamlets in Bunai that were completely within the Second Cult. The Cult was unopposed, within the Movement area, only in Johnston Island, Tawi, Nuang, Kapo, Malei, and Lowaja. In these villages, but in none of the others within the Movement, the Cult was actively supported by the village or hamlet leaders. Malei and Lowaja, though they had little contact with the Manus of Johnston Island, were extreme in their zeal for the Cult. In all other sections of

Bunai, factions were attempting to win over their section to the Cult; others strongly opposed it.

We can offer many reasons why Malei and Lowaja¹ were the locus within New Bunai Village of the most intense cult activities. New Bunai Village in its composite form was a product of the *Noise*. The Usiai hamlets had experienced a *Noise* that had been transmitted to them from the Manus of Bunai. One by one, they had come down to join Bunai on the beach. The Manus of Bunai took the lead in the village. They were to be the tutors of the backward Usiai. Explicitly this relationship was accepted because the Manus had been the *man belong go-pas* (innovator) in the Movement. Implicitly the Usiai still resentfully accepted and believed in the superiority of the Manus. Within the Usiai section, Lahan and Yiru, not Malei and Lowaja, had had the most spectacular and full experience in the Usiai *Noise*. Lahan, under the leadership of Kampo, had led the Usiai to the beach and had continued to act as the spokesman for the land people. It is explained above that the Manus of Bunai and Pomatjau had been in the position of *man belong ground*. They had magnanimously granted to the Usiai of Malei and Lowaja the use of the land that had once belonged to the Usiai. Malei and Lowaja had come into the village late and with little prestige.

Malei and Lowaja had been Protestant converts of the Lutheran Evangelical Mission, in contrast to other hamlets of New Bunai which had been Roman Catholic. Although the new religion, according to the *Newfela Fashion*, was in many ways more Protestant than Catholic, it was still considered to be Catholic. Malei and Lowaja assimilated readily to it. The young leaders of these two hamlets had been educated by the Lutheran Evangelical Mission. By virtue of their literacy, they were appointed leaders by their hamlets.

Pondis of Malei, except for his schooling, was highly inexperienced. He was in his early

twenties, intelligent, but lacking in the energy and dedication that the older movement leaders displayed. Within his hamlet he was leader in name only. Unlike the other hamlets in which the older men, the *luluais*, had accepted secondary positions, in Malei, Kilopwai, the old *luluai*, still a strong and aggressive person, retained actual authority and relegated to Pondis the function of wearing the best European clothing and representing the hamlet at meetings.

In Lowaja, Pantret, its *council*, had also been selected for his literacy and supposed greater sophistication. He was painfully self-conscious about his lack of tradition-derived legitimacy. He was a *lau* (the lower rank of the two-rank system of *lau* and *lapan*). Several men of his age were *lapans* and the sons of *luluais*. Petrus Popu, the old *luluai*, who had dropped this position to become *committee* in the Movement, continued to exert authority in the village, which in the years since the end of the German administration had owed its cohesion to his leadership. Lowaja, an assemblage of fragments of former villages, was drawn together by Popu within the confines of a single government census book. Petrus Popu's son should, it was felt by the village, be the *council*, but he had neither work experience nor mission education. He was also, to the embarrassment of the Council, the only remaining polygynist.

Malei and Lowaja, although at opposite ends of the Usiai section of the village, preserved a close relationship. These two villages had been most strongly influenced by the villages of Nuang and Kapo which had received the Second Cult by direct contact with Johnston Island.

Being the first hamlets within Bunai to join the Second Cult, Malei and Lowaja were able to feel their prestige as the vanguard of a Cult that they were sure most of the others would join. Their old position within the village might be reversed. They could now become the tutors of Lahan and the Manus. It was the older leadership of Samol and Kampo that they attempted to reduce and exclude. The secrecy they showed so conspicuously served as an effective device for recruiting.

This brief discussion is intended only to place these two hamlets within the village as a setting for their cult experiences. A further attempt is made below to explain the distribution of the village members in Cult and opposition

¹ Malei and Lowaja still owned the land immediately behind New Bunai where they had been neighbors before the Movement. All the Usiai villages coming into New Bunai had formerly been on the "Number Two Road" and were of a single linguistic group. Malei and Lowaja could be taken as a single dialect within this group, as opposed to the dialects of Lahan, Yiru, and Katin. Traditionally there were many intermarriages between Malei and Lowaja.

and among the various roles within the two factions.

MALEI: Malei's experience in the *Noise* had been marginal. It had had one experience, however, since joining Bunai that had foreshadowed the Second Cult. In 1952 an adolescent, Lapun, then 13 years old, had gone into the bush with some boys of his age to get sago. He saw a tall man with a white beard approaching him. Lapun fell down. His whole body shook violently. Songs came to his lips. For a day he did not require food. The tall man told him that he would give him a book. (Paliau had been given such a book, like that of St. John in "The Revelation.") The man (he realized later it must have been Jesus) told him about three trees in which many opossums could be caught. Lapun sent his companions directly to these trees where nine opossums, an unusually large catch, were found. He told them, too, that if they continued to pound the sago palm which they thought was exhausted they would get eight additional bundles of sago. This miracle also happened. The next day he received further *thinkthink* about how marching and drilling and kneeling with the head bowed should be performed. He demonstrated these to the others. During this time Lapun was able to speak German, which was the language that the bearded man had spoken, even though neither he nor his friends had previously heard German spoken. Returning to Malei he related his experience. All the Malei people, including Pondis, the *council*, were convinced, except Kilopwai, the old *luluai*. For several days this adolescent led the village. Under his command they marched, as he had been instructed, and sang the songs that had been revealed to him. At the end of the week Kilopwai challenged him, saying that if he had really been visited by Jesus and not by a *marsalai*, as Kilopwai suspected, he would be able to recite the entire "Long Story of God." Lapun was shamed. His ability to speak German left him. He remained silent about his experience thereafter.

"The *mark*" appeared in Malei toward the end of March. For two months prior to that month the people had been preparing for the coming of the promised *teachers*. During February and March they met almost daily to rid their hamlet of everything that was wrong. Any bad feeling that anyone held toward anyone else in the hamlet had to be discussed in these meet-

ings, regardless of its insignificance or how far in the past its reference lay. During this time also, they visited Nuang and Kapo, where the Cult was more advanced and where ghostly teachers were already present. All these preparations were concealed from the rest of the village.

LOWAJA: Lowaja was similarly active. Malei and Lowaja were still acting independently, though each was aware of the other's actions. On March 7, Nasei, the wife of the *tultul* of Lowaja, fell down in convulsions so violent that she had to be restrained. At first she raved wildly, but as she became more coherent, the others learned that she had seen Jesus and that she was possessed by Ponau, a former *luluai* of Lowaja. He told them, through her, all that had been revealed to the people of Johnston Island.

Ponau said the day was imminent when there would be no more sickness, sores, or death. All the dead would return to join the living. First Lowaja must build a *matmat* separate from the common village graveyard, in which sections were to be provided for each of the old village fragments (equivalent to clans) of Pwa, Lesei, Ponro, Nrakopat, and others. A meeting was held, with Nasei acting as the medium possessed by Ponau. All the old men, representatives of nearly extinct groups, told their dead how difficult life was for them when they were alone without kin. They complained that their land was being used by strangers and that their lineages, which God had created at the beginning of time, were in danger of dying out. The dead answered that they longed to return, but were blocked by the sins existing in the *think-thinks* of the living and because they had no avenue of access into the village. Before they could arise, their bones, scattered near all the old village sites in the interior, had first to be gathered.

Nasei spoke for the ghost as he caused the words to enter her mind. I believe that the simple question and whistle answer seance form was less commonly used by the Usiai.

Ponau promised: "Soon your *cargo* will appear. The *cargo* that we sent before, did it arrive or not?" Nasei answered, "No, we didn't receive any *cargo*." Then the dead *luluai* said, "Long ago we sent plenty of *cargo*." Nasei: "It came, but the Australians confiscated it." Ponau: "Did you get the airplanes we sent?"

Did you get the battleships?" "No." "Now we will have to make war against the Australians," Ponau said, "They will have to pay us." Ponau's speech continued, saying that white men and black men were alike, but the white men had hidden the truth from the black men. Now the light of God had come, all would be rectified when the dead arise.

Everyone who told me of Nasei's visitation said that her *guria* had been severe because she was a particularly wicked person. She was notorious for her many adulteries, for lying, temper, and stubbornness. In the Lowaja seances, a room in Nasei's house was divided in half (as in Sapa's house on Johnston Island). She sat on one side, while the older men and women sat on the opposite side. Pantret, the *council*, attended her, carrying her messages to the others and asking questions. Like the *council* of Johnston Island, he also was not suspected of making any personal contribution.

The work of "clearing the *thinkthink*" continued in repeated "wrong-straightening" *kibungs*. Then, several days later, Pomak, an adolescent, enacted another death and resurrection, this time for Lowaja. I had been called to see him several times within a week, without being told about his experience. He complained of a severe headache. He had been to Heaven and had seen God looking as He does in pictures in mission books. He had seen the three places, Heaven, Sky, and earth (*place down*) connected by a straight line which was the road of the *thinkthink* and of the dead. These he had diagrammed. To a revelation that paralleled all the others Pomak added a few variations particularly appropriate to the Usiai. Many of the revelations included messages pertaining to the separateness of the *meat* and *thinkthink*, of *something belong Caesar* and *something belong God*, of the *road belong Council* and *road belong matmat*. Pomak warned against the dangers of thinking constantly about women, taro, sago, and fish. He said that it was wrong to think continuously about the gardens in the bush, which was tantamount to a false worship and in conflict with the way of the *thinkthink*.

Pomak's prophecies ceased when he had quarreled with his brothers over trivial matters. He went into a sullen rage and wanted to run away to work for the white men.

The successor to Pomak in Lowaja was another adolescent, Joseph Nanei, about 16

years old, who became the next conspicuous leader of Lowaja during the Second Cult. He expanded enormously from an inarticulate boy into an arrogant, pretentious Cult leader who gave orders that were obeyed by the respected elders of the hamlet, and who exerted a nearly dictatorial command over the children and his contemporaries. I must admit that he was one of the few natives in our village whom I strongly disliked even before the Cult. He was the son of Kekes, the surviving *lapan* of the almost extinct village of Lesei, who claimed all the land on which the village of Bunai was located. Because of his father's long litigation over land rights, Joseph Nanei had an unusual knowledge of his genealogy, extending back some 10 generations. When he began to see ghosts, he saw most of the ancestors whose names he had memorized at his father's bidding. In one incident he reported that he had seen an old man who looked something like another man still living. His father had said that it must have been Napojoj, a direct patrilineal ancestor who was his father's great grandfather. One ghost of a young man recently dead became the *teacher* of Lowaja through Joseph Nanei, who began to conduct the "wrong-straightening" *kibungs* there and to direct the gathering of the remains of the dead.

Malei's teachers did not appear until March 21. Another adolescent, Kampo Monrai, who was about the same age as Joseph Nanei of Lowaja whose unsuccessful rival he became, was the first to be in contact with the dead. Kampo Monrai was as amiable as Joseph Nanei was hostile. As a friendly gesture to me, Kampo Monrai saw the ghost of my dead *kantre* (mother's brother). When none of my *kantre*'s characteristics fitted the description, he asked if I had a dead brother. When I said, "Yes," he lost his worried look and said, "That's who it must have been." Kampo Monrai was consciously competing with Joseph Nanei. He felt that he was different from all the other boys in Malei, even though the difference was not outwardly visible. At the time of "the *mark*" on Malei, Kampo Monrai was first to *guria*. During his seizure and often afterward he saw his dead brother and an old man, Popwenrau. With this latter ghost he clearly outdid Joseph Nanei, in that Popwenrau had lived so long ago that only three of the oldest women had ever heard of him. According to the genealogies supplied by the women, Popwenrau went back nine genera-

tions. So impossible was it that Kampo Monrai knew about him that the genuineness of the visitation was accepted as proved. Kampo Monrai's contribution, however, amounted to little. The few songs revealed to him duplicated those revealed to Joseph Nanei, except that some of the meaningless syllables differed. Almost simultaneously with Kampo Monrai's *guria*, a woman saw five more ghosts, but these were not the expected *teachers*. They disappeared without talking.

That same night Namu, the wife of Pulu Nrabokwi, became the medium for two ghosts, Pokowas and Liamwinj. They entered her in the form of a sensation traveling up each leg into her body. These were the *teachers* who had come to stay. Namu's inhabitants never left her vicinity, though they passed in and out of her body freely. Pokowas tended to stay in her body more than Liamwinj. They spoke through her in whistles usually, in the old conventional way. The people of Malei insist, as do all others I interviewed who had attended seances in other villages, that the whistling did not come from the mouth of the medium.

During this period Namu's behavior was even more dissociated than usual. Although she seemed remote, it was said that her *thinkthink* had become clear, like that of a white man, as a result of the extirpation of all sin by the ghosts. She became sensitive to any unexpressed disturbance in the *thinkthink* of others and was able to bring such disturbed relations between the people of Malei to light in the "wrong-straightening" meetings. Namu thought she had been selected because she was a virtuous person lacking the faults of other women. (Nasei, of Lowaja, was said to have been selected for just the opposite reason.) Both ghosts were her close kin. She called one "brother" and the other "uncle." She had nursed Pokawas on his death bed. Namu was a Lowaja woman who had married into Malei. She counted Joseph Nanei and his ghost also as close relatives.

After a week of "working" Malei, Namu went to Lowaja to collaborate with Joseph Nanei, at the direction of the ghosts. In Lowaja by finding the sins of their parents, she cured several children who were sick. When she heard a song the dead were trying to teach her, she woke Joseph Nanei, who remembered it, to teach it to the village. The ghosts said that it would be a more efficient use of their powers if

Namu and Joseph Nanei held their seances together in a room divided into Malei and Lowaja halves. Further, although Malei had begun to clear a *matmat* (cemetery) of its own, the ghosts of the two collaborating hamlets decided that it would be better if the two hamlets built a single *matmat* adjoining Lowaja. This led to a serious quarrel between the two hamlets. Within the Cult the tendency was for each village, or village section, to build its own *matmat*. There was the possibility that one might be rewarded even if the others were not. Malei demanded that Namu bring her two ghosts back to their section. The quarrel was settled by the ghosts themselves who called a *kibung* of the dead of both places. As transmitted through Joseph Nanei and Namu, the dead favored the single *matmat* in Lowaja. A compromise was reached in which the *matmat* was to be divided into two sections, one for each hamlet, by a road down the middle. Malei accepted this in another "cross-straightening" meeting between Malei and Lowaja. The new *ring* built at Malei was scarcely used. Namu's in-laws walked to Lowaja for their marching practice and for seances at night.

Joseph Nanei and Namu stayed in the same house. A third man was appointed to stay by them constantly, while Pantret was to write down everything that was revealed through them. These two men were compared to the Apostles. Namu and Joseph Nanei were treated with great respect. Their meals were prepared for them.

From the time of their collaboration, it was obvious that Joseph Nanei was fully in control. His prestige was further enhanced by his work in ferreting out several love charms (*malira*) that had been concealed by Lowaja men.¹ Their place was revealed to him by the dead. One bottle, which a man had brought back from Rabaul, was hidden in a lime gourd in the bottom of a locked wooden box. Another was hidden under a rock in the bush. Joseph Nanei was able to go straight to them and to elicit a confession from their owners. Then he threw the bottles into the sea.

The dead made a few more appearances to people other than Joseph Nanei and Namu. The first incident of this sort in Lowaja occurred after a funeral. A group of women were punting

¹ All such magical practices were supposed to have been discarded when each village entered the Movement.

the canoe that had carried the corpse. Suddenly, the head of a man came up in front of the outrigger. When they shouted for him to beware, he disappeared. They assumed that it was the head of the ghost of the newly buried man.

A few days later, Petrus Popu, the *committee* of Lowaja, and Sayau Bombowai, the *committee* of Katin, were fishing together near the cemetery. As the sun went down they saw many men dressed in white in the cemetery. They approached to hear what they were saying. The dead were speaking in another language which they could not understand, but this was some sort of *kibung*. They recognized the chairman of the *kibung* as Petrus Nroi, the dead brother of Samol of Bunai. Had he lived, Nroi would have been an eminent leader. (Perhaps in the sight of Nroi as the leader of the dead, there was the unconscious hope that Samol, who was strong in his opposition to the Cult, might be won over.) By the time the two *committee* had returned to Lowaja to bring others to see the meeting of the dead, they had left the cemetery and the meeting was over. The truth of the report, however, was validated by the fact that, at about the same time, two Usiai 12-year-olds, who were out near the old village site, had met the ghost of the mother of one and that of the father of the other. When they asked the ghosts where they were going, they were told that they were going to a *kibung* of the dead in the cemetery. The cemetery meetings of the dead were also confirmed by the *teachers*. Later Malei and Lowaja villagers held several meetings in the old cemetery where the dead had been seen. Samol was unmoved by the news of his brother's appearance.

The people of Malei and Lowaja reached the height of their cult activities within a few weeks after "the *mark*" on Malei. Under Joseph Nanei's direction, they revived much of the early *Newfela-Fashion* routine of life. They rose to a bell. They bathed together in the sea and so provoked the Bunai Manus' accusations of nudism and mixed bathing. They marched together to Bunai for morning services in the church. They had their daily line-up together and accepted the tasks assigned them without complaint. Much of their time, during the day, was spent in expeditions to the old village sites to gather the skeletons of the dead. Several sequential days we watched them return by canoe from the river that took them part way to

the old village. The men sat in a circle on the canoe platform around the boxes of bones. They poled slowly along the length of the village, passing the Manus section without turning their heads. They pretended to themselves that no one knew what they were doing. Then, according to Joseph Nanei's directions, the bones were cleaned in boiling water, scented and anointed with perfumed vaseline hair tonic, and wrapped for boxing. These boxes stayed for weeks in the *house boy* (bachelor's house) while they worked on the cemetery. The usually wild and disobedient Usiai children had been completely tamed by the impressive seriousness of the Cult. They were assigned to spend the day fishing. The village was extremely short of food. The gardens had been neglected for weeks; trade with the Manus had all but ceased. They fished more than they had ever done and with considerable success.

Until the time of Namu's possession, meetings had been held relatively secretly in houses at night. Then the people of Malei built a special *ring* for their meetings. Unlike any other that I saw in a Movement village, it was a square of four long benches with backs surrounded on the outside by a railing. I attended the third meeting held here. Everyone, from the oldest to the toddlers, formed into a line to march from the road to the *ring* which was about 50 yards back from the road. Though they were still within easy sight and hearing of anyone passing on the road, the removal of the *ring* from its roadside location signified secrecy to them and to the resentful outsiders. When they had lined up, they marched through the gate and clockwise completely around the square before sitting down. One man, arriving late, also marched solemnly around the square before taking a seat at the gate. The meeting was conducted in utter solemnity, marred only by the playing of the youngest children. Four-year-olds maintained the mood readily. Only Namu, the medium, was absent. Throughout the afternoon one man after another rose as he felt moved to make a speech. By this time they had been meeting in this way for two months. They had heard everything that was said hundreds of times. There was no disagreement among them on any point. Yet each one spoke as if he were under compulsion to persuade the rest. Each man stood bolt upright, talking out into space (a style of delivering speeches typical

within the Movement). Each speech consisted of several formulas.

First, there were series of self-denunciatory speeches in which each man accused himself of every vice recognized by the *Newfela Fashion*: "I am stubborn. I lie. I am hot tempered. I am selfish. I give nothing to others. I have bad feelings about all of you." Then he would say that such was all finished now, that he no longer would . . . and listed all the things to which he had confessed. Most of the confessions were emotionally neutralized by the fact that they were identical with every other confession. Only one young man had a specific grievance. He said that he returned from plantation work just to build a house for his father. He had finished it, but his father complained that the house was no good. The roof leaked. The young man confessed that he was angry. He had not worked with his father or spoken to him for two months. Now, he declared, his anger was finished. They would shake hands. Each one expressed approval of the speeches of the others. Each said: "All this is true, now we must change. We must go back to the good ways we had in 1946." (Malei did not join the Movement until 1948, but, as do late immigrants to America, they identify with the entire historical span.) After interminable, earnest repetition of speeches, the meeting ended late in the afternoon. When they walked out of the *ring*, the line halted. Then the adult head of the line stepped out, moved down the line, pausing before each person to shake his hand, as solemnly with the youngest as with the oldest.

Each night, when it was dark in the village, after they had marched back and forth to Bunai for the evening church service, they returned to the *ring*. The "wrong-straightening" continued. Folding chairs were draped with cloth and left empty for the convenience of the ghosts. I had no entree to these nightly meetings, though there were later many accounts of them from all involved.

Some of our first accounts, before I was able to interview the leaders of the Cult themselves, came from women from Lahan or Yiru, who had married into Malei and Lowaja. Unlike Namu, who from her viewpoint, found an ideal solution to the conflict of loyalties between the hamlet of her husband and that of her father and brother, these women lived in the Cult hamlets but had strong ties with the non-Cult hamlets. Within

Lowaja, in particular, they were treated as outsiders and never trusted. Much of the antagonism between Lowaja and its neighbor Yiru, since their move to the beach, had revolved around the intra-village marriages. These women reported everything that transpired at Cult meetings in Lowaja to the *council* of Yiru. They were quick to carry back reports of insults to Yiru which almost led to fights between the two villages.

The women of Lowaja were alienated still further in a series of "wrong-straightening" *kibungs* held at night in which the ghosts demanded that each woman reveal her lovers. They were unwilling to do so. It was unusual for the women to speak at a meeting, in spite of the constant urging by the men that they use the political privileges of the *Newfela Fashion*. The Malei meeting mentioned above, and others like it that I attended, failed completely to elicit any response from the women. Now, however, the women joined in the second major quarrel within the Cult, the first being that over the Malei-Lowaja amalgamation. The women argued that, regardless of the promise of the men that there would be no anger if the women confessed the names of their lovers, the information would be used against them in the future. They showed, in this respect, less confidence in the outcome of the Cult than the men, who anticipated that there would be no further need of the *matmat* after the initial transplanting. With all the ghostly sanctions raised against them, the women remained stubborn. Finally, they accepted a compromise. Some of them named the villages or hamlets from which their lovers came. (As they had predicted, this information was used against them soon afterward.) Several of the women left Lowaja, one claiming that she had been expelled. The cult men were troubled by the justified conviction that their wives were spying for their hamlets.

Some "wrong-straightening" took place on a more intimate scale. I was invited to be present while Pondis of Malei and his wife settled a few long-standing quarrels. They sat together in their house, lighted only by a kerosene wick, while they confessed to each other from time to time their ill feelings toward each other. The wife confessed to constant jealousy whenever he went to Lowaja for frequent consultations or, for that matter, whenever he was out of her sight. She immediately suspected that he was

seeing another woman. She had also had some bad thoughts about his laziness. Their house had not been started when all the others were almost completed. They were living in a floorless hut on the beach. She was also at fault for striking the children because she was angry at her husband. He confessed only that all the faults to which she had confessed had made him angry at her. Then they shook hands, prolonging the handshake for several minutes to give it time to take effect in restoring the *thinkthink* between them to an untroubled state. This done, he explained that this desire to resolve their differences had been brought on by their child's illness. He had been running a fever for several days. They wanted medicine for their child, but they realized that it would be ineffectual as long as the cause of the illness in their *thinkthinks* had not been straightened.

In the evening, after church services, the people marched again. On the final command of the marching period they marched into the sea to bathe. After the first week there was a noticeable easing of the bathing requirement for adults, though Joseph Nanei continued to march the children into the sea.

The marching was extremely important to them. They marched grimly, with their heads high, their fists clenched, stamping their feet in defiance as they followed commands.

It was explained to me that the marching was purely religious, i.e., it was *something belong Jesus straight*. Jesus had ordered it. No one was certain about its meaning or who the objects of the manifest hostility were. They felt themselves to be martyrs marching, defying those who tried to "down them." Daring this enemy to imprison them, to cut their throats, they would persist in the way of God in spite of it. The Manus and the cult opposition served as objects of this hostility. We were also available, but they were ambivalent about us. We were Americans; we only wanted to be allowed to watch, not to interfere. Besides, they needed us as an audience. They wanted to be photographed; they wanted their efforts documented. They marched in their "black" uniforms, which by our color categories were blue-dyed shorts and undershirts. These had been bought especially for the work of exhumation at the *teacher's* command. (The same uniforms were being worn in Nuang, Kapo, and Johnston Island.) They marched to drill commands that

had been revealed to Joseph Nanei. Kampo Monrai had a somewhat different set of commands, but his were not adopted.

AS WRITTEN IN PONDIS' BOOK

Af, af Sand aenta am
Pompos am powet
Raell raet
Scot poll
Piill endat daont
Skay raet. lef map
Paiynat Got Makten
Mup drell

MEANING AND PRONUNCIATION

(*ap ap san, enta am*) Attention
 (*pompos am powet*) Forward march
 (*rail rait*) About face
 (*skat poull*) Halt
 (*pil*) Salute, hand behind head
 (*endat daunt*) Hand down
 Right and left turns
 Mark time
 Finish drill

Some of these words are taken from the drill commands of the Native Constabulary. Others have only the meaning assigned to them by Joseph Nanei. *Sky* and *map* were added to the drill by Joseph Nanei. Only in the Bunai Cult did I hear the word *map* used to mean the cemetery, the *Sky*, and the English idea of "map."

One night while I was making tape recordings unconnected with the Cult, Joseph Nanei, Pantret, and several others came in saying they wanted to record a song. They had been avoiding me for some time. They would make no explanation of the meaning of the song. Later, I was told that it was the marching song they were told to sing when they carried back the skeletons of the dead. I Anglicize the words somewhat, but what follows is copied from their song book.

Jesus i king
i king ontop na down. enap long time.
youpela can die e mond. (?)
youpela i singim name belong God nothing.
em thispela talk. youpela no enap winnim.
em work belong march me enap winnim behind.
Jesus.

Translated:

Jesus is king.
King of Heaven and earth. until you die— (?)
You take God's name in vain.

*This talk. You cannot win.
This work of marching. I can win [or—master]
in the future.*

Another of Joseph Nanei's marching songs for drilling:

*Witt goll true. ontop long golkatter (Golgotha)
wit get plu. ti go te ngar Jesus.
ti will te drill i go ontop long sky.
ontop long sky i come back down long Map (Matmat).*

Translated:

*Up to the sky.
It comes back down to the graveyard.*

Called a song of *all men belong Sky*:

*iwi iwin of deo ecklesia king,
ontop long sky you sing out long mefela
all angel i singsing long mefela
enap long time mefela i can wind (win-wind) behind.
Amen.*

Translated:

*—God, Eklesia King
In the sky you call out to us,
The angels sing to us.
Until the time that we will win [also—be wind].*

Another drill song:

*Jesus you come you come. mepela all man belong Sky.
Youpela all man, youpela all man belong ground.
enap long time youme go talk long God.
Callim God nothing. you no savi hearim.
enap long time you march got talk long God. Behind.*

These songs were sung with all the songs that were of importance in the First Cult. In their mixture of Neo-Melanesian words with words of some other language that no one knows (they expected that I would know them), these are like the song about King Berra which everyone, except Paliau, attributes to Paliau in the First Cult. The latter continued to be sung in the Second Cult, although there was no mention of King Berra by any of the people in the Cult or by the dead. Thomas seems to have replaced him as the "Boss of the dead." Yet the idea of King Berra, like the rest of the belief content of the First Cult, was never specifically repudiated. "John Brown's Body" also continued as a marching song of the Second Cult.

The work on the *matmat* was accompanied by an increase in anxiety over the resemblance of their activities to some aspects of the old, repudiated, pre-*Newfela-Fashion* culture. This anxiety of the Cultists was heightened by the tac-

tics of the opposition who used these similarities to the pre-Christian culture against them. They wanted to revert to 1946, but they did not want to go farther back, at least not consciously. The Usiai had always been more sensitive about the old culture than the Manus. They sneered at the Manus revival of the *pilei*, in which cross-cousins challenged one another to match the goods (mostly European) that one could give against the money the other could pay.¹ When I worked with Usiai informants attempting to reconstruct the old culture, it was necessary for them to interlace their recitals with reiterations of "We don't do this any more. These were the 'stinking' ways of our ancestors." Yet they could also be carried away by their own tales of war and cannibalism.

The whistling of the ghosts was very reminiscent of the old culture. The Cultists were accused of holding *tilitili* (seances) and of worshipping *marsalai*. They countered with many rationalizations to prove that the Second Cult was based more on the model of the white men than on their own past. (Actually, most of the Cultists' arguments claimed that there was no connection whatsoever between the Cult and the old culture, but there were some exceptions, which are mentioned below.)

A strong argument could be offered for the predominance of Christian and European concepts in the Cult. The Cultists mentioned the American exhumation of the war dead in Manus and elsewhere. They pointed to the large war memorial cemetery at Lae, where many Manus had worked since the war, with its park-like appearance and its orderly rows of crosses. In fact, at this time there was a broadcast from Port Moresby about the memorial ceremony held in this cemetery, in which the splendor of the proceedings, the marching of the native police, the flags, and the notables from England were glowingly described in Neo-Melanesian. The cult adherents cited how carefully Jesus had been buried in the grave from which He arose. They based their belief on the story of the Resurrection and the promise that all men would arise from their graves on the Last Day, the *Day Behind*. In the "Smolpela katekismo"² there is a picture of four angels flying overhead, blowing trumpets, while skeletons are in various stages of rising out of graves

¹ Mead, 1956a, 288.

² Anon., 1949. See also Pl. 22a.

marked with crosses. One headless skeleton is picking up his skull. Above the picture is the legend, *Long last dei baimbai yumi girap gen long dai* (On the last day we will arise again from death). Other publications by both the Catholic and Lutheran missions that I found in the village give excerpts from "The Revelation," from which some of the imagery of the Cult derives. The Seventh Day Adventist literature was also well known, although there were only about six converts to this faith in Bunai. One of their Neo-Melanesian books given to me by a Bunai convert was called "*Toktok Belong Baibel*" (Talk about the Bible). Its contents, with a strong emphasis on "The Revelation" and on the imminence of the *Day Behind*, make the Cult and the Seventh Day Adventists seem almost indistinguishable in belief. The direct influence of the Adventists, however, was slight. The cult members considered themselves Catholic. They rejected the Adventists. The Seventh Day Adventist community on Lou believed the volcano to be a sign of the coming destruction of the non-Adventists, while the Manus were saying that Paliau had called it a sign of warning to the Adventists of Lou and Baluan. Thomas had used it primarily as a sign of the destruction of all those within the Movement who did not join the Second Cult. All of them agreed that it was a sign of warning sent by God that the Day of Reckoning was near in which the others would suffer for their false beliefs. The *guria* was also understood as Christian; it was not native to the Admiralties. It was expected of those who were "full of the Holy Ghost." There was no general *guria* in the Second Cult, only that of particular individuals. Most of the appearances were of ghosts of the particular dead of each village, but Jesus was believed to have made two visits to Bunai—the first to Nasei who had led the way in Lowaja, and the second to Lapun, the same adolescent who was reported to have seen Jesus and who had spoken in tongues two years before. No one could dispute the scriptural backing of these phenomena. These were direct though parallel revelations occurring in each village while it was in the process of confessing its sins and clearing its *thinkthink*.

The primary emphasis, however, was on the dead. The Cultists were accused of thinking more of the ghosts than of Jesus or God. (Someone called them *palit*, the old Manus word for

the ghosts who, with the living, had peopled the old villages. This use of the old term reinforced the accusation of revivalism, for the various words that applied to the dead in Neo-Melanesian had acquired Christian contexts.) No accusations of revivalism from the opposition were needed to make defense necessary. As in the First Cult, by modernizing these ancestors, the role of the dead was made possible in spite of the repudiation of the culture by which these ancestors had lived. These were not the malicious *palit* of the past or the somewhat undependable *Moen Palit* ("Sir Ghost" in Fortune's phrase)¹ of one's own house. They were the *man belong Sky*, who by their life with Jesus exemplified all that was right and virtuous in the *Newfela Fashion*. Jesus was now conceived as the Chairman of the Council of the Dead.

While I had been working with the old men, eliciting stories about the past which, before the Cult, had always been offered with a show of disapproval, I noticed a change of tone just before I became aware of the Cult. Sayau Bombowai of Katin hamlet and Petrus Popu of Lowaja, the two who observed the *kibung* of the ghosts in the graveyard, began to tell me a series of stories dating from the recent past (within several generations). They believed these to be true. They had brought past time, reckoned in generations of ancestors whose names were remembered, into line with calendrical or chronological time, but in doing so they expanded the brief span of their remembered history to coordinate it with ours. Petrus, his son, and Sayau Bombowai told me that when Christ died there had been three days of darkness on Manus. I had previously recorded from others this story of the three days of darkness during which all the houses and trees were broken and new mountains appeared. Their ancestors called this the *time cloud i broke na i coverupim altogether place down* (a time of darkness when clouds covered the earth). The story is said to be generally known throughout the Admiralties. The missionaries had said that when Jesus was killed, there had been darkness and earthquakes (*Noise or guria*). The natives believed that these lasted three days. Petrus Popu had equated the time of Christ to the time when his grandfather, Pulu, was a child. Popu's son, Seliau, had heard other versions of

¹ Fortune, 1935, 20.

the story that date it to the time of a famous *lapan* five or six generations back. I was told of an old man of Peli village, an Usiai, who had died several years ago. He was supposedly extremely old at his death. They told me Paliau said that this aged man, Silili, was a contemporary of Simeon and Anna. Silili was to see Jesus and die after this. He died in 1950. The three days of darkness had occurred when he was a boy. This treatment made the events of the Bible relatively recent history. Petrus Popu traces his own line back 12 generations to the first man of his lineage who was created. They had no idea how long 12 generations might reach back in chronological time. It had never occurred to them to calculate it against the 1954 years since Christ.

For the old *lapans* such as Petrus Popu and Sayau Bombowai, the Cult, and the turning to the dead as men of virtue, meant a degree of vindication of their own lives, in which the Movement occupied only a small part. So, in their accounts to me, a different picture of the past began to emerge. In the very distant past, Popu said, men had been good. There had been no warfare and no eating of men. Men had been taller, stronger, and powerful in magic. (How else could they have made clearings for their gardens which had been much larger than those made today, with the small stone axes that were found?) Men had been corrupted by their fighting over women. Brother fought brother over women and had to be banned from each other's houses. This was the middle period, before the coming of the white men. During this period, however, there were some men, the *lapans*, who would have met *Newfela-Fashion* standards. Silili, mentioned above, was one of these. As were others that Petrus mentioned, he was noted for his mercy to captives. He set them free. He had never eaten a man. He was a man of peace. All these things, plus the fact that he had never eaten food prepared by a woman, brought him his long life. Lowaja had had two such *luluais* in whose footsteps Petrus had followed. One of these men, Ponau, had appeared to Nasei of Lowaja during her *guria*. He had died during German times. According to the Manus, the virtues attributed to these men are exactly the opposite of the characteristics attributed to the Usiai.

During the Cult, Popu and Sayau Bombowai were able to tell with new meaning and interest

a series of legends about the recent past that were concerned with the return of the dead who would reward the living. Sayau Bombowai told of a dead woman who had appeared in his own village when his father was a boy. This woman first came to comfort and heal another woman whose skull had been broken by her husband. The people who gathered around the hut heard her speaking in the language of another tribe. The men took her to the men's house where, during her stay, they all copulated with her. She was able to tell them just where they would find opossum as well as other useful things such as the days when the Manus would have many fish at the *bung* (market) and the days when it did not pay to go. She was present only in the dark. If a fire was lighted she would disappear. She left, finally, when she became tired of them.

Sira, another Usiai village on the "Number Two Road," had had a visitation from the ghost of Pukipit, a man murdered by the Bunai Manus. He had ordered his brother to build a house for the dead of Sira who were shortly to come to life again. The brother was not believed. The dead did not return because their talk had been *sacked* (rejected).

Another widely known legend concerns the *lapan* Nronrai, who was taken by some ghosts that he met in the forest to an underground land of the dead, where everything that people at that time wanted was to be found in abundance. Again something went amiss, and Nronrai was never able to find the entrance again.

Another story, equally well known, was about the *lapan* Pokob, the hero of many legends, who abandoned his pregnant wife to run away with her sister. The pursuing wife had given birth on the roadside. She died; her infant son lived on in the forest. When he was mature, she appeared to him, instructing him to collect her bones. When he had done so, she revived, bringing him great wealth. With her guidance, wealth, and love charms, he was able, in a contest with his father, to prove himself the greater *lapan*, and to marry 10 of the women of his father's village.

All these stories were offered at this time to bring some support to the Second Cult from the pre-Christian past. Nothing was overlooked that might help reduce the anxiety of the people over the validity of the Cult beliefs. Some of the younger ones did not welcome this

support from the past. The younger men had no commitment to the past; on the contrary, they rejected everything associated with it and, for that matter, with their fathers. Seliau, a man about 30 years old, after hearing his father, Popu, tell these stories, expressed the opinion that *all bigfela man belong before i more full-up true long bullshit*. Some other younger men, more deeply involved in the Cult than Seliau, who resented the upstart leaders, took the new look at the past seriously.

The aspect presented to the rest of the Movement and to the rest of Bunai was that they were merely trying to return to the ways of 1946, the founding ideology about which there could be no disagreement. They saw nothing new in what they were doing, which was simply something that had happened only to them. In public meetings they would not admit any connection with happenings in any other village. Pondis and Pantret made speeches saying that they felt sorry for their people. The whole village discipline had collapsed. Their authority no longer was capable of integrating their own small hamlets. For these reasons only, they had decided on a stricter observance of all the institutions of the early Movement that had been deteriorating since the turning point of 1950. They continued to take this stand throughout April.

THE VILLAGE DIVIDED BY THE CULT

I refer above to a number of reasons why Malei and Lowaja had been brought into the Cult as a unit and why the Cult seemed to be particularly attractive to these two hamlets. I mention that the people of these villages had entered into New Bunai late and with little prestige, and that they had been placed in the position of novices who had to be taught by the Manus and by Kampo of Lahan. Their experience of the original Usiai *Noise* had been a peripheral, attenuated one (they also escaped the subsequent "martyrdom" of imprisonment that was the glory of the Yiru and Lahan leaders). Their grievances over land and their traditional hostility to the Manus had been submerged until the Second Cult period. They were also differentiated in religion by their Protestant background, which had entered also into their late assimilation into the *Newfela-Fashion* "Catholicism." Their leaders were weak. Their authority was diminished by their

junior status among the other village leaders, by the continued authority of the old *luluai* in Malei, and by Pantret's low rank in the traditional system of rank (overtly rejected by the *Newfela Fashion* but still influential).

In the progressive lowering of morale and of group solidarity throughout the Plateau Period since 1950, Malei and Lowaja had not been more severely affected than the rest. The people of Malei had fallen into a kind of atonicity peculiar to them. They were highly homogeneous, much more so than those of Yiru or Lowaja, but among them were none of the more vivid personalities to be found in the other hamlets. Pondis' intelligence was linked to a passivity out of which it was difficult to move him. Cult activity lifted the Malei people out of their relaxed, aimless, and indifferent state for the duration of the Cult. But Malei added nothing to it. Lowaja's absorption of Malei resulted from the more aggressive and imaginative leadership of its adolescent prophet and from the quiet manipulation of the Cult by Pantret, the Lowaja *council*. Although Joseph Nanei became the prophet after the Cult was well under way, it was largely Pantret who had initiated it on the round of preparatory meetings of purification. He had sought contact with the Cult through Nuang and Kapo. Like all its other leaders, he was particularly interested in the reënforcement of his authority, with its emphasis on a return to the earlier phase of the Movement in which all men had "heard the talk." In any village, the support of the *council* seemed essential to the success of the Cult. The prevalence of revealed messages urging obedience to the leaders indicates an attempt to win their support by this means, though I see no deliberation in any of this. Pantret, *council* of Lowaja, was himself able to influence the content of the seances by making himself the questioner of the medium. Pantret did some, but not a great deal, of such questioning. It was unnecessary; by the time the revelations had reached Bunai, they had been highly standardized. The *council* of Johnston Island had placed the initial stamp on the Cult content. All that Thomas had affirmed had been re-told in each village throughout the Movement area.

We have searched for reasons within Malei and Lowaja to explain their recruitment by the Cult to the exclusion of any other entire hamlet within Bunai. It is just as necessary to examine

the circumstances that kept the others out of the Cult. Yiru-Katin had been the scene of Ponram's resurrection. The people there had given ready credence to his performance. Sayau Bombowai, the *committee* of Katin, had been among those who saw the *kibung* of the dead in the cemetery. Yet Yiru did not become a part of the Cult. In spite of Ponram's revealed design for a gate, they did not plan a *matmat*. They were not merely indifferent, they were actively opposed to the Cult in Lowaja and Malei. They were deliberately excluded by Lowaja. Perhaps the center of the Yiru conflict with Lowaja was the *council* of Yiru, Bombowai (not to be confused with the *committee* Sayau Bombowai). Bombowai had led Yiru even prior to the *Noise*. He had been the *luluai*. He was a *lapan*, though in no way an eminent one. He was the only illiterate of the Bunai *councils*. He had been a convert of the Catholic mission, but had received no special training. Samol, Kampo, Pondis, and Pantret had, however, all been trained to be mission *catechists* or teachers. Bombowai was a weak and indecisive leader in an unruly hamlet. But he had been a charter member of the Movement. He gave his support to and was supported by Samol and Kampo.

Yiru was the most *bighead* of the hamlets. Little coordination was possible. Most of its younger men had little interest in the Movement or the *Newfela Fashion*. The move to the beach, where they could be even more independent of their elders than in the old village, gave them an easier life. One group of these young men moved freely in and out of the village, going away to work and returning for periods of play and gambling. Another group, whom we nicknamed the "minstrels," neither went away to work nor worked in the village. They spent much of their time playing their ukuleles and guitars. Most of them were unmarried, often beyond the age when they should have been married. They were a continuous source of trouble. Bombowai was constantly either prosecuting or defending them. They had no interest in the Cult except to mock it.

A few young men in Malei and Lowaja, who were peripheral to this group, joined in the marching rather self-consciously. The presence of the lounging minstrels near the drill ground irritated the members of the Cult. Malei and Lowaja (as in all the Cult villages) had put a taboo on all secular and frivolous music, loud

talking or joking, and non-ghostly whistling. Lowaja's attempt to expel the minstrels came close to producing a fight, but Pantret, the *council*, in disarming righteousness, said that the Yiru men could beat him if they wished, but he would not raise a hand against them. At the same time, by falling in love with a woman who had been involved in a number of other troublesome affairs, Bombowai had hopelessly compromised his authority, especially in these times that demanded that a leader speak from a morally superior position. He induced her to leave her aged husband, with whom she had been living, together with her former lover, Ponram's son. In spite of repeated attempts to break up the affair, which was disrupting the village, Bombowai finally cast out his own wife and, even more unthinkable in a culture in which children are so highly desired and hard to keep alive, his four children by this wife. She returned to Lowaja with the prized children. His own hamlet was torn between anger at him and anger at Lowaja which denounced all of Yiru for its low morals. Several Yiru women who were married into Lowaja brought back reports of Lowaja slander against Yiru. These women complained about mistreatment and neglect by their husbands which arose from suspicion of them as outsiders. All this was enough not only to exclude Yiru but to bring Yiru into active opposition to the Cult.

Bombowai complained repeatedly against Lowaja in village-wide meetings. His complaints were particularly embarrassing to the Cult when he revealed the content of Cult seances. With the failure of Yiru to join in the Cult, Ponram lapsed into his position as a troublesome old man and devoted himself to attacking Bombowai. Sayau Bombowai, the *committee*, was accepted by Lowaja as being friendly to the Cult. He was the only person in Yiru-Katin I knew who took a pro-Cult position.

A similar examination of Lahan hamlet must be made. From the first Lahan wavered between the Cult and inactivity. Its course depended largely on Kampo and Pita Tapo (and of course on the absence of anyone else who could exert a strong influence in the development of events). Kampo was one of the most intelligent of the Movement leaders. He was the most outstanding among the Usiai. He occupied a position, though not a formally recognized

office, as spokesman for that group. He was a potentially strong leader, with, however, a weak constituency. His role in the Movement was largely self-created, rather than being based on a specific position. His leadership among the Usiai declined throughout the Plateau Phase. Little in the way of new program was undertaken during that time. Kampo had ambitious and workable schemes for the Usiai. He did more gardening and took a greater interest in the land than most. He was much like Samol in the range of his competence. He had learned to handle and to build canoes better than any other Usiai. He was the only literate person in the village who used his literacy for purely private purposes. Like Samol he kept a journal, but unlike Samol's business-like entries, he wrote a history for his son to read so that he would know what they had done in the Movement. Kampo was an intellectual. More than anyone else involved (with the possible exception of Paliau) during the Second Cult, he was placed in a position in which he had to make a reasoned choice. For Samol, there was no question but that the Cult was in error; for Tjamilo, the Cult as unquestionably represented truth.

Kampo and Tapo had led the Usiai *Noise*. Kampo had come to Bunai seeking the word of Paliau. His first act had been to rebuild the village and to build a church. In 1947 Tapo became the prophet of the Usiai *Noise*. Kampo, like all his people, followed Tapo. Kampo had a seizure, he had believed, and he burned his *luluai* hat and books. In consequence, he had spent a year in jail. His energies were expended in the program of the Movement. He had come to place his hopes in the Council, the Cooperative, and the school that were to come. It was clear that he would have a role of leadership throughout the development of the Movement, yet he had never settled for himself the question of the validity of the earlier Cult beliefs. All mission teaching that had been retained by the *Newfela Fashion* was supposed to be believed by everyone. That there was at some time to be a Second Coming of Jesus was not open to doubt. All the missions were agreed on this. Had the *Noise* been a false "trial," the idea was that its error consisted in setting a definite date for the time. Or it was felt that the *cargo*, the dead, and Jesus had failed to materialize because there had been insufficient eradication of sin. There were many other reasons, but in some way the

early failure had not been a crucial test. Kampo was also determined to believe that the full realization of the infinitely more desirable way of life of the Europeans was possible within his own lifetime. Partly because of the weakness of his own people of Lahan, he had, more consistently than most other leaders, come to think on a Movement level. He had worked harder and given more of himself to the Movement than had most of the other local leaders except Samol. Kampo's role as leader of his own particular hamlet interested him far less and gave him insufficient scope.

He had been discouraged by the slowness of progress within the Movement. (It unquestionably seemed slow to the people of the Movement measured against their desire and their goals, though to us as anthropologists considering the rate of change in their culture it seemed rapid.) In fact, at this period, Movement members were strongly convinced that they were losing ground. They had lost the feeling of unity, of excited mass participation, and of novelty that had marked the first year on the beach. Actually, they were as bored with the repetition of that part of the *Newfela Fashion* that remained intact as they would have been in still repeating all that they had abandoned. Kampo was troubled by this slacking off, though he was not fully aware of the source of his dissatisfaction. He was constantly trying to understand it. He often said that the leaders were entirely responsible, that they were carrying the others. He expressed being fatigued under the burden; yet the burden was indispensable to him. He had become moody, with sharply varying periods of activity and inactivity. In his more active periods he was ubiquitous. He appeared at meetings in any Usiai hamlet; he supervised the decoration of the coffin of a newly dead child in Lowaja; he made several successive long canoe trips to Baluan, to Lorengau, to the North Coast Usiai village that he had brought into the Movement, and to his gardens in the bush. For extended periods he was clean, shaved, and well dressed. In his inactive state, his posture relaxed. He was depressed, pessimistic, lethargic, and withdrawn. He wore his oldest clothes and neglected to shave. During these latter periods he excelled as an informant. He spent much of his time in our house, leafing through copies of *Life* magazine, sighing over the marvelous life of the

Americans, asking questions about each picture, making drawing after drawing for Lenora Schwartz, and being available for any kind of work. Otherwise, he stayed in his house and slept.

He had been in this latter mood for some time prior to our discovery of the activities of the Cult, of which he was already aware. During the early part of March his speeches might have led us to believe that he was participating in the Cult, they so obviously were based on some of its religious concepts. Their very conspicuousness derived from the fact that he was making these speeches in public, in village-wide meetings, while Malei and Lowaja were conducting their meetings in "secret."

Kampo's years of identification with the Movement prevented him from following a course similar to that of the other leaders of the Second Cult. For him, this had to be something that the entire Movement did or he would oppose it. The atmosphere of the Cult, which was generated by Malei and Lowaja, had stirred up his own hamlet more than anything else except for internal quarrels. It was tempting for him to use this awakening. But his indecision and ambivalence about the Cult all but incapacitated him as a leader for or against it.

On March 27, 1954, when "the *mark*" on Malei (the possession of *Namu* by the *teachers*) appeared and the Cult emerged more into the open, Kampo was not in the village. He returned to find that the Cult which had been forming had crystallized, excluding him. It had happened very quickly; his decision had been made for him. He could not be a charter member of the Cult. It would still be possible for him to allow his hamlet, which was straining in that direction, to begin a *matmat* and the "wrong-straightening" *kibungs*, but his own participation was cut off by his exclusion. Pantret and Pondis respected and feared him. Their newly found authority as leaders of the Cult within Bunai, which was one of their chief motives for participation, would not have been theirs if Kampo had also been inside. They chose instead to reckon him as hostile to the Cult and, by excluding him, insured his hostility. They could denounce Samol and Bombowai, but they could say little against Kampo, particularly since he had been embarrassing them by expounding Cult-like ideas in public. Kampo, like Bombowai and like everyone at this time, had his

spies. He knew just what was happening. Thus, on the night we discovered "the *mark*" on Malei, Kampo, who had just returned to the village, was holding a meeting in which he was attacking the ideas of the Cult in his hamlet conspicuously public in contrast to the meetings at the other ends of the Usiai section. At this meeting he said: "Nothing simply materializes. Everything comes from hard work."

During the next week Kampo began to walk up and down in the Usiai sections, going into Lowaja and Malei as he always had, making the Cultists uncomfortable by his presence. His experience during this time was like that which Samol and I had. If we went into the Cult meetings, we always felt that the topic of discussion had just changed abruptly to the pious speeches of a super-*Newfela-Fashion* revival. His decision had been made. He was increasingly angry, resentful, even hurt, by his exclusion by people whom he had brought into the *Newfela Fashion*. However, his exclusion did not put an end to his doubts. He had lost authority abruptly and was ineffective even as an opposition leader. His own hamlet had not yet joined the Cult. He could have insured that they did not join it. Instead, as their interest in it increased independently of him, he withdrew more and more from leadership.

Kampo's abstention from leadership coincided with the return of Pita Tapo to Lahan from Kapo and Nuang, where he had been learning the ways of the Second Cult. In my interviews with him at the time Tapo said that current events of the Cult would re-enact for me all that he had been telling me about the Cult of 1947. All this, he said, was exactly what he had been advocating. He said that long after they had come to Bunai, he had continued to call for the building of a better *matmat* and the collection of all the dead who had been left behind in the old village, but by that time his strength had gone and he was no longer heeded. Now, for the first time in years, he was feeling strong again.

Tapo had come to me for medicine originally in September, 1953. He complained that he was mentally ill and suffering from a constant itching on the back of his neck where, for years, he had constantly imagined things crawling. He told me immediately about his role in the Usiai *Noise* and said that his illness had resulted from his failure in the mission that God had given

him. He had been told to continue to teach his people all that had been revealed. When he was released from jail, however, he had found them much less interested in his revelations. They were in the midst of building the new hamlet as part of New Bunai and enjoying the new life on the beach. He was no longer needed during the period of organization. The Cult had been the most meaningful and exciting experience of his life. He had been projected suddenly into importance. Even Kampo had consented to follow his leadership. He attempted to continue to furnish the same sort of leadership when he came back to Lahan, on the beach in 1948.

Instead of the earlier response, his religious emphasis was taken as a somewhat embarrassing reminder of what was no longer appropriate in the Organizational Phase when there was so much building to be done. He was not disbelieved; the Cult beliefs had never been actually repudiated. His sickness involved a weakness that made it impossible for him to work. He had become angry at everyone in his hamlet. In his anger he had gone to Nropwa to *work money*. He said that the anger, and his abandonment of the way of the *thinkthink* for material concerns, plus the hard work that he had to do on Nropwa, produced his sickness. He had spells of unconsciousness which, however, were not accompanied by visions. His *thinkthink* had become "fast." It stuck in his throat.¹ He had been cut off from God because of his sins and his abdication of the prophet's role. He saw himself as being tried by God.

During the first months of our stay, Tapo had been an almost pathetic figure in the village. He lived in a shack on the beach and complained that he was too weak to build a house. Throughout the first six months of our stay he remained in the village, attending to his children like a mother, while his wife worked in the bush, gardening or collecting sago. In his hamlet he was regarded as an insane person. One of the most violent and involved quarrels occurred during our stay when he, in a rage at his wife, picked up an ax. She ran out shouting that he was going to kill her and everyone else. This touched off a long series of interlocking quarrels that finally culminated in his accusing the

minstrels of driving him into his anger with their incessant guitar playing.

After this quarrel, Tapo left the village to spend several months in Nuang and Kapo where he was attracted by the Second Cult. He returned, almost recovered from his illness. For the first time in years, he began to speak at meetings; for the first time I recognized his potentialities as a highly persuasive speaker. He had arrived too late, however, to carry his hamlet into the Cult. Unlike Kampo and Samol, Tapo himself was now welcomed by the Cult leaders of Malei and Lowaja. He attended their meetings freely. Within his hamlet, he used a tactic similar to that which Tjamilo was using in Bunai. If he could persuade them to build a *matmat*, he felt sure that the rest would follow. He did not attempt to expound the full ideology of the Cult; everyone knew all about this anyway. Instead, he advocated the building of the *matmat*, citing all the secular and conventional religious arguments that could be used in public. He became immediately the accepted leader of his hamlet, because he took the course which they longed to follow, but which Kampo was unable to lead.

For Kampo, Tapo's resumption of leadership was the final blow. Kampo began to stay away from the meetings of his own hamlet. Tapo initiated the process of "wrong-straightening," which was long overdue. Even visitors from Lowa on the North Coast who had been so close to Kampo, began to take part in Tapo's meetings. Kampo began to spend all his time with us or with Samol. As the Cult developed, he joined weakly in opposition to it. But when his hamlet decided to begin to build a *matmat* and to go into the interior to collect the bones of the dead, Kampo went to Lorengau to get permission from the District Commissioner. He told him that his village was building a cemetery. They were going to go back among their old neighbors to collect the skeletons they had left behind. He told the District Commissioner that he just wanted the *kiap* to know about it in case the Usiai from the interior began to report that Lahan had resumed cannibalism or told other inevitable wild stories.

THE MANUS SECTION OF NEW BUNAI

In Bunai (the Manus section of the composite village of New Bunai) the Cult situation differed from that in the other hamlets. Malei

¹ Manus-Usiai body image localized human functions in specific body parts, e.g., anger in the abdomen, fear in the buttocks, shame in the forehead, and thought in the throat.

and Lowaja went into the Cult together. Yiru stayed out except for one untroublesome old man. Lahan began to move toward it, leaving its *council* behind. In the Manus section the Cult, represented by a faction led by Tjamilo, aimed at recruiting a majority against the opposition of a faction led by the *council*, Samol.

For a fuller understanding of what happened in the Second Cult among the Manus of Bunai, we must attempt to complete the picture of the principal contestants, Samol and Tjamilo. Many others were also active, but they were organized around these two.

I have already made many references to Samol and his background as heir to the leadership of the old paramount *luluai*, Kisekup; as storekeeper; as a Catholic mission *catechist*; as a leader of a local movement against the old culture in Bunai before the Paliau Movement; as one who missed the *Noise*, having withdrawn to form a new settlement with his followers; then as *pesman*, supported by Paliau as leader of New Bunai within the Movement. In the intervening years between his return to Bunai and the Second Cult, Samol had come to be recognized as second, though not a rival, to Paliau within the Movement, for he was a close follower who accepted Paliau as a model. Samol was a calm, quiet, and competent leader, more skilled in everything, from understanding the Scriptures to canoe building to gardening, than any of his Manus contemporaries. Everyone respected him for his superior intelligence. His control depended upon this, for, relative to the general level of aggressiveness, he was neither a forceful nor a very aggressive person. He understood and was skilled in manipulating the touchiness of his public and the fragile links between the various groups within the village. He had repeatedly and successfully employed the tactic of keeping quarrels from a public hearing until they had subsided. He was skilled in using *Newfela-Fashion* formulas in criticizing villagers, to avoid subjecting them to direct and personal criticism which could lead an individual or group to withdraw from the village. It was necessary constantly to prevent people involved in quarrels from taking irreversible, over-committed positions. Samol excelled in all such tactics. He chose this course during the Second Cult, which threatened everything that he had worked for throughout the Movement.

Samol had worked through the Council or-

ganization for years, living with the uncertainty of exercising doubtfully legitimized powers, waiting for the *de facto* Council organization to be converted into an officially recognized Council. This day was very close now. The very urgency of the Cult was rooted in a race against the success of the Council which would undermine it.

Although Samol had known of the Cult since its beginnings over a year ago, he had merely maintained a careful watch on it. He had made notes, for example, of every trip that Tjamilo made to Johnston Island. When the time came to use this information, as he typically used his literacy to support his authority, in a speech accusing the Cult leader he was able to give each of the dates exactly. (Knowing dates was essential to any speech within the Movement, if it were to have the sound of truth.) Meanwhile, the preparations for the Council kept Samol busy. He made repeated trips to Baluan. He visited Paliau frequently to obtain the latest information. These trips took him out of the village several times a month. Tjamilo took advantage of each of these occasions to advocate the Cult in regular village meetings when he was temporarily free of Samol's interference.

In some ways Tjamilo was comparable to Pita Tapo, in that he was almost exclusively concerned with the Cult which for him was continuous from 1946 to 1954. His belief never wavered or abandoned the entire content of the initial Cult beliefs. He had moved from youth to adulthood simultaneously with the *Noise* which he brought back to Bunai. Like Tapo, the *Noise* had made him a leader and a teacher, if not a prophet. Unlike Tapo, Tjamilo denied ever having had a vision or having seen Jesus or the dead. He did not have visions himself but believed those who did see them. He "brought the talk," but claimed absolutely no originality for himself. Yet he was far from a passive channel of communication. Although he distorted everything that passed through his mind into a religious, mystical, and paranoid form, he was not insane. In many respects he must be considered as being highly intelligent. More than most men who participated in the Movement, he had suffered from an absolute lack of education by contemporary *work-boy* standards. His memory for speeches was phenomenally developed, but this failed to command the prestige and respect accorded to Samol's note-

book and pencil at a meeting or court case. To assert his claim to leadership as opposed to Samol's Tjamilo had only his moral righteousness and his single-minded devotion to the religious and mystical elements within the Movement that had helped to catalyze it in the beginning. Tjamilo represented the new conservatism—the self-appointed reminder to the Movement of its origins. In 1946 he had eagerly supported the repudiation of the past. Now he was frozen in 1946 and 1947, when his life had taken on a meaning he wanted to perpetuate. His mind functioned with the utmost rigidity in maintenance of purpose, though he was able to shift and maneuver in approaching his ends. His influence, like that of Pita Tapo, had dwindled during the period of organization and building.

He had, however, maintained a position in village affairs as a *committee*. For the most part this was a minor position filled by the older men who gave up the higher positions as *councils* to the new leaders, abandoning leadership based on traditional legitimization for offices legitimized within the *Newfela Fashion*. Thus Kisekup, the old paramount *luluai*, Talimelion, Sayau Bombowai, and Petrus Popu were *committees* who accepted a role in which they used their continued prestige to mediate between the higher leadership and the rank and file of each particular hamlet or clan. Tjamilo represented only his own clan. He was a young man aspiring to influence within the village and beyond. He was, therefore, unwilling to accept the limitations on his role as vaguely defined by the office. A *committee* was supposed to transmit the orders of the *council* (which were subject to the expressed will of the group at meetings) to his clan or hamlet. He was responsible for maintaining order in his group. When he was unable to handle a situation beyond the routine, he was to bring it to court to be heard by the *council*. He was responsible for guarding the morals of his group. Tjamilo performed all these duties zealously. He was alert constantly to report the transgressions of his people, not only in his own clan, but wherever he found any trouble. He was constantly finding it. It was from this position that he attempted to bring the Manus of Bunai into the Cult.

Tjamilo had made several trips to Johnston Island and to other villages where the Cult was under way. He was cautious in broaching the

subject in Bunai. When he did, his references to the ideas about the return of the dead and the payment to the living were oblique. His idea, like Tapo's in Lahan (though Tjamilo started much earlier), was to work toward involving the Manus in the building of a cemetery and the collecting of the bones of the dead. He was confident that if these were accomplished and he could begin some work on clearing the *think-think*, which could be done in the name of the principles of the *Newfela Fashion*, Bunai's ghostly *teacher* would make its appearance. Talimelion, the *committee*, and Alponse Kanawi, the *tultul*, plus a number of women and about eight young men, made up his declared following. Among the young men was Markus Pwatjumel who had dreamed of his dead father and of the plan for the new *matmat*. However, he was torn between his loyalty to Samol, who was his brother-in-law, and his emotional leaning toward the Cult. Had it not been for Samol's opposition, most of the other Manus would have been willing to follow Tjamilo. Only Samol, and a few others following his lead, opposed Tjamilo's preliminary maneuver. It did not seem unreasonable to build a new graveyard. The complexity of the situation, however, is difficult to describe.

In the dual-level discourse typical of these meetings, the struggle between Cult and Movement went on without explicit mention of the Cult. Tjamilo made speeches calling for moral reform and emphasizing a concrete program of improving the village cemetery. He wanted to cut the palms that grew among the graves. Samol argued that without these trees the sun would "cook" the graves. Tjamilo wanted more than he made explicit; those who supported his cemetery-improvement plan were implicitly consenting to the Cult rationale of the plan. The struggle went on in the submerged level of meaning. At this time, not even Samol was ready to bring the submerged argument to the surface. He still felt that the Cult could be contained and stopped without its coming to the attention of Europeans to the discredit of the Movement. Tjamilo, through his skillful use of this dual-level discourse, was able to gain more support and involve more people than he could have through explicit advocacy of the Cult. The pretense that only the surface level existed was convenient for many. Those who had become bored with the work and

routine of the Movement, those who were unconsciously attracted to the revival of earlier, traditional beliefs implicit in the new Cult, even those who were attracted to the Cult but who, committed to the Movement, could not admit it to themselves, could consent to a well-rationalized program of cemetery improvement that did not call for their conscious or public commitment to the Cult.

Samol attempted to block the Cult in another way. He tried to keep the flow of Council projects continually before the meetings which decided on community work. Supposedly, Tjamilo could not command community labor for his projects, unless they were approved by these work meetings. Against this tactic, he was forced to oppose Samol openly by refusing to put his orders into effect. This development occurred only in the period when the village was already sharply divided by the Cult developments in Malei and Lowaja. Tjamilo had actually been able to get the *matmat* project under way before the Usiai began theirs. I mention above how he had suddenly appeared as a leader in organizing the procession to the old graveyard with the first skeletons of the dead from the old village sites. He had led a lengthy procession triumphantly through the Usiai section with flags, coffins, crosses, and flowers, singing "John Brown's Body." The splendid new *matmat* at Johnston Island, which was on the threshold of the village, had made Tjamilo discontented with the old Bunai *matmat* which had previously been deliberately removed from the village, supposedly to prevent disease. Now he set himself the more difficult task of building a completely new *matmat* which was to be for the Manus alone, just as Malei and Lowaja were initially determined to build one for themselves. When the Usiai support for the Cult within Bunai came into the open, his task became more, rather than less, difficult. His activities thenceforward were carried out in defiance of Samol, with the support of about 10 men who did the work and perhaps as many as 50 men and women who would follow in the use of the new *matmat* and the re-burial of their dead. The conspicuous display of Cult activities by the Usiai had stimulated the opposition of the Bunai Manus to the Cult by adding their own contempt of the Usiai to Samol's authority.

Tjamilo and his Cult faction ignored the hamlet projects that Samol assigned. They re-

fused, for example, to make up Bunai's quota of sago thatch that was to be sent to Baluan for one of the school buildings at the request of the Assistant District Officer in charge of the Baluan Council. Samol denounced Tjamilo now, still not because of his advocacy of the Cult, but because of his open opposition to the Movement program. At the same time, in the first village-wide meeting following the appearance of the Cult in Malei and Lowaja, Samol accused the Usiai Cultists of leaving the Movement because they also refused to appear for line-up and for community work projects.

Tjamilo's work advanced rapidly. He sent the *tutul* Kanawi, who was still technically an Administration-appointed official within the village (in fact the only one since Kisekup had resigned as paramount *luluai*), to Nropwa to ask the plantation manager whether the Manus of Bunai could use the plantation grounds just behind the village for a new burial ground. The permission was granted. Within 10 days this ground was cleared, leveled, and railed off, following the model of the Johnston Island *matmat*. Tjamilo introduced one minor alteration of design. He put a railed-off aisle down one side of the *matmat*, with a turnstile at one end, leading to the two gates of the *matmat*. The turnstile was like that which had been revealed to Ponram in his death and resurrection (pp. 295-297). Marcus Pwatjumel built the gates according to his dream. His revealed design appeared to be identical to the revealed design used by Johnston Island—an additional proof of the truth of the revelations. Tjamilo and two old men worked on the project throughout each day. Another old man, Karol Manuai, who worked with them, died while the *matmat* was being built. When I visited Tjamilo's house to see his sister, who had come there to have her baby, the veranda was filled with wooden crosses that he had in readiness for the re-burial of the skeletons that had been collected in December. Late in April his new *matmat* was ready for use.

While Samol was being ostracized by the Cultist Usiai, Tjamilo was attempting to assume leadership of the Cult for the entire village. He was not, however, fully successful. He was still not taken completely into the confidence of the Usiai. As he acted as my informant, he prided himself on knowing about every event connected with the Cult everywhere. Following "the mark" on Malei, I assumed that he

knew about it. Either he did not know or he gave a remarkable performance of a man startled. He left me immediately to go to Malei and Lowaja. For the next week he spent much of his time with the Usiai. He defended them in Manus meetings, accusing the Manus of *talk bilas* about the Usiai, i.e., of talking about them so as to shame or provoke them.

At the end of March, Samol and Kampo called a village-wide meeting. Only the Usiai leaders attended, though everyone had been called. I had mentioned to Samol that suddenly we were no longer being called to meetings in the Usiai section. He, Kampo, and I discussed the Cult before the meeting. Kampo was depressed and angry. He said: "The word of God has two kinds, His true word and those with which He tries us [*talk belong God na tryim belong God*]. The first belongs to Jesus and the second to Christus." If this is really the word of God, he reasoned, it would be available to everyone, not only to Malei and Lowaja. (The idea of the false prophecies stemming from "Christus" is probably a misapprehension of the idea of Antichrist.)

This meeting went poorly for Samol and Kampo. Samol, at first, did not allude to the reason for his calling the meeting. Instead, to my embarrassment, he told the Usiai leaders he had called them to ask why they no longer invited me to their meetings. The Usiai all said that they had been at fault in this respect. Sayau of Yiru, a younger man who had spent much of his early life on a plantation and who had been decorated after the war for his fighting in the Native corps, rose toward the end of the meeting to answer Samol's original question. He said: "It is our leaders who must call them. We men and women can't come call them for nothing. What will we tell them? About all of our stinking ways?" Sayan, a righteous man, was revolted by the state of his own hamlet. He had been long in the village without a significant role. He was disgusted both with the laxness and apathy of his own hamlet and with the Cult.

Kampo pointed to the division in the village without mentioning its basis specifically. He said that he had heard that some people wanted to leave the village to go to live with Kapo and Nuang. He warned them that if they did so, they would have to pay double the taxes when the Council came because their names were in

the Bunai book. (This stems from the exaggerated respect for the village census books, which he and Tapo had burned in 1947. If Malei were to move to Nuang, the *kiap* might possibly have tried to dissuade them, but failing this, their names would have been put in a new book.) Kampo came closest to mentioning the Cult, saying he had heard about something going on in Nuang. He said that if what is happening has anything to do with God, then it should be brought out in public meeting such as this one and not hidden.

As yet, the Usiai had not been accused of anything, but they had come to defend themselves and to threaten. Pantret, Pondis, Kilopwai (the *luluai* of Malei), and Petrus Popu spoke for the Usiai. They asked who had accused them of worshipping or praying to a piece of wood or something that whistles. They denied it (though no one had said so openly). Pantret made one of the speeches inviting martyrdom, so common during the Movement's early period of defying the opposition of the government officers. He said that he knew nothing about Malei, but all that was happening in Lowaja was his own idea. He had simply decided that all the good ways of 1946 had disappeared. No one would cooperate with him any more. He had decided to go back to the spirit of '46. Let them punish him or put him in jail for it.

Pondis of Malei denied that there was anything that needed to be brought up at a meeting as Kampo had suggested. All that they were doing was not in the least bit new, he claimed.

Bombowai and Kisekup continued the roundabout attack on the Cult. Bombowai said he was going to *talk bokis* (talk box—talk with a hidden, or rather an implicitly understood, meaning). Kisekup did the same thing. Bombowai stated the reverse of his meaning. "Lowaja was all right. They had all the virtue while Yiru was completely depraved. That is all right, only this talk about Yiru's fornication in public, this wasn't straight, brothers."

When they spoke, they all used the inclusive plural to include themselves in the accusations aimed at the others. So Kisekup, who was not inclined to favor the Cult but who was amused by the solemnity of the Cultists, said: "This thing that we have been hearing about, you and I [*youmi*] think that it is good, but think well. The Council is coming." When Pantret complained about the Yiru young men coming to

fight, Kisekup joked, "Did they come to beat up Popu?"

Kilopwai finally threatened to take Malei out of the village because of the lying accusations that were being directed against them. Samol and Kampo immediately became conciliatory, even more than they had been in leaning over backward to avoid direct accusations. The threat of withdrawal is an effective sanction. Kilopwai was using it now for the second time within months. (He had threatened to take Malei out of New Bunai over a land dispute.) He and the others had lied repeatedly at this meeting, putting on a show of injured innocence. In spite of the fact that they had answered accusations that had not been made, and in spite of the truth of these accusations and their deceit in answering, I believe they were genuinely angry and resentful, as if they had been unjustly accused. Samol then said that nothing was wrong, but that it was his responsibility to watch for sores before the *eye* of the sores had opened up fully.

Tjamilo continued his bid for leadership. He told the Usiai at the meetings, and afterward more openly at a meeting in Malei, that he could not understand why Samol and Kampo were trying to suppress them, when they should concern themselves with their own iniquities.

During the month of April there were many more *kibungs*. These were poorly attended in the Manus section. The seances and the "wrong-straightening" meetings continued in the Usiai section. Tjamilo spoke a great deal at these meetings, urging moral regeneration and pointing out the discrepancies between the present life and the *Newfela-Fashion* ideals. At one meeting he expressed the fear that none of the younger people or young men, who would have to replace him and Samol, cared about anything. None of them seemed to take much interest in the meetings. He said that the parents were setting a bad example for their children. He complained that families were disintegrating. Within one week there had been three violent fights by three different young married couples. The husband had beaten the wife in each case. One of the young men had refused to come to court when the case had been reported to Samol at the weekly Wednesday court session. No one could do anything about it, since the courts were illegal in the eyes of the

government. Their only recourse was to report the husband to the government, but they would not do so unless the wife insisted or a serious crime was involved. Tjamilo complained that the other two quarrels were settled by the refusal of the couples themselves to come to court. He said: "When I speak of the children, you will say that I have no children. I have no children, yet I think of all these children. Jesus, too, had no children, and He also thought of all the children of the whole world." Tjamilo sat down. Several other speeches on different subjects were made. It is not unusual for each of four or five consecutive speakers to take a different subject. Then, almost a half hour later, he stood up and said: "Just now I used Jesus as an example. But that's not for you to say, 'Oh, you are Jesus, heh?'" He said then that he wasn't lying. Jesus had no children. He was a *prophet man*, he was immortal.¹

Tjamilo's talks at this time were full of threats. At the end of a speech in which he was scolding the women for their indifference, for their barrenness, and for their poor care of the children, he shouted from the *ring* to the surrounding houses: "All of you women who have run away from the meeting, you don't say anything [in answer to his accusations, but they never said anything at any time in meetings]. This *talk* runs behind you. It will sleep with you in your houses. It will make you sick. It will make you die. If a man or a woman should leave his house, this *talk* will pursue you. It will make you sick in your houses, in a day you will die." The only one who seemed outwardly to be affected by this speech was a rather dull man, Kametan, who was a follower and dependent of Samol's. He often spoke at meetings repeating other peoples' speeches. Now he repeated Tjamilo's shouting through the night to the houses around the square, that the *talk* they thought they were escaping was following them,

¹ There was the belief, not complete in this statement, that Jesus was the first man to be born of woman. That was the reason that He had gone through all the trouble of being born to Mary and of growing up, in order to show the way to other women. There was believed to have been very little elapsed time between Adam and Eve and the coming of Jesus. The prophets who existed before Jesus had no generations, and no children except by mental conception. Such was in contradiction to their story of the Fall in which God told Eve that she would give birth in pain from then on. Nevertheless, the idea was current.

bringing them sores, sickness, and death. *Talk* assumes many aspects.¹

Samol was in and out of the village a good deal during April. At the end of March he had returned from Baluan with the news that Paliau was again in jail, for beating his adopted daughter when she ran away to marry a man of whom he disapproved. Paliau had been to Rambutjon to investigate reports of the Second Cult. He was to have come soon to Bunai. When he returned from Rambutjon at night, he had been greeted at the beach by his son who told him of the elopement. A conflict between Paliau and the Tolai clerk from New Britain, who had won his daughter, had been going on for some time. Paliau had run from the beach to the clerk's house, pulled his daughter out, and struck her several times. She complained and testified against him, which resulted in his month's jail sentence. Samol announced to a meeting in Bunai that Paliau's arrest was a good lesson—that the arm of the law extended to all regardless of rank or prestige. Later, Paliau told Bunai that it had been another political imprisonment for him, that his offense was too trivial to deserve more than a reprimand. At any rate, it kept him out of Bunai during the month of April. Samol continued his indirect, scolding speeches throughout the month, but he had decided to wait for Paliau. He was confident that Paliau would put an end to the Cult, while the Cult leaders expressed confidence (though they were not confident) that Paliau would back the Cult and that he would tell them what had to be done next after the completion of the *matmats*.

Easter passed, with its ceremony of the crosses in Johnston Island and Tawi, but with results that were disappointing, though not admittedly so. New ideas within the Cult represented only very minor variations. There had now been several months of purification of *thinkthink* in "wrong-straightening" meetings.² The *teachers* continued to appear, but there was a growing anxiety within the Cult.

The opposition within Bunai, in spite of its indirect tactics, had been sufficiently effective at least to inhibit a full development of the Cult within the Manus section. The Cult had been

limited to a single faction, which, for lack of full participation of the village, had been deprived of the full Cult experience. The deliberate exclusiveness practiced by Lowaja and Malei had been carried too far. Yiru was definitely against the Cult, and against Malei and Lowaja, while Lahan was making a belated start, with Kampo standing remotely and indecisively on the side lines. The Cultists' anxiety also stemmed from the closeness to the past into which the Cult brought them, in spite of their denials and rationalizations of its revival elements. Their hopes were intermingled with doubts. All of them were more cautious in committing themselves visibly than they had been in the First Cult, which was perhaps another contributing factor to the spottiness of the Second Cult recruitment within its area of appeal. No one had named a date for the *Day Behind*. The confrontation of a future, however foreshortened, in which they would attempt to maintain the pose of the Cult indefinitely, was an uncomfortable one. In spite of the thrill of defiance in proceeding alone, and the status satisfaction that came from excluding those to whom the Cult leaders felt inferior, they had become accustomed to being a part of the Movement and to thinking of the 33 villages as a unit. Indications were growing that the Cult had reached the limits of its spread. Unless there was some unforeseen event, such as the second coming of Jesus or the materialization of a few ships laden with *cargo*, the Cult membership would remain a minority, with all the prestigious individuals on the outside. They felt that, if Paliau would support the Cult, it was likely that there would be only a few who would not have followed him into the Cult. But Paliau was in jail, and both sides claimed him. Superimposed was the definite announcement that the Council was to be officially installed during May. The Assistant District Officer, James Landman, had visited Bunai to make preparations for the election of officers and the collection of taxes.

The balance between the Cult and the Movement was not entirely determined in any one village. During the Cult and its opposition, the Movement area continued to be a sharply bounded unit. Leaders, both of the Cult and its opposition, did not succeed entirely in keeping knowledge of the Cult within the Movement. Samol had personally and on his own decision

¹ Here it is used in a discourse that could match closely in content the description of the old belief in the malicious, evil spirits (*tamberan* as used locally) of dead men.

² Also called *kibung belong rausim wrong*.

informed the Assistant District Officer about the Cult, as we had also. The Assistant District Officer was sympathetic with Samol's desire that there be no intervention from the outside. Samol said that the Cult was under control, and if there were any trouble he could not handle, he would report it to the government. It was necessary that he do so. If news of the Cult suddenly reached the European community without warning, the Council installation would be postponed again—an event that greatly concerned him. While hostility to the government had reached new heights of expression in the Cult, for the first time those outside the Cult enjoyed the feeling of responsibility on the side of the Administration and its program.

THE SECOND CULT IN OTHER VILLAGES: PATUSI AND PERI

In other Manus villages within the Movement area, the Cult had either not progressed beyond the stage of visits to Johnston Island, or had been started and then been checked by internal opposition (Fig. 4). Peri and Patusi exemplify this latter situation; in Baluan and Mouk there had been no move toward *matmat* construction. I was told that on Rambutjon, the scene of Wapei's prophesies in 1947, the new cemetery had been built, and the villagers had gone to Johnston Island, but that they had gone no further into the Cult. They had even assumed the role of reformed Cultists who went around warning others of its dangers. The Mouks, under the leadership of Lukas, played a similar role. They had warned the Johnston Islanders. In the last week of April they also came to Bunai, where Lukas made an outspoken and direct speech of warning to the Cultists. The Cultists made no visible response, except to march still more defiantly.

Led by the still influential *luluai*, Tjawan, the Cult in Patusi was strongly desired by the rank and file. Patusi's contact and its start on a new *matmat* had been almost synchronous with those on Johnston Island and Tawi. Sapa, the woman into whom the ghost of Thomas entered, was a Patusi woman. Several expeditions from Patusi attended seances in Johnston Island. Early in 1953 the activities of the Patusi people had interested Peri in the *matmat* project. Just as in 1947 the people of Peri had gone to Patusi to learn more of the Cult, they learned

of it in its new form in Patusi again. Men of Peri going to the market were attracted by a *kibung* that was taking place inside a house instead of in the *ring*. Patusi had cleared its ground for the *matmat*. They had collected a number of skeletons from the old graves. They had adorned these and placed the boxes on their veranda tables. There they rested for months, awaiting the completion of the *matmat*. The *matmat* was not completed, however, during my stay in Manus, though it probably was used subsequently. The development of the Second Cult was checked almost single-handedly by Gabriel Pokes, the *council*.

Gabriel had believed in the First Cult when the plantation manager of Nropwa had sent him to investigate the reports from Tawi. He had been impressed with the appearance of the ghost of Popei, the seances, and the £1.10 of the First Cult, but he had been disappointed in the results. On the other hand, in spite of his youth, he had been chosen by his village to be its *council*. He took his work seriously and commanded real authority within the village. He had permitted the Cult to go through the initial collecting stages unopposed.

Shortly after my visit to Patusi, during which I worked with him and Ponowan, his father, on reconstructing the details of the 1947 Cult, he held a meeting in Patusi in which he simply declared that as *council* of the village he forbade any further work on the *matmat* or any other Cult activities. He feared that the Cult would lead to trouble as had the earlier one. He cited the murder of Wapei on Rambutjon. Far more explicitly than had anyone in Bunai, he said that the Cult was a revival of the pre-Christian religion. He called the seances *tilitili* (the old Manus word) and compared them with the visits of the ghosts in 1947, but above all, although his arguments failed to convince most of the people, he simply ruled against the Cult. Tjawan, instead of defying him as Tjamilo had Samol in Bunai, flew into a rage, threw the money that he held as treasurer out on the ground as "*something belong Caesar*," and sulked for a month. After this time he shook hands publicly with Gabriel. Another Patusi youth continued for some time to see the apparition of his father, who Thomas had said would be the ghostly *teacher* of Patusi, but this was all.

Peri, as mentioned above, first learned of the new Cult from Patusi in January, 1953. Patusi

people made several trips to Old Peri to collect their dead who had been buried there. Peri just watched them for a month, showing little inclination to follow their example. One young man of Peri, Prenis Tjolai, began to attend seances at Johnston Island. His influence is discussed below. Peri men going to the market at Patusi came upon the men of Patusi meeting inside one of the houses. They were allowed to come in and were told: "You men of Peri. You don't want to do this work. But your fathers, your children, your women who died before, where will they arise? You don't know very well where they are buried. You must go dig them up and bring them together in your own place." After hearing a message to this effect, Peri began to transfer the dead from their old scattered graves along the beach and small islands of the old village to the cemetery that they had built in 1948. They spent a week on this work, transferring more than 100 skeletons. By the end of that time they had exhausted the old graves of which they had been fairly certain. They were also dissatisfied with their crowded graveyard. Peri wanted to use the land behind their village to build a new *matmat*. This land was now used, by permission of the plantation to which it belonged, as a ball field and a canoe-building ground. Mano, their half-caste Buka *luluai*, blocked this plan, using his influence with the plantation manager against giving permission for the new *matmat*. All activity on the *matmat* on the part of the village as a whole under its regular leaders slacked off. A few months later we arrived in Peri and Bunai. In the interest of containing the Cult within the Movement, of keeping it from reaching the attention of the government, they decided not to mention the Cult in our presence.

Most of the men of Peri who were interested and attracted to the Cult were nevertheless cautious about it. They were suspicious of its sources, as coming from Johnston Island, Tawi, Patusi, and the Usiai at Nuang and Kapo, all of whom they respected far less than they respected themselves. There were also those who were skeptical to the point of ridiculing its activities. There was a good deal of *talk bilas* directed at Johnston Island and at its ghostly *teacher*, Thomas.

One highly influential young man was intensely attracted by the Cult. He visited Johnston Island repeatedly and had personally

communicated with Thomas there. This was the school teacher, Prenis Tjolai. Prenis, then in his late twenties, was more than usually respected for one so young. He had been selected by Peri in 1948 to go to Baluan for training by Paliau as a religious teacher. There he learned and wrote down the conventionalized liturgy and the functions of a religious leader in the *Newfela Fashion*. He had been educated, to a degree, by Bonyalo, the leader of the Local Phase in Peri, to be literate in Neo-Melanesian and to be somewhat more proficient in elementary arithmetic than most others in the village. He could recite some beginning exercises in English. These he taught to the adolescent school boys and girls of Peri. He organized them and gave them leadership. He knew his limitations and was frustrated by them. He said that his was not a real school, but it served temporarily until the government would start a real one with competent teachers.

Prenis commanded authority outside the range of his official duties. He had a voice in most meetings on village affairs. Nevertheless, he was emotionally unstable, immature in many respects, and quickly moved to resentful anger or depression. Sensitive to shame, he twice attempted suicide over a quarrel with his wife. It is probably important also that, although Prenis ranked among the village leaders as a respected equal (he was of *lapan* status and was grandson and son of Old Peri's *luluais*), he was considerably younger than the other leaders of Peri. The difference rests in that all his adult experience was within the Movement, while the war period had brought him from adolescence to the threshold of adulthood. He fastened his hopes to the more religious-mystical aspects of the Movement that remained most closely associated with the Cult. He was not a *council*. Peri had two *councils* and several other men who were potential leaders on that level. Prenis' status was certain to change with the officialization of the Council. He had been provisionally elected to be clerk of the South Coast Council area. Nevertheless, I do not think that this sort of consideration of status in the official Council entered on a conscious level into his fervor for the Cult.

Prenis' brother, Akustin Seliau, who had deserted Peri for Patusi, had been among those who had attended Thomas' earliest seances on Johnston Island. He had told Prenis about it

early in 1953. Prenis, like a number of others whom I interviewed about attending these seances, claimed that he was skeptical at first. In the course of several visits to Johnston Island, he became converted to belief in Thomas. Prenis first heard of Thomas several months before our arrival. Paliau was in the hospital at the time. When Prenis asked Kisa-kiu, the *council* of Johnston Island, whether Paliau had approved of what Thomas was saying, Kisa-kiu replied that Paliau had approved it when he and Sapa, the woman who was *wireless* for Thomas (i.e., his medium), and Thomas himself had gone to Baluan where they had spoken with Paliau. Prenis had no opportunity to ask Paliau about it personally until December, 1953, almost eight months later. In the first seance Prenis attended, Thomas mentioned Peri, saying Peri must begin work on the *matmat*, that the Peri people had much that was wrong within their village which they had better hasten to rectify.

Following this visit, Peri began its week of collecting the dead from the old village. Prenis found the skeleton of his father, but he was uncertain about the exact location of his mother. The site of New Peri had served as a burial ground for the old village. Prenis' mother had been buried in a spot which was now under one of the houses in the front line of the village. There were several opinions about its location. Prenis decided to ask Thomas. The *council* of Johnston Island had told him how Thomas worked: "If I go to ask Thomas, I can ask him like this, 'Where is my mother?' He can tell me because those who have no bodies [*all i no gat meat belong em*] communicate with one another. If you ask him to find something, like the bones of a man, Thomas says, 'All right, you stay here, I will go find it, then I will come tell you.'"

Prenis went on, "Now it is like this, as soon as I think of asking, Jesus already knows and he sends my mother to go stand near her body. When Thomas goes to find it she can show him, 'My body is here, now you go tell my child.'"¹

In preparation for asking Thomas for the location of his mother, Prenis chose the two most likely spots. He put one half of a coconut shell with the *eye* hole in it over one spot, and the other half without the *eye* on the other.

¹ Thomas' method is reminiscent of the way in which the patron ghost of a household was sent to look for stolen soul stuff in the seances (*tilitili*) of old Manus religion. See Fortune, 1935, 107 ff.

Then he planned to ask Thomas only one question to which his whistle or silence would be sufficient to identify the grave. Prenis placed his coconuts, but as things turned out he never asked Thomas about them. They were still there at the time of the interview on May 21, 1954.

Prenis next visited Johnston Island during the period of the first volcanic eruption, some time after the evacuation had ended. This seance was concerned solely with the meaning of the volcanic eruption. Prenis' account of it is given above (p. 305). He brought back to Peri each new addition to the Cult mythology, with the warnings that the *matmat* must be made and the village purified.

In spite of Prenis' urging, Peri made no further step in the direction of the Cult at this time. Prenis made one more visit to Johnston Island during the feast that followed the completion of the Johnston Island cemetery. He had been invited to come with the school boys. They and the other visitors attended seances. In one of these Peri was named as one of the places where there were people who talked *bilas* about Thomas. After Prenis left Johnston Island, while crossing the reef his canoe was swamped in the rough water. He and the Peri school boys returned to spend another night on Johnston Island, thinking that Thomas would have something to say to them, but he never appeared. Prenis was convinced, nevertheless, that the swamping of the canoe (although this is fairly common in the difficult passage through the reef at Johnston Island) was the result of, and a warning against, the *talk bilas* in Peri that Thomas had mentioned.

Prenis told me that when he returned he called a meeting which he addressed as follows:

I know that within our village there is a great deal of *talk steal* and *talk bilas* going on about me and about Thomas [derogatory talk behind one's back]. This *talk bilas* and *talk steal* about him, I think is wrong. If this work [the Second Cult] is no good and trouble comes out of it, it will destroy their ground, it will not come here to ruin your place here in Peri. This place Johnston Island, this behavior of theirs, if it is good or no good, that is their concern. If this work of theirs is good, and if it makes their place all right, it must come to you too. Then why do you *talk cross*, and *talk steal*, and *talk bilas*, about them? Another thing. If a child puts on good clothing and he comes walking before your eyes and he doesn't damage anything of yours, and you are envious of his looks, and you strike him without cause,

the trouble for this must go where? If the law finds out it will be your trouble. Now it is like this with all of the things you have been doing that are not right, if they are in your *thinkthink*, God finds them out. If you have good *thinkthink*, which is correct to God, you will not direct anger or fighting against other villages and other men.

Prenis continued with much more along such lines. He said that it was particularly bad because the *talk bilas* was led by Petrus Pomat and Raphael Manuai, both *councils*, and Stephan Tjamuko, the *committee*. Only Petrus replied to Prenis' talk, saying that he was wrong, that he was sorry about the *talk bilas*. I asked what sort of *talk bilas* there had been. Pius Selan, the old carpenter, had interrupted Prenis' talk about Thomas to say: "Never mind Thomas. This isn't his village. Thomas doesn't belong to Peri, he belongs to another village. You can't bring his ways in here." (Lokes, John Kilepak, and Bopau, three other skeptics, thought this was hilarious. They said that there was *talk steal* among themselves at the time, "We have plenty of ancestors who died, why can't they come speak to us, why just someone from another place?") Thomas was a foreigner. This argument in joking form is particularly apt for Peri. Of all the arguments offered in other villages, no one thought of this one. It reflects Peri's strong preference for autonomy, their sense of self-sufficiency, and their feeling that they should be a center of the Manus as they formerly were. For many in Peri it seemed ridiculous that Peri should follow Johnston Island or Tawi in anything. They were still thinking in terms of the past, of Peri's preëminence and of Tawi's lack of distinction. In terms of the prestige and competence of their leaders and their range of current personalities, Tawi and Johnston Island are still regarded as of no account. This was pointed out above as a basic determinant in the Cult recruitment of the low-prestige villages of Johnston Island, Tawi, Nuang and Kapo, and the Bunai hamlets Malei and Lowaja. Patusi village almost went the same way.

The question of proof of Thomas' existence came up in Peri. Prenis testified that he had seen and heard Thomas with his own eyes and ears. He meant that he had seen the seances and heard the whistles. He had been in the company of many others, all of whom had heard the whistles. But even seeing and hearing in company was not sufficient. Some, such as

John Kilepak and Lokes, asked for some tangible manifestation. Kampo raised the same question in Bunai. Neither in Bunai nor in Peri, however, was this mentioned in an open meeting. As John Kilepak put it: "It isn't true. If he appears we want him to bring something that we can hold in our hands. Then it would be true and we could believe in him. We think about everything in 1946. All of these things appeared, but there was not one thing that we could actually hold in our hands. This was our *talk bilas* that we said among ourselves." But even tangibles were not enough. There were the 10 shillings on Johnston Island, 10 shillings and some tobacco that were said to have materialized in Malei, but, as Kampo said, nothing really substantial, no warships, no airplanes. Prenis testified to his experience with Thomas, but he had neither warships nor 10 shillings to show for it. He told Peri also that Paliau knew about and approved of the Cult. He told them what the *council* of Johnston Island had told him, that Thomas himself had been brought to Baluan where he performed for Paliau.

During the Christmas of 1953 spent on Baluan, Prenis spoke to Paliau, with Pokanau and Lukas Bonyalo as witnesses. Paliau made another ambiguous statement which Prenis was able to interpret as supporting the Cult. Paliau had told them to work to correct the serious wrongs that existed in Peri, among them many divorces, and re-marriages when the former spouse was still living. Prenis' talk with Paliau was interrupted, leaving Prenis with many of his questions still unanswered.

During January, 1954, Prenis and Pokanau attempted to carry out the suggestion that they say Paliau made, that they do something about all the divorces and adulterous affairs in Peri. I do not believe that the suggestion was as specific as reported. I think he simply told them to straighten out the misconduct within their own village. Prenis later said that his attempt to break up the marriages of those people who had been divorced and whose spouses were still living was patterned after what had been done on Johnston Island at Thomas' direction.¹ Thomas had told Prenis, in a general way, as Paliau had done, that there were serious

¹ This attempt to undo subsequent marriages of divorced people does not derive from the *Newfela Fashion* but from the earlier Catholic ethic. It is another instance of incorporation of pre-*Newfela Fashion* religious content by the Cult.

sins within Peri Village which had to be rectified. Prenis, Pokanau, the senior old man in Peri, Stephan Tjamuko, the newly elected *committee*, and the *council* Petrus Pomat argued for the idea that the six marriages within the village that involved divorces should be broken up and that the women involved, or the men, should return to the original spouse. Pokanau, Pomat, and Tjamuko argued that such action should be taken at once, because the Council would come soon, and, when it did, real punishments would be meted out to anyone who had committed this sort of "wrong." Similar arguments had been heard in Bunai, that before the Council was set up there had to be a house cleaning.

This argument, usually presented outside the Cult context, represented a parallel approach to the need felt by all, whether Cult adherent or opponent, for a kind of moral regeneration. There was a good deal of concern about the frequency of divorce because of adultery. Peri was sharply divided over the divorce question. The men involved in the "wrong" marriages were popular and respected and included one of the *councils*, Raphael Manuai, and the *luluai*, Mano. All the re-marriages that were to be broken were at least two years old. Raphael Manuai, for example, had been a widower. The woman he had married had been separated from her husband, who had thrown her out over a year before she re-married. Her divorce had been formally recognized by a government officer in a court hearing. Her kin had repaid the five-pound bride price to her husband. Her re-marriage to Raphael had not taken place in church. They had simply begun to live together and, when the census was next taken, had notified the government officer of their marriage. They had been married for over a year and had a child. Everyone recognized that their marriage was a good one, with little fighting. Yet it was argued that this marriage was a sin, that they should be separated, and that the wife should be sent back to her former husband, who did not want her. In another of the marriages under attack, that of Lukas Pokus, the husband was a widower, and the wife had been divorced for three years before re-marriage. She was now pregnant in her new marriage. Her husband, Lukas, conceded to the meeting that he would ask her if she wanted to go back to her former husband.

She said that her old marriage had been made according to the old culture as an arrangement between her father and her husband's kin. She had never liked the first husband and would not go back to him.

The men whose marriages were criticized were harassed by repeated meetings in which they were told that their marriages were the worst sins in the village, that God was angry, that they would get into trouble when the Council came in. I offered the suggestion that perhaps everyone would be satisfied if the second marriages were more formally recognized either by a belated church wedding or, if this was objectionable, by a civil wedding. The idea was sharply denounced by Prenis Tjolai. Karol Manoi, formerly of Patusi, the present *council*, made a highly emotional speech to the effect that they should remember that they were all brothers, that they should cease harassing these men before they were either driven out of the village or driven to suicide. Prenis and Petrus Pomat replied that they could not force these men to break their marriages, but it was their duty, as the village leaders responsible for its moral condition, to revert to the subject repeatedly. "God will find out these marriages of theirs, if He wants to break them with death, He can." The matter was left there.

Prenis now waited for Paliau. He had been blocked in his attempts to get Peri to listen respectfully to Thomas. He was blocked over a site for a new graveyard, which most of the village was willing to build. His communication with Paliau had been unclear and unsatisfactory. He made no further visits to Johnston Island, but his own experience of the Cult continued.

Prenis' brother, Akustin Seliau, in Patusi, was one of the Cult adherents in that village. Through their interest in the Cult, the relationship of the two brothers became closer than usual during this time. Some time after Christmas, Akustin was fishing at night with a lantern near the old village of Peri when he heard a whistle. He thought it was that of a person buried in the old village. When he mentioned the name of his younger brother who had died as a child, there was an answering whistle. This brother, Pomat, was asking to be re-buried. Akustin hurried to Peri to tell Prenis about it. By way of confirmation they asked others whether Pomat was actually buried on the

small island near which the whistle was heard. He was. Later that night, in Prenis' house, while they were thinking about Pomat, the ghost of Akustin's daughter, a little girl, Kisolet, appeared to him. She confirmed that it had actually been Pomat who had called him near the old village. She also asked for her own reburial. While it is believed in Peri that Prenis saw Kisolet, the only ghost who had appeared in Peri during the Cult, Prenis afterward said that he did not actually speak to or see her, but that Akustin did. He took his word for it so readily that, before he reconsidered, he told me that he and Akustin had seen her. This sort of participation, after the fact, may be behind some of the other cases in which more than one person experienced the presence of a ghost, though it cannot apply to the formal seances on Johnston Island itself. Akustin wanted to go immediately to get Pomat and Kisolet for reburial in Patusi. Prenis, however, insisted that it was God's will that they be buried in Peri.

Here again the righteous were able to bring their piety to bear on a personal or family matter. Akustin and Prenis' father was Tjolai, the former *luluai* of Peri. They belonged not only to Peri Village but to the Peri clan which gave that village its name. Prenis wanted his brother to return to Peri. His argument recalls the rigidly interpreted "*road belong thinkthink*" of the First Cult in 1947. Against Akustin's

intent to re-bury the two children in Patusi, Prenis argued:

No, God did not bring you into the womb of Patusi [*bel belong Patusi*], you came from Tjolai. Therefore you belong to Peri. Now it is like this, our brother Pomat was brought by God into the womb of our mother and our father, belonging to Peri. . . . Your head is a little mixed up because you have altered the work of God, your Father. If you belonged to Patusi, God could have marked you to come into the womb of a woman of Patusi, but God brought you into the womb of Peri. If you run away to Patusi you cast down the word of God, you change His word according to your own will.

It was also said that it was all right for those of other clans to run away from Peri Village, but not for those of Peri clan itself. Here we find another of those reassertions of local village, even clan, particularism which reappears with the Cult, which is manifest in the desire for separate and exclusive *matmats*, and with the concern with one's own particular ancestors through whom one is most immediately linked to God. Prenis confided this experience to some in Peri, but kept it as carefully from others. Prenis, having only the help of the school boys whom he had brought into contact with the Cult, was able to do nothing further with it. He would wait upon an unequivocal order from Paliau which would start his village again to building a new *matmat*.

CHECKING THE SECOND CULT

PALIAU'S AMBIGUOUS POSITION

An element of assertion of independence of Paliau existed in the Cult, and also an expression of dissatisfaction by those persons who had come into the Movement through the *Noise*, but who had begun to feel betrayed in the loss of the more mystical hopes of the early Movement. The *Noise* had involved the rejection of a major part of the original Paliau program, together with the retention of his more religious concepts and a reading into them of the diffuse Native-Christian religious cult of the ghosts and the *cargo*. When the First Cult had not fulfilled its promise, Paliau's program remained to be tried. It had been put into effect with an enthusiasm carried over from the First Cult phase. The religious atmosphere of the early Movement after the *Noise* led to the ritual-like enactment of some parts of the

Paliau program. This also tapered off into a more secularized exploration of the new way of life. The program, which everyone willingly attributed to Paliau (all and more than was his due), became more familiar. Some of it had already become outmoded and had been discarded or replaced by the newer organization of the Movement based on the Council model. This, too, had been done under the leadership of Paliau. He himself had no particular fixation on the details of his initial program. Had he remained merely the continuing advocate of his initial program, much of which had been carried out imperfectly or not at all, his leadership would have waned and the government program would have replaced his. Instead, as soon as he had grasped the idea of councils and cooperatives, he initiated and carried out as much as he knew of them well in advance of

official moves on the part of the government. In addition to being able to identify with the Native Council program, he was able to identify it with himself in the minds of his followers. For the people of the Movement, officialization meant recognition and government support of what they themselves had already established. They felt that they, and Paliau in particular, had forced the government to grant them their Councils.

Throughout these changes in Paliau's position and outlook, there remained his image as the prophet of the Initial Phase of the Movement: one who had been directly inspired by Jesus, one who had been shown the iron-bound book of secrets, one to whom had been revealed the "Long Story of God" that formed the basis for all the lesser revelations that followed. In fact, for people such as Tjamilo, Tapo, and many others within the Second Cult, this was Paliau's real self; the rest was a façade in which they would not believe. Whatever Paliau might say that sounded new, they would never forget that what he really meant was what he had said in 1946. The Cult members, even those less mystical than Tjamilo, autistically revived the image of the earlier Paliau—the holder of secret knowledge—who would, when the right time came, break his silence or his seeming opposition, to lead them beyond the place where the lesser prophets of the Second Cult had left them, for by April, 1954, the failure of the new Cult had become obvious. The initial claim to independence from Paliau by the adherents of the Cult withered with the growing anxiety about its prospects.

Paliau's authority had been declining throughout the Plateau Phase. Much of the later program that he offered was highly dependent on government action. The Mouks, who had been his strongest supporters in the early part of the Movement, became more and more independent of him. His support remained much stronger along the South Coast, but, even there, his followers were showing more maturity in the new life. In the absence of a new program from him, they were able to carry on independently. Throughout the Plateau Phase, a visit from Paliau to Bunai had an exciting, stimulating effect. He would whip things into shape and reestablish morale. The rebuilding of all the houses in the village, dilapidated after nearly six years of use, had

been discussed repeatedly. A visit from Paliau in July, 1953, served to overcome the villagers' inertia and gave the village several months of activity, during which each house was rebuilt in improved design. Paliau was depended on for this effect on morale.

Yet his leadership had been lacking, on some crucial matters, on the use of the Movement's funds, for example. Paliau wished to release the people from their commitment to him that he use the money as he saw fit. This sort of commitment was no longer appropriate, and he knew it. But those who waited for him to make a pronouncement that would end the conflict between their loyalty to him and their new needs and nascent maturity were disappointed. Tjamilo had decided that Paliau would spend the money for the ship that they had been awaiting all these years. With the ship he would go straight to the *ass belong place*, thereby cutting out the indirect flow of goods to them through the Australian stores. Instead, Paliau had remained silent except to say that they were to do as they saw fit.

In meetings over Christmas, 1953, about the Cooperative, Paliau was again going to follow the course he had followed with the Council. He started to organize them into cooperatives, elect officers, and collect the money that would be paid to the government for shares, before the Administration was actually ready to establish it. His idea was still effective, but he had too little knowledge of how the Cooperative should be organized. In the end it was not his own idea that was adopted.

On Baluan the Mouks had achieved independence without leaving the Movement. Their daily contact with Paliau, throughout the years of the Movement, plus a long list of grievances against him which they held either singly or collectively, had made them come to think of themselves as his equal. They were no longer children, they said. They had been his mainstay in the early part of the Movement. They had been the center of the Council when it was established at Baluan. They continued to respect Paliau, but on a basis of his continued effectiveness as leader. At the height of their feeling against Paliau during one of their quarrels with him, they continued to recognize his authorship of the Movement, which was never in question, though the extent of automatic loyalty to which it entitled him was.

Lukas of Mouk, Paliau's chief antagonist, while intelligent, experienced, and as formidable a figure as one could find among the Manus, had nevertheless not attained a position of leadership outside Mouk in any way comparable to Paliau's. To the rest of the Movement, Mouk stood largely as an example of the degree of independence of Paliau that was possible within the Movement. They did not fail to take advantage of opportunities for demonstrating their independence.

As far as one could see, the South Coast was still completely with Paliau, to the extent that the people there wanted to boycott the Mouks during their quarrel with him. Some of the South Coast leaders, such as Samol of Bunai and Napo of Mbukey, had accepted Paliau as a completely secular leader. Paliau could conduct church services, as Samol and others did, but he had no touch of divinity for them. It never came to the test, but I believe that some, at least, would now have rejected Paliau had he openly taken over the leadership of the Second Cult. These men had confidence that, on Paliau's appearance and under the lash of his opposition, the Cult would vanish. If such were the case, why had Paliau permitted the Cult to develop throughout the past year?

By the time Paliau first heard of the Cult, everyone else had heard of it, too. Johnston Island and Tawi were at work on their *matmats*, and Thomas was in regular attendance. He had remained silent about Paliau. His messages were direct from Jesus, not through Paliau. In the period before the *Noise*, Jesus had dealt with man through Paliau. This new direct route in which it was not deemed necessary even to take Paliau into account, cut into his authority. The *council* of Johnston Island, as an individual of no particular prestige within the Movement, could not have challenged Paliau's authority at all. There were a dozen or more who ranked above him in prestige within the Movement. But this was Thomas, and the *council* of Johnston Island supposedly had little to do with it. It apparently had not occurred to anyone that he had not asked Thomas the question, "Should we go to Paliau to ask him to show us what to do?" It was being said that this Cult had nothing to do with Paliau. It was God's word, directly available to every village through Thomas and through their own ghostly *teachers*. We have seen that in spite of Thomas'

setting himself up as the central authority among the many *teachers*, and in spite of the recognition of him when they appeared, Thomas as the original source of revelation became less important, as direct revelation became available within each village. Had Paliau, in the First Cult of 1947, ever claimed to be the exclusive recipient of divine revelation, his monopoly was soon broken by Wapei of Rambuton and soon by a host of others who had direct visionary experience.

When, early in 1953, Paliau first learned of the Second Cult and of the activities on Johnston Island, he was angry. Reported to Johnston Island, his anger evoked at first a show of defiance. The people of Johnston Island said that what they were doing had nothing to do with Paliau and that they would not abandon the work on the *matmat*. But Paliau did not make it clear why he was angry. When he was asked about the *matmats* he said, "Why are you asking me now about building good *matmats* when I have been telling you to do so for six years and yet you haven't done it?" A number of leaders who were desirous of introducing the Cult into their own villages thought of asking Paliau's permission. But they asked about the *matmat* and implied the Cult, while he answered about the *matmat* and left them wondering what else he was implying. Prenis Tjolai's experience may illustrate Paliau's handling of those persons who asked him to confirm their belief in the Cult. Prenis left a notebook with us in which he had been taking notes during a regional meeting. Later he sent a note asking me not to let the visiting *kiap* see his book, as it contained the following letter he had written:

23/12/53 [written on Baluan over Christmas holiday]

Alou Chaman Paliau
mi kat ting ting olosem long mi
spos mi laek ting long God.
na ting blong mi i painim ju pastaim
long wonem samting mi laek
long ting belong mi. mi tokim ju long
en na ju pringim long jesus
i salim i kam long ju paliau.
na ju kisim na pihaen ju tokim
mi long em em tasol

na nau mi laekim wok blong
mat mat wantaem thing blong en

*na wok blong en na sape blong
en. em tasol mi laekim strong
dispela wok em tasol
Mi Paliau Pere*

*na peles blong mi i laekim
or i no laek long en tasol
long mi. mi laekim strong
tumas em tasol Paliau
na i kat sampela mo
tasol liklik hia i nap tasol ju sape.*

Translation:

Hello Chairman Paliau
This is my thinking
If I want to direct my thoughts to God
My mind has to find you first
Because, what I desire in my
mind, I tell you and you
bring it to Jesus,
who sends it to you, Paliau.
You receive it and then you
tell me about it. That is all.

And now I want the work of
the *matmat* along with its idea
and its work and its knowledge.
That is all. I desire intensely
this work. That is all.

I am Paliau^[1] of Peri

Whether my village wants it
or it doesn't want it, for me,
I desire it very strongly.
That's all, Paliau.
There is some more
but with just this little bit
you understand.

The *council* of Johnston Island had told
Prenis that Paliau approved and that Thomas
had spoken to Paliau. Nevertheless, Prenis in-
tended to ask him personally, so, at Christmas,
he asked Paliau if he could do what was being
done in Johnston Island. Paliau asked how
many times he had to tell them to build a good
matmat. He had told them this repeatedly, yet
they asked again. Prenis replied, "Yes, but
there is all this work that goes with it, plenty
of places are doing it."

Paliau's reply was: "What can I tell you?
Em i onefela talk here" (which could mean in
Neo-Melanesian, "I am saying the same thing,"
or "There is only one thing that I have to say,"
or a number of other things). He went on,

¹ Paliau is another of Prenis Tjolai's names, not used
elsewhere in this monograph to avoid confusion with
Paliau of Lipan-Mouk.

"Your village has all sorts of [bad] ways (*place
belong you i got more plenty kind fashion i stop
long em*)."

On the basis of such ambiguous re-
marks, Prenis and Pokanau returned to start
the campaign of breaking up marriages involv-
ing divorces. Then, according to Prenis, Paliau
added: "You go lay out good ground and put a
matmat on it. Clear a place, keep it well, line up
the dead properly in it. But about the way of
the work of this *matmat*, I can't tell you about
this. Your village has plenty men who spy in it.
That's all. I cannot talk to you clearly about
this work. You just go and work and in what-
ever ideas you are short, you can come back,
you can ask me about it." This left Prenis al-
most as uncertain as he was before, but Paliau
had implied that there was much more to the
matmat "work" than he was mentioning, or
than Prenis was mentioning, but that he,
Paliau, of course, knew all about it. He could
not tell them clearly yet, because there were
spies in the village. (We were no longer living
there, but we might have been included, though
Paliau himself was willing to discuss the Cult
far more definitely with us than he did with any
of his followers.) One of Paliau's difficulties
arose from the fact that he was supposed to
know everything that was going on. He usually
accepted the assumption that he did, which
often left him relatively uninformed about the
state of the Cult or of happenings in other
villages.

Paliau's oracular obscurity in answering the
persons who insisted on believing in the Cult
promises continued throughout the period of
the development of the Second Cult. The story
that Paliau had heard from Thomas was spread
only by the *council* of Johnston Island. No one
heard it from Paliau. On the other hand, there
were tales that Paliau had denounced the peo-
ple of Johnston Island in non-specific terms and
had warned them of the danger that lay in
what they were doing. When Tjamilo and
Suluwan of Bunai asked Paliau for confirmation
of the Cult, he told them that if he said any-
thing, then, when trouble resulted from the
Second Cult, as it would, everyone would say
that he had started the Cult and the trouble
would again be his. He then reiterated that he
had always told them to build a good *matmat*,
and they had never done it. What did they want
him to tell them now? Aside from direct inter-
views with Paliau about the Cult, these men

who sought to ascertain his stand also had many conflicting rumors of Paliau's position and statements. These continued to be contradictory, leaving the way open for each side to claim him, with neither being quite certain where he stood.

Certainly Paliau's own village, Lipan, and the contiguous village of Mouk, were not rebuilding *matmats* or collecting the remains of the dead. The Mouks had made their own position clear. Lukas had come to Bunai during April, the month of Paliau's imprisonment, and had told Samol that he wanted immediately to bring Pondis and Pantret and the other Cult leaders to Baluan to stand trial before the Council and the Council *kiap*. There was no sparing of feelings or oblique approach for Lukas. Samol, however, headed him off. He explained to him that it was the way of the Usiai that they might leave the Movement if they were attacked and proved wrong. Lukas favored voting them out of the Council for their revival of the Cult. He agreed to allow Samol more time to control the situation. Lukas at this time had no official position whatever. Although he was no longer the *council* of Mouk, his leadership remained effective, had he chosen to exercise it. He began to come out somewhat during this month of Paliau's imprisonment. Had Lukas been permitted to call the Cult to a showdown, it would have deprived Paliau of the opportunity to do so, and probably, in the way that Lukas proposed to handle it, the results of his action would have been destructive to the solidarity of the Movement.

Paliau took action about the Cult toward the end of March. One of the main purposes of his trip to Rambutjon had been to investigate reports of the Cult that had been coming from there. He said that the situation there was all right—new *matmats*, but not all that went with it elsewhere. He planned to go next to Johnston Island and to the South Coast, when he was jailed for a month.

MEETINGS IN OPPOSITION TO SECOND CULT

The antagonism between the Cult and its opposition reached its height in Bunai during April. On April 30, 1954, when Samol went to Lorengau to get Paliau, on their own initiative Simion Kilepak and Markus Pwatjumel called a meeting to which they summoned the Usiai.

This meeting was the third called by the Manus in an effort to get the Usiai to speak openly about the Cult.

Simion Kilepak, a young man about 30 years old, held no official position within the village but acted as a *committee*. He was an intellectual, but he had too little education to do much with his intellectual proclivities. He had little liking for any role other than as a leader of the village. He always acted as a self-appointed supervisor in any work project to which he was assigned. He spoke at every meeting and tackled problems more openly than others, as he had little patience with *talk picture* or *talk bokis* (oblique or metaphoric concealment in speech). He appointed himself assistant to Samol in the leadership of the village. In the role he was building for himself, he undertook to be Tjamilo's adversary in the meetings that Tjamilo usually called when Samol left the village.

Pwatjumel had been strongly inclined toward the Cult. He had dreamed of the gate to the *matmat* and had now finished building it. He had, however, been ambivalent about the Cult because of his own close adherence on most matters to the leadership of his elder brother-in-law, Samol. That he could not resist ridiculing the solemnity of the Usiai Cultists put him, more than anything else, into the Cult opposition. On the pretext of looking for a game of *Lucky*, he and several of the other young Manus men who clustered around him made frequent trips into Usiai hamlets. While the Manus of Johnston Island and Tawi were playing *Lucky* in the midst of their Cult, the Usiai had tabooed it, along with whistling, guitar and ukelele playing, non-religious singing, and dancing. At one point, Pwatjumel and his friends marched through the Usiai section in a single file, imitating the stiff marching of the Cultists and their rigid, straight-ahead gaze. This ridicule contributed much to Usiai hostility and resentment.

No one from Malei came to Simion Kilepak's meeting; only three men came from Lowaja. Simion began by accusing the Cultists of reverting to the beliefs of Wapei, the prophet of Rambutjon, while the rest of them had left them behind and had gone on to work on the Council. He accused them of having "lost shame" by reviving mixed nude bathing. He said that when they held meetings they sta-

tioned lookouts to stop the discussion if someone from Bunai or Yiru came. Simion described how seances were held in the divided room in Lowaja, at which Namu and Nasei (according to his version) stayed on one side, all the men stayed on the lighted side, while someone carried the *talk* back and forth between them. He said that when a Bunai woman went to trade fish in Malei, she had been called crazy and told that the people of Malei had no use for such commodities produced by hard work.

Tjamilo made the next speech, signaling the position that the Cultists were to take. Addressing Popu, of Lowaja, Tjamilo said that he agreed with everything that Simion had said. The Usiai must stop doing what they had been doing. He said that the *matmat* was an end in itself to make the village look better. It had nothing to do with *cargo*. (This was the first time *cargo* had been mentioned in an open meeting.)

Simion also accused the Usiai of having spent all their money in the plantation store to buy luxury foods, their uniforms, and the cosmetics for the dead.

Petrus Popu defended Lowaja: "What Tjamilo said about *cargo*, we aren't working on the *matmats* in order that *cargo* will come up. We think that it is all right for all the seven hamlets of Bunai to have one big *matmat*, but it is hard work to carry people [who have died] along the road to the old graveyard. And it is hard work to punt a canoe to the *matmat*." (The old *matmat* was about a quarter of a mile past Lowaja. The body, with the chief mourners, was taken by canoe while the rest of the village walked. Petrus claimed they wanted to build a *matmat* contiguous to each hamlet so that no one would have to walk when someone died.) Petrus protested further: "I worship only God. We do not worship a piece of wood, or a stone, or a fish." (No one had accused them of idolatry or fish worship, but Petrus spoke as if they were really being so accused, and he rose in anger against such an accusation.) In response to the accusation about squandering their money, he said that they had not put the money aside for the Council and Cooperative because they were angry about the money that had been lost by Pantret and by Samol.

Tjamilo, who had said, "What's all this about *cargo*?" cueing Petrus' protests, was disturbed by the vehemence with which Petrus

disclaimed the idea of *cargo*. He rose to warn Petrus not to talk loosely. He said that they must be ready for what is to come; they must be ready for the *Day Behind*. But he warned also against thinking more of the dead than of God.

Simion made further accusation about the uniforms and about the marching morning and night. He then accused them of taking off their loin cloths at the seances and of the committing of general fornication with the two women by all present. There had been much talk about the loss of shame in the Cult. This might be a repetition of what happened during the First Cult in 1947, in which, as a part of the return to the First Order of God as it had existed in Paradise before the Fall, men and women were no longer to be ashamed before one another. So in Lahan and Yiru, and briefly in some of the Manus villages, they had dropped their *laplaps* and bathed together. This much we had been told in interviews concerning 1947, although it was a sore subject that most of them disliked to mention. We had not heard of general promiscuity in the Second Cult such as Simion's accusations of Lowaja.

Popu did not deny it. He said, "Yes, we are crazy," and admitted to the nudity. But he said that he could not discuss it. He would have to leave it to the rest when they came. But he denied again that they worshipped a piece of wood.

Someone else moved for the ejection of the two women (the mediums) from the village. Tjamilo warned about *talk steal* and spying on one another. He told Popu that everyone talked *bilas* about him too. Kisekup reminded Popu that they had known each other as children, admonishing him about his strange behavior now that the Usiai held their meetings in the bush in secret as if they were worshipping a *marsalai* (a spirit of the bush). With the usual assurances by all the speakers that they were not angry with one another, the meeting ended. It was the most open discussion of the Cult that had taken place in Bunai, but only three Usiai had attended.

On May 2, Samol had not yet returned with Paliu. On Paliu's release from jail, the District Commissioner had taken him and Samol to attend the opening of a Cooperative store in Loni. Simion Kilepak took the opportunity to call another meeting to which he summoned the

Usiai. This time several men from Malei came.

Simion approached the discussion of the Cult less directly than he had previously. He said that the new graveyards were too close to the houses. The sun would heat the ground, sickness would come up as *smoke*, and the sickness would get into their food. He asked again the meaning of the work of the *matmat*. If its meaning was like that of 1946, then it was something of the past that had been proved wrong. He reproached them for excluding others, saying that it was the Manus who brought the Usiai down in 1946 and that now they were being excluded, which was wrong. Jesus' *kibungs* had excluded no one.

Suluwan made an angry speech blaming the Manus of his own village for the present trouble, which resulted from their spying and their *talk bilas*.

Tjamilo urged the men of Malei to say whether he had taught them, saying that they should not protect him. He said that there was trouble now, that it was the same as it had been in 1946. He had brought the *Noise* back from Baluan and passed it on to the Usiai, and they had caused the trouble by burning the books and hats, which would not have happened had they continued to follow his lead.

Nine speeches by Bunai men followed. Each raised some new accusation against the Usiai or some new argument against what was being done. Each speech was followed by the usual indeterminate pause until someone else felt inclined to speak. Only after these nine speeches did one of the men from Malei reply. Pondis, the *council*, admitted that they had ejected from their meetings a Manus woman from Peri who had married into Malei; he admitted that they had spent their money in the store. He answered the exhortations for them to reveal the source of their *matmat* idea by saying that it was their own idea, their own affair, and if Bunai did not like it, Malei would clear out and go somewhere else. This threat was a typical Usiai reaction to criticism or challenge—resentment, withdrawal, spite. It had the same effect of eliciting conciliatory statements from the Manus.

Tjamilo said that it was not the way of God for one man to cast out another. He said that God had brought them together. He pleaded for coexistence of the *matmat* work with that of the Council, saying: "There is one road of the

Council, there is another of the Cooperative. There must be one more. It must be like the Trinity."

Suluwan of Bunai said that he did not blame the Usiai for threatening to leave after all the *talk bilas* and the shame to which the Manus had subjected them. He defended their right to try the road of the *matmat*.

Other speeches urged that the news of the Cult must not be allowed to reach the white man. (We were sitting there taking notes as usual; they meant the Australians.) Another argued that if only a few villages backed the Cult, the government could stop it, but if all 33 villages backed it, the government could not suppress it. He wanted the Usiai, therefore, to let the rest of them know what they were doing.

Several others who had formerly supported Tjamilo, influenced by the stubborn exclusion of the Manus by the Usiai Cultists, now changed their positions. Talimelon, who had helped build Bunai's new *matmat* (which, ironically, was completed while that of Malei and Lowaja had hardly been started), said that this was no time for straightening out the bad feelings between the Manus and Usiai. It was necessary to declare an abrupt halt to the Usiai activities before they got them all in trouble. He likened the Cult to ripe fruit which had begun to stink.

Tjamilo spoke, still bidding for leadership of the Cult: "All right, you of Malei and Lowaja shouldn't blame me as if I am helping them. No, you had better look at the gate here. If it is wrong, then blame everything on me. [He pointed to the gate of the village, the *snow*,¹ referring to what was for him the symbol of his earlier role in the Movement, of bringing much of its mystical background from Lipan.] There it stands. That which you are doing, if it is of another kind, then you will have trouble. When the white man pounds on the table, you will not be adequate. Now you think that you are, but then you will shake."

After several more speeches, another of the Malei men said that they could not straighten it out today because some people were not present. Tjamilo and Kisekup made speeches about *cargo* not coming from the *matmat*. Tjamilo's

¹ The symbolic gate of the village called the *snow*, referring to the first line of the "Long Story of God" (*God i stap inside long snow*), *snow*, in Neo-Melanesian, meaning "mist" or "clouds."

speeches expressed just the opposite of his beliefs. His aims were multiple and complex. He wanted to indicate to the Usiai the line that they should take which would leave the Manus with no argument. He wanted to be recognized by the Cultists as the only man who could not only give them the Cult but keep them out of trouble. He was known for his defiance of the white man during the early days of the Movement. Now he was claiming credit for the survival of the Movement itself, in Bunai at least, which is what he meant in his use of the gate of the village. This had been shot at by a government officer who had tried to "down" them. They had then been ordered by the police to take it down. It had been thrown down and set up again. Yet, in 1954, Tjamilo could point to it where it stood, broken and weathering. But he failed again in attaining the leadership he sought, which he could not have within the Council. The Usiai responded neither to him nor to the others who urged them to admit their Cult beliefs. The Cultists themselves said virtually nothing at this meeting. The attempts led by Simion Kilepak to have everything settled before Samol's return with Paliau had failed completely.

On that evening of May 2, Paliau arrived in Bunai. Pantret had wanted to meet Paliau in Lorengau, but such was obviously Samol's place. During the canoe trip from Lorengau, Samol had been able to describe to Paliau, from his point of view, all that had happened in Bunai. Paliau would also stay in Samol's house in the Manus section. They brought with them the news that the long-delayed inauguration of the official Council for the South Coast, to be joined to that established in 1950 in Baluan, was to take place on May 5, in only three days, with the Movement still split by the Cult.

Paliau was dispirited and depressed in a way that I had not expected of him. He had been humiliated by his month in the Lorengau jail. He told me that he had seen me in Lorengau, but out of shame had hidden behind the other prisoners. He told me how he had flown into a rage because his daughter ran away from school to be married to a man of whom he disapproved. He blamed the Baluan and Mouk councilors for not restraining her, at least until he returned. He felt that he should not have been sentenced under the circumstances. He was uncertain whether the Assistant District Officer in charge

of the Council would now allow him to continue as the chairman of the Council, when his aim of the past years to make the Council and the Movement coterminous was about to be realized.

For hours, in Samol's house, the men most intent on the Cult in one way or another hung on Paliau's words to see whether he had committed himself, or not. He spoke of inconsequential things and of the coming elections. That night he came to our house and spent some time going through our pile of *Life* magazines, asking questions about each picture. He was particularly fascinated with the *Life* issue on Africa and with the African leaders, with whom he immediately identified. For hours, the leaders of Malei had been sitting with us, not saying a word, not wanting to interrupt. Finally, in speaking about his trip to Rambutjon, Paliau mentioned the Cult, and he spoke to us of the present trouble in Bunai which was the result of the Cult. For the first time it was clear that he intended to do something about it. A bell had begun to sound in Bunai, calling the meeting to discuss the Second Cult. Only after Paliau had returned to Bunai, did Kilopwai of Malei tell him that they had prepared a party for him to celebrate his return from jail. He and Samol went to eat in Malei, thus delaying the meeting until 10 o'clock that night.

At the meeting Samol began by saying that Malei was going to leave New Bunai. Malei answered that they had only said that in response to Bunai's *talk bilas*. Samol continued to describe the state of the village. When *councils* or visitors came from other Cult villages, such as Kapo or Nuang, they no longer presented themselves to Samol. They went instead to Tjamilo's house, as if he and not Samol were *council*. He said that Tjamilo had declared himself uninterested in the Council and the Cooperative, which Tjamilo immediately denied, saying that he knew that the Council and Cooperative came from God, and demanding to know when he had made such a statement. He had made it several times, as he and everyone knew. At times he felt that the Council and Cooperative were sops from the white men; at other times he felt they had been established by God, but that they were the hard work of the Second Order of God. Tjamilo had made statements such as those Samol mentioned in a meeting in which he had resigned as *committee*, say-

ing that he had other work. Samol had been irritated by Tjamilo's refusal to work on Council projects during his work on the *matmat*. Samol had maintained that there should be only a single *committee* to a village, rather than one for each clan. While such a reduction of offices was convenient for Samol in local affairs, it was also in accord with Paliau's instructions. A plan of Peri's to set up separate treasuries for each clan had evoked Samol's denunciation of clan particularism as a reversion to the old form of social organization. There was a problem, however, of too little structural provision for too many leaders. The old system of clan *committee* provided more leadership space and the only form of formal recognition for the old group of "big men" and those who, but for the Paliau Movement, would have replaced them.

Paliau broke into the exchange between Samol and Tjamilo, saying that the discussion had gone amiss now "like a fire that runs only over the bark of a tree while the inside is untouched." The meeting, as happened frequently, had drifted off the subject, though each succeeding step had not been irrelevant in terms of that which preceded. Paliau spent much of his time at any meeting attempting to maintain the focus of the discussion. He elaborated on his fire analogy and asked, Where was the real issue of this discussion—where was its core? What brought all this up in the first place?

Nakwam, the *council* of Kapo, who had come with the Cult leader of Nuang, said that the trouble arose because Malei and Lowaja were ashamed before Samol. Nakwam asked these two hamlets (which he had instructed months before in the beliefs of the Cult) what they had been doing that they were ashamed before Samol that had made him spy on them? Nakwam adopted the pose of complete ignorance and innocence. Although he was an outsider at this meeting, in following Paliau's speech he identified with him, and subtly attacked Samol by saying, in effect, to the Cultists: What horrible things have you been doing to provoke Samol to acts which shamed you and reduced him to spying on you?

Pantret of Lowaja made the expected response. He said that he had independently come to realize how his village had degenerated from its original state. No one paid any attention to the leaders any more. The place was full of every sin defined by the *Newfela Fashion*.

Everyone quarreled with everyone else. There was either trouble or apathy. Because of this situation, he had gotten the idea of returning to the ways of 1946. There was nothing more to it than the *matmat*. This was simply based on a desire to make a decent burial ground, as the law required and as the Americans had done. The trouble was all with Bunai who spied on them, called them crazy, and filled the place with *talk bilas* and *talk steal*.

Paliau asked about the talk about the *matmat* and about 1946. Pantret recited all the features of the early *Newfela Fashion* that had either lapsed entirely or were now only casually employed, such as the village routine based on gongs, the twice daily bathing in the sea, dressing up for morning and evening church services, a rest period, a nine o'clock curfew. These practices were not new, he said, they had simply begun to follow them again.

Paliau replied that so much was true. He had started all these things. He filled out the list of things that had never been done properly. The houses had never been finished; some built tables and chairs and some did not, but few ate or sat on them; men continued to wear *laplaps* to meetings; undisciplined children ran around at all hours; and on and on. Then he asked Pantret about the *matmat*. Pantret said: "Although we have made a little general progress we have neglected our graveyards. It is not like this with the white men. But even if the white men will not instruct us, we must do as they do. In making new *matmats* we are just fixing up the village in preparation for the Council."

Paliau rejected Pantret's speeches, saying that Pantret had not described the situation truthfully. The real basis for the trouble had not been brought out yet. He warned that if they continued to hide the talk, it would ruin them completely. Then he interrupted the meeting to scold them for its haphazard physical arrangement. On his first visit to Bunai during our stay he had spent an entire meeting lecturing on the proper way to conduct meetings. Physically, the *councils* were to sit in a central ring near Paliau, the *committees* in a wider ring, and the rank and file around the periphery. They had not done so in any meeting since that visit; now they reformed according to his instructions. Then he returned to the subject. If everything was as Pantret represented it, he argued, Bunai would

not be split by dissension between two factions. The cause was still being hidden.

Pokanau, another Usiai Cult leader from Nuang, attempted to add slightly to what Pantret had said: "We began by going back to the ways of 1946 which we had lost after 1949. Then I told them to rid the village of all wrongs. Then we worked on the *matmat*, that was all. But Bunai says that the work on the *matmat* is wrong; now we are ashamed."

Upon hearing a number of people coughing, Paliau interrupted the meeting again to order the women to take their children home out of the night air. The women with small children asleep in their arms or playing around them obediently went to their houses. Then the meeting resumed.

Nakwam of Kapo rose to make a highly emotional speech in a high-pitched, ranting voice. I deviate little from his Neo-Melanesian phrasing, which was most interesting.

My body responds to my mind. But I saw the white men come inside and I was afraid of the jail. I was afraid because I have no *power*. [This was the first time I had heard the word "*power*" used in Neo-Melanesian. He meant that because he was afraid of the white men he abandoned the ways of 1946. Other Cultists had also attributed the "Fall" of 1950 to fear of the *kiaps*.] But my mind cannot forget these things. They are like a child of mine. If it cries, what can I do? Can I give it milk [or the breast] or what? In 1954 the men and women said, "Now you have power." They made me to be as an umbrella to them, if there is rain or sun they can hide under it. They said, "We want to start again the ways of 1946." I said: "Bring out the book from 1946, look at all the steps. [The word "step" also had been appearing in these meetings. I omit his recitation of all the routine and rules of the early *Newfela Fashion*.] You men and women say I have power. Who shall I wait for? Who will build up my village for me? That is all." I said: "If you men and women have the idea of doing something here on your own ground, you can. If you say, 'We want to start some work on a *matmat*,' I say, 'Go on.' " They said: "We want to bring back the old graveyard. There is no one left in the old village who can keep it clear." Now I have power. In my will and in my knowledge [*like belong me* and *savi belong me*], I am like an umbrella. Whoever wants to do something on my ground [village, territory], it is all right. What you are saying is all right, but on my ground if there is trouble it can come to me. All the people of my village cry and are miserable. If they want to do this work, they can.

Nakwam's acquiring power in 1954 does not refer to his election to office, for he had led Kapo since 1946 and previously. It refers to the reformation within the village in the Second Cult in which the people declared that they would hear the talk of their leader, i.e., give him obedience.

No one picked up Nakwam's speech. Simion Kilepak spoke next, cutting through the evasive and oblique accusations and defenses with his list of accusations. He said that when he had worked at the Australian Air Force base at Momote, some of the young men of Lowaja had told him of the nudism and promiscuity which were practiced in the name of the Cult.

This talk excited the puritanical Tjamilo who conceived of the Cult in terms of God and ghosts but who was roused to indignation by talk of sexual promiscuity or prostitution. He said that Lowaja had changed the talk, had fouled it. Their actions differed from what he had in mind. Tjamilo also accused the people of Malei and Lowaja of saying that *cargo* simply materializes. This was wrong. *Cargo* comes from the white men. The Cooperative can open the road to the *cargo*. *Cargo* does not *come up nothing* (just materialize); you have to pay plenty of taxes for it to come.

Pulu Nrabokwi of Malei began a speech that repeated what Pantret had said. Paliau cut him off, saying he was just repeating. Paliau said again that the mere fact that there was trouble in Bunai must mean that there was more to this than just building a *matmat*. For the first time, he said: "This thing which has come from Johnston Island is wrong. I want it to finish. It will destroy you. You have already seen it and you already know it. I have already told you. You have lost the road." He then went through a long list of projects that they should be working on which he had told them about repeatedly, such as building a good meeting house in Bunai; improving the village; building a church; and even building a good cemetery, which he had always urged. He said that all this talk about *cargo*, about the dead arising, and about the *matmat* was all crazy or confused. He had seen it in many places. None of this would have happened, he told them, if they had brought up whatever they wanted to do in an open meeting of the entire village. If their decision was to return to the practices of 1946, it should have been brought up at such a meeting.

Nakwam followed Paliau again with another

highly emotional speech full of mixed metaphors about giving succor to children and about the ways of 1946 which were like a father to them, so familiar that they thought there was no need to call a meeting in order to return to these ways. Nakwam said that they were like Adam and Eve who had spoiled the First Order of God. They had been punished. But now they had power, now they must go back to the condition of man in Paradise.

Paliau interrupted Nakwam's talk about going back to 1946. He said that the loss of the ways of 1946 was only their own fault and that there was no use to talk about returning to 1946, when much of the program of 1946 had never been carried out, in spite of his efforts. He had told them, for example, that they must raise money, that money was in their ground and in their sea. Yet today there was no man who had £100 in his house. He had never told them to play *Lucky* or to give exchange feasts. It was they who had thrown away their money, who had been lazy, who thought that things "came up nothing." In other words, he said, a program existed, much of which had never been carried out. There was no need for further mystical improvisation or revival.

Paliau was saying, in effect, that their idea of revival was based on a fantasy of the content of the early Movement. He reminded them of its shortcomings. He told them repeatedly that they were already in the wrong; they had already spoiled their village. He asked them what they intended to do to set it straight. "Talk is like wind," Paliau said, "it will go everywhere. It will go to the white men and they will come asking questions. When the *kiap* comes, he will not arrest you, he will arrest me. You don't work on the beginning of the road. All the time you keep trying to leap ahead." He said that the trouble had come from their failure to bring up all important matters in a meeting of the entire village. The idea that each village or hamlet make its own little *matmat* was also wrong. "This is like making gardens, one for each man or two women." The whole composite village of Bunai should have only one graveyard.

Tjamilo made another speech, repeating what had already been said, trying to absolve himself from having said anything about *cargo*. He was cut off by Paliau, who closed the meeting at midnight, to be continued the next day.

Paliau did not sleep that night. He spent the

night in the Usiai section, where he was told all that had happened in the Cult. I was not present. From what I heard afterward, he had left Samol and had gone alone with the Usiai. Samol was worried at being left out. From what Paliau said afterward and from the subsequent meetings, it seems that he made no concession to the Usiai Cultists, but he questioned them closely about the Cult. This is, however, an uncomfortable gap in our observation of Paliau's handling of the Cult.

Paliau, the next day, spent some time prior to the meeting talking to me about the Cult. He spoke moodily, taking the attitude that only he and I really understood things like the Cult. He spoke of the burial practices and the belief in ghosts in the old religions of the Admiralties. He said the Cult was repeating the *Noise* of 1946 when, on Mouk, the people had marched to the old *matmat* where they stood vigil throughout the night expecting the dead to arise there. Again he said that Wapei had started it. The *Noise* had almost ruined the Movement. He had sensed Wapei's death before news of it arrived on Baluan. Now the Cultists were repeating what Wapei had done.

That evening, when the meeting had been postponed because of rain, Lowaja gave a party for Paliau, as Malei had done the preceding night. I was also invited to eat. Lowaja was very ingratiating in a nervous way. The meal consisted of much of the European foods that they had bought for their *matmat* feast. The party was held in the house of the old man, Kekes, the only surviving adult male of the village of Lesei and the father of Joseph Nanei, the adolescent Cult leader of Lowaja. Kekes made a long speech explaining that Paliau was his brother, reciting a genealogy that derived the *lapan* line of Lipan from an Usiai of Lesei who had drifted to Lipan many generations ago. Paliau was willing to accept this. Kekes, his "brother," was giving a party to celebrate his release from jail. Paliau brought Samol and Kisekup to the head of the table with him along with Samol's children, one of whom sat on Paliau's lap throughout the meal. Joseph Nanei, Pantret, and Pongo (the latter two, *council* and *committee*, had served as Nanei's apostles) served the meal with strict formality, moving clockwise in a full circle around the table to serve each guest.

As it seemed that the rain would not stop,

Paliau ordered that a house be prepared for a continuation of the meeting of the preceding night. An unfinished house in Bunai was walled in with canoe sails. At 9 P.M. people started to gather, mostly the leaders, but no women or children. As the gathering grew, people were tense for the first half hour. Pokanau of Nuang entered, joking loudly with Samol and Kisekup. Most of the men sat scattered around irregularly, with the Cultists and the opposition tending to cluster in opposite halves of the room. Paliau arrived last, as was his practice at most of the meetings when I have seen him. He began by discussing a current land dispute between two non-Movement villages for which old Kisekup had been called as an expert by the government. Paliau asked what the government would do if Kisekup were to die, dig him up again? Kisekup did not laugh.

Paliau switched abruptly into a long censorious speech about the meeting of the preceding night. They had all continued to avoid taking responsibility for the trouble in Bunai. They had blamed one another. No one suggested a way to remedy the situation. The fault lay with the leaders of the village and of each hamlet, he said, not with the women and children who had been the apparent spokesmen of the dead (Paliau referred only to "the children and the women that you listened to"). The *councils* should have silenced them. They had all lost the way; their heads were devoid of any *goodfela thinkthink*. They were all crazy. The truth was hidden from them. Then he asked them who had any idea about how to rectify things again.

Pantret of Lowaja began by saying that he would repeat what he had said yesterday. His people would not drop this thing. If they did, the hamlet would revert to its bad state preceding the Cult. All his people would be insubordinate again. He said that he was trying to straighten out the *thinkthink* of everyone before the Council was inaugurated. If the Council came in while the quarreling and bad feeling still existed among the people of his hamlet, they would be in court constantly. He had not quarreled with Bunai. It would be better if he said nothing at all about the things he heard yesterday (referring to Simion Kilepak's accusations). But if someone were to name the person from whom they heard these things. . . .

Paliau cut him off abruptly in mid-sentence:

Your speech is wrong. [*Kranki*. Paliau used this term frequently throughout these meetings. It has a range of meanings from "confused," "mixed up," "foolish," to "crazy" or "insane." He was using it in the sense that their minds were confused, unclear. They were on the wrong track in thinking and could not get off it.] You are unable to extricate yourself from this trouble you are in. If you see a road that is no good, that has spears, bottles, and bombs in it, you can't follow it. This talk of yours is already wrong. You cannot go on this road. The broken bottles have already cut you. You are already in trouble. You want to fight. You want to split up. You are at an impasse. The mouth of the road that will make you all right is hidden from you. I can't let you ruin yourselves. Pantret stood up to speak and he has already gone astray. He didn't get up to find a way. This thing has already brought trouble, now what? Should we let it continue? You will be destroyed [or ruined]. If I walk onto a place that is stony, should I walk on it until the time I die? This thing already has brought trouble. It is about to break up your village. You are brought into strife against one another. Don't you see this?

Prenis Tjolai of Peri made the next attempt:

There are two kinds of work. Some of us worked, and it resulted in trouble. One, some men wanted to work on all the ways of 1946. And one, some wanted to make a *matmat*. These things are good. Then what produced the quarrels and the talk? You see, I have a head. If I see something is not right, my head must steer my body clear of it [*head belong me i must steerim abris*¹ *body belong me*—as if the head is the man with the steering oar—the body, the canoe]. This thing that you tell about is good, so what causes the trouble? When his *council* sends for a man who wants to do the work of the *matmat*, he will not listen. He doesn't come to speak openly about it at a meeting, but he follows his own liking. When the *council* speaks, sometimes he comes and sometimes he doesn't. I think this is where our error lies.

Paliau interrupted to say that Prenis was also wrong. This was just as it was last night. What must be done to straighten things out?

Recognizing himself in Prenis' statement of the source of the trouble, Tjamilo spoke, repeating part of Prenis' speech, that in itself the *matmat* was not wrong, that the ideas of 1946 were not wrong, yet there was trouble. Such was Paliau's main point the previous night. Tjamilo confessed that he built the *matmat* on his own. He said he knew it would be useless to ask Samol, because he knew that Samol would be

¹ *Abris*, to avoid or dodge.

opposed. He started to talk about the day when the thatching was to be sent to Baluan, and he had taken his men to work on the *matmat*. But Paliau interrupted him. Paliau had abruptly cut off all the speakers so far in the middle of their speeches. Each sat down immediately. Most of them were sitting on the floor, some were on boxes; backs were bowed. Many had their heads down to their drawn-up knees. Everyone was grave and quiet. There were no side conversations whatever.

Paliau continued to berate them, seemingly trying to get them to say something that he already had in mind.

You men, look, listen. I have already said it. Your heads are unable to hear anything. Each one blames the other. You aren't following what I said. You keep letting all sorts of bad ways come into your villages; when they cause trouble your heads are full of these bad ways that you have let in. You seem unable to find the mouth of the road.¹ You don't want to listen to the one work, the one road that I have spoken of, you have to distort it a little. And when it results in trouble you are incapable of putting it straight.

Paliau said repeatedly that all was already wrong, the Cult had already made trouble. Now what were they going to do about it? "I can't straighten out your *thinkthink*. I work on making it straight and you work on distorting it." (This was his constant complaint: "Whatever I say, they distort.")

Manoi, the *council* of Loitja, who had been closely associated with Kisiaku of Tawi in the *Noise* and in the Second Cult, spoke next:

Yes, I want to speak a little. Paliau did not show us all these [bad] ways. He showed us the way of God. We heard all the talk of God from Paliau only. Then everyone went back to their villages and changed what he had said. Now it has gone wrong. We started on something new again, something from Johnston Island. It is true that we all had already heard about *matmats*. But now it has come up wrong and we can't follow it. We must follow this new talk, this talk we heard in 1946 about just making it in order to have it [a graveyard]. We have forgotten all the work of 1946 and this is no good. . . .

Then he repeated several of the figures of speech that Paliau had used about the road with the broken glass and so on. "This thing which has gone wrong, never mind it. Make a grave-

yard just for it to be there." His speech was the first to be finished without an interruption from Paliau.

Paliau commented without the anger he had shown at the other speeches:

This talk also is wrong. In 1946 did you see us, the men of Baluan, at the *matmat*? [It was the Mouks and the Manus visitors who had gone to the *matmat*. Paliau had withdrawn to Baluan, which had a much less intense experience with the *Noise* than the Mouks had had.] At the meeting house, was there anything said about the *matmat* at these meetings? Who heard this in November of 1946, or in 1947, '48, '49, '50, '51, '52, '53, or '54? Who on Baluan has started a *matmat*? [There had been no Second Cult or *matmat* building on Baluan itself.] You have it wrong. Did this *matmat* idea come up in Baluan in 1946 or not? Yes? If it did, why haven't I built a *matmat*? It was I who gave you the *thinkthink* of 1946. I have said nothing yet about any *matmat*. I did not give this to them. There is a book that you saw in 1946, did you see anything about a *matmat* in it? No?"

Tjamilo responded:

This *matmat* in 1946, I was there in the *Noise* too. I didn't hear it. But we see it among the white men. They do it right. They clean them well. But *cargo* doesn't appear from this. In 1946 you didn't say build *matmats* and *cargo* will come from them. So now why do we keep saying 1946?" (He was not interrupted.)

Paliau:

This trouble that came from Rambuton in 1946 has come to you now. Change things a little, change it a little, and soon someone kills someone. This is close to you now. You distort things too much here. It is already wrong. Now where is the road to make things all right?

Kisekup, the old paramount *luluai* of Bunai, spoke for the first time:

This way of ours, they opposed us because of it for a long time [the white men]. We were strong but now that our way is clear and there is the road of the Council and the Cooperative, we ourselves are ruining it. Where is there another road?

Paliau continued his scolding, asking what should be done now. Pondis, the *council* of Malei, who had been sitting dejectedly, started to speak for the first time, "The source of this trouble is in two villages. . . ."

Paliau cut him off with an angry shout, "Finish, that's enough of that." Pondis sat

¹ A road, like a river, has a mouth where it is entered.

down and said nothing for the rest of the night. Paliau continued to shout, terminating a period in which he had spoken quietly, about 1946. He said that they were all talking just as they had the night before. No one was offering a solution. "You keep saying, *matmat*, 1946, *matmat*, 1946, *matmat*, 1946."

Kametan of Bunai addressed the Cultists, telling them that if they would stop what they had been doing they could all get back together again; if not, they could not work together.

Petrus Pomat of Peri, tried a new approach:

It is like this. All the talk of the past and of today has brought trouble. We can no longer think of these things. Now the Council will get started among us. What work will the Council do? It has ideas and it has knowledge; it has eyes to see with. The Council has knowledge of what is not right. It can make it right later. It is like what we are talking about now. We keep throwing it back and forth at each other. We'd be better off keeping quiet. This work will come up later, the Council can do it. When we are in the Council, what kind of work will we do? Houses, ground, *matmat*, whatever the Council sees that is not straight, it can order people to correct it. It can't just do it. It has to come up first in the meeting house. If we want to do this work, it can't be just one village, but every village and every man. When one village doesn't want to tell another village about something, this leads to trouble.

Paliau interrupted and said:

You say the name Council, Council, Council. If you don't straighten out this thing now, today, I will go back to Baluan and you won't get the Council. I will put it to the meeting that in Bunai, they are all completely crazy. Do you think I can't? This is why you can't find good *thinkthink* after I have taught you for all these years, you keep changing things about.

Samol tried to discover what Paliau wanted said. He began to talk about the necessity of bringing everything up at meetings, as Paliau had said the night before. He said that he was wrong, too, that he doesn't always do this. Paliau interrupted him as if he hadn't heard him, continuing his threat about keeping them out of the Council. He said:

Mister Landman [the Assistant District Officer in charge of the Council] is coming. I think he hasn't heard about this thing. If he had heard, he wouldn't have set the day for starting the Council. You are in serious trouble. This quarrel of yours is like a stink, there has been no wind to carry it. Mister Landman set the day without knowing about this

trouble here. I am extremely angry at you. It is not as if you were not already in trouble that you can fight back and forth like this.

Then he asked who had anything to say that followed upon something that anyone else had said. "I've told you before with a cigarette and with betel nut." (He had lectured them that if they talked about cigarettes they should not bring up betel nut until they had finished or settled the matter of the cigarettes.)

Pokanau, *council* of Nuang, said that they were willing to listen to the rest about the work of the Council, but as far as the *matmat* was concerned, they had already finished theirs. They could not take it away.

Paliau broke in angrily again, saying repeatedly that this had already led to trouble. Whoever continued it would go to jail and they would not be admitted to the Council. "You have gone wrong in your work on the *matmat*. Find a way to set this straight."

He kept hammering deliberately on these endless repetitions, like blows against the heads of the men who were listening. The effect was hypnotic and stunning. Most of the men sat staring at the floor. He had treated all of them, Samol, Kisekup, and Cultists, like bad and stupid children who could not learn some simple fact that he kept telling them. He continued to berate them: "*No got bloody turnim more.* [No more of your bloody twisting things around.] Why didn't you do it according to the law? The law concerning the *matmat*, you have forgotten. The trouble started in March, 1954. Now it is time to find a way to set it straight to finish the quarrel within your village so that it can't ruin you. Come on, come on, come on, come on!"

Kametan, who was not among the most intelligent of the group, unwittingly gave an example of "turning the talk" in his misuse of Paliau's earlier reference to the cigarette and the betel nut. "If you think about two kinds of work at once this is wrong. If we think about betel nut only, this is the work of the Council." (Kametan was dull though active, like a bulldog at Samol's heels. It was usual at a meeting for almost every speaker to pick up Paliau's figures of speech, and often to misuse them.)

Paliau: "No, no, no, no, no! When I mentioned cigarette and betel nut, I was talking about the way you speak at meetings, not about

two kinds of work." He continued to scold, repeating phrases such as *i wrong finish, youfela must straightim now*. He said that meetings were for airing dissension. They were the proper place for quarreling, not the village. Suddenly he changed his tone, which for some time had been an angry shouting. He said quietly that the wind from the east, which was then shaking the house, was almost as strong as the usual wind from the west. There was a marked relaxation. A number of people expressed agreement. For the first time since Paliau started, there were side conversations among the Cultists.

Popu's speech followed the break. He said Lowaja was ashamed because they had been accused of nude bathing. He said this indignantly, as if it were not true. Yet he had seemed to admit to the accusation in a meeting several days before. He said that they were also angry because Samol had taken their money which had been entrusted to him and had lost it in gambling. He spoke as if this loss were the cause of the quarrel in the village. Throughout the split between Samol and the Cult, Popu had mentioned this matter several times. That was why they had spent the rest of their money in the store; the *council* would only lose the rest of it if they turned it in.

Paliau ignored Popu's charges against Samol. Instead, he berated him for introducing another subject when nothing had been offered as a solution for the whole situation. He threatened to go to bed and to leave for Baluan in the morning, unless someone offered a solution soon. He told Popu: "So you have been shamed. You want to go back to the bush? You can be a *bush kanaka* [backward native] for the rest of your life if you wish." Samol answered that he could give them their money whenever they asked for it, but that it really had nothing to do with the quarrel.

Simion Kilepak offered a solution. They would all admit that they were wrong and make no further mention of what had happened, but in the future anything like the *matmat* work would be brought up in meetings and either done by everyone or not at all. Paliau made no comment.

Prenis Tjolai reminded Paliau that he had asked him earlier about the *matmat* work. His *council* (in Peri) had warned that the Cult would lead to trouble, and now, with what Paliau was saying, he, Prenis, would obey him

and forget about it. Prenis was the only one of the Cultists who reminded Paliau that they had previously asked him about the Cult, at which time, some of them claimed, he had not discouraged them or had even encouraged them.

Paliau's answer gave me new information:

It is true that all of you asked me and I told you yes. Why? Because there is a law about cemeteries. It was as if I were shooting off a dog because you kept asking and asking and asking. "You can do it. You have your own mind," I said. Now I told you because you kept asking me, asking me, asking me. But you didn't stick to making a *matmat*, and now it has gone wrong. You have twisted it around in your heads. Manoi [of Loitja] also asked me and I told him straight. "You can't do it." Where did I tell him? You were with your *luluai* [the *luluai* of Loitja]. He said they had it on Johnston Island and I said it was wrong. Soon Johnston Island would be ruined by it. Everyone said a man came to them to talk about their ways. What can he do? The *luluai* had just come from Johnston Island. He heard what I said to Manoi. He came to Samol's house and he became ill. I and the *Masta* [Schwartz] attended him, his urine was red, and we said he should be sent to the hospital. He refused and went back to his village. He continued to be angry at Manoi [for listening to Paliau and refusing to take part in the Cult] and he died.

I had not heard this story before. I had gone with Paliau in Bunai to see the *luluai*, who had been very ill, during my first meeting with Paliau in July, 1953, almost a year before the present meeting. The *luluai* who died was later seen as a ghost by Suluwan of Bunai and Kisakiu of Tawi. On Manoi's insistence, a Johnston Island canoe and crew and the *luluai* of Loitja had come to Bunai to hear what Paliau had to say about the Johnston Island Cult. Paliau told Manoi, the *luluai*, and the Johnston Island group that Johnston Island was heading for trouble. He now used this to date the early statement of his opposition, but admitted that he had told most of them to go ahead and build their *matmats*, giving them the answer they kept asking for.

He continued in a long speech which repeated several of his own analogies from past speeches to make his points (though the repetition did not make them more clear or direct). He continued to emphasize that they were destroying themselves (*buggerup*, to destroy, ruin, spoil).

You have a head, eyes, *thinkthink*. Your eyes are

to see the road. If the road is blocked you can't go on it. Thorns and broken glass will cut you. Come back! You haven't found at all the mouth of the road. If you continue out of stubbornness you will be destroyed. Hearing is for hearing good counsel [*talk*]. Thinking is for weighing alternatives. Your two eyes are for looking for a passage. If the reef is dry at low tide, you don't approach it. If you do you will be broken on the reef. If there is low tide, you have to come back for a while. You men, you are in trouble. It began in March. Soon it will have lasted for three months. We will be destroyed as if we died. Whatever is bad is like a death, we must cast it out. Your stubbornness to go on and on, to come to a place that is blocked is like dying. . . . You keep pulling, pulling, pulling [taking things upon yourselves]. It is like a rope; soon it will break. But a rope is a rope, this thing will break up your village.

He threatened again to go back to report them all crazy, unworthy of the Council. He told them to return to the bush and their old way of life, in which they would be destroyed.

Pokanau of Nuang began to talk about the quarrel. The way of the *matmat* failed because some wanted it and Peri and the Manus section of Bunai did not. Paliau interrupted him, saying that he had had enough, he was going to bed now. No one had anything to offer to help terminate the trouble. He was going; that would be final. He did not want them to come to him at Samol's house. He was finished. He was angry. As far as the South Coast was concerned, the Council has been ruined. "I am going to have you all put in jail. I am going to Mister Landman. You will all be jailed, if not, the work of the Council will be ruined completely. You will not win out. I try to straighten you out, but you are unwilling." But he made no motion to leave. His ultimate sanction was the government. He himself was just out of jail to which he had been sentenced by Landman. He was worried that he might be dismissed as chairman of the Council; still he resorted to the threat of turning them over to the government.

Kisekup suggested discontinuance of the *matmat* work which had made the trouble. Manoi of Loitja brought in a new element, comparing the present quarrel to the ways of their ancestors who constantly split their villages along factional lines because of intra-village quarreling. Their ancestors were always making hot-headed threats to leave. Now Manoi called for a general shaking of hands, forgetting the

Cult, and renewing their unity in the Council.

Paliau made no comment on Kisekup or Manoi. He continued:

You men think that you have knowledge now. Or you think that you will test me on these ideas. But you can't take the lead [*youfela no can go-pass*]. If you try it, you will be ruined. You are not the ones who did it. I am. I showed you all these roads. Now you want to make trouble, but you can't win out. It was not you who started this work in Manus in 1946. I raised you up with my ideas. Now you distort them. Who gave you these ideas? Who showed you? All of you are wearing trousers and shirts, who gave this to you? It wasn't me, it was you who showed the way? You would like to beat down all my ideas. You think that you are now equal to it. I can talk, and you can oppose me. I can talk, and you can change what I say. If you are not equal to it, why have you taken this trouble upon yourselves? Who showed you? You show me! I will shut up while you show me. I want to ask you, I too want to build a *matmat* in Lipan-Mouk. You tell me how to do this work. You, Pokanau, should I put a rail around it or should I put a door, or what? Come, you show me, what are these ideas? Go on, I am asking you, I want to build one in my own village.

Pokanau of Nuang began hesitantly, "All of us must speak."

But Paliau cut him off immediately, continuing in a punishing tone:

I am the one who taught you and now you say, never mind me. You go ahead of me. I think you can show me? All right, show me now. I have told you plenty and you have continually distorted it. I think that you have plenty of know-how. All right, show me now."

Pokanau sat down, finally perceiving that no answer was really wanted. Paliau sat back and waited through a few minutes of silence. Obviously he was using this occasion not merely to end the Cult, but to reaffirm his absolute leadership which had been weakened in the past several years. He was answering the assertion that had occurred in a number of recent meetings that "Before we were like children, now we are men. We have our own minds."¹ Paliau had turned now to a sarcastic ridicule of their at-

¹ Note the equation of acculturation with ontogeny. This idea, widely recurrent in the world, was often raised explicitly in this critical period when the Cult, and the Movement as the Council, had been developing considerable independence of Paliau. The leaders, particularly Paliau, represented the father; the followers were uncertainly claiming maturity and independence.

tempts to create a Movement of their own. He wanted them to admit their incapacity and to put themselves into his hands. The anti-Paliau trend in the Second Cult, never very explicit, was clear to Paliau.

He continued:

This quarrel among you is finished, but that which you have done to me is not. If you think I have not showed you your ideas and your ways, then you show me. You don't stop to think that I am your leader, that I should make a statement and all of you should listen. I will win because I will put you all in trouble to keep you from spoiling the Council. Who showed you the way? I think it was you who taught all of this? But you cannot throw me out of this work . . .

He reverted to ask them about how to build a *matmat*, then:

If you know that I am the source of all this, then why have you tried to throw me down? There is not one thing in what I have ever told you that has been wrong. Hey you! It's soon daylight.

He shouted at the stunned men sitting all around him. There was a pause, some whispering among the Cultists. He interrupted them, continuing his ridicule:

You don't have to ask one another. Each of you is a man of knowledge. Tell me. Everywhere in Manus there is no other place that is getting the Council except you. I think you are all pretty good to have done this. Your heads are superior to mine. Now you can throw out my teachings. Now you can teach me.

Pokanau of Nuang rose to make a long, low-toned speech that lacked his earlier defiance, to the effect that none of them knew anything at all except what Paliau had taught them. Tjamilo rose immediately after Pokanau and started to confess his errors, also in a quiet, humble tone: "I am the cause of all this trouble. And Johnston Island, too, they are more than a little wrong." He started to detail how he had gone to Johnston Island, how he had been told to build a *matmat*, how he had tried in Bunai, how he had taken 10 men and cut the coconut palms on the old cemetery.

Paliau interrupted him saying: "No one asked you for this talk. If the old *matmat* was no good there were normal channels for doing this as village work." Now, Paliau said, they should admit their incapacity. They should say either that they could lead him or that he should lead them. He said they constantly made trouble be-

cause they did not avoid arousing anger in others. ("Youfela must feelim all thinkthink all-the-same sweetfela kai i go inside long bel belong otherfela man.") "You must judge your words or ideas to see that they are like sweet foods to the stomachs of other men.") Paliau explained to them at length that he interrupted them because he could see that they were saying or were going to say things that would anger others and prevent a settlement of the quarrel.

Pokanau's speech had been a turning point in the Cult, its breaking point. The Cultists sat as if dazed. For the time being at least, and for the first time, their defiance and stiff righteousness seemed to have disappeared. Suddenly Paliau had also relaxed. He called for matches, joking about using a fire plow if they didn't find any.

Nakwam spoke now, picking up the tone of Pokanau's speech, making the sort of rapid, confused speech that seemed to be his style:

I have listened, and I think it is like pulling a rope. Five on one side and five on the other. Five think their father will help them, and the other five think the father will help them. Each wants him. Now our father has spoken clearly to us. He said, "While I am still here you must hurry up to straighten this out." What talk does he have for us to make this straight? He has listened to these 10 men. If he leaves, this trouble will remain among us. Our minds and thoughts are not adequate, now what thoughts does our father have? It is true, our father has made all these things. Today I see my father and I cry to him, "What is your idea?" If he leaves, there will be ruination.

This speech from the *council* of Kapo was the most rapid I had heard during the field trip. I was able to record only part of it.

Paliau had been working toward these speeches by Pokanau and Nakwam throughout the night—a realization of inadequacy and complete acceptance of subordination by the Cult leaders. He had been refusing to hear further explanations, accusations, defenses, or attempted solutions. Here was what he wanted. Nakwam had entered these meetings by attempting to identify with Paliau, by speaking of his (Nakwam's) "power," and by speaking of himself as a father to the people of his village, who were the children that came crying to him. Now Paliau was the father, and they were all his repentant children asking him to set them right after their presumptuous undertaking had gotten them into trouble.

After Nakwam's talk, Paliau asked: "What are you waiting for? He was finished talking. Who is next?"

Pantret was next:

My father has spoken. This is not something for us to quarrel about. We wanted to do this work, and now it is wrong. We are not adequate. If I do anything that is not right, you can speak and set it straight. We thought that we were strong a little, but we weren't. There is nothing that we are able to do. What shall we do? We started this work on our own idea. Now that it has led to anger and trouble we are not capable of carrying it through. That is all.

I expected Pondis to speak next, but he continued to sit as he had for hours with his head on his hands, hands on his knees, not looking up at all.

Paliau was satisfied, now that he had the situation entirely in his hands and that they were ready to do whatever he said. He spoke then for almost an hour, until the meeting ended at four in the morning. I paraphrase closely and summarize the terminal speeches, except where quotation marks indicate otherwise. He began:

Now I will answer you. You aren't saying the things that you are saying now out of your own good thoughts. My anger has frightened you. If it weren't for my anger, for my strong talk, you wouldn't say this. You still don't understand me clearly. If you really understood, you would have said what Nakwam has said long ago, that I am the only one who has brought you to where you are now and that I am the only one who can keep you straight. The leaders of some countries, if they were men with good ideas who gave their ideas to the rest, are obeyed by their followers. Whatever they say is listened to and carried out. I took pity on you seeing that you were heading for trouble. This trouble would be as if you died. It is as if there was a *Kwila* [a kind of tree] and a *Pikus* [another tree with many roots] grew up with its roots strangling the *Kwila* so that it would die. This is like your wrong. Someone whose *thinkthink* is good must take a knife to cut these roots. He has to cut out this *Pikus* by the roots. My words are like the knife that cuts away your trouble. Had I merely reasoned with you, offering you good talk, you wouldn't have listened. Now that you saw my anger you abandoned that which you had been holding on to. I didn't comment on what some men said because I wanted to avoid quarreling and shame.

Paliau then named all who he felt had made some contribution to straightening out the situation or with whom he agreed. He named all

of the anti-Cult speakers, including Samol, Kisekup, Kametan, and Simion Kilepak.

Then he told them what he wanted done. Their quarrel was to be ended without further discussion, accusations, or shame put on anyone. In itself there was nothing wrong with making a good cemetery, but this was to be thought of as they thought of keeping the road or the village clean and in good order. They could work on a cemetery later; for a while, they were to do nothing further on it until its present associations were no longer a part of the work. He repeated what he had said the previous night, that there was not to be a *matmat* for each hamlet, but there was to be one for the whole village, saying again that the *matmats* were not like gardens in the bush, one for every three or four people.

He mentioned all the village projects that needed work. He criticized the appearance of the village where the rebuilding of the houses was still unfinished though they had been started almost a year ago. He put a two-month deadline on completion of the rebuilding.

He told them to make more use of the meeting house that they had built and to hold regular meetings of the whole village every Thursday, when anything that anyone wanted to do for his hamlet must be discussed with the villagers. He explained that if the *matmat* had been discussed, there would have been no trouble. "For every man who does not think straight, there is one who does who can shut him up."

Paliau continued at length about how they call too much on the name of God, while they continue to behave in the same bad ways. They speak of God, and then they beat their wives, or steal, or lie. Then they returned to talking about God. This was dangerous. He spoke about the idea of the *matmat* as a means to get *cargo*, how occasionally someone would say that, if they did this or that, there would be a "price" for their work. All that they desire would materialize. Paliau asked them: "What do you expect? That you will win out over the store? That the things of the white men will appear for you? Or sago will come to you in your house, or food, or fish? If the people don't use their strength to work for food, they will die." He told them to forget these ideas and warned the Cult opponents not to remind or reproach the Cultists in *talk bilas*. There was to be no more

anger and shame and *talk bilas* or talk about breaking up the village. They were to laugh and play with each other again.

Then Paliau awakened the old *council* of Pwam, telling him, to his confusion, that I had just written that he was asleep during this important meeting. Paliau changed pace and tone abruptly, alternating long periods of anger or intensity with sudden relaxed bantering.

Pantret recited what he would report to his hamlet the next day, that they were all wrong and that they must come to shake hands with the people of Bunai. Paliau told the Cult leaders to decide among themselves what to tell their people. He asked what they would say about the talk of breaking up the village. Pantret said that had been Malei's idea. Pondis denied that Malei really intended to do it. Talimelion of Bunai made a conciliatory speech, saying that the Manus had no quarrel with Malei or Lowaja, and they wanted only unity. Paliau then told them that it was all finished. He did not want them to say anything to their hamlets, but to bring everyone in the village into the square in Bunai in the morning where he would speak to them personally and put an end to their thinking about the Cult. If he permitted each *council* to do it in his own hamlet, he would just get it all wrong and produce more trouble. Also, if the *council* undertook to inform his people, their hostility would be directed at their own leaders.

He lectured them again about the program of the Movement which they had neglected. He denounced the appearance of local particularism of village, hamlet, and clan which had been reasserting itself. (Paliau never missed an occasion to speak against the tendency to think in terms of the smaller group; he stressed thinking on a village and Movement level.) Finally, he asked for a show of hands from all those who considered the dissension ended, warning anyone who still entertained bad feelings toward others to keep their hands down. All hands went up. Then, as a last word, he added: "This talk about *cargo*, about ghosts. I banish it now, it is finished." He said that this sort of talk would be blamed on him, like the time Pita Tapo said that Paliau was King. The *kiaps* confronted Paliau with this as if he had said it. That was the end of this meeting, which had run for seven hours without a break. Paliau had spoken throughout most of this time.

The village-wide meeting that Paliau was to address began with surprising promptness at nine that same morning. Lowaja (though not Malei) came marching down the length of the village in a perfect line, according to size, following the pattern of discipline established during the Cult. It was a residual show of defiance on the part of the leaders, who were willing to be humble before Paliau but not before the Manus of Bunai. Before the talk, Paliau met briefly with the leaders. They assured him that the people had been told nothing about what they were going to hear. Paliau spoke to the assembled village for an hour. If they had been told nothing prior to this about a sudden termination of the Cult, I could see no outward reaction to his talk. His speech touched on the actual belief content of the Cult only obliquely, though his implicit reference was clear. He emphasized the error and danger of the existing dissension in the village and urged a return to unity and friendship. He told them of the work that confronted them to make their village better and to support the Council which would become official within a week. Then he sent them back to their hamlets where their leaders were to explain his talk further to them.

After the meeting I was with Paliau, talking to the leaders of the Cult. He explained that he had spoken with indirection to avoid putting the Usiai Cult hamlets to shame in the presence of the villagers. There was enough of that already. His last word to the Cult leaders was to order them to tell me everything about their experiences in the Cult, to compensate for the fact that they had also disrupted my work for the past three months. When they told me all that had happened in the Cult, I would judge it and explain it to them. Paliau's order brought Pantret, Pondis, Joseph Nanei, and Namu to me several times within the following days for extensive interviews of the sort I had been unable to get from them since the beginning of March. They filled in the preceding picture and confirmed much of what I had learned more indirectly.

More importantly, these late interviews gave me an opportunity to check the effect that these last meetings and Paliau's opposition had had on the beliefs of these Cult leaders. To what extent could the Cult simply be shut off in this way, and what would the effects be on those who had invested themselves in it for the past

months, who had been buoyed up by its hopes and elevated to new prominence in the village? What would happen to these hamlets in which a heightening of morale, a new discipline, and a reassertion of leadership had been affected by the Cult? Would the predicted bitterness toward the leaders emerge? The inauguration of the Council, with its attendant activities and a heightening of interest in the Movement, intervened too quickly to allow us to see the effect of Cult termination without its modulation by other events, but I had some indications.

While watching the Lowaja villagers march to and from Paliu's last meeting on the Cult, I wondered if, in spite of their submission the preceding night, they were going to go ahead with the Cult as before. I watched Pita Tapo sitting dejectedly, again holding his children on his lap, at Paliu's meeting in the morning. He had not attended on the previous night. I felt sorry for him. The collapse of the First Cult, which had given him the opportunity for sudden expansion into the prophetic role, had left him empty. He felt the loss of a divine presence in him. He had felt useless and ignored during the growth of the Movement which was so absorbing to others, such as Kampo. Now, with the Second Cult, he had reawakened to hope, activity, and a new interest. He had returned belatedly from his pilgrimages to other Cult villages. He had successfully begun to sway a hamlet that longed for a push toward the Cult. His voice had been heard again at meetings. And now, a few days later, his role again disappeared without the context of a newly forming cult upon which it depended. In the excitement over the new Council, he became inactive again, unimportant, and without office. He was, in fact, an embarrassment to the Movement. His name continued to be linked with the *Noise* in its most troublesome aspects.

The immediate change in Malei was remarkable. Everything stopped. Pondis was most affected. His "power" within his hamlet disappeared completely. He was confused and depressed. He was shamed. Almost until the time of our departure two months later, his depression remained. He stopped dressing in his European clothing which he wore better than most. He went unshaved and unkempt. He spent much of the time sleeping in his hut on the beach. He came out of it briefly during the Council elections. When his hamlet did not

elect him, he was without office for the first time since the move to the beach from the interior.

It was different with Pantret of Lowaja. He was determined to retain the gains he had made through the Cult. Those men, such as Joseph Nanei, Nasei, Pongo, and others who had led with him as a part of the Cult, receded more into the background, while Pantret remained as their *council*. His greatest gain was in assuming the leadership of Malei. Malei and Lowaja, located at opposite ends of the Usiai section of Bunai, had joined as co-participants in the Cult, bound as much by their mutual hostility toward the Cult opposition as by the Cult itself. I describe above Malei's submission after some resistance to the leadership of Lowaja. Now Pantret was able to retain this relationship. In the elections that followed, Malei and Lowaja asked that they be regarded henceforth as a single political unit within New Bunai, with a single *council*, Pantret. In the future they planned to build their houses together in Lowaja's end of the village. The seances stopped in both these hamlets. Even the faintest ghostly whistle would have started an uproar of denunciation from the Cult opposition whose position had been confirmed.

In Lowaja there were some other residues of the Cult. The marching of the children was continued. The adults, too, continued to march to church, though less regularly. Most of the men still wore their uniforms, the short trousers and singlets dyed blue. For many, these were the only articles of European clothing. For all, there was the continued air of defiance of the Manus, who in strict accord with Paliu's instructions, observed the behavior of the Usiai but said nothing. But in Lowaja, as in Malei though to a lesser extent, there was a marked relaxation. People went about their own affairs. The gardens had been neglected throughout the Cult. The people had been actually hungry, in spite of spending all they had for store biscuits, tea, sugar, and meat. Their fishing, which had been stepped up during the Cult to compensate for the neglect of gardening, remained on a higher level than previously. The children and young boys had done much of this fishing. This greater involvement of the children in the economic affairs of the hamlet continued in both Malei and Lowaja. Some men immediately dropped the discipline of the Cult, es-

pecially those on the "minstrel" fringe. They picked up their guitars again. Some, embarrassed by their fruitless involvement with the Cult, went away to work. Petrus Popu and his son, Seliu, were the only ones I know who turned against Pantret with blame for the Cult, their hostility toward him reappearing after it had been suppressed during wrong-straightening sessions. In Malei and Lowaja an unstable condition of uncertainty over what would be retained and what would be dropped continued for the duration of our stay. From letters received from Bunai almost two years after our departure, it seems that the amalgamation of Malei and Lowaja, at least, was to be a stable institutional residue of the Cult. What else remains now is unknown.

In the Manus section, Tjamilo's *matmat* stood as an accomplished fact against Paliau's decree that Bunai was to have only one *matmat* for the entire village. The *matmat* was there, unoccupied, newly cleared, and newly painted.

On May 25, following the Council elections and the first meetings of the entire Council area in Bunai, during a quiet period when Samol was again out of the village on Council business, Tjamilo began to fill his *matmat*. He still had in his house all the crosses that he had prepared. He had been painting them with white coral lime. Then, while I was working in Peri, he sent me a note asking me to take moving pictures of a mass re-burial, of which he was the impresario. I was involved in work that could not be dropped, so I wrote to tell him to proceed without me. On my return three days later, I found that he had postponed the funeral until my return. He was especially anxious to have moving pictures taken, because he had introduced a few variations in the procession and also because he believed that our presence would help conventionalize the procedure, removing the Cult aura. He had persuaded most of the village to participate, but particularly those who had previously been in his faction. No one would revive the quarrel. Samol, on his return, said nothing until some weeks later. This *matmat* symbolized Tjamilo's investment in the community, his years of supervision of its morals, his conservatism in the name of the *Newfela Fashion* and 1946, and the bitterness of his reward. In the first six graves were all his children, none of whom had lived to be two years old, in spite of his strenuous dedication

to the maintenance of his *thinkthink* in a state of moral purity. As he had said, he, like Christ, was a man who had no children. In the seventh grave he re-buried the skeleton of his father. There were 10 other re-burials of kin of members of Tjamilo's faction. The participants in the procession numbered about 100 adults and children, cutting across faction lines within the Manus section. There were no Usiai; it was strictly a Manus *matmat*.

Unfortunately, I had no way of learning what happened on Johnston Island. What happened to Thomas? In Tawi, Kisakiu's *teacher* did not reappear.

We saw some remnants of the Cult, but from that time until the end of the field study in July, the scene was filled with the affairs of the Council. Amiable relations seemed restored between the Manus and the Usiai, though the Manus still dominated the Council.

What was the status of the Cult beliefs after Paliau's declaration of their invalidity? I interviewed Pantret, Pondis, Joseph Nanei, Pita Tapo, Popu, Tjamilo, and Prenis Tjolai of Peri; Lenora Schwartz interviewed Namu. We had long discussions of the Cult. After I had the interviews I needed, I did not hesitate to give my own opinions, as Paliau had requested, to observe their reactions and to help, if possible. They were all in an almost identical state of uncertainty about what they were no longer supposed to believe. All these people had been moved by the strongest desire to believe in the Cult. From my knowledge of them during the eight months I had worked with them before I knew of the Cult, I might have expected this need in all of them, though perhaps not in Pondis and Pantret. These two had seemed to be secularly oriented Movement personnel who lacked the moralizing and self-righteousness of the others. They all said essentially the same thing—that the Cult had failed only because of the actions of those who had spied and who had directed so much *talk bilas*, *talk steal* at them that it had made them ashamed. This had produced the schism in the village which was the trouble that Paliau had been talking about. They had been wrong, to some extent, in not submitting their plans to a meeting of the whole village, but they might have done so if they had not been shamed.

Paliau meant, they said, that when the Council was organized the *matmat* project

would be discussed in meeting and would be carried out by everyone. This was what had gone wrong. There was nothing wrong with the Cult beliefs. In 1946 Wapei had spoiled the chances of the Cult. Then it had been suppressed by the government. Now it had failed because of the spying and the envy of the Manus and of Yiru. Had there been unanimity, there would have been nothing wrong with the Second Cult. Now that the Cult had not succeeded, they would devote their energies for a while to the Council and Cooperative, just as in 1946 they had turned back to the program, to the Second Order of God, when the Cult had collapsed. All the rationalizations based on the failure of the First Cult were repeated. The First Cult had never been repudiated; it had simply not worked out. When the ghost of Ponau appeared to Nasei in Lowaja, he had asked them if they had received all the *cargo* that they had sent earlier. When they said they had not, he was angry that it had been "hijacked" by the Australians. He had even spoken of war.

Tapo, when asked what had happened to the *cargo*, replied shrewdly in a parable. He related how, when he had worked for the Japanese in Kavieng where the war had caught him, Japanese supplies had run low. Then they received a wireless message that a cargo ship was on its way. The cargo ship approached within a few miles of the shore. The Japanese rejoiced and the native workers rejoiced too, even though it was nothing of theirs. But another country had intercepted this wireless. They sent a submarine. They said: "Let it get close first. Let them rejoice over it." Then they torpedoed it near the shore. "That is how it was with our *cargo*."

Tjamilo also spoke of the Cult's having failed only because of the *talk bilas* of Samol's group. He reasserted his belief in everything involved in the Cult. I pointed out to him that Paliau had said several times that the idea of *cargo* was *kranki*, that there must be no further talk of the return of the dead. Tjamilo said that Paliau was very clever, more than anyone else, except maybe some white men. He had said all these things for the benefit of the spies in their midst, who would report what he said to the government. Tjamilo evidently did not consider us to be spies. At one point, several months before the end of the Second Cult, I

had experimented with an attempt to contradict some of his beliefs. I had told him that King Berra was really Canberra, as the government officer had told him. I told him that John Brown was not an American Negro apostle of Christ, who had been crucified at the right hand of Christ. And I told him that the two Catholic priests on Manus really were Americans. He said he did not believe the last point, since they had taught as all the other missionaries. He had simply said, "I think," and had continued in his beliefs, with a temporary break in our rapport. He even was led to doubt that I was really an American, until one day my father sent me some cartons of Lucky Strike cigarettes which they associated with the American soldiers during the war. Everyone who saw them was remarkably impressed and immediately nostalgic. Tapo carried away the empty pack as a souvenir. When I offered one to Tjamilo and told him my father had sent them, he immediately assumed that my father was dead, and he was restored to belief that I was really an American. Discussion of Cult belief could have no effect on him.

Such discussion seemed to interest Prenis Tjolai, Pantret, and especially Pondis who, having lost leadership, was ready to doubt. It was clear from these discussions that it seemed not to have occurred to them in the course of Paliau's talks that it was the Cult beliefs themselves that were wrong. Only the circumstances had spoiled the Cult. There was even the idea that perhaps the Cult could never work out. They themselves were not adequate. They did not know enough. They could not attain the necessary degree of purity of *thinkthink*. They had the Council to work on as an alternative, though less desirable, less rewarding, and more strenuous way. They all felt that Paliau had promised that later, when the Council was installed, they could turn again to the road of the *matmat*, and that next time it would be done properly.

I have no doubt that there can be a third appearance of the Cult and that its system of beliefs would continue to have a following. If the people of the Movement should experience another plateau (a period in which they seem to be making no progress toward their ultimate goals), the Cult might recur. Those who would from time to time die would return with a new report of Heaven, brought up to date. Some

would have contact with the dead. Some would be ignored, depending on the time, circumstances, and the person, while others would form the generating centers of new cults. Such

a revival of the Cult would, I believe, meet again with an effective opposition from a majority armed with the failures of 1947 and 1954.

EPILOGUE: THE PALIAU MOVEMENT AFTER THE END OF THE SECOND CULT

The period of Manus acculturation covered in this monograph ends with the checking of the Second Cult. The split between the Cult and the Movement was the major crisis in the development of the Movement. The conflict generated by it within the Movement coincided with, and contributed to, an end to the period of low morale and disintegrative trends of the Plateau Phase. With the end of the Cult, unity within the Movement had been essentially restored, though the differentiation that had occurred entered into the structuring of future events within the area. The repudiation of the Cult by the Movement under Paliau's newly strengthened leadership, and under the local leadership of the men who had formed a Cult opposition even before Paliau chose to make his position clear, had resulted in a reassertion of the orientation of the Movement with even greater openness and freedom of movement within culture change. The Movement had been cut loose from its base line of origin in principle if not in specifics.

Within weeks of the termination of the Second Cult, the long-awaited inauguration of the Council took place. Official elections were held, unlike the several earlier *wait-council* elections which had raised men to offices of uncertain legitimacy. The newly elected leadership was composed of the men who had been the leaders of the Movement since 1946. There were a few upsets among men who had led for years, who had lost the support of their villages. Others who had led without holding office took their places. Still, the Council structure barely tapped the superabundance of potential leadership. Individuals who were *committee* under Paliau's preparatory version of the Council had no official place within the new system.

The new councillors¹ were impressive and proud. Paliau lectured them on the importance of their positions and on the necessity of main-

taining themselves in every aspect of their lives as models for their villages. They should purchase and wear good European clothing. They should build the best possible houses and maintain them in cleanliness as an example to others. Not only they but their families were to be models. Now, as they had never done properly before, they were to associate with their wives and eat at the tables they had built years before rather than in the kitchens. They should bear in mind throughout that their enviable offices were subject to yearly re-election. Later they would discuss what would be at least nominal salaries for councillors.

The money that had been collected during the early phases of the Paliau Movement was redistributed, under pressure of the majority who needed money to pay their taxes and who would need it to buy shares in the cooperatives soon to be set up. With much borrowing among relatives and friends, each adult male found £5 for his tax, each female £1. Unlike the time before the war when a head tax of 10 shillings was paid to the government, the new tax was paid to their own Council, to support its new functions and to provide for schools, medical-aid posts, and the new buildings the Council would require.

There was a general feeling of exhilaration, though some, jolted within days from the *way belong thinkthink* back into the *way belong Caesar*, were slow to emerge from their depression. A celebration was attended by groups from all villages within the Movement, with James Landman, the Assistant District Officer who had supervised the Baluan Council since 1950 and had now brought it in extension to the South Coast, and his wife, Marjorie Landman, who had dedicatedly conducted the first government-sponsored Council school on Baluan since 1950, as the guests of honor. The first all-Council meetings were held in Bunai village on the South Coast. The Council had two centers, one in Baluan and one in Bunai.

Opposition to the Cult had brought the

¹ They now tried to remember to call themselves "councillors" rather than *councils*.

Movement closer to the government than it had been. The Cult, in part, had been an expression of the widely prevalent hostility toward the government. But this hostility identified the Administration, the Council, the Movement, and, within it, the most outspoken of the opponents of the Cult. Even Paliau, just out of jail himself, and the Mouk leaders in their campaign against the Cult had used the threat of ultimate resort to the Administration through the Council. Samol, who had led the Cult opposition before Paliau's return to the scene, had taken it upon himself to inform the officer in charge of the Council on Baluan that there was some trouble with a Cult, asking the Administration not to interfere. Now, at the end of the Cult, the newly extended Council increased the area of coincidence between the Movement and the Council and brought the Movement and its program into a closer relationship with the program of the Administration.

But although the Movement included the Council structure, the program and goals of the Movement and of the government were still far from complete coincidence. The Movement embraced the whole of the new culture still called (though its forms continued to change) the *Newfela Fashion*. The Council constituted a narrower set of political and organizational institutions within it. The Council was a link between the Movement and the Australian Administration. The granting of the Council was taken within the Movement and by natives outside it as recognition of the Movement by the Administration and as the final validation of Paliau's program, rather than as a concession by the Movement to the Administration. The people of the Movement saw this as a triumph of the Movement and its leadership. There were still several villages (Papitalai, Lowa, Sow) within the Movement not yet included within the official Council, though these villages were treated within the Movement as though, for all intents and purposes, they were a part of the Council.

For the first time since the beginning of the Movement and the addition of the North Coast villages of Sow and Lowa and the segment of Papitalai village which had split off to join the Movement, the Movement showed signs of further spread. Several of the Usiai villages of the "Number Two Road" that had

refrained from joining the Movement initially now began to visit Bunai frequently and to attend meetings under the tutelage of Kampo of Lahan. These villages had begun debating whether in joining the Movement and the Council they should move to the beach from the interior as the other villages of the "Number Two Road" had done in 1947 and 1948. Their incipient recruitment was a gratification to the Usiai within the Movement, who for years had been subjected to jeers from their former neighbors who would ask them when their *cargo* ships were coming and who would derisively call them Manus for their emulation of the sea people.

Clearly, after a short but highly eventful history since its start in 1946, the Paliau Movement had entered a new phase, in the form of a new spurt of further development that would change the *Newfela Fashion* still further in the direction of its continually evolving concept of its goal-culture.

We left the field at this point, but we are not entirely cut off from these people who had permitted us to come "inside" and to remain there, nor are they cut off entirely from the essential attentive audience that we provided. From time to time letters arrive, carefully written in Neo-Melanesian. We are told in each letter who has died and who has been born.

We were informed of the new school in Bunai which the government set up for the Council sooner than the Manus had expected. It is a large school with an Australian schoolmaster and several native teachers. With the one on Baluan there are now two such schools within the Movement area. The young people who qualified would go from these schools to a higher school in Lorengau on the other side of the island. One letter brought news of great excitement over a new policy whereby some 20 or 30 natives from the whole of the Territory of New Guinea, selected on the basis of competitive examinations, were to be sent to still higher schools in Australia. The Manus hoped that within a few years some of the children attending their new schools would be able to go.

Letters brought news, at the same time, of a system of Native Cooperatives designed to market native produce at better prices than could be obtained from traders and plantation stores. The cooperative provided several stores throughout the Movement area in which Euro-

pean goods could be purchased at reasonable prices. Under Paliau's admonitions everyone had attempted to put aside money for the purchase of shares in the cooperative. Bunai had a store of its own to serve it and nearby villages. The cooperative served another of the Movement's needs. It provided new offices for the many who could occupy them, from storemen and clerks to the officers of the Cooperative Society. The literacy of the people available was still inadequate, but they had learned arithmetic readily within a short time and were in other ways competent and confident.

With these steps behind them, some of the leaders, in the very letters that described them, spoke of the hard work that was involved and seemed for a brief period discouraged and worried as to what the next steps would be. There seemed to be an acceleration in the timing of their expectations of change, so that they felt as though they had reached a plateau within weeks after the completion of their last major accomplishment. They had looked forward to having a good school, a government school, for years. They had rejected the offers of all three local missions to give them a school, if they would replace their separatist religion with the mission. Now they had their school. The buildings were there. The teachers were working.

Their children attended daily. What would they do next?

The next year, 1956, the letters picked up again, reflecting a rise in morale. They were going to build a road across the island in co-operation with the government. The South Coast would be reached by trucks from Lorengau. The interior would be opened up so that Kampo's ideas about great native plantations in the interior would be feasible. Having traversed the route they mentioned without finding anything approximating level ground, I thought they might mean they were going to improve the foot path. Short of the resources of the United States Army during the war and the "Seabees" who had built the only existing road on Manus, and considering the indisposition of both the Manus and the Usiai toward prolonged manual labor, it seemed impossible. No, they wrote back, trucks would run from Lorengau to Patusi. They were working on their end of it. At any rate they were off the plateau. They had another immediate goal. Somehow they may traverse the distance between themselves and the goal-culture toward which they have oriented themselves in a new culture founded on the Paliau Movement—a culture that, for them, is a vehicle moving through change.

PART 3. ANALYSIS

THE PRESENT PREFATORY STATEMENT is intended as a guide to the terms and concepts that are used in the analysis of the Paliau Movement that follows. The exposition of the content of these concepts is limited to a minimum. A more rigorous and full presentation would require my placing the concepts in a broader theoretical context, much of which is not relevant to this monograph. My object is to present neither hypotheses nor comparative generalizations, but an exploratory micro-evolutionary analysis of some aspects of a specific history of culture change.¹

Every individual has a repertoire of implicit representations of the structures of events and classes of events in which he has participated. The individual's total set of such representations, or constructs as I refer to them, comprises his idioverse. The idioverse is that component of the individual's personality derived from experience; it is, at the same time, that individual's version or portion of his culture. A culture is here defined as a heterogeneous multiverse, which is the total set of idioverses of all of the members of a society. A culture is not defined in terms of any specified level or degree of commonality. Within the multiverse of individual versions of a culture, a highly complex structure of commonality is formed by all intersects of idioverses. An intersect contains the common or complementary content of any set of two or more idioverses. Thus defined, a culture is not just the common idioversal constructs shared by all members of a society, but consists of all idioversal constructs whether they occur within some intersect or not. Any such construct may or may not enter into communication or into the determination of events.

An idioversal construct is a dual cognitive-evaluative mapping or representation of that to which it has reference (e.g., some social event, some class of behavior, or an entire state of a culture). Not only is it a cognitive representation of form, structure, or pattern of distribution, it is also a mapping of that to which the construct refers in terms of associated affect and behavior-determining or motivational valences of the corresponding formal structure and its parts.

¹ Schwartz and Mead, 1961.

Of the constructs that constitute a culture, we are here particularly concerned with the type that I call "culture-constructs." Every culture contains constructs that are representations of that culture itself. That is not to say that culture-constructs formed by participants in the culture will be complete, adequate, objective representations (as might be formed by an ideal anthropological observer). They are very much a part of the culture, but a highly influential part in determining a culture's orientation toward change. There are explicit and implicit culture-constructs, but I emphasize herein the importance of the consciously formulated culture-construct to the orientational system. Probably some awareness of culture is universal—people are more or less aware of regularities and form in their own behavior, thought, and feelings and of those in the behavior of the people around them. Their culture-constructs cover this area of awareness with a construct formation that is one of the many possible ways of representing and segmenting this culture. A system of part-constructs may together comprise a construct of broader domain, governing or representing more or broader areas of behavior. A culture-wide construct embraces the total area over which the culture consciousness of a particular people extends.

Culture constructs, like the cultures of which they are a part, extend through time and change. I refer to "period" in speaking of the chronological dimension of culture and to "phase" when segmenting a culture along its change dimension. The phases of Manus culture change, as I delineate them, are not a series of static cross-sections within which structure is constant until transformed into the structure of the next phase. Rather, I conceive of phase boundaries as features of continuous transformation that occur when the mode of transformation itself is altered. A phase boundary marks a change in the structure or modality of change. An episode is a local, partial, or concrete occurrence within a phase. The relationship between time and change and phase and period reveals rate, mode, and pattern of change. Culture-specific expectations of rate, mode, and pattern of change are important

components of the transformationally extended culture-constructs that make up the orientational system of a culture.

I call this system of culture constructs a "transform" (or transformal construct, a construct of higher logical type than the culture-constructs that constitute it) or, at times, I refer to the orientational transform of a culture. By transform I mean a construct that is a representation of form and value extended through change. The density of a transform varies throughout its internal structure. By density I mean the informational density of a representation, the amount of specification built into or recoverable from it. A transform contains one or more cross-sectional constructs of particular cultural states, for example, cross-sectional constructs representing and evaluating past, present, and expected or desired future states of that culture. The cross-sectional constructs of a transform are contemporaneous, that is, they themselves are a part of and derive their form and significance from the present state of their culture. The cross-sectional construct representing old Manus pre-contact culture, for example, is a part of the present state of Manus culture and may only partly, or not at all, be an adequate or accurate representation of the old culture as it was. The structure of a transform is completed by the representation of the continuous or discontinuous transformation of the cross-sectional constructs into one another. The transform is a "solid" of extended transformation and not a series of cross-sections. The cross-sectional constructs are areas within the transform in which cultural states are more explicitly delineated and more densely specified.

Phase is defined as change in the mode of change. As the transform is a system of constructs highly influential in the orientation of a culture in change, I delineate a phase boundary where there is a marked restructuring of the transform.

Practically speaking, a transform fuses and accommodates continuous transformation, as within a closed system in which the cross-sectional constructs are directly derived from one another, and discontinuous transformation where the system is partly open, and succeeding cultural states cannot be wholly derived from preceding ones. Discontinuity may result either from the introduction of cultural elements external to the preceding cultural state or from a

change in transformational processes. Discontinuity produces a disconformity in a transform, that is, a more or less non-derivative relationship between cross-sectional constructs. A transform may be so constructed as to maximize or minimize the apparent magnitude of a disconformity.

It may be thought that the concept of the transform is useful only in studies of change.¹ On the contrary, the relatively non-changing cultural state is a special case of transformation in which the succeeding states wholly or partly replicate one another. Even in drastic, rapid cultural transformation there is always some transformational replication as well as continuity. As a system of orientation in change, a transform may be so constructed as to stress either the replicative or the continuous or the discontinuous, when all three modes of transformation are operating simultaneously.

I speak of a goal-culture and of goal-cultural constructs to indicate desired future cultural states and the cross-sectional constructs that represent them. In the replicative type of transform the goal-culture is represented as a continuous replication of a present cultural state. In other types of transforms the goal-culture may be based on some construct of a past cultural state or it may be based on a construct by one culture of another culture. Of crucial importance to the orientational system is not only the cognitive-evaluative representation of the goal-culture but the projected transformation between the present cultural state and the goal-culture. Instability in this portion of the transform (the projected transformation to the goal-culture) may result in radical phase changes. The distance through change that remains between the present state of a changing culture and its goal-culture, along with the expectations of rate and mode of change built into the transform, and the shifting evaluative perspectives taken with respect to the transform, together form a complex of determinants of morale in the context of culture change. Acculturative morale in turn affects the re-structuring of the transform.

The transformation of culture is a heterogeneous communicational flow-through, in a socially structured channel, modulated by the idioversal constructs of the individuals of a society. What individuals or groups do depends

¹ Valentine, MS.

on their constructs. These are continuously being formed, replicated, or transformed, reënforced or weakened in the communication between these individuals in the events in which they participate. The transform, as an orientational construct, partly determines this complex flow-through of cultural elements. It is sometimes useful to consider cultures as relatively open or closed systems. More appropriate to the concept of culture and of change employed in this study is the detailing of the differential openness or closedness of the system that regulates cultural flow-through in the formation of successive cultural states. Transformal constructs in contact with other transformal constructs within the same culture or in the contacting culture form a surface of contact differentially permeable to inter- and intra-cultural communication. A point of

closure in one idioverse or culture may be a point of openness in another. The total structuring of the channel can be comprehended only when culture is conceived of as a multiverse, as defined above.

Finally, I refer to the immediate goal-culture of the Paliau Movement as a vehicular culture. By vehicular I mean a cultural state not intended to be perpetuated, not a terminal point in a transform, but rather a cultural state distinguished from its predecessors, in this case by a disconformity in its formation, designed as a more appropriate base culture transformable toward some ultimate goal-culture. It is a culture intended to move through change without closure on the particular forms of any one transient cultural state—thus a vehicle to carry a people along a transform to a desired future goal-culture.

ORIENTATIONS TOWARD CHANGE IN THE PHASES OF MANUS ACCUULTURATION BETWEEN 1946 AND 1954

This section is organized by phases, with internal retrospective comparisons in the consideration of the later phases. The orientation and organization of each phase as well as the relationship of Cult to Movement within it are treated.

THE LOCAL PHASE

These early post-war movements among Admiralty Islanders were truly local and autonomous. The ideas on which their programs were based were widespread among those Melanesians who had had a long history of fairly intense contact with Europeans and who had also experienced the much greater intensity of the new contacts brought by the war.

As the core structure of these local movements, we stress a single leader in his own village, organizing his own villagers. None of the leaders was a stranger to his village, despite his long absence. The local leaders were aware of one another. Each leader made hopeful excursions to neighboring villages to sample the ideas of others. But there was no regional organization. The leaders met in pairs. They found no regional leader among themselves. Their concern was mainly with their own villages, although in this phase there was already much discussion in terms of native versus white man.

In every case they found that the obstacles to making the desired changes were not entirely internal to the village. Peri men wishing to abandon the old system of reciprocal affinal exchange still had to obtain wives from other villages that were not yet a part of a similar movement and had to pay for them in the usual way. Although the people of Lahan could decide not to initiate any of the old feasts and exchanges, they continued to participate in those made by their kin in other villages. They were also linked to the conservatism of their neighbors by the ridicule directed at them from other villages. This ridicule had the effect of maintaining internal solidarity and of reënforcing their commitment to the success of their local movement, but it also created a feeling of isolation and anxiety.

The relationship of these early movements to the European population was also local. The movements were hardly recognized or appreciated, except by those Europeans, patrol officers, missionaries, or planters who were most immediately concerned with the villages in which they occurred. Only Bonyalo of Peri, of the local leaders, felt that this relationship with Europeans could facilitate his movement. In general, hostility and a suspicion of European motives marked this early phase and constituted a serious communicative block.

Although the natives themselves considered the local movements failures, these movements contributed many new forms of organization and introduced much of the content of the later Paliau Movement. They helped to create the cultural frames within which the later burst of productivity of new behavior and ideas occurred.

The local movements offered a change that was inadequate for the younger men and excessive for the older men, who argued that all economic activity would cease without the incentives of the old system of exchange. Achievement of independent status as a "big man" remained a potent value, but ceremonial exchange as the means of achieving this status had lost its attractiveness. The *work-boy* world, as a competitive means of gaining status, had weakened and even taken over the system of ceremonial exchange, making it dependent on goods that could be earned only in work for Europeans. It no longer served as a spur to the hard labor of native production, but instead became only another centrifugal force moving the *work boy* away from the village and its traditional values. Gone also was the old religious system which had added to the incentives of the exchange system, the sanction of ghostly wrath. By the end of World War II, the old system, far from being the *sine qua non* of productive labor, actually ceased to provide any incentive at all for the "new men." The old culture was no longer able to recruit the new generation. The local movements produced a schism along generational lines in each village affected.

The local movements signify an intense desire for change and a deeply felt dissatisfaction with the marked changes already accomplished. Both the need for change and the dissatisfaction with the accomplished change can be fully understood only through an analysis of goals and of the time structure of the changing culture.

A general desire for things European extended back to the earliest period of contact. With the increased intimacy of this contact, the desire became more differentiated and detailed. It became possible for a native to make a long list of the contents, material and non-material, of European culture. Native constructs of European culture tended to take the form of a list because the limitations of their ability to see and to translate into models for change much of the structural integration of the items

of the white man's objects and behavior. To a list that included razors, beer, and fishing lines, the more sophisticated native could add status, government, health, mobility, knowledge, as things that they wanted for themselves and that some were beginning to believe might be attainable. All was a part of the goal-culture which they projected conceptually into their own future.

This concept of a goal-culture was not boldly proclaimed by the leaders of the local phase. The offerings of the local leaders touched only on parts of a culture. Too much was left as a negation of the past, phrased in terms of that which should no longer be done; too little was said of what would immediately replace all that was repudiated. Their rejection of the older culture was complete only in the generalities of their preamble, "get rid of *all fashion belong before*." Concretely, each leader emphasized differently what he considered to be the fundamentals of the old culture. It must be stressed also that the leaders were rejecting not only indigenous culture, but also the admixture of native and European cultures which constituted the Territory-wide, syncretic contact culture which had become somewhat stabilized before the war. This contact culture and the relationships with white men implicit in it were a source of bitterness and discontent, not an easily acceptable basis for the elaboration of the new culture. Bonyalo's plan, which would have exchanged the old culture for the contact culture, was not the answer sought by the other leaders. Paliau, Lukas, and Napo rejected it as a mere extension of the *work-boy*¹ situation to the whole village.

To be realizable, the goal-culture would have to be a more complete culture construct. Its beginnings would have to be founded on a more radical change, discontinuous with the line of development of the pre-war contact culture. It would have to extend beyond the single autonomous village. It would have to be rooted in a new kind of native society.

All the local movements failed to recruit their entire villages. The older men had already abandoned much of the past. They had already experienced drastic cultural changes in the cessation of warfare and in their ready conversion to Christianity. Before World War II,

¹ Mead, 1931, discussion of the *work-boy* culture.

many of them had had considerable work experience outside the village. But even within the contact-period culture, their career lines had pointed to their being the leaders of their villages until their deaths or the decline of the aggressive vigor of their mature years. Their leadership and the activities that marked the status that they had attained still depended largely on their entrepreneurial organization of the economic exchanges made to validate the marriages of their younger dependents. The demands of the younger men for autonomy challenged their positions.

The need for full internal integration of the contact culture had been lessened by the increased mobility of the young men, which had brought into their field of choice the alternatives of the broader native-European society (see pp. 223-226). They could leave the village, pay for their own wives, choose wives outside the system of kin-arranged marriage, or refuse to marry a girl to whom they had been betrothed in childhood and for whom their fathers had paid a holding price.

When the whole of society in a changing culture cannot be integrated within any given unit, there is still the possibility of residential separation. In each of the local movements, failure to resolve the conflict between two groups with different cultural commitments led to the withdrawal from the village of the group advocating change. The new group was free to create a desired culture that was new by its own definition. At the same time its removal or threat of removal subverted the older system, coerced its adherents, and promised to produce changes among the resisting elders that could have led to the reunion of the village. This process, whatever its outcome would have been, was interrupted by the Paliau Movement and the *Noise*.

The local movements were not cults, that is, they were not based on a choice of supernatural means that would make unnecessary a transform extended in time. They were, on the whole, thoroughly secular. Most of them avoided innovation in the field of religion. Lungat of Nriol's dream revelation might have been the beginning of a cult, but even it was mainly a ghostly endorsement of a program identical with that of the other local movements. Without the favorable response of the people of his village, Lungat's dream did not

generate a cult. These men were movement leaders, not prophets. They were a part of a relatively open system of culture change, not merely permeable to new ideas and cultural innovation, but actively reaching out for them. Some of the people within range of these movements were willing to abandon the pre-war contact culture without being given any clear delineation of the course to the ultimate goal-culture. Others were not; they clung temporarily to a base line of conservatism within the older contact culture.

In the local movements we have the immediate context within which the Paliau Movement began.

THE INITIAL MOVEMENT PHASE

The initial Paliau Movement possessed what the local movements had lacked. It had completeness. Paliau's constructs were culture-wide. In fact, they tended to define in greater detail and to widen the scope of Manus consciousness of culture. Manus consciousness of culture and of culture change, already highly developed, prepared the people to assume, under Paliau's leadership, the conscious direction of the course of change.

The main cross-sectional constructs of the transform of the Initial Movement were: the old culture, or *fashion belong before*; the contact culture, or the *work-boy* culture; the initial goal-culture as Paliau conceived it, the *Newfela Fashion*; and an ultimate goal-culture, the *fashion belong white man*. The construct of the rejected past included both the pre-contact and the post-contact cultures. This was a selective conception of the past, and as such it was consistent with the culture of 1946 of which this conception was a part. The conceptualization and evaluation of the old culture into the meaningful construct in terms of which the Manus expressed and rejected it were also specific to this culture of 1946. With the forms of the old culture, the Manus associated sickness, death, hard work, ignorance, anger, violence, shame, poverty, powerlessness, and political subordination to the white men. For the Manus, this past construct begins with a representation of the aboriginal culture of a few generations ago, when their memory and history left off, and for the Usiai a dozen generations ago at the point of their totemic origin. Then, filling in the time-extension in their past

construct, came a history of incessant warfare, migrations, divisions and mergers of villages, the names of ancestors, with those of "big men" prominent, Usiai legends, Manus commemorative ballads, then the Germans, an end to warfare, an administration, the Australians, schools, missions, police, ships, plantations, the *work-boy* world, pidgin English, the conversion to Christianity, the war, the Japanese, the Americans, and then the Movement.

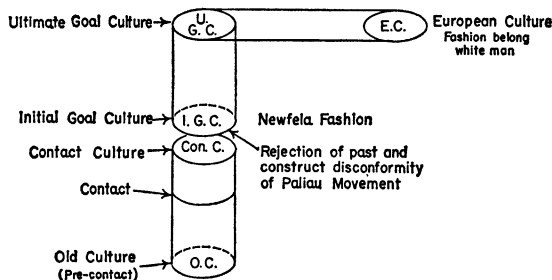


FIG. 2. Orientational construct of initial Paliau Movement.

Paliau combined all these into an interpretative, evaluative myth in the "Long Story of God." He provided a beginning, placing the Manus past in the context of all that he or his followers knew of world history and myth. This past construct served several ends. It placed Manus in the world. It accounted for the condition of the Manus in a way that effectively challenged its inevitability. It drew heavily upon Christianity, showing Manus, as the result of accident and conspiracy, left in the state of man after the Fall from Paradise, long after the Redemption had brought a mitigation of this misery to the white man. This construct of the past was a denunciation of the old culture as political atomism and economic futility. It was a denunciation of the contact culture as a betrayal of the native, a withholding of the truth, a failure of the white men, nation after nation, to fulfill the mission of Jesus, to "get up" the native, to make him "all right." And finally, as a myth, the "Long Story of God" led history logically and inevitably to the Paliau Movement.

The "Long Story of God," the founding myth of the initial Paliau Movement, did not contain all the orienting constructs of the Movement. It was separate from the main body of the Movement program. The "Long Story of God," in-

cluding Jesus' selection of Paliau as the man to bring his Word to the "black men," could be allowed to become myth, since it represented neither ideology nor program. It was a beginning—the thing that each new member of the Movement learned first. It was accepted as being the first truth, a revealed substitute for the deliberate obscurity of mission teaching. Given this, Paliau could elaborate a program that would not be "without roots," as Lukas of Mouk had complained about the program of Bonyalo's local movement.

From its beginnings the Movement constituted for its adherents a vehicular culture, the *Newfela Fashion*, a culture with a built-in program for change projected toward an ultimate goal-culture. Significantly, the Movement, however novel it might have been, was not offered as a culture itself to be perpetuated. A clear-cut break, a major disconformity in change, was desired. The *Newfela Fashion* offered a culture sufficiently different from the past (as different as the initial resources and concepts of the Movement could make it) so that progress toward the goal-culture would not be impeded by structural conformity to the old culture. The initial Paliau Movement was oriented in terms of a construct of the past culture and a construct of an initial goal-culture, both so constructed as to maximize the appearance of discontinuity.

A construct of this initial goal-culture was worked out in the initial Paliau Movement with sufficient completeness to make possible its realization during the later Organizational Phase. The *Newfela Fashion*, unlike the ultimate goal-culture, could be put into effect with immediately available means. The *Newfela Fashion*, as it was initially conceived, was not a synchronic construct of a culture, to be realized at once. Its early forms were to be superseded by later ones in a process of continuous transformation extending from the initial *Newfela Fashion* to the ultimate goal-culture. Paliau often referred to the *Newfela Fashion* as the "mouth of the road," a starting point. In the conception of the Movement even the ultimate goal-culture was not to be an end. It meant that change beyond this point would be experienced as a part of world society at a time when there would no longer be a separate *road belong native*. Whatever later changes there may be, once the native had moved the distance

through change between the initial goal-culture and the ultimate goal-culture he would be on an equal footing with the white man. Whether the prospect seems naive, impractical, and improbable, or tragic, pathetic, and undesirable to people who place different values on both the native culture and our own than the Manus do, such was the conscious and purposive orientation of the Paliau Movement in its chosen course of rapid culture change.

The transform of the initial Movement had its gaps, its areas of high specification, and its areas of vague delineation and uncertain means. Most of the less densely specified portion of the transform lay between the initial and the ultimate goal-culture that was based on native understanding and perception of European culture. The latter goal-construct was limited by native misperceptions and by misconceptions supplied ready-made by Europeans and by the limited access of the natives to the whole pattern of European culture. For example, the natives saw European material culture as a finished product without experiencing the productive processes. Most troublesome was the native's uncertainty as to the extent that European power, wealth, and knowledge depend on the correctness of European religion. Still, the construct of the ultimate goal-culture was complete and definite enough to provide an orientation for change whether or not it was appropriate enough to direct this change toward a close approximation to European culture.

Paliau's transform between the initial and the ultimate goal-culture was critically unspecified beyond the foreseeable development of the initial *Newfela Fashion*. Probably this less densely, though not wholly, unspecified part of the transform was not fully apparent until the prospect could be considered from the vantage point of an accomplished *Newfela Fashion*. Then the distance through change between the construct of the *Newfela Fashion* as far as the people had taken it and their revised construct of the ultimate goal-culture seemed great compared to the means they had or anticipated on which further versions of the *Newfela Fashion* could be constructed. But it is essential to the openness of the Movement toward change in the direction of the goal-culture that it was possible to leave parts of its transform

undefined, in anticipation of finding new means and new conceptions.

Paliau's initial transform tended to be closed as far as the anticipation of outside help from the Administration, from the Americans, or from the missionaries was concerned. He was not closed to such help (except, in effect, to that of missions), but he did not expect it. He was able, later, to bridge gaps in the transform that would have remained gaps, left to native resources alone, by actively incorporating organizational ideas, Administration-sponsored program, and Administration-derived legitimization, often in anticipation of the Administration's timing of its own program.

The orientational transform of the Movement was itself not rigid. Much of this monograph deals with its changes and its improvisations. There was a constantly changing construct of the *Newfela Fashion* as it stood at any period. Earlier constructs of the *Newfela Fashion* became constructs of the past, affectively charged as relics of a successful revolution, constructs influencing and in some ways interfering with their own transcendence.

The construct of the old culture was developed, in part, in Paliau's "laws," which declared an end to the fundamental features of the old culture. We can only sample the range of these "laws" here. Some followed a general pattern of paired imperatives, consisting of a negative injunction against the key features of the old culture paired with its positive substitute in the *Newfela Fashion*. Other lists of "laws" were either negative or positive. There were such "laws" as these: "We will no longer make big feasts." "We don't like the adornment of women with money at feasts of affinal exchange and all the work connected with it." "We will no longer quarrel over land rights." "Men and women will no longer be suspicious of one another." "Women are not to carry infants around in dirty cloth slings. When an infant cries they are to give it the breast and not carry it around when it is feeding." "Anger is to be avoided." "People are not to get involved in other people's quarrels." "Get rid of the old dances, find new dances." "No longer pay for wives." "Get rid of the old villages, build new villages." "Build houses with good floors." And the general formula recurred: "Get rid of all the bad ways of before; find good ways for now

[*rausim all fashion no-good belong before; findim all goodfela fashion belong now*]."

These were the sort of directives with which a cultural transformation was conceived. Many of them are of broad domain affecting large areas of culture, including a great many specific kinds of behavior. The old culture was segmented into large disposable units. Several, for example, touching on different aspects of it called for the elimination at a stroke of the whole process of affinal exchange on which so much of the old culture depended. Some aimed at changing the whole affective tone of interpersonal relations, calling for the control of anger, of suspicion between husband and wife, of shame between avoidance relatives, and of hostility between tribes once enemies. Those "laws" of narrow domain which touched upon specific behavior invariably dealt with a crucially placed part of some greater institution. These were not, point by point, closely descriptive directives for change. They were rather a set of transformations operating on the alterable blocks of behavior abstractly classified and segmented which were the units of the self-construct of this culture. Applied to this culture they yielded a new culture, an ideal version of the *Newfela Fashion*.

Some of these changes were easier to bring about than others. It was easier to destroy old villages and build new ones than to bring anger under control, or turn off hostility toward enemies. But the Movement also demanded a reorganization of Manus personality. The greatest efforts were expended to accomplish this, including a great deal of experimentation with social forms aimed at supporting the changes.

In addition to the "laws," there were numerous elaborations in Paliau's speeches. Some major parts of the program did not find expression in such formulas. The new economic program was more expository. Most of the early formulation of the *Newfela-Fashion* religion was encompassed in the "Long Story of God." The political system began to take concrete form almost immediately in the meetings of the Baluan center. The Mouks consciously became the first model for the new organization of the community. This use of the early initiates, the more advanced, as models and tutors to the newer members of the Movement, continued throughout its course. Thus the Usiai found the *Newfela*

Fashion exemplified in the Manus of Bunai. The Usiai then followed the new routine and way of life, consciously acting as models for the orientation of newer Usiai arrivals. Some groups retained throughout the higher status of *man belong go-pas* to others. Acculturation between European and native tended to be in two steps, mediated by a more "advanced" model group. Usiai acculturation to European patterns was by way of the Manus.

We have said that the constructs of the Movement were culture-wide. They were filled out by the continuation from the past of much that could not be immediately replaced and by much that continued without a native awareness of it as a survival. To set up the constructs of the old and the new culture in such a way as to increase the appearance of difference and discontinuity between them, important survivals were modified and given a new rationale so that they did not appear to be survivals. As nothing survived without some modification,¹ it was possible for the Movement to focus attention on the degree of change rather than on the degree of continuity. Which of these perspectives they centered on in subsequent phases depended in part on morale and in turn influenced the state of morale within the Movement. It was possible for them to feel at one time that they had changed a great deal and were well advanced toward the goal-culture and, at another time, that they had changed little and were still very near where they started.

The place of religion in the initial Movement must be clearly understood. The Movement was itself culture-wide. It was itself a whole culture. It included religion, but it was not a religion. The pattern of change depended to a great extent on the means chosen and those available. With the support of its religion and its mythology, the Movement depended and was largely predicated on secular means. It depended on education, work for cash, and on villages, roads, canoes, and food. It was not initially clear how its participants could accumulate enough money to capitalize the Movement, but Paliau had the idea of saving the war damages paid by

¹ The actual means of subsistence changed least (daily fishing for the Manus, gardening for the Usiai), but even here the organization of these activities and the manner of distribution of their products had been considerably altered.

the Administration and of saving money earned from the Americans. There were also ideas for developing native industries and copying local European industries. Many local Europeans, relatively unaware of the pre-Cult beginnings of the Paliau Movement, thought that it began as a cult in predominantly religious form, with Paliau basing it all on the expectation and promise of *cargo*. Although Paliau mixed program with prophecy and created or allowed others to create an aura of myth about him, his interest was in the Movement. His religious teaching had a generally secularizing effect and led directly and deliberately to a break with the missions and the establishment of an independent church as a part of the *Newfela Fashion*, with a religion appropriate to and supporting the *Newfela Fashion*. The reconstruction of the early Paliau Movement given in the preceding sections is the best that I could achieve from a vantage point closer to the native than that of other Europeans. It indicated that the Cult was a separate development from the Movement, with an orientation significantly different from that which Paliau gave to the Movement.

THE FIRST CULT PHASE, OR THE NOISE

The First Cult occurred among people who had heard of such *cargo* cults and who, in this respect, shared in the general areal culture of the Territory of Papua and New Guinea. They knew that such cults occurred in Aitape, in the Sepik area, in New Britain, and in the Solomons. Some of the Admiralty Island natives who had been in New Britain during the war had observed the Batari Movement there. They knew also that the prophecies of these other cults had not been fulfilled. Some Manus had even accepted the European idea that these cults were the expression of a form of temporary insanity. Yet Admiralty Island natives shared with the cultists of these other areas the broadly similar lines of Melanesian culture, the varieties of which seemed to the more acculturated natives even more alike than they had to their parents. They shared also a broadly similar experience within the contact culture which had developed this complex Territory-wide society that included both native and European. Admiralty Island natives could draw on Melanesianized Christian belief and on equally Melanesianized constructs of European society out of

which Cult belief and Movement program alike could be fabricated. We must understand the First Cult as occurring in this areal context—a context further structured by the circumstances peculiar to the Admiralties and the specificities within the Melanesian areal pattern of particular Admiralty Island cultures. I found no evidence of a cargo cult before 1947 on the South Coast and the small islands off this coast of the Admiralty Islands. Except for the spill-over from the South Coast *Noise*, I heard of no cargo cult on the North Coast. In spite of the fact that the First Cult drew upon the belief content of cargo cults elsewhere in the Territory, it was not affected by a preceding cult directly experienced by the people of the Admiralties. Those people who had seen or heard of cults elsewhere, who knew of their failures, and who had called other cultists “crazy” were, together with the less experienced, swept up by the *Noise*. The *Noise*, a new experience for the Admiralties, was one with pre-established expectations based on many precedents in Melanesia. During the *Noise*, the Manus thought little of these other cults. Only following the termination of the First Cult Phase were the failures of these other cults used as an argument against the Cult. The mythology of the *Noise* includes no mention of other Melanesian cults. The First Cult claimed exclusive precedence in direct revelatory communication between God and the *black man*.

Aside from all that the First Cult had in common with other Melanesian cults, it occurred in the midst of the initial Paliau Movement. If, in spite of this, it resembles other cargo cults, the extent of the resemblance depends in part on its being a repudiation of the Movement.

The occurrence of the First Cult so soon after the beginning of the Movement has led to confusion of the two, both to outsiders and to participants. The instantaneous contagion in the spread of the Cult, as well as the form of response it received, leads me to believe that it was a cargo cult that was expected of Paliau, rather than the Movement. When Paliau spoke of “program,” there were many who did not heed, whose desires were centered on the promises he made, for which any extended program involved too great a deferment.

Paliau sent young and relatively unrecognized men, such as Kisakiu of Tawi and the men from Nriol, back to their villages, out of his presence, to urge their elders and their kin to

abandon a way of life which all felt was already in most ways better than it had been in the past. These young men were to announce and to substitute a program that asserted the native's equality with the white man as its ultimate goal and that said that it could be achieved through the native's own efforts.

These young men won concessions and doubtful agreement from some of their elders but hardly the show of enthusiasm that the *Noise* engendered. Kisakiu and Lungat recalled their embarrassment and the hedging of the older men. Paliau chose the most outspoken among them by asking each group of visitors for the *man belong talktalk*. Still they met resistance. Yet, shortly afterward, the mere rumor of the existence of the Cult generated the greatest excitement and expectation which, when given some further confirmation of a sort that ordinarily would provoke only skepticism and laughter (such as the reports of the two old women going down the South Coast), were enough to induce people to destroy all their property, particularly all that had the greatest significance and value. This destruction of property in some villages occurred even before there was any occurrence of *guria* or visions.

It seems to me, therefore, that the local movements had failed. Paliau had announced secretly that he would have much to say upon his return to Manus. Rumors of Paliau's contacts with Jesus, combined with his prestige and with the diffusion of stories about other Melanesian cargo cults, contributed to the expectation that Paliau would bring with him a cargo cult for Manus. He responded to these expectations, partly encouraging them, at the same time organizing the Movement. He gave his ideas on religion first, though these ideas were more appropriate to the Movement than to the Cult. In the same meetings he elaborated, and put into effect immediately, his plans for the *Newfela Fashion*. Wapei of Nriol, distinguished largely because he happened to be the first to crystallize a cargo cult out of the expectation of one, had sat through Paliau's meetings. He had said nothing then or on his return to his village. He was not known as a *man belong talktalk*. When he spoke, it was in the name of a dream visit from Jesus who declared Paliau wrong.

In what way was Paliau wrong? The Cult seemed to share the same goals as the Movement. The ultimate goal-culture of both seemed

similar. Both seemed to share the iconoclastic repudiation of the old culture, though Paliau had asked the literal destruction of only a few key artifacts of the old culture, such as shell money, dogs' teeth, and grass skirts, but not of canoes, sails, fishing implements, or of American tools, cots, and lockers, and American and Australian currency. He had described the First Order of God for man in Paradise but had not promised its restoration.

Given the similarity in the goal-cultures, in the rejection of the old culture and in hostility toward the Australians and the missions, the most striking disparity lies in the formal differences between the transforms of the Cult and those of the Movement, deriving to a great extent from the choice of means for arriving at the goal-culture. The First Cult depended exclusively on supernatural intervention on its behalf and on the activities of its adherents in preparing themselves as fitting beneficiaries. Much of Cult practice can be classified as magical, serving in effect to insure the appointed divine intervention and serving also to maintain the adherent's belief and expectation at the highest level of intensity. The high intensity of belief itself was magical, instrumental, and consciously cultivated. Concentrating belief, and removing all adulteration of the *thinkthink*, helped to bring on the *guria*, which helped to bring God closer. The *guria* was a sign of His nearness, a sign that compelled belief, a belief required of them as a condition for the future. Set for a short-term expenditure of their energies, they launched themselves into this with a degree of commitment and intensity of obsessional belief, which, in a few days, would bring an end to any necessary further expenditure.

The spread of the *Noise* curtailed the Movement. As Cult replaced Movement, past and future, living and dead, became contemporaneous, crowding in on the imminent day of Christ's return. There was a peculiar futurelessness about the Cult which looked briefly forward to an imminent sudden metamorphosis of life into a condition of stasis, perfect and unimprovable, the highest condition possible for man. What was to come after the return to the First Order was not preconceived in such detail as the initial and ultimate goal-cultures of the Movement had been. There was no need to conceive of a long sequence of necessary steps other

than those involved in the last-minute flurry of magic-like preparations to be made during the last days before the Judgment. The time distance of the goal was set, not years or generations ahead, but a few days. No one was asked to work for the sake of his children. The immediate fulfillment of desire was imminent for all who lived or had lived. In the restoration of the state of grace in which man had lived in Paradise, everything would be good, but they were not clear of what "everything" would consist. It would begin with the *cargo* which would consist of all the known and, by extension, the unknown content of European material culture. It would also begin with reunion with the dead, who would return alive, not as ghosts.

There was also the somewhat contradictory idea that all men would have a non-corporeal form, much like that of the angels. They would be *wind nothing* or pure *thinkthink*. The constructs of the Cult also contained many other contradictions in the conception of this new way of life. Many of the objects believed to be part of the *cargo* were tools or building materials, such as galvanized iron or automobiles. But with the "way of the *thinkthink*" that would prevail, everything would be acquired by materializing it directly through thinking. Teleportation would also be possible, just as it was for the *thinkthink* in dreams. The material car, of the sort that Europeans and native drivers used, was combined with teleportation in one informant's concept of these cars as different from ordinary cars—one thought oneself into them rather than climbing in, one merely thought where one wanted to go and the car took one there. In some descriptions of *cargo* and the accompanying type of life, money was being included—any amount of money. It was not clear how the money would be used. In general, there was little elaboration on the features of the new life to be arrived at on the *Day Behind*.

Pita Tapo, of the Usiai village of Lahan, had some of the most concrete political ideas for the post-millennial society. He introduced the idea of hat and book burning and of American Negro soldiers to help the people drive out the Australians. He also had a vision about the natives' choosing between the Australian and the American flags and choosing the American. He thought of Paliau appointed as "boss" by Jesus and of himself appointed as second to Paliau.

But this degree of elaboration about the Cult future occurred almost at the end of the First Cult. The Usiai were the last to experience the First Cult. Tapo, although he had never met Paliau, had absorbed much of the Movement into his belated Cult experience through the teaching of Tjamilo of Bunai.

When the specific content of the goal-cultures is considered, the resemblance between that of the Movement and that of the First Cult is lessened. Generally both built goal-constructs consciously based on European culture, but Cult and Movement had different goal-constructs. That of the Cult was based on the First Order of God. It involved much more fantasy than that of the Movement. It drew on elements present in Paliau's "Long Story of God" and centered almost exclusively on this, omitting the rest of the program.

Whatever lay ahead, the First Cult itself had no function or future after the Second Coming. It set itself to an appointed date beyond which the truth or failure of its prophecies would be known. This date was shifted ahead a week during the Rambutjon cult episode, but it could not have been postponed again without some basic rationalization and re-orientation of the expectations of the Cult followers. These might have been accomplished, prolonging the life of the Cult and its prophet, but such action would have meant foregoing the use of the instrumentative over-commitment involved in setting a date. When no definite date was set in the more peripheral villages, the people waited for several days, expecting the arrival of the *cargo* each day. Their expectations were set in such a way that the day-to-day postponement of the abandonment of hope was sharply limited. Beyond a few days, some re-orientation of belief would have been necessary.

The degree of commitment involved in the First Cult related to the short-term set of their expectations and also to the active denial of the possibility that there might be any future other than that vaguely to be brought into being by the coming of Jesus and the dead. The belief in the arrival of the *cargo* in less than a week was not an idea that could be entertained passively. Believing it passionately with all the strength of one's *thinkthink* was a manipulative action, aimed at making the belief come true. Belief had to be demonstrated by action; each man had to commit himself to the point at which the

desired events must take place, because it would be too disastrously unthinkable for them not to happen. Much of the more drastic activity of the First Cult served to propel men quickly beyond the point at which they could doubt or think of returning to conditions as they were. So desperate was the investment in the immediate that day-to-day, life-sustaining activities were halted. In some places food and firewood were thrown out and children were neglected; all were to be nourished and cared for by God. The next meal would be manna in tin cans. The burning of the government's hats and books gave some immediate expression to their strongly felt hostility. The destruction of all property helped to thrust behind them a past which they now felt to be devoid of value. But these destructive acts had the further effect of thrusting the Cult believers forward to a point where either the Cult beliefs were true or the people were ruined and shamed. In taking these steps they were helping to secure the desired fulfillment by forcing the hand of God. Lukas of Mouk told how, as he began to doubt and to fear that the Mouks had impoverished themselves in vain, he was moved to the final act of commitment, casting into the sea the box of money which symbolized the existence of an alternative route to the goal-culture. The killing of Wapei in Nriol, though a complexly determined event, also functioned as a final, irrevocable act of magical commitment. If the *Noise* were "true," no death would be final; the destroyed would be forgotten in the flood of things received. There would be an end to sickness and death, and an end to labor and to the newly felt poverty vis-à-vis the white man.

Related to the temporal foreshortening of the orientational transform of the First Cult are its rates of transmission, of development, and of approach to a climax. The entire spread of the First Cult happened within a few months. Except for the inclusion of the Usiai and its later episodes of renewal in Peri and Bunai, the First Cult had reached the limits of its spread within two or three weeks. During the first week, its reception by any particular village was almost instantaneous. Either the first contact with carriers already caught up in the *Noise* sufficed to involve the village, or two or three successive contacts with individuals who were increasingly more intensely affected by the *Noise* had the same effect. The apex of intensity of the *Noise*

was reached within a few days of this initial contact. In most villages the full cycle of the First Cult from contact, to climax, to realization that it had failed occurred within two weeks in the early adherent villages and within three months in Peri and Bunai, where the full content of the Cult was transmitted in a series of episodes, each of which provoked some further manifestation of the *Noise*.

The rate, intensity, mode of transmission, and the form of the Cult in each village were not constant throughout the period of the *Noise*. Within the First Cult itself there were differences between the cult experiences of those villages that came into earliest contact with the Cult and those that were involved later. These contrasts within the First Cult foreshadow the contrasts that developed between the First Cult and the Second Cult.

The first villages caught in the contagion of the Cult were also the most intensely affected in terms of the number of people who had convulsive seizures and the prevalence and extremity of all forms of cult-specific behavior. Only Mouk can be said to have experienced instantaneous contagion of the *gurua*. In each of the other early villages, the first news of the *Noise* did not initiate it locally, even when the news contained the false report that *cargo* had already arrived in other villages. A few confirmatory events were necessary to precipitate the *Noise*. Even in Tawi, two old men sighting ships and a visitation by God to a young man were needed to trigger the group response following the first news. Tawi and Nriol had, in a sense, been primed for the Cargo Cult through early contact with the Paliau Movement. Patusi and Peri had no such contact. The representatives of Bunai and Mbukei who had gone to the meetings on Mouk had stayed to participate in the *Noise* with the Mouks. Patusi's *Noise*, which began after repeated contacts with Tawi, never took the form of a mass seizure. Some individuals were thrown into *gurua*, a ghost appeared regularly, and a few individuals who took the lead in the Cult organized formal seances. Peri and Bunai were even more peripheral to the more intense centers of the *Noise*. They heard a series of rumors of the arrival of *cargo*, wished to participate, and, anxious over their lack of information, followed the example of Patusi and threw their possessions into the sea. The "throwing-away," which actually pre-

ceded the *guria* in these later villages, was not carried out in the heightened emotional state of peak intensity that had accompanied it in other villages.

The return of Tjamilo from Mouk, in the third week of the *Noise* (since its start on Nriol), supplied its missing content. The *Noise* had already run its course in Nriol, Mouk, and Tawi. Tjamilo brought news of the death of Wapei on Nriol, but this did not prevent the occurrence of the second episode of the *Noise* in Bunai and Peri. Only now was the *guria* introduced in these villages. The destruction of property previously begun was now completed, deliberately and concertedly, under the supervision of the new leaders. Instead of indiscriminate destruction of all valuable property, the discarding of the last of the dogs' teeth and shell money was now emphasized. Regular meetings were held. Rival claims to leadership in Peri were based on the completeness and recency of the claimant's revelation. Peri and Bunai had not abandoned their hope for *cargo*. Tjamilo hinted strongly at greater future manifestations of the *guria*. But the urgency of anticipation that in the more central villages had driven the Cult so quickly through its course was no longer manifest.

Up to this point the Cult had been spread by people who returned to their villages whence they happened to have been at the time of their contact with the *Noise* (Fig. 3). These people stopped en route and gave the news to unaffected villages but were forcibly repelled by those villages already involved. In the first episode of the *Noise*, people did not dare to leave their villages to seek information, for fear of

losing their share of the *cargo* if it arrived in their absence. In the second episode, further manifestations of the *Noise* were keyed by late returnees, such as Tjamilo. By this time the *Noise* had ended in the central villages. The late returnees from Mouk brought a fusion of the Cult with elements of the program of the Paliau Movement. In the third episode the government had already intervened. Paliau was in custody. The last of the *Noise* was transmitted in homogenized, more formally institutionalized form, by people who deliberately visited other villages to compare experiences and seek the missing parts of the Cult content, and belatedly tried to learn about the content of Paliau's pre-*Noise* meetings. Finally, three months after the start of the *Noise*, the Usiai came to Bunai, because they did not want to be left out of the experience of the *Noise*. They were not disappointed. In their laborious transcription of the "Long Story of God" and in building a new church, with which they were engaged when the *guria* seized them, we see the reëmergence of the Movement. Within this short time, as the failure of the Cult to realize its prophecies of *cargo* became apparent, the Cult practices took on increasingly more perpetuable, institutionalized, and conventionalized forms. In the next phase even these forms become latent, submerged under the still more conventionalized forms of the religion of the Paliau Movement.

The effect of the Cult on the organization of the area affected by it was largely negative during the First Cult Phase itself. However, while an extreme village particularism prevailed dur-

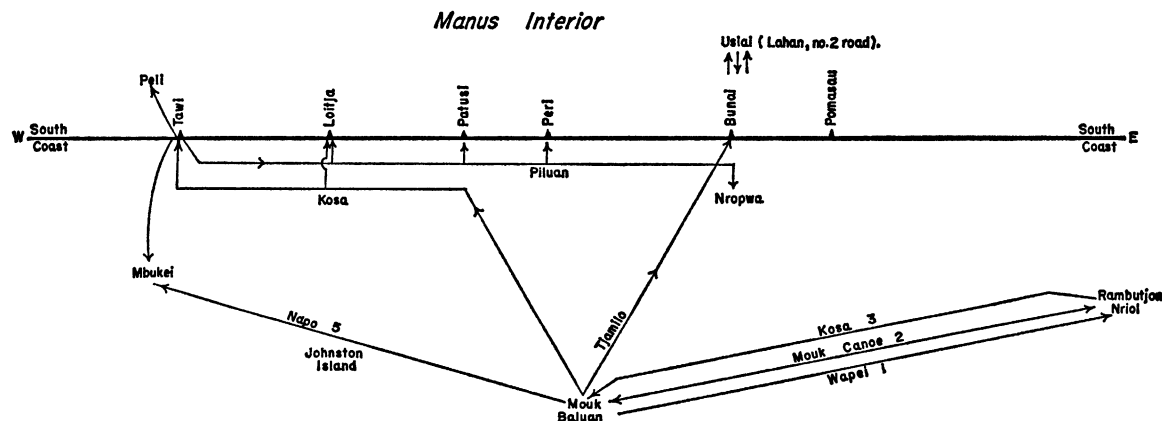


FIG. 3. Routes of transmission of First Cult.

ing the *Noise*, the common experience of the Cult and the disappointment because of its failure contributed to the subsequent unification of the villages concerned. Within these villages there were varying degrees of temporary organization. The lines of horizontal, centralized organization which the initial Paliau Movement had begun to establish were disrupted by the *Noise* but began to be consolidated again in the villages that came late into the Cult.

Within villages the reorganization induced by the Cult was often marked by status inversions. Often, young people or others who would not have exercised leadership under the old culture or within the Movement attained a temporary authority by virtue of any supposedly revealed idea concerning divinely required preparations for the *Day Behind*. Within the villages of the First Cult there was a great deal of role improvisation. The degree of command assumed by Wapei in Nriol was not duplicated elsewhere. In most other villages, a larger number of individuals contributed their own roles, ideas, and minor prophecies to the Cult. In most of the adherent villages of the First Cult, there were much improvisation, uniqueness of form, and temporary organization in the interval between prophecy and fulfillment. In the central Cult villages there was no attempt to approximate to forms of organization anticipating the goal-culture that would result from the coming of Jesus and the ancestors. Instead, the limited organization had as its purpose only the accomplishment of the necessary preparations for this day.

The belief system of the First Cult was also relatively sparse, undeveloped, and unstandardized. It appropriated much of the religious content of the Paliau Movement and appended to it the prophetic elaborations that occurred in each village, a body of myths of minor miracles and signs testifying to the validity of the Cult as truly revealed and as a true manifestation of the nearness of God. It assembled in its mythology most of what anyone in the Cult knew of the mythologies of other cargo cults scattered over Melanesia—for example, the King Berra myth or the belief that the land would be made level and dry. Still other beliefs, such as one contributed by Pita Tapo among the Usiai, that American Negroes would come to drive out the Australians, may be local

additions. Local improvisation led to such differences among the manifestations of the Cult as the murder of Wapei in Nriol, the marching to and waiting at the graveyard in Mouk, the seances in Tawi and Patusi, and the burning of the government hats and books among the Usiai. The sparsity and lesser standardization (compared below to the Second Cult Phase) of the system of belief and of the Cult organization are in part functions of the rate of development and also of the futurelessness of the orientational transform of the First Cult. The process of commitment was served by the very lack of institutional content designed to extend beyond the appointed day.

In the more peripheral versions of the *Noise*, we see more stable forms of organization and more fully elaborated mythological bases for belief, as well as some integration of the Cult with the program derived from the Movement that would give continuity beyond the subsistence of the Cult expectations. But even here, the new forms of organization—meetings, recognized teachers, and coordinated group activities, such as the disposal of the last of the dogs' teeth, were still oriented for a short time toward that greater *guria* that was yet to come.

In village after village the First Cult Phase ended as the people of each abandoned their expectations of an imminent, sudden realization of a goal-culture which was a Europeanized Eden, and looked more distantly at an ultimate goal-culture to be reached by the steps of Paliau's program. They set about building into actuality the *Newfela Fashion* of the initial goal-culture, following closely the concepts offered them in the early meetings of the Paliau Movement.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND PLATEAU PHASES

An examination of the changes in the structure of the Cult as it was transmitted from the more central to the more peripheral villages leads, in the description of the latter villages, to transitional forms and anticipations of the formal characteristics of the Organizational Phase. A closer examination is here given of the boundary phenomena that appeared during the transition from the short-lived Cult to the Organizational Phase, during which the initial goal-culture of the Paliau Movement was realized.

Some aspects of the structure of the Movement and its orientational transform as it appeared or was at least conceived in the Initial Movement Phase, and of the changes that took place as the Cult intervened, replaced, or transformed the Movement, are described above. Stress is laid on the transformal foreshortening that marked the Cult and was related to the sudden increase of intensity of excited anticipation and activity geared to short-term expectation. At the phase boundary between the Initial Movement and the First Cult, transformal foreshortening occurred abruptly—almost, figuratively, as an arcing over between the present and the goal-culture. This foreshortening occurred as the temporally extended transform of the Movement based on secular means was replaced by the temporally contracted transform based on the magico-religious means of Cult belief. Less abrupt, the Cult to Movement boundary was passed in a state of indefinite temporality in which *cargo* expectations were not abandoned but in which the expectation of imminence was replaced by that of indefinite postponement to the not too remote future. This transitional state was itself followed by an acceptance of transformal prolongation in the Movement as it became again the dominant orientation.

The intensity of commitment to the Cult, to repudiation of the past, and to a goal-culture identified with that of the Paliau Movement established a momentum carrying the Cult adherent into what soon became Movement-defined paths toward that goal-culture. There was a transitional state in the restoration of a more secularly based program in which the enactment of program was ritualized and its activities were imbued with the affect-laden carry-over from the Cult. The activities of the *Newfela Fashion* were taken, not as forms for the new life but as magical instrumental means, if perfectly and unanimously carried out, to end the postponement of the *Day Behind*.

That which was implicit in native Christianity became explicit in the Cult, and Cult mythology drew upon other Melanesian cults and elaborated on these ideas in revelatory dreams and visions. The Cult sought direct access to God and the *cargo*, mediated by its own ancestors instead of the white men. Briefly, during the Cult phase, the planes of existence of the living and of the dead had become close

again, as they had been in the pre-Christian past. In the transition to the Organizational Phase, there was for a time an ambivalent co-existence of Cult and Movement orientations. Then the *cargo* and apocalyptic elements of native Christianity again became implicit, submerged and fading as the unspoken level in dual-meaning discourse. For some time the reporting and interpretation of dreams continued, then, probably before 1948, fell into disuse, but were revived from time to time for moralistic purposes without *cargo* content. The ancestors receded again into the distance of the more impersonal Christian Heaven, not to intervene individually again in the affairs of the living until the true Second Coming in the indefinite future. Cult songs and the hostile, ritualistic marching persisted briefly, the practice falling gradually into neglect in the new villages or becoming an exercise divorced from Cult meaning for the school boys. Secular activity was *something belong meat belong man*. From the point of view of the Cult, such activities were spiritually adulterating. So Lukas Pokus of Peri Village explained that, although the *gurua* persisted in him longer than in others, he lost his ability to *gurua* and was not able to concentrate his *thinkthink* sufficiently on God as he became increasingly preoccupied with secular affairs in building the new village and making his living within the new culture.

Nonetheless, the aim of directness of relationship to God persisted through all phases. The people maintained this in their separatist religion, resisting overtures from all three missions. As the transitional state of Cult-Movement fusion passed into Movement ascendancy, a conventionalized and standardized version of Christianity, according to Paliau's reinterpretation of mission teaching, replaced the more variegated versions of Cult belief. The post-Cult teachers appointed or elected in each village preached or taught from written copies of the "Long Story of God." In 1949 Paliau trained some of these "teachers" and others who replaced them to a new set of duties as the religious specialists of their villages. The "Long Story of God" was replaced by a somewhat diluted version of the Catholic Mission catechism, with the special interpretations assigned to it by the Paliau Movement left for the preachers' oral elaboration, or left known but unspoken.

The transition from Movement to Cult had

been most conspicuously marked by the occurrence of Cult symptomatology, particularly when such Cult behavior as *guria*, visions, and coma were manifested by whole groups. The validation of the Cult itself, and of its dreams, visions, and revelations, required these symptomatic behaviors.¹ The set of Cult personnel emerged from among those manifesting Cult "symptoms," although a few of the men who figured eminently in the Cult, such as Tjamilo of Bunai and Kisakiu of Tawi, did not manifest these symptoms and, significantly, did not claim direct revelation or personal prophecy for themselves but helped to organize, control, standardize, or elaborate through interpretation. It may be said that such Cult-specific behavior as the *guria* was not required for the positions they took.

As the Movement took social form before the *Noise* and in the projected social organization of the *Newfela Fashion*, a new alignment of political statuses was created. Younger Movement leaders acquired higher statuses than those now left to the older men whose leadership had rested on legitimacy derived from both the traditional political system and that of the European administration. The Cult produced some additional status inversions and added a fourth system of legitimization of leadership to the traditional, the European, and the Movement systems. At the phase boundary of the Cult to Movement at the collapse of the *Noise*, a transitional set of leaders appeared briefly—the "teachers."²

Most of the leaders among the Cult personnel, whose elicitation of public response depended primarily on Cult symptomatic behavior in 1948, found themselves in the background, with interest and response being transferred to people who claimed special knowledge of the program of the Paliau Movement and who led during the ritual-like enactment of the early *Newfela Fashion*. As Movement-orientation came to dominate the Organizational Phase, the *pesmen* and later the *councils* and *committees* attained leadership, while the more Cult-derived "teachers" took secondary positions or found no office at all. The *councils*

themselves were most often men complexly supported by multiple legitimization derived from all systems, with Cult statuses contributing the least to organizational leadership in the Movement. Thus the termination of the First Cult tended to restore the probable development of the new political and social organization that was indicated in the pre-Cult phase of the Movement.

Movement centralization of political organization had been interrupted by Cult particularism. A more fully developed and extended centralized organization emerged rapidly with the termination of the *Noise*. Paliau's aim at the elimination of the horizontal and vertical divisions inherent in the old system of social and political organization and his attempt to replace the older individualistic or kin-group-centered atomism with Movement solidarity were also accomplished in the rigid extremes of early *Newfela-Fashion* enthusiasm for unanimity. The unity of action that was achieved survived throughout the building of the new villages. This early minimization of individualism yielded to a somewhat greater individualism but with the maintenance of a workable degree of the desired Movement solidarity and unanimity until the Plateau Phase, when much of the cohesion of the *Newfela Fashion* of the Organizational Phase was lost.

The expanding Movement which had been encountering some reluctance in its recruiting had been overtaken by the rapidly expanding Cult. At the end of the Cult phase, all villages recruited by the Cult remained within the Movement. The Movement area, as a new political unit, had been defined primarily by the spread of the Cult. At the terminal boundary of the Cult, this rapid spread, based on the high recruitment potential of the Cult, met virtual containment. A few other villages were added later, but with these exceptions containment was effected by direct opposition from the government and missions and by the decreasing recruitment potential of the Cult as it spread from its center. The Movement membership was almost constant during the rest of the period covered by this study. The Movement became identified in the Admiralties as a delimited political entity strengthened in its solidarity "inside" by its opposition, and often elicited or exaggerated, when not forthcoming,

¹ See fuller discussion below (pp. 392–396). See also Schwartz, MS.

² "Teachers," the leaders of this transitional state just after the *Noise*, not to be confused with the *teachers* of the Second Cult who were ghosts.

from the "outside." Anti-white and, more particularly, anti-Australian but not anti-American hostility was fairly constant in intensity throughout the Movement. The Cult was differentiated from other phases by the considerable manifest and symbolic expression of this hostility and by violent opposition to European administration. By Cult concept, however, it was the European and not his culture that was rejected. These expressions of anti-Australian hostility persisted into the early transitional state of the Organizational Phase. With Administration officials playing an increasingly important role, there were occasions of dramatic suppressive measures by the Administration or by some of its officers individually. There was also a partly self-cultivated sense of martyrdom and persecution within the Cult. In this context, communication between Administration and Movement continued, which resulted in a modification of the Movement's transformatory constructs. The Administration attempted to channel the Movement along the lines of Administration program for native development, in part through the indoctrination of Paliau. The Movement transform was considerably modified through his anticipatory innovation based on the Administration program. This modification increased the congruent contact between Movement and Administration transformatory constructs for the further development of native society in the Movement area.

The general openness and tentativeness of the early Movement had been supplanted by the more closed and restricted transformatory contraction of the Cult. Long-run commitment and tentativeness of transformatory construction of the Movement had been followed by Cult over-commitment to imminent realization of its goal-culture—an over-commitment carried to extremes by the Cultists' success-failure ambivalence which could not be resolved for long by cult symptomatic validation. In these respects also the Organizational Phase that succeeded the Cult began with a transitional state that fused Cult and Movement characteristics. In this transitional state the forms of the early *Newfela Fashion* were held to be sacred. The "new way" was the way of God; the *Newfela Fashion* was the *goodfela fashion*, in sharply dichotomous contrast to the evil ways of the recent and distant past. In the Second Cult

Phase it became clear that the more Cult-oriented leaders had tended to close upon the early *Newfela-Fashion* forms rather than to see these early forms, as in the Movement transform, as transient attainments of a vehicular culture. In examining the Cult, we see that much of its activities promoted commitment. On a larger scale within Manus acculturation, I suggest that the Cult as a whole, regardless of its own causes and synchronic functions, had the effect of being an act of commitment to the Movement. This commitment is, perhaps, the most important factor by which the First Cult, though similar in form to other cargo cults, differed from all others in its continuous relationship to the Movement that had been its precipitating context.

This survey of the formal characteristics of the Cult to Movement boundary reveals a transitional state of partial fusion of Cult and Movement, from which the more purely Movement-oriented characteristics of the Organizational Phase emerged, as the heightened feelings of commitment and the hope of immediate reward were replaced by the tangibly gratifying and self-validating achievements of the Movement.

In the Organizational Phase the Movement succeeded in realizing much of the initial goal-culture that Paliau had projected. The new beach villages were completed during 1948; area-wide meetings were held regularly; *teachers* were replaced by *pesmen*, who were in turn replaced or relabeled as *councils*, *committees*, *customs*, and *clerks*. These later changes carried the Movement beyond its conceptions of an initial goal-culture; new additions to the transformatory area that still remained between their attained state and the developing construct of their ultimate goal-culture were added, drawn from the government program. The people sought government recognition for their illegitimately constituted native council organization; they pressed for secular schools where their children would be taught in English; and they organized in anticipation of the Administration's cooperatives program. But increasingly, in attempting to further the Movement, they were confronted by their dependence on the Australian Administration. The Organizational Phase ended when the Administration established a Native Council for Baluan and Rambutjon, but with the exclusion of the rest

of the Movement area "temporarily," a period that turned out to be almost four years.

THE PLATEAU PHASE: ORIENTATION AND MORALE

To reconstruct the early *Newfela Fashion* it is necessary for one to appreciate accurately the nature of the decline in morale and of the malfunctioning in the *Newfela Fashion* during the Plateau Phase. The *Newfela Fashion* continued to undergo change, but it seemed to the people of the Movement that change had almost ceased. Much that had been a part of the early *Newfela Fashion* was being dropped out, many adjustments were being made, and new balances between groups were being worked out. But these were not recognized as changes serving to advance the Movement. They were considered rather as failures to maintain the early forms of the *Newfela Fashion*, which had never actually become fixed but which had been assigned values that made them nearly sacred. An equivalent value had not been transferred to the later forms added to the *Newfela Fashion*. The source of discomfort was not these later additions themselves, but the lapse without explicit repudiation, of forms that had once been considered the essence of the *Newfela Fashion* (the offices, the routines, the institutions, the emotional tonus and degree of investment, the novel feeling of unanimity, the rigid conformity and group coordination, and the feeling of being in the midst of rapid change).

The lowering of morale seems in this case to have been related to the orientation of the Movement in culture change. The expectations of the members were keyed to a rate and mode of change that required a steady succession of new projects. Their reference point against which their present state at any time was evaluated was the goal-culture, with the distance seeming to depend subjectively on their ability to fill in the change between the two points with concrete forms and means. They had successfully and enthusiastically completed the first cluster of projects which had brought the initial goal-culture into effect. They had gone beyond this, adding the Baluan Council and Cooperative forms of organization, putting them partly into effect, and adding the goal of inclusion of the South Coast in the legitimate council and support by the Administration. Then, for the first time in the course of the

Movement, for several years they had nothing that seemed to them like a major, new project. The means of realizing their next immediate goals were taken out of their hands. They had anticipated the Administrative changes as far as they were able, but then they had to wait for events and decisions beyond their control that were to take place in Port Moresby or in Canberra. They had the prospect of simply continuing to live, as they had been living within the *Newfela Fashion* for a number of years, until an unfixed time when the Administration would take the next step. This dependence on the Administration helped to weaken the authority of the leaders.

Some natives, speaking about the "slacking off" in the Movement, attributed it to their retreating in the face of continual opposition and persecutions by the Administration. My reconstruction contradicts this claim. It seems that the period of greatest Administration opposition to the Movement corresponded to the period of highest internal tonus, of relatively high morale. In fact, the elicitation of martyrdom and its exaggeration in fantasy (the defiance of the authorities to beat them or kill them) seemed to have the function of maintaining internal morale and cohesion. The period of sharp decline in morale (particularly on the South Coast) coincides with the establishment of the Baluan Council and the relaxation of the Administration's active opposition to the Movement and to the period of contact with friendlier government officers.

With the loss of momentum, the rigidity of the early observance of the *Newfela-Fashion* patterns was relaxed. The *Newfela Fashion* became more of a compromise between older forms of individualism, of group particularism, and the commitment and centralism of the Movement. It was very much a compromise rather than a reversion, but discomfort was generated by the continuing emphasis and organizational need of the Movement for centralization and effective leadership and the somewhat different pressure from the investment of the early *Newfela-Fashion* forms with religious feelings and the identification of their lapsing with sin.

The low morale was associated also with a pessimistic appraisal of the continuing gap between the attained state of the new culture and the goal-culture. The assessment of distance

through change was weighted discouragingly by the fact that movement toward the goal seemed to have stopped, by the people's feeling that they were being impeded effectively from the outside, and by their realization that their hard work had not brought them near the ultimate goal. Though they realized that the changes they had made were substantial and that they did, in fact, have a new culture, it was still a Native culture and one closer to their origins than to their goal. Compared to Europeans, though not to their own past, economically and technologically they were often ready to call themselves *rubbish*, people with few possessions, whose access to the intensely desired goods of the European trade stores had not appreciably increased and had, in fact, decreased with the deterioration of their war-surplus valuables. There were no clear, immediate, or near prospects of an augmentation of their means to buy the desired goods.

The frustration and the deprivation that they experienced were relative to their goals. They could not have been measured by an assessment of their actual condition. Whatever may be said concerning the leading of deprivation or frustration to the formation of the Movement or the occurrence of the First and Second cults, they are not in themselves sufficient causes or an adequate explanation. They must be placed within the context of the current changes in culture that included the orientations that we describe. The Manus rejection of the past made it easy for them to feel themselves far better off than their ancestors, or than they themselves had been before the war, or the missions, or the Australian Administration. Early in the history of their contact with the Europeans, they had chosen the Europeans as their reference group. The Second World War and the post-war events, however, led the Manus to drop their reservations as to the degree to which they might hope to adopt European culture. They saw no absolute barriers to their becoming like Europeans. They could, at times, see no reason, other than selfishness and the desire to exploit them, that kept the Europeans from giving them that which they desired. If they were not to be welcomed and assisted in their reaching out for a place in the world society and for what seemed to them the obviously superior culture of the white men, then they would have to find their own mode of access and their own means—direct and not

mediated by the reluctant Australians. They rejected the forms of the contact culture, not because it was not in their evaluation superior to their aboriginal culture, but because it fell far short of being European culture. For the same reason they could not settle for a stabilized form of the *Newfela Fashion* as of 1952, in spite of the fact that they considered the *Newfela Fashion*, even in its less than perfect state, to be in every way superior to the earlier contact-culture. Even a goal such as the perfection of the *Newfela Fashion*, as it had been originally conceived, was no longer attractive to them. Their periods of lowered morale depended on their concept of their present culture as a vehicle for change. Morale was conditioned by their whole orientational system, which included a goal-culture and the transform they were constructing between their present culture and the goal-construct. This system was "set" to definite expectations of rate and mode of change.

Many other features of the Manus culture seemed to relate to their kind of orientation toward change, not as determinants of this orientation but perhaps as other manifestations of an ethological pattern in the Manus areal culture. I suggest that culturally conditioned patterns of energy expenditure may be related to patterns of greater and lesser activity in the Movement, of higher and lower morale. The Manus typically alternated periods of relative inactivity and relaxation with great spurts of work or play, carried often to the point of exhaustion. Such alternations were much more characteristic of the men's work and activities than of the women's, and were the pattern for most forms of fishing—long periods of relative inactivity and of relaxed waiting within which there is a "set" for the anticipated sudden response and sudden spurt of activity. In the building of a house there were long periods during which it remained half built, then in a day or two it was completed. For the Usiai men, the periodicity was longer but seemed the same in effect. In gardening, the beach-dwelling Usiai spent as little time in the bush as possible, interspersing long periods of relatively little work with shorter periods of hard, exhausting work. In the long periods of silence during political meetings, waiting for someone else (no one was sure who) to make the next speech or in the periods of wailing around a corpse, the same alteration between relaxed, almost atonic

drift and periods of quickly reached heights of intensity are observable. In administering psychological tests to a large number of individuals, we found the same pattern. For the lack of a special stimulus to sustained activity, long periods of what we called "drift"¹ occurred. Much about the behavior of the Manus in the Plateau Phase made me feel that this was a drift phase for the Movement as a whole—a phase of anergic atonicity, a relaxed contrast to the sustained activity and rigidity of form that had been characteristic of the early *Newfela Fashion*. But accompanying it also was the expectation that there would be another spurt of activity and an end to the Plateau, the "slack" period, with the activation of projects that were concepts only and the proliferation of new projects. This expectation existed, but simultaneously there was a depression—a feeling of being impeded and that it had been too long since anything of importance had happened.

The concern over the loss of the early *Newfela-Fashion* forms and ideals that were expressed late in the Plateau Phase was given expression only after the fact. It was clear that each part of the *Newfela Fashion* had been introduced with fanfare, each had been the subject of many public meetings, had come in as a conspicuously new part of the culture and had been given almost ritual enactment. Similarly, when the old culture had been abandoned, it was openly and explicitly repudiated, destroyed or buried. Almost as if it had been a familiar ceremony, the Peri leaders, at the end of the *Noise*, had loaded the village supply of dogs' teeth and shell money into oil drums and had, in the sight of the assembled village, sunk the drums in the deep water beyond the reef. A long series of prohibitive laws proclaimed the past as null and void. But what of the elements of the *Newfela Fashion* that had been abandoned? What of the curfew, the *custom house*, the *customs* official, who had recorded everything that came in or went out in inter-village exchange, the marching, and the singing at meetings? How had these dropped out?

¹ This idea of a culturally patterned envelope of energy and attention levels is offered tentatively from observations by Margaret Mead, Theodore Schwartz, and Lenora Schwartz of a wide variety of activities and events (see Mead, 1956a, 358 ff.). Related patterns of "drift" and more tonic, active, directed states were observed by Theodore Schwartz and Lenora Schwartz in native performances in taking projective tests. See also Mead, 1955, 201-211.

There had been a tendency toward closure in the original *Newfela Fashion*, associated with the sacredness attributed to its forms. In spite of this, the lapse of these early *Newfela-Fashion* forms had taken place with little explicit discussion and no sharp line before which they were observed and after which they were no longer an activated part of the culture. Inquiries about the termination of early *Newfela-Fashion* practices brought vague and uneasy replies from some informants, because there seemed no good reason why they should not still be doing the things they once valued and which, as far as anyone had said, they still valued. When I asked Lokes, who had been *customs* in Peri, why and how they had stopped using this institution he said that there had been no discussion and no particular time that he could think of when it had become defunct, but that people had gradually "slacked off" in its use. The men had been *bighead* about it. More and more they had gone their own way in arranging exchanges without going through the channel of *customs*. The *customs* official had become occupied with other things. He had ceased to record exchanges. Much the same had happened in other villages. The institution had, however, left its vestiges. Occasionally there were exchanges between villages, usually between Lipan and Mouk and South Coast villages. The exchanges were recorded by the *council* or a clerk, without the idea or mention of *customs*. Similarly, they had slacked off on much of the early *Newfela Fashion* and had fallen into casual observance of that which remained. Nothing had been repudiated, *all i loosim nothing*.

Studies of innovation treat only a special case of culture change. The present monograph is more broadly concerned with the over-all flow-through in a culture and how it is structured by the culture's system of orientational constructs, or transform. In the problem of the continued valence of a belief that originated in an earlier phase or the problem of what happens in the demise of institutions once highly valued that have not been explicitly devalued, there is communicational flow-through in a culture, modulated, checked, and facilitated by the cognitive-evaluative structure of that culture's orientational transform. Only something derived from the *fashion belong before* or the pre-1946 contact-culture could be openly repudiated and dropped and conceptually dissected into disposable units and proclaimed no longer a part

of the culture, which did not mean that nothing that was derived from the past survived but did impose a requirement of disguise on the re-entry of such items. On the other hand, when something that had been a part of the *Newfela Fashion* was allowed to pass out of the culture, the people of the Movement, figuratively, turned their backs and acted as if they did not notice its passage. The need to maintain the openness of the *Newfela Fashion* as a vehicular culture, continuously modified by new constructs and institutions more closely approximating the goal-culture, required that the early, highly valued forms of the *Newfela Fashion* be allowed to lapse or be replaced as they proved overly restrictive, maladaptive, or cumbersome. The difficulty came from the extraordinary affective-evaluative investment in these early forms which had become the symbols of an accomplished cultural revolution. Carry-over from the Cult had given these early forms ritual and magical significance. When the Movement was in a phase of vigorous development, these forms were allowed to drift into disuse, yet apparently retaining their original values. The loss or gain could be recognized only when clearly drawn transformatory boundaries between the acceptable and the rejected were crossed. Drift may be the necessary mode of change for flow-through that is contrary to the transformatory structure of a culture. Either drift (passage through the system which is not given explicit recognition) or disguise is necessary, if the orientational structure guiding change is to be maintained in spite of permeability at a point of formal closure. Otherwise, the transform itself must be restructured.¹

The Plateau Phase was such a period of drift, during which much of the early *Newfela Fashion* had been allowed to lapse in a pragmatic sorting out of the prematurely fixed, or

encumbering, or dysfunctional institutional forms. The proportions of the drift began to be insistently recognized by those persons who, recalling the values once assigned these early forms, appointed themselves the conscience of the Movement.

The Plateau Phase comprised all these: a loss of momentum, a long period of imposed waiting for the next tangible step and for the next major validation of the Movement, a depressive reaction to the impediment of further culture change, an appreciation of the gap still remaining between the attained state of the *Newfela Fashion* and the goal-culture, and a period in which the prestige of the leadership and the investment of individuals and groups in the *Newfela-Fashion*-based society diminished, revealing flaws in the organization and functioning of this society. Much had changed within the *Newfela Fashion* as it reached the end of the Plateau Phase of a history only seven years in depth.

THE SECOND CULT PHASE

THE ORIENTATION OF THE SECOND CULT

The new conservatism that appeared toward the end of the Plateau Phase was to a large extent the face that the Second Cult presented to its opposition. In our own village, Bunai, we were among the few who were not aware of it. Yet there were also some who deceived themselves with a belief that they supported the new conservatism and not the Cult. The new conservatism, which reverted to a base line drawn at 1946, was genuinely part of the Second Cult and was in fact one of its chief claims to legitimacy. The Cultists could take the virtuous and righteous position that they were closer to the ideals of the Movement than was the personnel of the Movement.

The emergence of the Second Cult and its opposition brought up as an issue, for the first time, the undefined relationship between the Cult and the Movement. The struggle proved to be the culmination of their separateness, just as the *Noise* and the early *Newfela Fashion* had been a period of their partial fusion.

The Second Cult, though not its opposition, conceived of the relationship between the Cult and the Movement as a race. I felt strongly, in my work with the Cultists, that they entertained the barely suppressed conviction that they would lose this race. On the one hand, we

¹ In a paper read by Gertrude Huntington at the Detroit meetings of the American Anthropological Association in 1954, in which she reported on her study of the Amish, a striking reversal of the Manus pattern was evident. The Amish, concerned with the perpetuation of their culture or with some return to its more closely Biblical past and with maintaining their culture as a relatively closed system as an enclave within American society, were nevertheless occasionally adding some new elements to their culture from the outside. When they did so, they turned their backs figuratively, and at times literally, on the intrusive newness until it was so established as to seem familiar. After a number of years, they either rationalized its presence or continued to ignore it.

may see the First Cult, under the stimulus of the local movements and the Paliau Movement, leaping beyond the Movement in a desire for the immediate attainment of goals similar to those of the Movement. On the other hand, we could also see the First Cult, not as anticipating the goals of the Movement but as a last hesitation, before the abandonment irretrievably of the old culture for the uncertain and arduous course of Paliau's program, during which supernatural means were exhausted and a last attempt was made to bring the ghosts, who had peopled the old culture along with the living, into the future. Considering the First Cult in either or both of these two ways, we see some similarity between its precipitating circumstances and those of the Second Cult. The Second Cult occurred toward the end of the Plateau Phase and reached its climax almost literally on the eve of the inauguration of the Council. The period of most rapid development and intense activity of the Second Cult occurred almost entirely within the six months during which it had become certain that a Native Council on the South Coast would soon be installed and that a government-sponsored Native Cooperative organization was equally certain to follow the Council. Under these circumstances the Second Cult may also be seen as an attempt by its adherents to attain the ultimate goal-culture through supernatural means and the agency of the ghosts, and to do so or at least to attempt to do so before they resigned themselves to the slower and more arduous program of the Movement, to which they would be committed under the pain of government-backed sanctions once the Council was legitimized. There is this similarity in the relationship between the First and Second Cults to the Movement, in spite of the development of the Movement that intervened between the two Cult phases.

For the Movement personnel, such a race did not exist, but only a desire to put an end to the Cult before it jeopardized their chances of having the Council. The adherents of the Cult identified the Movement with the Council program. To the Cultists, the Council was *something belong Caesar or something belong Australia*. It was the *road belong meat belong man*. It was *hard work too-much*. In the Council, they said, you would *work enough you die*. As they saw it, at the end of this hard work of the flesh,

which was a sop and trap of the Australian *Caesars*, they would die essentially where they had started. They felt that the Movement was too demanding and that it would not reach its goal. In the Second Cult they reactivated the short-circuit route to the goal-culture. The Cult, by contrast with the Movement and with the new conservatism of the Plateau Phase, again aimed directly at regaining the First Order of God, the condition of man in Paradise. The Cult was the *road belong thinkthink, something belong God na all man i wind nothing*. It was, in contrast to the fruitless labor of the Movement, the *road true belong white man*.

Believing in the imminence of the *Day Behind* (for which, in contrast to the First Cult, the Second Cult set no specific date) and urged on continually by the *teacher* ghosts, the Cultists thought that the race was soon to end. Toward the end, there was a note of desperation. The ghosts continued urging them more and more to hurry. Though they themselves were not aware of it, it was obvious that, in speaking for the ghosts, they were urging God to hurry to bring about the *Day Behind* before the Council was installed.

The Cult had begun late in 1952, when it had seemed to most of the people that they had waited interminably for the Council and that it would never come. By the time Bunai's Cult hamlets had emerged into the open in March, 1954, it was almost certain that the establishment of the Council was only a few months away. Then the Movement leaders would have real *power*, a word that suddenly came into use. For that matter, some of the leaders of the Cult who were *councils* would then have far less need for the Cult if they could avoid losing their offices. For Tjamilo, and others like him, the Council would mean his return to a relatively unimportant position within the village. He was only a *committee*, an office not recognized in the official Council organizational plan. He did not have the following to beat Samol in a Council election.

In this race against the Council, there was only one other hope for the Cult. Though we had always thoroughly discouraged the idea, whenever it had been mentioned, several of the Cultists independently approached me toward the end of the Second Cult to suggest that, if the United States intervened in Manus, the Americans might share in the reward that would sur-

pass even the wealth and power they already possessed, and they might be brought into the First Order of God together with the black men whom they helped. At times, speaking to me about the Cult, they would hopefully imply that, after all, I knew more about it than they did. At times the Cultists believed that the First Order and the "way of the *thinkthink*" were really the secrets of the white man's power and wealth. In the Second Cult, the idea was favored that the white man had only a superior, mitigated form of the Second Order which they might not only overtake, but surpass in gaining the First Order. It was this First Order which they offered to share with us at the end of the Second Cult. Pathetically eager and desperate, they were unable to admit to themselves that they knew their Cult was a failure from its beginning. One of the Cult leaders, refusing to believe in its failure even after it had been suppressed by Paliau and after the Council had been established, approached me, just before I left the field, to say very indirectly that, if a certain nation would help the black man, that nation would have its reward.

The "race," as the Cultists called it, was a formulation of the sharp antithesis between Cult and Movement, as the goals of the two became more clearly separate. For the Cult there were the First Order, the *price* or *cargo*, the Judgment, which would elevate them and cast down their adversaries, and the "way of the *thinkthink*." Cultists combined tangible reward, vengeance, and a different, vaguely and confusedly fantasied order of things in which wish would become reality in a world in which they and the dead would be united in a common state of existence with God, in a society resembling a perfected *Newfela Fashion*, in a world from which the white men (at least, the Australians) were excluded as well as those black men who had *talked bilas* at the Cult.

The Movement had settled for more mundane ends—a culture like that of the white men that would mean not only equality in power, knowledge, wealth, and good social organization, but also inclusion in world society, thus eliminating a separate *way belong native*. One of the strongest arguments presented to the Cultists during the months of unsettled opposition was that the Cult meant a new or revived *way belong native*. Against this the Cult argued that they had the *road true belong white man*. The

Cult clearly rejected the program of the Movement. For its members the *Newfela Fashion*, in its earliest form, became a ritual and a magical means of bringing about the desired supernatural intervention.

Whereas the *Noise* had absorbed, at least momentarily, all the people who had become involved in the initial Paliau Movement, the Second Cult clarified and extended the separation of the personnel of the Cult and those of the Movement. The people who could be called First-Cult personnel could be distinguished only by the extent of their investment in the Cult, by the extent to which they were affected by the *guria*, and by their roles as prophets or visionaries. A clearer differentiation of personnel occurred during the Organizational Phase, when a smaller group of individuals, seemingly more exclusively Cult-oriented, was unable to continue the leadership it had established during the First Cult and was replaced by individuals whose orientations fitted the projects of this phase. At the end of the Plateau Phase the First Cult personnel re-emerged as leaders, first as the new conservatives and later as the leaders of the Second Cult.

The Second Cult demanded a choice, or a commitment to one side or the other. In cases in which whole villages as a unit chose or rejected the Cult, the situation somewhat resembled that of the First Cult. Although undoubtedly there were some individuals in those villages who, had there been a core opposition on one side or the other, would have chosen differently, the very absence of a pro-Cult or anti-Cult opposition indicates nearly complete unanimity. In other villages, such as Patusi, Peri, Bunai, and Lahan (the latter two are hamlets of New Bunai), small minorities actively advocated a decision contrary to that prevalent in the village. A small anti-Cult opposition in Patusi seemed more effective than even sizable pro-Cult minorities in other villages. But each village or hamlet was affected by the particular personalities who were involved.

No single determinant suggests itself for that group of villages that joined the Cult in their entirety. In the discussion of the Second Cult, I suggest many different determinants. We must term most of these situational or historical. We have, for example, Yiru's exclusion from the Cult strongly affected by a series of quarrels between Yiru and Lowaja, one of which revolved

around the divorce by the Yiru *council* of his wife, who was a Lowaja woman. Lowaja's inclusion in the Cult and the intensity of its involvement relate to its place within Bunai, its resentment of the Manus, and of the Manus tutelary relationship to Lowaja as a later arrival in the Movement. It relates to Lowaja's having had little experience in the First Cult. The people of Lowaja felt that they had missed something and consequently that they had less prestige within the Movement. If true of Lowaja, such was not true of Tawi and of Johnston Island. Combined, the two had constituted the Manus village of Old Tawi that had had the most intense experience of the *Noise* on the South Coast. Lowaja, furthermore, had been drawn into the Cult for many reasons concerning its members individually. Popu's son, for example, if literate, would probably have been leader of the village instead of Pantret, but Pantret, although his literacy was a substitute for the traditional legitimization of his leadership, nevertheless was insecure in not having been a traditional *lapan*.

Generally, we may say that those villages or hamlets that did join the Second Cult were those that would have been considered relatively lacking in prestige within the Movement. This holds true of most individuals who were in Cult minorities in other villages. But these generalizations are only approximations. The specificities of the individual case are of great importance. Prenis Tjolai who so strongly desired the Second Cult in Peri, where he found little support for it, was esteemed in his village and endowed with more than the usual prestige of a young man who was not a *council*. He was a member of the principal clan in Peri. His father and grandfather had been eminent *luluais*. He himself was the most literate individual in Peri. He was the school teacher and had been elected clerk in the South Coast Council. In his case (as well as in that of most of the other Cult proponents) I could not account for the choice without recourse to personality and the historical circumstances of his early contacts with the Cult.¹ Aside from possible constitutional factors, to relate the personalities to their choice of the Cult is an alternative to and in many ways equivalent to the detailed study of the

life histories of these individuals. Lacking detailed life histories, I can cite the end product—the rigid, nearly paranoid personalities of Prenis and of Tjamilo. The approach through personality is beyond the scope of this monograph. I include personality here, itself in part a historical product, as among the relevant determinants. I have at least indicated many of them sufficiently to give an appreciation of their nature and their range.

The point with which we are concerned is that the Second Cult, unlike the First, brought about not only a contrast between the concepts and orientations of the Cult and those of the Movement, but a distinction that was made clear not only to the anthropologist but to the natives as well. The Second Cult also produced a separation between Cult villages and non-Cult villages and, most clearly in those villages that were split by the Cult, a separation between Cult personnel and Movement personnel. At the same time that the Cult members remained formally part of the Movement, the Cult appeared to produce a split within the Movement. Although the Cult villages and hamlets employed the threat of withdrawal, and although at the height of their confidence they felt that they could challenge Paliau and make statements denouncing the Movement and the Council, they continued to remain inside. They burned no bridges behind them. Both the Cultists and the opposition conspired implicitly to keep the news of the Cult inside what they knew would continue to be the boundaries of the Movement, once the Cult had been brought into line (Fig. 4).

In splitting the Movement, the Cult cut across Manus-Usiai lines. The split started with the Manus of Tawi and Johnston Island and eventually included the Usiai villages and hamlets of Kapo, Muang, Malei, and Lowaja, but other Usiai villages were part of the opposition. It is typical of the whole affair that, in spite of this cross-cutting of Manus-Usiai lines, the Manus of New Bunai tended to think of the Cult as *something belong Usiai*, while the Usiai of Malei and Lowaja thought of the opposition primarily as Manus. The struggle within New Bunai tended to take the form and tone of Manus versus Usiai, with the Usiai Cult opposition enjoying its identification with the Manus and the Manus Cult faction assuming the role of the defenders of the Usiai.

¹ See Mead, 1956a, for further background on Prenis Tjolai.

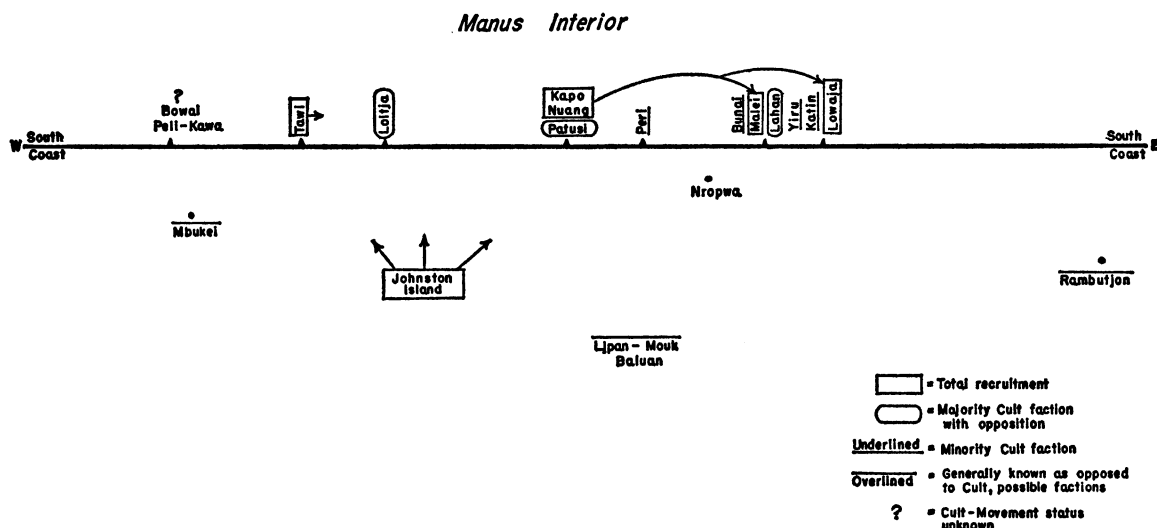


FIG. 4. Routes of transmission of Second Cult.

TRANSMISSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SECOND CULT

In contrast to the rapid rate of spread and development of the First Cult, the Second, which had its beginnings at the end of 1952, spread and developed through the next year and a half and did not reach its climax until the middle of 1954. I take the climax of this Second Cult to be the time of its coming into the open in Bunai, although it had operated without internal secrecy within Johnston Island and other villages more central to its point of origin since early in 1953. This climax is itself of a different nature from that of the First Cult. The slow rate of development and the absence of the sort of sharp climax that marked the First Cult in particular villages relate in part to a set of ambivalences operating in the adherents of the Second Cult.

Because of the great impact of the First Cult on the lives of the people and because of the early, partial fusion of the First Cult with the Movement that now constituted their lives, those within the Movement, confronted with a choice for or against the Second Cult, had in some way to reconcile the failure of the First Cult to the hopes and prophecies of the Second. The adherents of the Second Cult had to rationalize the failure of the First Cult by arguing that it had been induced by the nearness of God and Jesus and that the return of the ancestors bringing *cargo* had really been imminent, but

that circumstances that no longer obtained or would be carefully avoided by the Second Cult had blocked the earlier promise of fulfillment. Although the adherents of the Second Cult accepted its continuity with the First, the need to convince themselves and others that they had a chance of success, in spite of the failure of the First, led them to develop new forms, a new mythology, and a somewhat different orientation. Many of the differences between the two Cults, or these two phases of the same Cult, are conditioned by the occurrence of the Second in a context that included the First.

Many of the attempts of the Second Cult to correct the "mistakes" of the *Noise* (for example, the avoidance of over-commitment to a specific date) can be seen as a reduced willingness to invest as heavily or as crucially in a Cult hope, which within their recent experience had failed of realization. There were stronger implicit limits on investment in the Second Cult than those (implicit limits) that operated in the First Cult. In the belief of both Cults, any conscious or explicit reservations would be unacceptable, dooming the Cult to the failure of its prophecies. In spite of the lack of explicit prohibition in the Second Cult, neither the tutelary ghosts nor the living prophets demanded the destruction of property, nor did the ghosts, dreamers, or visitors to Heaven proclaim a specified day for the Second Coming.

The most ardent of the Second Cult adherents had some reservations about the valid-

ity of Cult beliefs. A few admitted to such reservations, others urged caution in the avoidance of mistakes without such admission, and most would not have been aware that they were holding back or that they entertained the possibility or certainty of disappointment. Yet in their performances in the Cult they demonstrated clearly the operation of these ambivalences. The Second Cult belief, like that of the First Cult, was based on the *Day Behind* on which Jesus would return, the dead would arise in their graves, and the judgment and reward would eventuate. The idea was as exciting as the *Day Behind* was imminent. It was not enough to expect it within their lifetimes; it had to happen soon, any day. Yet the adherents of the Second Cult were not going to repeat the mistake Wapei had made in the First Cult by committing themselves to a date. Tjamilo, in New Bunai, I believe was the only man in the Second Cult who was quite explicit on this score. Men could not know the precise day, but they could have such a date revealed to them. The ghost, Thomas, might have announced a date and compelled acceptance, but he did not, nor did his medium, his interpreters, or even the long string of persons who addressed questions to him. The adherents would forego the magic of commitment and the possibility of forcing the hand of God by interpreting His signs to mean that the *cargo* would arrive today, or on the following Sunday, or Wednesday.

At the same time they could not dispense with the hope that the *Day Behind* might be imminent. Any kind of intimation of its approach, short of the awesome commitment to a calendrical date, was permissible and was employed. The arrival of the anthropologists, the eruption of a volcano in an area where there had been no volcanic activity in living memory, the approach of Christmas, and, especially, the approach of Easter, the day of Christ's Resurrection were signs and occasions for the heightening of hope that the *Day Behind* was approaching. Each event brought some further development in the Cult, some new ritual, and some further attempt to complete the process of purification, but with no definite revealed statement that Easter would be the Day. The eruption of the volcano as a sign came nearest to a commitment on the part of Thomas, the ghost of Johnston Island. Thomas used the volcano as a warning to non-Cult villages. After the vol-

cano had sunk beneath the sea during a period of quiescence, he said that its reappearance would mark the Day of Judgment. Such a prophecy was quietly ignored when the volcano appeared three more times during the life of the Cult. The much slower rate of development of the Second Cult resulted partly from such guarding of the possibility of future extension. In spite of an attempt to maintain the expectation of imminent climax of the Cult, it could not be maintained over a year and a half at the level of intensity that was possible to a Cult with a span of a few months (weeks in most villages) as the *Noise* had been.

Although there was a peculiar sort of active proselytization in the transmission of the Second Cult, there was also a stress on the necessity for independent revelation within each particular village or hamlet. Consequently, even though the Second Cult was more organized and centralized than the First, there were also these particularist tendencies. The latter made it possible for some villages to lag far behind others in having direct experiences that would have led them to fuller participation in the Cult.

All these influences on the slower rate of development of the Second Cult and the slower rate itself contributed to and reflected a lesser intensity of emotional excitement and a lower recruitment potential. At the same time, the failure of the First Cult and the intervening development of the Movement had raised the threshold of possible recruitment by a Cult for most of the members of the Movement. No sudden and dramatic mass conversions occurred to sweep all before them in the Second Cult. Cult recruitment differentiated sets of individuals and groups in ways not so clearly apparent in the First Cult, in which, within the area affected, recruitment was virtually total.

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE SECOND CULT

The rate of spread and development of the Cults and the organizational matrix in which they occurred greatly influenced the forms they took. The Second Cult occurred in a far more organized, stabilized context, in the midst of the Paliau Movement within which an Administration-sponsored Native Council had been installed on Baluan in 1950. The Cult organization was distinct from that of the Movement, but the two coincided in part in those villages that had been recruited by the Cult in their en-

tirety together with their official leaders. The Cult centered in Johnston Island and was often referred to as the *work belong Johnston Island*, or the *work belong Thomas*. It centered in the figure of Thomas and, later, in the other ghosts that were sent as his assistants to *teach* the other villages of the Movement.

The *council* of Johnston Island, Kisakiu, who did most of the talking for Thomas, remained inconspicuous as the human organizer of the Cult and as the person who made the heaviest contribution to Cult belief and program. It seemed to occur to no one (not even the most sophisticated of the opponents of the Cult) that Kisakiu of Johnston Island was responsible for the ideas he contributed on behalf of Thomas, nor did Kisakiu or any of the others who played similar though less important roles elsewhere believe that they had made more than a limited personal contribution to the Cult.¹

With Thomas' appearance on Johnston Island and the establishment of regular seances, a central and continuing source of Cult doctrine and program was established. Kisakiu, acting as the spokesman for Thomas, spread word to those who he thought would be most interested that all who wanted the word of Jesus were to attend these seances. He organized his own village around a program which, like that of the First Cult, was aimed at necessary preparations for the Second Coming of Jesus and the Day of judgment. The *Day Behind* was again imminent. This time it was *really* coming, though no date could be set until all the preparations prescribed by Thomas were completed. Thus the Cult activities were organized around the seances and around many forms of purification, each individual working to rid himself and his village of all bad feeling, of all anger, and of all immorality according to early *Newfela-Fashion* standards.

In those totally recruited villages of Johnston Island (Tawi, Nuang, Kapo, and the Lowaja

and Malei hamlets of New Bunai), the Movement leaders, the *councils*, remained as leaders in the Cult. But new and important roles, standard in each village in which the Cult was complete, were added by the Cult. Most important were the men who, such as Kisakiu and Sapa in Johnston Island, had exclusive access to or were actually possessed by the ghostly *teacher* of the village. At least one such person (occasionally as many as four) within a village always predominated by having an oral and constant contact with his ghost. Among these people were the very few in the Second Cult who had experienced the *guria* so prevalent in the First Cult. In the case of Joseph Nanei of Lowaja, his role extended to virtual leadership of his hamlet. In the adolescent, Nanei, we see another example of the sort of status inversion that could take place within the fluid structure of a Cult in formation. Nanei's rise in status within the Second Cult was equivalent to that of Wapei in the First Cult, except that Nanei was a participant in an already existing Cult and was not its triggering prophet. Also, the role assigned to Nanei in the Second Cult was capable of acceptance and tolerance by his village for a longer, though still limited period. The incongruity of age and status led to some visible ambivalence in his followers. As Wapei had been attended by his older brothers and had commanded even the *luluai* and *pesman* of his village, Nanei was formally attended by the *council* and *committee* of his hamlet.

A still larger number of people rose to temporary eminence on the basis of single visions or ghostly visitations, which added in the right way and at the right time to the validation of the Cult. In this category were such people as Ponram, whose death and resurrection held the interest of New Bunai for a week or so, and Petrus Popu and Sayau Bombowai, old men of much prestige as *luluai* in the old culture and *committee* in the *Newfela Fashion*, who opportunely witnessed the meeting of the ghosts in Bunai's old cemetery.

Except in the case of individuals such as Nanei, who rose to new roles specific to the Second Cult, the lines of organization established by the Movement held. During the Cult phase, the Movement organization functioned as it was supposed to in theory. Leaders were much more successful in coordinating group activity than they were ordinarily outside the

¹ In this we see another continuity with the old religion in which the medium, communicating with the dead on behalf of the living, disclaimed any personal involvement in her pronouncements. Yet even the medium was not completely free from suspicion that her reports from the dead occasionally served her own kin's interests. The recent Cults differed from the religion of 1928 in lacking the open skepticism allowable in the old Manus religion; instead, in the Cult, a show of skepticism became a stylized antecedent to the show of conversion. See Fortune, 1935, 114, 236.

Cult. At the height of the Cult, many of the *Newfela-Fashion* ideals of the working of the new political organization were effective. The early *Newfela-Fashion* village routine was revived and followed meticulously. The Cult village or hamlet responded with near unanimity to the songs signaling the official transitions throughout the day, from awakening in the morning to evening curfew. Communal assignments of village work were carried out without question, much of it concerned with Cult activities, such as collecting the bones of the dead, dyeing uniforms, or marching drill. In those villages and hamlets in which the Cult was uncontested, village life became more organized, more routinized, and acted out, with grim determination to be ritually perfect in every detail as the *Newfela Fashion* had been just after the *Noise*. Leaders exercised their roles to an extent that seemed to reach and exceed their formal *Newfela-Fashion* limits. These roles, and all others whether specific to the Cult or revived from the early *Newfela Fashion*, became ritualized, more automatic, and less discretionary. They satisfied a longing for an appearance of effective authority in many who had especially lacked such authority when they had had it theoretically in the Movement.

The centralization of the Second Cult was contradictory, for it involved the particularism of the First Cult. The spread of the Second Cult was well known to most men within the Movement area. People knew just when and by whom the Cult was introduced into a particular village. They knew that every village had some members who, on more than one occasion, made the trip to Johnston Island to attend Thomas' seances. Cultists in various villages continued to make use of Thomas' superior abilities at divination to learn of the location of the remains of the dead. The auxiliary ghosts, the *teachers* themselves, were occasionally absent from their villages to visit Thomas, or to return with him to the *Sky*, where they were said to have met Jesus. In spite of these evidences of centralization in organization and concept of the Second Cult, in each village there was at the same time an insistence that the Cult was something that had been revealed to it independently. Even in the composite village of New Bunai, the two Usiai hamlets that joined the Cult claimed independence and even ignorance of the early Cult developments in each

other's hamlets. Both denied the very obvious influence of Nuang and Kapo on their own Cults.

Both consciously and unconsciously the claim of local autonomy served many purposes for those who asserted it. On the part of the Cult leaders, it was an assertion of independence of both the other Cult villages and of the Movement. It also supported the claim to direct divine inspiration made by those who were so inspired on behalf of their own villages. It was a claim to moral superiority over those villages not so inspired and of moral equality with other villages in the Cult, in spite of the fact that it was believed that Johnston Island had been the recipient of the first such revelation because it had been the most depraved.

Independent revelation in the Cultists' own villages was a necessary defense offered by them against the deep-rooted particularism of the aboriginal culture which still generated suspicion and hostility against all other villages. As a kind of concession to village particularism, independent revelation ran contrary to the *Newfela-Fashion* moral emphasis on brotherhood. It was not the idea of borrowing from the culture of another village or tribe that was sensitive, so much as direct borrowing involving the personnel of the other village. In Peri, the ridicule directed against Prenis T'jolai's efforts to import the Cult in the name of Thomas was effective in preventing the importation. The people said in effect: "What about this Thomas? Doesn't Peri have ghosts of its own?"

Another important basis for and at the same time a reflection of the tendency toward local particularism in the Cult can be seen in the relationship between the supernatural world and the world of the living. The *cargo* was to be the *price* (reward) for the Cult's labor. In both the First Cult and the Second Cult, it was believed that each village would receive its *cargo* directly from the ghosts of its own dead. In the First Cult the *cargo* for each village was to come in a huge ship, captained by a former *luluai* emphasizing the village as a political unit. The mythology of the Second Cult was brought up to date; for instance, the organization of the dead in the *Sky* was modeled after that of the Movement and was similarly centralized. Despite these elaborations, the world of the dead, centralized at a distance, was to make contact with the living in the earthly graveyards and through the particular ancestors of

each village or hamlet. The dead were to be united with the living on earth, rather than the living with the dead in the *Sky*.

In the world of the dead there was a condensation of time (reckoned in generations) and space, the dead of all generations and of all villages combined in the *kibung* of Jesus. This condensation and centralization of the dead at the distance of the *Sky* and the dispersion of the dead to their respective villages on earth may be seen in Thomas' method of divination of the remains of the dead, based on the contemporaneity of all the dead in the *Sky* and also the contraction of earthly space which made any distance negotiable for the special powers of the ghosts who were pure *thinkthink*. The points of junction between the two worlds were in each particular village. Though the concept of the *Sky* was of a single, completely undifferentiated community of all the dead, the expected general resurrection was to bring each of the dead to his own grave in his village or hamlet *matmat*. In Lowaja, it was even planned to provide separate sections of the *matmat* for each of the constituent old clans or remnants of extinct villages that made up Lowaja. Each village was jealous of its reward and fearful of having to share it with others and of the possibility that the sins of others might contaminate it and jeopardize its own chances of the *cargo*. Conflict over the number of graveyards to be built occurred between the reassertion of traditional village particularism within the Cult and the centralizing tendencies of the Movement. Conflict also occurred in the manipulations of the Cult leaders to increase their following by the addition to their own groups of any other group that would append itself subordinately, and to resist the transfer of their own subordinate, or even equal, connection to the Cult to any other group. These complex conflicts between centralization and particularism and between local fusion and autonomy were resolved in New Bunai in the relationship between Malei and Lowaja, as was the Bunai Manus pro-Cult faction under Tjamilo. Malei, Lowaja, and the Bunai Manus began to build three separate graveyards. Malei, after starting its own, abandoned it and fused its Cult with that of Lowaja under the leadership of the latter group. Malei, after some protest, acceded to the urging of their own ghostly *teachers*, who, if they were influenced by

the fact that the woman through whom they spoke was originally from Lowaja married into Malei, did not say so explicitly.

Cult particularism demanded that each village rediscover the Cult. The villagers could favor the Cult or make some preparations such as the building of a *matmat*. But the villagers, actually to be in the Cult and to be sure that they had access to all its doctrines and secrets (when the guarded, cultivated air of secrecy manifested by other Cultists is considered), had to have their own *teacher* and their own revelations and validating signs of the nearness of the ghosts. Under these circumstances the revelation given to each newly included village tended to be complete, covering most of the revelations given by Thomas on Johnston Island, or by other ghosts elsewhere. Thus in Malei and Lowaja separately, their ghosts revealed in detail the whole mythology of the Cult, the details of ritual for re-burial in the new cemetery, a plan for the cemetery with its elaborate gates, their drill commands, and the marching songs. Examining the separate revelations of each of the villages, I find a high degree of standardization regardless of whether the revelation was reported as a dream, or through a direct message of Jesus in the *Sky* to one who died and returned to the living, or through a formal seance within the Cult in which questioners elicited whistled affirmations from the ghosts.

Standardization of revelation was more complete than that which prevailed in the First Cult. In the First Cult the rapid rate of transmission and the incompleteness of the versions received by different villages contributed to the degree of diversification of local cults. But even at that time a degree of standardization is apparent. Each new prophet and each contributor of revelation to Cult mythology or program added some touch of originality. Occasionally, as in the case of Pita Tapo or Tjamilo, the personal contribution was considerable, but successive dreams tended to confirm previous revelations. The Second Cult lacks even this local variation on a single, basic theme. When Pwatumel, a relatively uncommitted Manus of New Bunai, dreamed of a plan for the new *matmat*, the plan that he drew the next day was as close as he could have come to an exact representation of the *matmat* on Johnston Island. He had not seen this *matmat*, but he had heard it de-

scribed and knew all the design elements of which it was composed. That he himself believed, and others believed, that the plan was independently revealed to him in a dream by the spirit of his dead father are the important factors. He became one of the actual builders of this *matmat*. Similarly, marching songs and drill commands independently revealed to Kampo Monrai and Joseph Nanei, adolescents in Malei and Lowaja, are nearly identical. We see here a reliable mode of communication peculiar to the Cult that allowed the content of the Cult to diffuse uniformly without doing violence to but supporting village particularism.

Each village (though not each individual) was brought into the Cult through its own experience of it. Groups of people left their point of contact with the Cult, even if this contact was a direct experience of Thomas' presence in a Johnston Island seance, to return to their own villages, affecting neutralism or even skepticism, until some personal or local manifestation of the ghosts of their own ancestors brought them into the Cult from the inside. Such affectation of skepticism or deferment of decision before conversion was nearly universal in the Second Cult, though there would have been little time for it in the irresistible contagion of the First. The usual description of ritual skepticism that prefaced accounts of conversion dealt with the careful questioning of the ghost, to identify him and to see if he really had good intentions and had really been sent by Jesus. The ghosts' appropriate affirmative whistles sufficed to lay the questioners' doubts. Others asked for some sign or set some task for the ghost.

There is some of this pre-conversion skepticism in the First Cult, even in its beginnings in Nriol, the man who ignored the warning in a dream that all should return to the village until a tree fell the wrong way, breaking a canoe; or the young men of Patusi who were finally convinced by the £1.10 deposited by the ghost as tangible evidence of the *cargo* to come. My opinion is that most of the people in Patusi probably knew what human hand had put the money where the ghost had caused it to materialize, but they chose to believe it to be a sign to compel their acceptance of the Cult. Even Manoi, the arch-skeptic of the Patusi *Noise*, did not deny the appearance in seance of

his brother's ghost, but he expressed his opposition to the Cult by anger at what the ghost said. This anger at the ghost was similar to the feelings of some of the more sophisticated opponents of the Ghost Cult toward Thomas or the local ghosts.¹

Initial skepticism became routine and formalized in the Second Cult. It was addressed both to the self and to the Cult opposition. To the latter this show of skepticism said, in effect: "Yes, we doubted as you do, before we received unmistakable evidence validating the Cult beliefs. This will also happen to you. Take care that it does or you will be left out when the Day comes and instead of being rewarded you will be punished." Addressed to the self, this formal skepticism and conversion were arguments against real doubt, against the memory of the disappointment of the First Cult, against respect for the opinions and prestige of those people more steadfastly opposed to the Cult, and against the conscious, though dissociated, knowledge that the Cult would fail, coexisting with the fervently cultivated hope that it would succeed. We could call this a kind of autistic self-deception. This pattern of self-deception in skepticism, of fictive doubt allaying real doubt, is a part of a still larger pattern of discourse particularly characteristic of the Second Cult.

It is related also to a characteristic mode of communication in which the focus of intended meaning is interwoven between a set of subtly distinguished levels of meaning. This multi-level discourse occurs in many contexts of the new Manus culture. It can be traced back in the old culture to the system of oblique reference and allusion formalized in the commemorative ballads. It relates further, perhaps ultimately, to the obligatory use of indirect reference in the avoidance kinship relationships. In modern form, the deliberate use of related levels of meaning to conceal from all but the insider the intent, or, as they put it, "the underneath meaning" of discourse, is called *talk picture*² or *talk box*.

¹ See 386, footnote, and Fortune, 1935, 265-266, for a discussion of a different kind of skepticism and duality of belief in the old Manus religion.

² It would be *talk picture*, even if no figure of speech were used, if some of the total context is left implicit, as in arguing over building new cemeteries when the whole of the Second Cult is the issue.

The whole pattern of communication in the Cult involves this sort of interplay of levels of meaning, of self-contradiction, ambivalence, and the need to validate Cult belief in the very form of assertion of these beliefs.

In the Second Cult, the prevalent pattern of secrecy was aimed against spying on the part of the opposition. There was a heightening of sensitivity to barriers to communication and to attempts made at penetrating these barriers. But even these aspects of communication in the Cult were not so simple that they can be described merely as spying versus secrecy. Its secrecy was conspicuous secrecy. It consisted in making sure that a recognizable portion of the thing concealed showed from under the cloak of concealment. This attempt (how conscious was it?) at transmission by withholding was prominent in the initial Paliau Movement and in both Cults. Paliau, after only partial success in interesting people in his meetings by direct invitation, later sent the Mouk canoes on errands with instructions that they were to say nothing about the Movement, but, if questioned, were to say that the questioner could go to Baluan to see for himself. This manipulation of secrecy to attract, as used in the Second Cult, served also as a punishment to those excluded and as an assertion of moral superiority on the part of the Cultists. The secrecy did not become conspicuous, until the Cult came into the open but continued to act as if it were hidden. The Cultists moved their meetings just far enough back from the road to announce secrecy, but not so far as to be really secret. The secrecy was observable as a complex set of levels of self-perceptions and self-deceptions on the part of the Cultists. There

was some spying on the part of the opposition, but the Cultists felt spied upon even when the flimsiest guise of secrecy was penetrated by the casual passerby.

The pattern of secrecy also relates to a need apparent everywhere among the Manus, that is, for an audience to witness anything sensed as a performance. This helped to facilitate our work as anthropologists. We played the needed role of audience. It was necessary that things concealed from us be also revealed to us so that we might be audience to them and to the act of concealment as well. Similarly, for its hostility, the Cult needed not only an object that would be assured by the exclusion of a part of its potential recruits, but also an external audience that appreciated its values and its hidden levels of meaning from the hints that it furnished.

The game was interesting for all concerned—Cult, opposition, and anthropologist. The Australian Administration, however, was unwelcome as an audience, though their involvement would have added to the interest. As it was, the Cultists' feeling of martyrdom at the hands of the Australians was somewhat unsatisfying and had to be compensated for by the spying, threats, and insults the Cult could elicit from its internal opposition. Though hostile to the Australians, the Cultists were afraid of them. They were ready to admit to Paliau's taunt (used also by Tjamilo) that, when the white man pounded his fist on the table, they would tremble. The example of the Administration's imprisonment of the leaders who had been involved in the hat- and book-burning in the First Cult helped to overcome their temptation to include the Administration in their audience.

CULT SYMPTOMATOLOGY, CULT STATUSES, AND CULT AND MOVEMENT PERSONNEL

What of the symptoms of the Cult? What was their function? What did they communicate? Convulsive seizures of the sort so prevalent in the *Noise* occur very widely in the world in the context of religious cults. Here we are concerned with the way that these behaviors fit into the particular cults that are described. Most of the explanations offered in the literature on conversion phenomena and other extreme behavior in cults are psychological or psycho-physiological. Earlier explanations tended to relate the symptom-like behavior of

the cults to madness, autohypnosis, or hysteria. Recently Sargent¹ and Wallace² have explored the possible connections between convulsive and abreactive therapies, stress-induced neuroses, remission in mental illness, and conversion phenomena on cults which are often accompanied by marked changes in the personality. In spite of the great interest of these suggestions of the psycho-physiological or personality dy-

¹ Sargent, 1957.

² Wallace, 1955, 1956a, 1956b.

namics of cult symptomatology, the points I wish to make here concerning these "symptoms" have a different emphasis. The communicational and social aspects are considered and put into the context of the culture that includes these cults.¹

THE GURIA

It is necessary to review the descriptions of the *guria* that were collected from both those who witnessed it and those who experienced it. A wide range of behavior is indicated. Tjamilo reported that the first person he saw *guria* was Paliau who trembled when he prayed in the church in Bunai, before the Movement had started and before the *Noise*. (I believe such a report, although Tjamilo was inclined to attribute everything to Paliau, even things I knew to be his own creations.) Tjamilo had been much impressed and cited Paliau's *guria* as one of the reasons he had followed Paliau to Baluan. In the Cult mythology, which relates how Paliau was visited by Jesus in the bush during the war in New Britain, his body is said to have grown heavy with the presence of Jesus. Wapei experienced violent shaking and thrashing about on the ground when he first told of having been visited by Jesus, but the actual revelation was in a dream the preceding night. During the short life of the First Cult, in Nriol and elsewhere, the *guria* at times came more strongly and subsided to a mere tremble or a weakness at other times. Some people were more violently affected than others, though it is said that none escaped it in Nriol or Mouk. The *guria* affected a majority in Tawi and later in Old Bunai and among the Usiai. From Mouk came descriptions of periods of reeling and of walking in tight circles, with the eyes rolling or staring. Some of the more detailed descriptions speak of those affected feeling as if they were about to be lifted from their feet, as though they were being pulled upward by the hair, as if their *thinkthinks* were light and would have risen up to Jesus except that their bodies were heavy. Most accounts associate the periods of greatest intensity with the first contagion and then later in the churches as they concentrated all their thinking upon God. This *guria* in church was reported from Nriol, Mouk, Tawi, Peri, Bunai, and Lahan. The missionary who had been in Peri at the time of the *Noise* de-

scribed a man sitting in the church trembling violently. He remained unresponsive but was brought out of it with a slap. Others described their skins as cold and wet with sweat. Lukas Pokus described the heaviness of his body when God came into him, causing him to shake violently. He said that the trembling continued to return long after the *Noise*, whenever he concentrated his *thinkthink* upon God, but that these seizures abated as his mind became distracted with worldly thoughts, so that he could not attain the proper degree of focus of his *thinkthink*. Pita Tapo described dizziness leading to a state of unconsciousness that lasted for hours. *Guria* leading to unconsciousness was a typical pattern for Lahan, Pita Tapo's village. He said that it was as if his *life* had gone out of him. Of Gabriel Suluwan in Old Bunai, it was said that he *guria'd* only with his head. In the Second Cult, Namu of Malei *guria'd* the first time the two ghosts who possessed her entered her body, one going up each leg. Her convulsions were violent, lasting throughout a night. Nasei, a woman in Lowaja, who claimed that she was visited by Jesus and who was also possessed by a ghost, had extremely violent convulsions, described as a random thrashing about. She was left for a time with a spotty paralysis of one hand and the opposite arm. Ponram, who fell into a coma, was not said to have had the *guria*. He is said to have died (*die finish*) and to have returned to life. Some said that what happened in the *guria* was like what happened when white men drank whiskey. A broad range of behavior had been described as *guria*, but the line is drawn at anything that does not involve shaking or trembling.

The word "*guria*" was applied to earthquakes and to the shaking of the body in fever or to the convulsions of cerebral malaria. Most Manus have witnessed death in convulsion of some kind. In the first of such deaths that we saw in Manus, that of a young boy dying of cerebral malaria, the boy's father said that the soul was being shaken out of the boy by the ghost of a man who had died a violent death. This interpretation of the convulsions was not official belief and was, in fact, denounced as a superstition by Samol, the leader of the village. Later, a girl from another village, who was affected with a peculiar periodic violent twitch of her whole body, was brought in to our village to get injections of quinine from the native medical as-

¹ Schwartz, MS.

sistant. It was explained somewhat apologetically that the people who brought her attributed her condition to her having been in a place infested with *marsalai*, spirits of the bush in which the Manus no longer (officially) believed.

In the memories of my informants and in earlier written reports, including the studies of Mead and Fortune, there is little indication that convulsive seizures or possession of the sort involved in the Cults is simply carried over from indigenous Manus culture.¹ By the time of the *Noise*, however, the expectation of convulsive seizures accompanying religious revelation was well established in what the Manus shared of the Territory-wide contact culture. The word "*guria*" was used in the Neo-Melanesian versions of the Bible of all mission sects, referring to the *guria* that occurred at the death of Christ, the *Noise*, the *guria*, and the speaking in tongues that came to the followers of Jesus in Jerusalem at the first Pentecost which impressed and converted many Jews, the *guria* of Paul in his vision of Jesus, and finally the *Noise* and *guria* predicted for the *Day Behind*. Thus the *guria* response to the nearness of or possession by Jesus was known and extended also to the dead. Beyond the descriptions of *Noise* and *guria* which the native encountered in the missions and in mission literature, the *guria* was a known phenomenon. Although no Manus natives reported having witnessed it in the context of a religious cult, they knew that it had occurred in other Melanesian cults.

THE VALIDATING FUNCTION OF CULT SYMPTOMATIC BEHAVIOR

The *guria* was the response the natives expected of themselves to the belief that God, Jesus, or the spirits of the dead were near them

¹ Fortune refers to *tanritanitani* (a cursing or blessing) as an incantation inducing the ghosts named to possess or influence the person toward whom the incantation is directed (see Fortune, 1935, 78). Another reference to possession relates to a kind of illness in a woman caused by a snake-like *marsalai* (bush spirit) coming into her abdomen, causing swelling (Fortune, 1935, 202). Some Usiai seers, often consulted by the Manus in efforts at discovering the cause of an illness, specialized in oracular dreams; others were said to get their information through possession (Fortune did not specify by whom or by what they were possessed). These men, possessed, simply stared into vacancy without any convulsive evidences of possession. None of these kinds of possession were of much importance in the old religion in 1928, and none seems quite to amount to possession by an immanent personality (Fortune, 1935, 165).

or in possession of their bodies. The *guria* was primarily associated with the presence of God or Jesus rather than with that of the ghosts. For the ghosts to produce these effects there had to be some dramatic form of possession by a ghost with a special mission. Without such somatic manifestations one's visitation by Jesus, one's revelation, or one's participation in a group religious experience would not be believed. The convulsions and a whole set of related or equivalent behavior had a communicational function in validating belief.

The validating of belief was true of coma, of death and resurrection, which "happened" to someone every so often in Bunai. When someone "died" or went into the *guria* alone, others watched intently, eagerly looking for the expected signs of the validity of this contact with the other world (Pl. 18). They were frightened by the convulsions; they did not question that they were genuine. There was the question of whether the convulsions were the work of God or the work of Satan (of the latter was the mission point of view, or so the natives believed). This question occurred infrequently, always after the fact. Lukas Pokus' rivalry with Pominis of Peri, and indirectly with Tjamilo and Posenau of Bunai, was instructive. Both had publicly experienced convincing *guria*, and both had had messages to the revealed nature of which their shaking gave evidence. Though Lukas' revelation differed somewhat from that which Pominis had heard from Tjamilo and then had had repeated in direct revelation to himself, Lukas had the advantage in that his revelation was later (like the latest edition of a newspaper) and, on a level of worldly events, he had been more recently to Mouk than had Tjamilo. But he claimed a morally superior *guria*, accusing Pominis of having the *guria* only with his body and not with his *thinkthink*.

The *guria* did not occur in isolation. It was usually accompanied by some kind of vision and by a verbal message. The vision or message could come in *guria* in a waking state, or in the unconsciousness that could follow *guria* or substitute for it. Such messages could also come in dreams without *guria*. Outside the periods of greatest intensity of the Cult, dreams without *guria* were the more frequently used channels of communication with God and with the ghosts.

The message depended for its validation on its familiarity rather than on innovation. Lukas Pokus' "latest edition" was totally unoriginal

and familiar by the time it was heard. It was acceptable in that it moved the Cult a step farther toward conventionalization and reduced some of the anxiety-provoking, anti-European hostility of the earlier revelations. The high degree of standardization of dreams and revelations is noted above in this report. Familiarity itself was taken as validating the revelation; the more innovative a revelation, the more the burden of validation by "symptom." Wapei's dream of a visit and revelation from Jesus required the most dramatic form of presentation in his *gurua* and other extreme behavior on the following day. In the Second Cult, such innovations, though they may all be seen as consistent productions based on the Cult pattern, were most often made at the seances and affirmed by the whistles of the ghost in the presence of a possessed medium who had signaled the possession with *gurua*.

After the first founding dreams and visions of the Cult, most subsequent dream revelations tended to be only slightly innovative. These later dreams were confirmatory, mutually validating by repetition and independent testimony. Dreams often required a sign to confirm them or to warn that they should be heeded. As minor prophecies they were sometimes self-fulfilling, as in Pwatjumel's dream of a design for the graveyard, but most often the later dreams were used as the basis for a minor moral revival reiterating the injunctions of the *Newfela Fashion* and warning of God's displeasure. The dreams that were used usually had little in common with the confusion, condensations, and symbolism of ordinary dreams. Dreams made public were explicitly the ones that were *straight*, not those that went *nabout nabout* (disordered). In the telling they were not different from accounts of experiences of the "resurrected" or of those who reported waking visions. They were long, narrative accounts, with much of their important content consisting of quotations of long messages from God or from particular ancestors of the dreamer or visionary. Collecting these accounts I questioned whether many of them were dreams at all.¹ I believe that much of their familiar con-

tent was framed in the telling, and elaborated and extended in public presentation, without the teller's being aware that he was so doing. It is a mistake, I believe, at least in regard to the cults that are reported on here, to regard the dream itself as the crucial focus of conversion and re-synthesis. I see the dream, the vision, the death and resurrection, and the formal seance as culturally patterned, presentational forms having a communicative function that validated a claim to revelation and to a change of status that followed its acceptance.

Speaking in tongues occurred frequently and was a phenomenon similar in kind and function to the *gurua* as a sign of the validity of the message and of the assumption of the role of leader, prophet, or medium, as based on actual contact with the supernatural. Lapun, the Malei adolescent, had had a few days of glory in the period before the Second Cult when he had seen Jesus, experienced the *gurua*, and found himself speaking German which he had never heard before. But in a manner illustrative of my next point, he had been put in his place by the *luluai* of Malei, who asked him to validate further his revelations by demonstrating knowledge of the "Long Story of God" comparable to that revealed to Paliau. This tactic would have put to shame most of the people whose experiences were accepted on much less evidence during the Cults, except that during the Cults it did not occur to anyone on the inside to demand any kind of additional validation that could not be provided readily. This adolescent's experience of a visit from Jesus had occurred about a year too soon. He tried again later in the Second Cult when he had a full-scale *gurua*, but this time he was late. Others already occupied the few roles of inspired leadership that the Cult allowed. He was ignored.

Still other forms of validation that served a claimant in the convincing of himself as well as others were observable in so many new forms of behavior that they seem to constitute a transformed personality. When what is said above about the communicational function of the *gurua* as a validation of the claim of revelation and of supernatural appointment to Cult roles is considered, it is suggested that whatever the subsequent change in the personality, the change is probably not the effect of the *gurua* itself or of the dream or vision experience. It is suggested, rather, that the changes in personality in part have a communicative function

¹ Fortune raised a similar question about the alleged oracular dreams of the Usiai seers in 1928. "These dreams, when produced, resemble the results of the Manus seance, however, and represent possibly what a sound sleeping seer thinks of on waking up in the morning, rather than being real dreams" (Fortune, 1935, 165).

like that of the *guria* and that those changes in personality that accompany the assumption of new roles must be placed in the social context of the Cult as a whole and of the culture of which it is a part.

The Manus study suggests that whether the personality of an individual undergoing such an experience is altered, and whether the alteration is stable, depend largely on the response made to the signs of his religious experience. The Cult itself developed as a series of responses to the claim of its founders to prophetic leadership and to the frequent validation of the Cult mythology by the validating experiences of those who replicated or elaborated the body of Cult mythology as needed.

For Paliau, there is little evidence of a dramatic transformation of personality, but only the deliberately cultivated maximum expansion of his role as a leader. His life history and his own impressions of himself, as well as the impressions of others, indicate a consistent, life-long development toward leadership and toward his adult personality. His earlier religious experiences during the war, his feeling of sponsorship by Jesus, his ability to handle program as prophecy to permit the proliferation of mythology about him by his followers, and to be a religious leader to some and a secular leader to others, all seem consistent throughout his development.

Among the lesser leaders a number of men spoke of themselves as having been made by the Cult or the Movement, which may be viewed as the assumption of a status within the fluid lines of the new society that would not have been open to them otherwise. Status inversions are referred to above in the discussion of the effect of the Cult on village leadership. Some of these more drastic assumptions of status occurred in the Cult. Most conspicuous were the adolescents who in the old culture would neither have had nor have wanted a voice in village affairs. The others were the women who, in the Cult, achieved considerable influence through mediumship, as they could have had in the old culture but not in the *Newfela Fashion*. Furthermore, there were the old men who, within the Movement, had yielded authority and prestige to the younger leaders and who could within the Cult be other than the quarrelsome old men they had become. Even here, the personalities tended to be consistent, though there is an al-

most visible transition from the playing of a rank-and-file role to the assuming of one of leadership or conspicuous moral preëminence.

The incident of Ponram's "death and resurrection" was of great importance to this study of Cult behavior. It illuminated a number of other cases collected from informants, and other persons whom we had observed that we had not realized were connected with the Cult. Ponram's "death" came at the right time. His house was packed with spectators. He did everything exactly right, convincingly satisfying the established expectations of the onlookers. Sitting in the audience I had the sense that I was the only one who did not know what was going to happen next. First he had "died" convincingly enough, in spite of the fact that he was known to be a notorious liar, to have his sons run in seeming panic to fetch me and the medical assistant, who, taking one look at Ponram, injected quinine intravenously before he realized what was happening. Ponram was probably neither deliberately lying nor consciously pretending. He was behaving in a way that was by now familiar, even expected, though not necessarily expected of any particular individual. His "deaf-mute" sign language was also familiar in the circumstances, and his message was so familiar that his audience readily interpreted his slightest gesture. In addition to the incessantly repeated admonitions of the *Newfela Fashion*, he had brought back divine disapproval for the things that he did not approve of in current affairs in his hamlet and family, and a plan for a graveyard that validated, and was validated by, the plan dreamed of by Pwatumel a few days earlier. For weeks afterward he was a changed person. He dressed in the best European clothing he could obtain. He assumed an air of moral superiority and importance incongruous with his earlier status and deportment. His story was told in the meetings of other villages as far away as Baluan. He spoke up at meetings for a while. Then, as response to him died away, and as the Cult leaders presented more spectacular contact with the divine, Ponram drifted back into his normal state as a quarrelsome old man.

Another old man, Jakob of Yiru, who "died" and came back to life, whose experience we also observed, had much the same revelations to report. He was genuinely sick and near death but attracted no response. Few people came to his

house, though I was called to attend him. No one contradicted his story, but he aroused little interest. He was too feeble to perform like Ponram. Coming so soon after Ponram's "death," he would have had to surpass Ponram's performance to attract attention and elicit a transforming response. The personality had to be capable of playing the role of communicant with the supernatural; not all who attempted it had that capacity. Given the response, the personality must be capable of expansion into the new role opened up to it. The person becomes what he has the potential for becoming, given the success of his claim to the new role.

Perhaps the most striking example of this change in status, through successful validation of the claim of ghostly sponsorship, was that of Joseph Nanei, the adolescent cult leader of Lowaja. He became a leader, still recognizably adolescent, conveniently so for the adult leaders of the hamlet who seemed to prefer to believe in the religious experiences of the women and children and to influence the content of the revelations so derived, disclaiming any personal responsibility. Joseph's leadership and the particularly arrogant and dictatorial form it took could have been predicted on the basis of his earlier personality and the personalities of adult models available to him. On the other hand, his rival in Malei, Kampo Monrai, another adolescent, had almost all the same visions, saw ghosts from even more remote generations than those seen by Joseph Nanei, but in his simple amiability lacked the validating alterations of his personality. He could assume little arrogance in commanding his elders. He suffered from being a member of Malei, a hamlet that took a subordinate position in the Cult dominated by Lowaja.

Compared to the numbers affected by the *guria* in the First Cult, there were only a few in the Second. In each village or hamlet that came wholly into the Second Cult one person or several people were taken by the *guria*. Unlike the *guria* in the First Cult, that of the Second Cult, though occasionally as violent and dramatic, did not spread by contagion to the spectators. In some cases in which more than one person was involved, the several *gurias* were not simultaneous, but occurred on different occasions. The implicit conventions governing Cult symptomatic behavior had changed. A pattern seemed established that one person in each

village would emerge as a connection between the ghosts and the living. Except in the case of Joseph Nanei, this person did not necessarily exercise real leadership in the Cult. Most of the others were women: Sapa on Johnston Island, Namu in Malei, Nasei in Lowaja, and women in Nuang and Kapo. Joseph Nanei differed from these women in all respects. It is said that he himself did not *guria*, while Lapun and Kampo Monrai, the two boys in Malei who did, were unable to compete successfully for a role comparable to Joseph's. Unlike the women, Joseph and the other adolescent boys saw and spoke to the dead but were not actually possessed. In Tawi, the *council* Kisakiu (not to be confused with Kisakiu of Johnston Island), with no one else coming forward to do it for him, was developing himself as a communicative link with the desired tutelary ghost, but he was uneasy in the role. I believe that he was waiting for an adolescent or woman to assume the oracular role, so that he could be less directly and conspicuously involved. A young man in Patusi and another in Lowaja, added to those already mentioned, complete the list of those whom I could find, or of whom my informants knew in the Second Cult, who either experienced the *guria* and were possessed or who, without these manifestations, had become a point of contact with the ghosts. I saw these latter two young men before I knew of their place in the Cult; both complained of severe headaches that lasted several days. The Patusi man seemed delirious and spoke incoherently about seeing the ghost of his father. Neither of these young men attained roles of leadership in the Cult.

These scattered few represented all the steady and formal contact the Second Cult needed with the ghosts. A larger number of persons, also, had single or occasional contacts with ghosts. These non-sustained contacts attested that the dead were thronging back. All that was required in the Second Cult were one sustained, oral contact that repeated all that had been laid out in Johnston Island and brought the revelation into each village through one of its own ancestors, and a larger number of glimpses of the dead to establish the area of contact between the living village as a whole and its ancestors as a united group.

In all villages in the entire Second Cult, only Nasei, the woman who had an extreme *guria* in Lowaja, claimed a direct visitation from Jesus.

The reaction of her village showed that this was not wanted. Anger and belief (or at least no way of disbelieving) were mixed. It was felt that for her, a notorious philanderer, to be the one so visibly touched by the hand of Jesus was highly pretentious. Partly because of the absence of claims of direct visitation from Jesus compared to those in the First Cult and the reaction to Nasei's visitation, it seemed to me that the Cultists were uncomfortable with the idea that Jesus should appear within the village itself. The Second Cult laid a great deal of emphasis on the idea that the dead were the only road between living man and Jesus. This idea was one of their key beliefs. They could not rule out the possibility of a direct contact, but they seemed more comfortable with Jesus at a distance in the *Sky*. Second Cult activity was most directly concerned with the ghosts, their own ancestors who were as tangible as their bones and the new graveyards. It was striking that Ponram and Kampo's wife, in their accounts of their visits to the *Sky*, reported on their coming into the presence of Jesus but gave little or no emphasis on having done so. All their accounts concern the appearance of the village of the dead in the *Sky* as an idealized version of a *Newfela-Fashion* village. They devoted much of their accounts to the people they saw there from their own villages and to shaking hands with their ancestors. Their concept of Jesus was vague, unsatisfying to them, and uncomfortable in the image derived from the mission. He was described as a bearded white man. He was Boss, Chairman of the Council of all human beings, Son of God. In the Second Cult direct contact with Jesus was to be avoided until the *Day Behind*. This would not materialize until their preparations were complete, and they were never completed. Meanwhile their daily concern was with the ghosts and the many new forms of ritual activity that filled their days in a manner that seemed evidently satisfying to them. The Second Cult was self-impeding in its movement toward its goal. The kind of accelerating processes that would have moved them toward a final test of the Cult and toward their disappointment and humiliation were kept in check.

A more formalized role structure had emerged in the process of conventionalization. A lack of response to surplus claimants to supernatural contact marked these willing communicants as being out of structure.

The *guria* and related behavior had a validating communicative function. The mass *guria* of the First Cult, the transformed behavior of all affected (their *longlong* or temporary insanity), aimed at a validation of the claim of the Cult to the imminent, dated fulfillment of its prophecies. The Second Cult was caught in the contradiction of justifying its existence as a short path to a goal roughly similar to that of the Movement, by the supernatural means that had failed the First Cult, and at the same time of proving its viability as a religion capable of perpetuation as an end in itself in which a state of perennial promise replaced a state of imminent realization. The transition was, however, incomplete. There was still an expectation of climax, and at the same time the Second Cultists refrained from reaching it. The Cult did not become a viable religion partly because of its opposition by the Movement which, toward the end of the Second Cult, had resumed its vigorous development in offering new promise, new excitement, and new legitimacy for its leaders, with which the Cult could not compete. All the relatively high-prestige leaders had remained outside the Second Cult. Finally, when Paliau made clear his opposition to the Cult, using its suppression as a means to restore his own prestige, the Cultists capitulated with shame, sullenness, resentment, and with hidden reservations in which the more avid told themselves that they were not shaken in their belief and that their time would come. They interpreted Paliau's speeches to mean that next time they should work within the Movement and bring the whole Movement with them.

PERSONNEL: PALIAU'S ROLE

In this discussion of the relationship between Cult and Movement, I describe a differentiation of sets of personnel assignable to each. Some of the many determinants that entered into the alignment of individuals and of groups with the Cult or the Movement are discussed above. The distinction between Cult and Movement orientation of individuals was most clearly apparent in the active leaders and advocates of these two approaches. For the majority of their followers, the separation of these alternative orientations follows on their adherence to one or the other as a member of their hamlet or village rather than as a result of an individual choice based on evaluation or realization of their fundamental dis-

tinctness. The issues were more clearly drawn, and personality and situational factors were more clearly influential, in those villages or hamlets in which there was a choice of opposing factions. The extremes among such individuals emerge more clearly as distinctive types than the people for whom Cult and Movement were fused or who were able to participate equally in Cult-centered activities and Movement-centered activities.

There were the one-or-the-other; the effective-in-both; and the relatively-unaffected-by-either personalities. The leaders and active exponents of the Second Cult and of its opposition were in the first group. At the extremes in Movement orientation were those who had throughout maintained an essentially secular, programmatic position. All but a few of these, such as Samol of Bunai, had been involved to some extent in the First Cult, having been caught up in the *Noise*, but had come immediately thereafter to leadership within the Organizational Phase. In the extremes of the Cult-oriented were to be found what might prove, on more detailed psychological examination, to be a specifiable personality type—rigid and in some respects hostile, suspicious, and paranoid. Several of these people had played major roles in both the First and the Second Cults; others had emerged only in the Second, having been too young or located in a village peripheral to the full manifestation of the *Noise* in the earlier Cult. The few who were especially prominent on this extreme, such as Tjamilo, Pita Tapo, and Joseph Nanei in Bunai, played roles indispensable to the Cults. Others like them appeared in each village, their roles dependent on the response or opposition they met. The extremes among the Movement-oriented leaders represented most closely the set of basic personality characteristics that Mead described informally for the Manus of 1928 as autonomous, aggressive, entrepreneurial, pragmatic, skeptical, and rational.¹ Both extremes of Movement- and Cult-oriented leaders manifested sets of personality characteristics that were widely distributed among the peoples of the area affected by the Cult and the Movement. These were not mutually exclusive configurations of personality characteristics, even at the extremes. From the point of view of the fit between personality and

orientation toward culture change, it was possible for the majority of individuals within the area affected by these acculturative media to be effective in either. For the extremes it would seem that the one-or-the-other choice may be made on the basis of an assortment of personnel by personality determinants. It may be that, for Cult and Movement as vehicles for culture change, there are those best moved by Cult, those best moved by Movement, those for whom both are effective, and perhaps those relatively affected by neither for whom all change is drift.

Paliau's role in welding Cult and Movement unity and, in 1947 and in 1954, preventing disruption of the Movement by the Cult was of far greater importance than that of any other individual. Paliau was more than a prophet, though initially he was able to issue program as prophecy. His power was based as much on intellect, innovation, and organization as it was on revelation and became increasingly more so. He could be a leader to the Cult-oriented, but from the first his own orientation was that which he imparted to the Movement. His devices for maintaining the unity of the Movement and for mediating between Cult and Movement often left his position unclear. He was extremely skilled in the manipulation of the complex, multi-level play of meanings that characterized so much of the discourse between Cult and Movement. He worked to avoid the alienation of any segment of the Movement through the antagonism of the Cult-Movement conflict by the cultivation of ambiguity and non-repudiation of highly charged beliefs. In crucial matters he took his stand on abstractions, so that when he lectured the Cultist conservatives on the fact that the Movement was not tied to its original forms on the 1946 base line, he never stated which of the early forms could be ignored or repudiated. He constantly focused attention on the "next step," a figure of speech that he frequently used, and worked to divert attention from conflict to some new programmatic involvement.

Incredulous as we were at first, it proved to be neither myth nor modesty that made the other leaders (including some who came to oppose him) within the Movement attribute to Paliau virtually all its content and the culture it had established as well as all continuing innovation. Not that Paliau created all this *de novo*: he

¹ Mead, 1930, 208.

drew on the elements of his relatively wide experience and on European models, but he was the formulator and integrator of a new culture. This role imposed on him the burden of innovation and of maintaining the morale of the Movement which was so closely linked with expectations of continued change toward the still evolving goal-culture. He constantly sought new sources of program, though he was anxious that, whatever the source, the program should continue to be identified with him. In spite of the antagonism and suspicion that were still felt toward him by many in the Administration, he was alertly receptive to new developments in the program of the Administration, which he sought to anticipate and incorporate within the structure of the Movement, in advance of the Administration's uncertain scheduling of the development of its program. The extent of the feeling, within the Movement, that the Council was their own contributed much to its success and owed much to Paliau's anticipatory innovations. Paliau had maintained his own openness and had resisted tendencies toward closure within the Movement.

At the same time, Paliau was concerned with the maintenance of his own leadership of the Movement. If he was successful in handling possible schisms within it, arising from the Cult-Movement conflict, he proved less able to deal with the increasing challenge to his leadership from the growing political maturity of many of his followers. Paliau's position as leader still related in some respects to the older pattern of leadership by "big men" which had prevailed throughout much of Melanesia. The political structure of the Admiralties had been particularly unstable and schismatic. The remembered history of Admiralty groups is replete with stories of cleavage within villages and splitting within clans along lineage lines. The emergence of two equally strong leaders within a village tended within a short time to result in two villages. A political unit depended on the prestige and status of its leader. Rival leadership rather than the increased size of the unit was most frequently the cause of a cleavage. Such leadership, on which political cohesion depended, required continual validation by the entrepreneurial activities of the "big man." The extension of political relations beyond the village was rare, effected by a few "big men" of legendary great prestige. The Paliau Movement had created a

political unit of a size and complexity of structure that were unprecedented in the Admiralties. The creation of this unit and its organization centered around the person and leadership of Paliau. Although his role as leader involved a vast expansion of its functional content beyond the scope of native precedent, and although this role was based in part on a fusion of European models, there was still much that suggested the "big man" of the past. Like the "big man" of legend, he was depended on as the initiator of major activities. Like the leaders of the past, Paliau was involved in a system that demanded continual further validation of his leadership. His earlier accomplishments in founding the Movement would have been insufficient to maintain unrivaled ascendancy. More than power or material gain, he desired the continued recognition of his superiority as a leader. His authority depended at first on a system of legitimization internal to the Movement. Cohesion and recognition of his authority had been entirely a matter of voluntary association.

The Movement had no legal status in the eyes of the Government and in fact initially was considered to be subversive. Paliau worked for the assimilation of the Movement within the system of Administration-sponsored Native Councils. The Council, however, constituted a recognition of the political unit that he had formed and provided a basis for its unity independent of Paliau's leadership. It made it possible for a rival to challenge Paliau's authority without his leaving the Movement or the Council. The Mouks were the first group to make this challenge. They had been the mainstay of Paliau's initial attempts to organize and propagate the Movement. They grew increasingly independent of him in close proximity to him, with their village conjoined to his as Lipan-Mouk. When the Movement area was divided by the government in 1950 by the establishment of an official Native Council for Baluan and Rambutjon, the Mouks were at its core. Paliau, whose authority could hardly have been greater than it had been during the pre-Council development of the Movement, gained less by his new legitimacy as the elected Chairman of the Council than did the newly elected and legitimate local leaders of the Council. Mouk, as a village, led in learning the use of the Council and moved still further toward independence under the influence of the

resident Assistant District Officer in charge of the Council. Many irritations developed between Paliau and the Mouks.

Elsewhere his prestige had declined only slightly because of his inability to maintain the expectation of still further major innovations after his anticipatory introduction of the Council and Cooperative schemes. His program had become dependent on events and authority beyond his control. He had to wait with the others for the Administration to take the next step in legalizing the Council structure that he had established. In spite of his declaration that the Movement had gone beyond 1946 and the early *Newfela Fashion*, he was forced to attempt to support his leadership with constant reminders to his followers of his initial role in creating the Movement and carrying it beyond its beginnings, which was a far less effective way of maintaining his leadership. Everyone conceded readily that he had been the one who had "got up" the people of the Movement area. He had to demonstrate that the Movement continued

to depend on him for its integrity and its further advancement toward its goals. More than the final extension of the Council to the South Coast and his election to the Chairmanship of the Council that was now almost coextensive with the Movement he had created, his demonstration of control in the crisis of the split between the Cult and the Movement provided him with the opportunity to reassert the dependence on him of the Movement and its leaders. As is shown in my description of the meeting in which he declared the Cult to be at an end, his central point was that he was still the leader on whom the continued existence of the Movement as a political unit depended. He saw his role in the Second Cult as a repetition of his role in the First. He caught the Cult at its breaking point, prevented its disintegration, and reasserted the essential orientation of the Movement. He demonstrated his continued ability to mediate between the diverse groups, personalities, and orientations toward change without alienating any from the Movement.

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE ORIENTATION OF THE CULTS: THE QUESTION OF REVIVALISM

In cultures in which there is a heightened consciousness of change, the constructs of valued possible future states of the culture are drawn selectively and abstractly from available models or from conceived transformations of these models. A culture manifesting Linton's perpetuative type of nativism¹ builds the future extension of its orientational transform from its own present forms, or selectively abstracted or often idealized versions of them. The goal-culture may be a replication of constructs of the cultural present. A culture having an orientation toward change, corresponding to Linton's revivalistic nativism, constructs its transform toward a goal-culture derived from its own past forms, which would correspond also to Herskovits' contra-acculturative type of nativism.² I suggest that this typology, based largely on studies of American Indian nativism, is incomplete. To it should be added an acculturative type of cult or movement in which culture change, considerably conscious and purposive, is oriented by a system of constructs that are derived either continuously or discontinuously as

transformations of present states not replicating other constructs in the orientational systems based on the present or the past, but often derived by selective abstraction from perceptions of other cultures. The Paliau Movement is an example of this acculturative type.

Though the trend of Manus culture change is generally acculturative (completely so as far as the people's consciously entertained values are concerned), a consideration of the Cult phases raises the question of the Cult's being relatively more revivalistic than the Movement.

The Cult orientation differed systematically from the orientation of the Movement in various ways, but the result was not a diametric opposition of their orientations in terms of derivation from past and future, or the old culture and the European culture. The Cultists affirmed their progressivism and their rejection of the past against Movement accusations that the Second Cult was revivalistic. Such an affirmation became an important, explicit issue in the conflict. The resulting orientation of the Cults was a combination of a professed progressivism and a disguised revivalism on the one hand and a spurious revivalism on the other.

¹ Linton, 1943.

² Herskovits, 1938.

Obviously the Second Cult could not accept its own revivalism as such. The main area of this revival was in the reinstatement of the ghosts of the dead around which the old Manus religion had centered. The cultists had agreed that it was essential to reject everything from the culture of the pre-1946 past, all of which had been evil. They denounced all the *stink fashion belong bigfela man belong before*. Yet these very ancestors whose ignorance of God and whose evil ways were renounced appeared in ghostly form, dressed in white trousers and shirts, smelling of powder and perfumed hair lotion, to reveal to their descendants the instructions of the returning Jesus.

Fortune, in his description of the old Manus religion,¹ spoke of the pragmatic quality of Manus belief. The Manus could, in the past, cast out the skull of the father whose ghost protected the inhabitants of the house, if this protection failed. A new ghost would replace the rejected one, until he too failed to keep death from the house. The abandonment of the whole ghostly population was accomplished equally purposively and pragmatically when the Manus decided to become Roman Catholics. The white man, though not a ghost, was of another world newly conjoined to that of the Manus and as missionary or government officer had taken over some of the functions of the ghostly father.² Then, in the Cult, the white man, too, was rejected. Paliau's teachings and the beliefs of the Cults alike pointed to an abrupt, total break with the missions early in the Movement. With this break, during the *Noise* and the later break of the Second Cult with the Council, the same ghostly population that had been put out of the houses of the Manus 20 years before came thronging back, reorganized and newly clothed, but making their presence known in the old familiar ways.

This reinstatement of the spirits of the dead in Manus religion was, for the most part, a revival, but it was also a survival of beliefs that were suddenly permitted to become more explicit and to be elaborated in new forms.

The *Noise* provided a newly rationalized setting for these ghosts. The behavioral environ-

ment of the Manus contracted spatially and temporally to the here and now. Time, once reckoned in generations, collapsed on the present, with all generations reunited in a new simultaneity. The space of this behavioral environment contracted with the loss of the distance between earth and the Christian Heaven, to which the dead had been relegated, bringing Heaven and Manus into close contiguity, waiting for the moment of fusion. (In general, the Manus did not seem to take Hell seriously, but during the Second Cult, stimulated by the appearance of the volcano, they moved Hell into the picture close to those recalcitrant villages that would be engulfed in fire on the *Day Behind*. They did not think of any of the dead as being in Hell.)

During the period from the first acceptance of Catholicism to the end of World War II, the ghosts of the dead occasionally appeared in Manus households. They were most likely to appear when someone was near death, and when medicines and prayer in the Christian manner had also failed. Ghosts most likely to appear with malicious intent were those who had died a violent death. Aside from a few instances of this sort that indicated that the ghosts were not entirely absent, we know little of the status of belief in, and interaction with, the spirits of the dead during the period between 1928 and 1946. It can hardly be doubted that some of the past survived in the diffuse, inexplicit substratum of native Christianity. Then in the Cults, much more of the old religion was revived.

The presence of the ghostly figures in a present that professed complete rejection of the past seemed to engender much anxiety in the Second Cult, though less in the First Cult. This uncomfortable inconsistency was rationalized. The ghosts were the minions of Jesus returning as His messengers. The dead were to be restored to the living in a Heaven on earth. But in contrast to this Christianization of the ghosts, the form of the Cult seances patently resembled the *tilitili* seances of the old culture. The opposition was quick to point out these similarities. They asked, "What about the talk about ghosts whistling as if in a *tilitili*?" The reply was, "Who said we worship a stone or a piece of wood?" But the Cultists' own doubts were not assuaged with this bit of irrelevancy.

In the seances reported from Johnston Island and Lowaja, the medium (the woman directly

¹ Fortune, 1935.

² As a possible foreshadowing of this partial substitution, one man in Peri, in 1928, had adopted the ghost of a former white employer as his "Sir Ghost" (Fortune, 1935, 163; see also 9).

possessed by the tutelary ghost) was secluded in a darkened part of the room behind a partition. The difference between the old and the new that was most insisted on was that the whistling in the new seances come from the empty spaces of the room rather than through the lips of the medium, in spite of the new idea that the medium was physically possessed by an immanent ghost. Occasionally, the pattern of communication with the ghost was like that of the old Manus religion¹ in which the whistles were prolonged speeches by the ghosts interpreted directly by the medium. But most of the seances of the Second Cult, as well as the few that occurred in the First Cult and the contacts with ghosts in both Cults outside formal seances, assimilated the pattern of communication with the ghosts to the binary pattern of communication characteristic of divination by males in the old culture. In divination, an itch in the right or left nostril or on the right or left side of the back, or one's spittle running down one side of a leaf rather than the other provided answers to the often complex questions asked by the diviner. In the new Cult seances, the ghosts usually whistled only when a question could be answered by a simple affirmative. Under this system the medium herself was reduced in importance, and the males who put the questions to the ghosts became the sources of all new content for the Cult.² This was not a drastic alteration of the old pattern in which the men had always exerted influence on the course of the seances by their preliminary divining.

Such a form of communication with the ghosts still served as a disclaimer of responsibility for the speeches and ideas that were always introduced; they were not the speaker's but the ghost's. The dissociation from one's own act of influence evidently had been carried over from the old culture to the new Cults. Fortune wrote of an incident in 1928: "It illustrates well the terms in which any important proposal is put in Manus. A man wishing you to make any important change does not phrase it as his desire, but as a ghostly injunction."³

The ghosts themselves were different. They had already undergone the transformation that all the living were soon to experience. They had

cars, ships, and clothing similar to those of the white man. They commanded the *cargo* soon to be delivered in ships captained by the ghosts of eminent *luluai* of the past. They had died, most of them as pagans, as *rubbish* men of little modern property. Remote ancestors, as well as the recently dead, the cannibal, and the *cate-chist* were all seen by the Second Cult as living in the *Sky*, redeemed, men who were pure *think-think* unadulterated with flesh. They were men of virtue who responded promptly to the "bells" of the *Sky Newfela Fashion*, who "heard the talk" of their Chairman, Jesus, who had learned to control anger and never quarreled among themselves. It was as if the benefits accruing to the Manus after the conversion to Christianity were retroactive to all who had died during the pre-Christian period.

Actually, the status of the pre-Christian ghosts had never been fully resolved. In the old Manus religion, human beings maintained their human forms, personalities, and interests after death. Ghosts even married occasionally and had children in the spirit realm. But they were not immortal in this form. When they failed to protect their wards, they were cast out of the house, skull and all, remaining in the empty spaces of the lagoon as feared but unnamed and eventually unremembered spirits, until finally they ended their careers ignominiously as sea slugs. Christianity, on the other hand, made better provision for the dead. The bodies were buried; their spirits were reclaimed by God, with whom they resided in a happy community that was "all right" in every respect, under the supervision of Jesus. Here was immortality, with the ultimate promise of resurrection for all men on the *Day Behind*. There was always the possibility that there may have been something to the *Imperno* and *Purgatorio* that the missionaries described, but probably the skepticism concerning these places that led Paliau to his secularizing interpretation of them as metaphors referring to the grave and the prison extended throughout the Christian careers of the Manus. Throughout the period following conversion, the fear of sickness and death as the immediate consequences of sinful thinking or acting was the prime, moral-religious sanction; the threat of Hell and the promise of Heaven had relatively little effect. In day to day religious belief and even in the Cults, the Manus were primarily of this world. They were to be re-

¹ Fortune, 1935, 107.

² See Fortune, 1935, 35, for a discussion of the relationship between divination and seance.

³ Fortune, 1935, 114.

warded in a tangible, concrete way here on earth, not in Heaven. So, in the Cults, the ghosts were to be restored to life. The mixture of concepts and contradictions that the fusion of earth and Heaven involved is set forth above, but it should be pointed out that all the weight was on the side of the rising of the dead among the living, rather than on the joining of the dead by the living in the *Sky* (Pl. 22a).

The *matmat* projects demanded the collection of the bones of the dead. There were no specific instructions from the ghosts that the bones were to be kept in the houses, yet, in most of the Cult villages, the collection of the remains preceded the completion of the cemetery, so that it happened that the bones of fathers, mothers, brothers, grandparents, and children were kept in the houses for extended periods. When I observed the handling of the bones by New Bunai Manus, they commented interestedly on the state of preservation and on the incompleteness of the skeleton. They seemed neither squeamish nor much affected by unusual emotion. They had no objection to the photographing of the skulls. The Usiai, on the other hand, were secretive and ritualistic in their processions through the village with the remains that were gathered each day. The bones, like the dead in the *Sky*, were washed, powdered, and scented with perfumed hair lotion, then wrapped with new cloth and laid out in roughly correct anatomical relationship. The importance of laying the bones correctly was repeatedly stressed, so that the resurrecting ghost could assemble himself conveniently.

All this should, one would think, have involved a re-integration of the feelings involved between the living and their guardian ghosts in the old religion. These ghosts, whose skulls they had kept in their houses in the past, had been their fathers or substitutes for the fathers. The close relationship between father and son in Manus culture, which Mead has described fully, was continued beyond the death of the father. But this relationship was on a different basis after death; it was contractual, with obligations on both sides. Mead wrote: "The chief duties of a spirit are to prosper the fishing of his wards and to preserve their lives and limbs against the machinations of hostile spirits. It is the spirits' privilege to demand in return the exercise of

certain restraints and virtues."¹ However, although the ghost of the house was protective and was, shortly before, a kindly, indulgent father or uncle, . . . "children do not recognize that the spirits are still exercising the tenderness and humanity which they were accustomed to receive from fathers and uncles while they were still on earth . . . so the spirits of the dead appear to them in a stern, inimical light."² Fortune's study of Manus religion made clear the tone of moral rigor enforced by the ghosts. No one who deviated from the moral commandments of the old religion escaped the righteous wrath of the ghostly father. The ghosts were many fathers, not one All Father³ and though one expected fairness and forgiveness for expiated sins from one's own ghostly father, the ghosts were hardly a collective benevolence. The punishment by sickness came often from one's own ghost, while deadly malice came from the ghosts of the other houses of the village.

Was this the religious system being revived in the Second Cult of 1953-1954? The Manus had felt themselves liberated from such a system when they adopted Christianity. Yet the system on which they depended had been a sanctioning one. But Fortune could state, "The Manus system of belief runs upon its unformulated cardinal tenet that a ghost is no more than its social worth to the living."⁴ Aside from this social purpose, the Manus had had little respect for the ghosts.

What, then, were the needs of the Cultists who brought the ghosts back in 1947 and again in 1953-1954? Perhaps Christianity had failed to extinguish in them a feeling of closeness to and dependence on the ghosts. When the skulls had been cast into the sea or buried in preparation for calling in the missionary, these ghosts should have passed into oblivion, collectively fading from memory, like all ghosts for whom successors had been installed. Instead, they were kept alive, though altered and depersonalized, in the Christian Heaven. They remained in the background, a collectivity, no longer serving as a sanctioning system for morality in the syncretic, unsorted contact culture. For the Christian Manus, sickness and death remained the sanctions, but they were visited upon man by God. There was now the added burden of

¹ Mead, 1930, 104.

² Fortune, 1935, 3.

³ Fortune, 1935, 6.

⁴ Mead, 1930, 101.

punishment for sins of thinking and feeling as well as for sinful acts. The system is said to have worked well. Missionaries seemed satisfied with the puritanical morality of the Manus and with their apparent devoutness. The Manus complained, however, that sickness and death continued despite their piety. They had looked forward to private confession, as a relief from the burden of ghostly supervision, and public confession with its attendant shame and anger. But they found that private confession and the suggested forms of expiation did not satisfy them. Looking back upon the mission period from the *Newfela Fashion*, they would say that if they felt angry at a man and confessed their feelings to the priest (which seemed far less compelling than the pressures to confession under ghostly and community pressure had been) they were not relieved. They had not "straightened the wrong." Sickness and death continued to occur despite confession, which they blamed on the system of private confession but also, and to a greater extent, on the degree of mixture of native and European culture that the mission had tolerated. That sickness and death had continued to occur in spite of the old religion and in spite of the *Newfela Fashion* was not brought into the argument. Their adherence to the religion of the white men had not only failed to keep death out of their houses, but had failed to bring the riches of European culture into their nets to the desired extent, in spite of their having kept their part of the bargain. They were not remiss in attributing the enlightenment they had gained to Christianity, but they attributed it mostly to their own revealed interpretation of it, not to the "concealed truths" hidden in mission Christianity. Christianity had not demonstrated the social value that they had come to expect of it, either as a sanctioning system or as the promoter of their material well being.

The *Newfela Fashion* had continued the Native-Christian system of treating sickness and death as a punishment for wrong thinking. In the *Newfela Fashion* more emphasis was actually placed on the social-religious sanctions against wrong *thinkthink* than on wrong behavior. The latter was recognized and openly dealt with by censure from *Newfela-Fashion* officials, or a court hearing, or imprisonment, if serious enough. The *Newfela-Fashion* religion centered on the social sins of anger, intracta-

bility, and disobedience. The Cultists considered that the *Newfela-Fashion* religion as it had been functioning during the Plateau period, as well as the secular and legal sanctions of the *Newfela Fashion*, proved to be inadequate. Their feeling was that everything was wrong, and that the villages were filled with sin. They seemed to feel that the religious system of the later *Newfela Fashion* was not producing the moral rigor that was man's part of the contractual relationship between man, the dead, and God, and that unless a clear and simple set of moral precepts, effectively and rigidly adhered to, was reestablished, there could be no hope of reward. They chose to revive the *Newfela Fashion* as the moral pattern.

The ghosts were brought back, not in the essential form of the old religion and not as a set of household ghosts protecting, chastening, and rewarding their own and malicious and vengeful toward others, but with a new organization, a new unanimity, and a new benevolence toward Cult adherents, as parts of a new religion.

The control and limitation of revival of the forms of the older religion can be seen not only in the protestations and rationalizations centering on ghosts and their living spokesmen, but also in the ways in which the active ghosts were restricted in number and representative rather than many and particularistic. Without a formulation of the change explicitly and the use of it as one of the arguments for the newness of the Cult religious concepts, this new form, in which the ghosts were an organized collectivity with one or at most a few representatives in each village, was effectively maintained. The extent to which the religious forms of the Cult could be seen as novel, based on such considerations as the above, was not within the consciousness of the Cult adherents or of their opposition. Their arguments against the accusation of revivalism were far weaker than those that occurred to me as an observer. Their denials were partly unsuccessful attempts to convince themselves that in essence they were not engaged in a revival.

The new religion was, like the old, pragmatically constructed with an eye toward the social value of belief to the living. What was its worth? Why did they bring it back, stirring uneasy doubts in themselves as they turned to borrow the figures of a repudiated past? They made these ghosts speak for them, to say not only

what they were not supposed to say, but also that the Council meant more hard work that could scarcely lead to the full satisfaction of their desires which constantly leaped ahead to the edge of their expanding knowledge and beyond. They might work a year to buy a Coleman lamp. And what of the cars and clothes, and America, and the pictures of cities and clover-leaf roads in American magazines? Even though their struggle to control growth in their gardens was rewarded by a harvest sufficient to fill their bowls with mounds of taro, they would still sell the fish they caught to buy tinned mackerel. When they saw the long shelves holding foods that white men buy, they realized that they, the natives, did not even know the names of the foods, should they want to buy them. What of the native who hobbled like a cripple down the road to the Council meetings wearing shoes from the war that did not fit him, when the *kiap* who wore shoes said that no shoes were necessary? What value did the ghosts have for the illiterate Tjamilo whose mind was all intelligence and memory, without knowledge, who watched with bitter envy the painfully slow writing of Samol, who in his turn sat for hours each week watching my fingers move over the keys of a typewriter? What of the dozen men, each of whom counted each nail in a keg we had bought for them, seeing every one that came into his pile in its place in the house he would build?

For these men the ghosts had a certain value, as if they had been brought back, in spite of a core of doubt or, rather, a belief in the Cult failure, to say something and to ask for alternatives that the decision of 1946 had made it difficult to say or to ask. It did not have to be the ghosts or Jesus, I was told; it could be the Americans. It could, doubtfully, even be the Australians. The ghosts returned in 1954 and said: "What? You did not receive what we sent you in 1947? We'll have to see about that." Then there was some hope again, but very little. The Second Cult was all grimness, with none of the excited anticipation of 1947, when men had shouted, "*Hello, hello, hello, God Papa belong you-me, cargo belong you-me i like come up now.*" No one believed to that extent, in 1954. I understood this attitude about the First Cult, in retrospect, the night I sat through the "celebration" on Johnston Island, having been told that the young people would dance all night, and

seeing them dance all night in grim and joyless determination.

This "revival" was a survival of a concept of religion and belief that had a tangible social value tested in life. There were elements of revival as the ghosts reappeared, although organized differently and recostumed for the new world. The ghosts served, during their brief reappearance, as a medium for the expression of doubts and alternatives rejected in the structure of change fitted to the goals and values of the Movement. But in the Cult, as in the Movement, there was no real desire to return to the old culture and no nostalgia for stone axes and warfare, dogs' teeth, or the fire plow. Even the reappearance of the ghosts had little to indicate any desire to return to the religious system of the old culture.

I also mention a type of spurious revivalism. This was involved in the various elaborations of the ideas of a return to the earlier condition of man under the First Order of God, a return to the distant past when men were in Paradise. When we consider the conception of this Paradise to which they were to return, we find it an Eden with long, straight streets lined with houses with corrugated iron roofs. Cars ran in these streets, and white men and black men sat down together in the houses. Such a past was spurious, and the call to return to it a spurious revivalism even if myth is history to its believers. Similarly, during the Second Cult, the attempt of a few old men of the Usiai to find in their past more of the virtues of the present and an out-of-the-way validation for their hope that the dead might be able to return cannot be seen, I think, as revivalism. This belated upgrading of a past that they had led in condemning, by finding the themes of the Cult and *Newfela Fashion* in old legends, was a project of interest only to the old men. They had suffered for years the prevalent disrespect for everything in the past that had given meaning to their lives. Now, without desiring to restore that past, they were using the Cult, as was everyone else, to improve their own position and self respect within the new society by finding legends of modern virtues in the past. We recognize here a pseudo-revivalism, or reading of the present into a spurious past.

In summary of the preceding discussion of the orientation of the Cults in terms of possible revivalism, we find that the First Cult was pri-

marily non-revivalistic and that the Second Cult was to a considerable extent a revival, not of the old culture, but of the First Cult and of the early *Newfela Fashion*. Both Cults involved certain modified revivals of pre-1946 religious and organizational forms, but the 1946 line held in over-all orientation of the Cults.

SEQUENTIAL CHANGE AND REVIVAL POTENTIAL

In the period following the end of the Second Cult, I had much work to do in its reconstruction with the aid of informants who offered their experiences in the Cult more freely than they had done previously. I considered the possibility that, given another Plateau Phase in the Movement, another Cult Phase could occur in the future. As in the aftermath of the First Cult, much of the belief content of the Second Cult was not specifically repudiated. New rationalizations of the Second Cult failure and of Paliau's stand against the Second Cult occurred readily to those men who had been the core of the Cult. But it was apparent, even in the days immediately following the checking of the Second Cult, that, if it revived, it would not be a replication of its predecessors. The processes that had differentiated the later forms of the First Cult from those that had been manifested in the first villages in which the *Noise* had appeared, and that had over a longer period of time differentiated the Second Cult from the First, could already be seen altering the potential form that a third cult phase might take.

In Manus acculturation at least, the possibilities of revival in cult form as close replication of earlier cultural forms seem limited by an irreversible process, whereby succeeding cult phases include within the context of their occurrence the past cult phases, with their failures to realize their prophecies. In rationalizing these failures, which they felt they must do, the Cultists looked for what had gone wrong, preventing the realization of what had been true revelations, and then for what could be done to assure that the promises of the Cult would not be blocked again.

Few, if any, within the Cult, and in fact few within its opposition, explicitly rejected the idea that divine and ghostly intervention might bring about the realization of the goal-culture. Nor was it fully or explicitly understood by the Manus that the goals of Cult and those of the

Movement were not ultimately the same. The possibility of another phase or even a series of further Cult phases seemed to exist. Some of the probable lines of continued modification of the Cult were indicated. (Prediction depends largely on the occurrence of further developments within a closed system the boundaries of which coincided with those in which our study provides data. Manus events do not occur within a locally closed system, nor did our investigation coincide in scope with the local boundaries of the system within which events had relatively high relevance to Manus acculturation.) The "mistakes" and "blockages" of the Second Cult were said to be centered in its failure to carry the Movement. The Cultists said that Paliau would have approved and that there would have been no opposition if the proposals of the Cult had been made within the structure of the Movement. Unanimity was necessary within the Movement for the preparation for the First Order of God to be effective. Paliau's speeches contained ambiguities, particularly to the Cultists who believed that Paliau meant the opposite of what he said, but also to the non-Cultists who believed that he meant what he seemed to be saying. Cultists interpreted him as saying that the Council, when it had been extended to the whole Movement area, would initiate and coordinate the building of new and splendid *matmats*—a project that everyone could accept on one level or the other until all were involved in the *road belong matmat*. Secrecy on the part of the Cult had led to the spying and *talk bilas* on the part of the opposition. Such secrecy would be dropped, though the Cultists would not necessarily be explicit about the ultimate objectives of their proposals in the Council for the building of *matmats* or for greater moral rigor reënforced with the new "power" of the Administration-sponsored Council. The Second Cult had sharpened the opposition between Cult and Movement and consequently had become isolated and vulnerable. The corrective trend was to be toward greater fusion of Cult and Movement.

These trends were discernible in the thinking of the Cultists after the Second Cult had been checked. It is difficult to assess the valence of beliefs that are no longer being acted upon conspicuously. It was clear again that there had been no effective formal repudiation of the core beliefs of the Cult, many of which were com-

mon to the *Newfela-Fashion* variety of native Melanesian Christianity available to the differential interest and emphasis of different sets of individuals. The process of conventionalization of Cult belief was continuing in adaptation to past Cult experiences. More of early Cult belief and of early content of the *Newfela Fashion* was being lost by drift than from formal repudiation. Changes in cult form taking place in the Second Cult led in the direction of its conventionalization and institutionalization to a form potentially capable of perpetuation as a viable religion that might be appropriate for the Movement should it become static. It would be interesting to see whether this process, in which a series of recurrent cults occur, each taking form in a matrix that includes its predecessors and their failures, becoming somewhat more open as systems, settling on a level of commitment capable of extending through time, and institutionalized as they attain perpetuable forms, could be generalized beyond this particular historical sequence to other places where cults have become religions.¹

The possibilities for Cult-Movement fusion would not, however, be determined solely by the Cultists. On the contrary, I believe that for most of those who had opposed the Cult, the Second Cult had offered an experience that would strengthen their opposition to a possible revival of the Cult and would help them to recognize it in whatever form it took. The First Cult had served as a kind of rite of passage, a decisive act of commitment that helped to thrust those who had experienced it forward out of the relatively secure familiarity of the contact culture into a new life, and to reject the previous culture. It helped to mediate the severance and to provide an effective transition from a more passive to a more active mode of culture change. The Second Cult made its major contribution to the Movement and to the orientational structure of Manus acculturation by its separation of Cult and Movement. It produced

a more Movement-oriented division within the original ideology of the early *Newfela Fashion* which had been a fusion product of the revelation and program of the initial Paliau Movement with the revealed content of the First Cult. The stand of the proponents of the Second Cult on a new conservatism (which, unlike that which had opposed the local movements and the initial Paliau Movement, was based on the line of 1946 and the forms of the early *Newfela Fashion*) had involved the Cult opposition in the uncomfortable position of having to oppose without effective argument what had been, and, for all anyone had said, still were some of the most valued parts of Paliau's original program. Finally it produced the declaration by Paliau that the origins of the Movement were not sacred. The Cult had tended toward closure on the initial forms of the *Newfela Fashion*, as if it had been left open for one great initial prehension and then had closed on that which it had grasped first. The Movement generally had avoided closure, in spite of the ambiguous and uneasy relationship to its recent past, in which within the bounds of 1946 no institutional lapse had been given explicit recognition. Now, the opposition to the Second Cult's new conservatism had produced a severance of the Movement from its ties to its own valued, early forms. The Cult could have been the basis for a society stabilized on the early forms of the *Newfela Fashion*, oriented toward change through supernatural means that would have produced in effect the perpetuation of a state of virtue and ritual preparation, with fluctuations in moral rigor and in goal-anticipation crested by cult revivals. The major effect then, for the Movement, of its opposition to the Second Cult was the rejection both of closure on the initial *Newfela Fashion* and the 1946 base line, and of the goal-means combination which remained despite conventionalization as the essence of the Cult position.

OPENNESS TO CHANGE IN MANUS CULTURE: CHANGE IN THE MODE OF INTEGRATION

The culture areas of the world differ in the way in which their constituent cultures have re-

sponded to change. Part of such differences must be attributed to differing circumstances of contact with other cultures. But an important part of variation in cultural reactions to contact depends on some basic characteristics of

¹ See Mead, 1956a, 453 ff., for a discussion of the relationship of the Cult to the Movement and to religion.

the cultures themselves. One such conditioning factor is the mode of integration. Mode of integration as a cross-cultural variable has been little studied. Perhaps it is related to "Eidos," to suggest a term employed by Bateson.¹ Eidos refers to the modes of structuring or ordering implicit in a culture. Such structuring principles "set" the culture's kind and level of integration. Type and level of integration are parameters of cross-cultural variation; each culture is "set" to some value of these parameters. But they are also a part of the culture and subject to the dynamics of culture change. The mode of integration conditions the receptivity of a culture to change, and itself is subject to change. Modes of structuring are supra-segmental in that they are manifest through analysis, in the interrelations of many disparate elements of a culture, and in the segmentation itself of that culture.

Any substitution of content in a culture is partial. The degree of change may be judged by the necessary amount of system accommodation. Inversely we may speak of the system constancy for any given change or substitution. In this respect also the degree of system constancy to a given change depends on the setting of the culture at a given level of integration. Similarly system constancy or change depends on the cultural standards for the "goodness of fit" of a given substitution or change. Is the change "in-structure" or "out-of-structure"? Whether we call this important group of structuring principles "Eidos" or not, I wish to emphasize their importance in cultural dynamics and systematics. On such implicit criteria depend, in part, the reactions of the participants in a culture as to whether a given event is perceived as familiar or unfamiliar, constancy or change, and, if change, whether great or small, fitting or not, in-structure or out-of-structure, and acceptable or unacceptable. Below, the relevance of some of these structural features of Manus culture to the Manus response to change is suggested.

Valentine describes a state of culture in Lakalai, New Britain, in which pre-Christian, Christian, and neo-Christian-*cargo* components are integrated without their excluding one another or seeming to produce important conflict.² I believe that the mode of integration attributed

to the Lakalai culture corresponds to that of the cultural state of the Manus in the period before the Paliau Movement, though *cargo* components were much less pronounced. I have concerned myself little, in this monograph, with the analysis of the pre-Paliau Movement contact culture. Components of diverse provenience were combined openly and eclectically, though not without some selection, to form a syncretic, loosely integrated whole.

Old and new medical practices were freely combined. Couples were married by the Catholic priest, though they dressed in the old bride's wealth costumes and performed that part of the old ceremony that was not specifically or energetically opposed by the priest or *catechist*. The goods of the *work boy* (fuses of shillings, tobacco, and cloth) were hung on the lines for exchange along with shells and dogs' teeth. Ceremonial exchanges continued up to the beginning of the Paliau Movement. Many other examples could be given from any institutional sphere.

Manus and other Melanesian cultures are generally characterized by openness to change, eclecticism, and an ability to add and subtract whole blocks of culture. In other culture areas, a tighter model of cultural integration may govern the appreciation of integration or disintegration. In attempting to reconstruct the older Usiai cultures I gained the impression that even the old, pre-European cultures had had a similarly loose organization. Whole blocks of culture were traded back and forth. For example, an Usiai "big man" was impressed by a new type of ceremonial round house and a competitive feast held in it that he observed in another village. He introduced these into his own village, drastically altering the yearly calendar of events, providing new focal activities, new cosmological concepts, and a new peak of status for its entrepreneurs. This complex spread across the island, with the usual spotty distribution that depends much on particular persons and circumstances, cutting across all cultural, political, and linguistic lines. Not all the old activities could have been included with the new. Cultural space and time are limited. Other instances of such major substitutions could be given. Cultures were loosely articulated, readily transformed, granted that even the large blocks that could be substituted fitted roughly into an areal pattern that included a

¹ Bateson, 1958, 218-256.

² Valentine, MS.

tolerance or expectation of this order of accommodative integration. Often, but not always, with a shift of non-material culture a few material artifacts were transferred as material tokens of the transfer.

What brings about this flexible and combinatorial state of cultural integration? Several contributing causes are suggested here. The Melanesian culture area generally is politically atomistic but economically integrative. Although village autonomy is the rule, specialized, complementary village production and a heavy emphasis on exchange, which is highly motivated as a status-seeking system, provide a complex and constant flow of goods and ideas within the area. Ceremony, production methods, dances, songs, magical practices, and clan prerogatives were treated as relatively tangible and transferable property. With the ramification of these exchangeable parts throughout a culture, one begins to account for the Manus' high awareness of culture as a form of behavior separable from self and from the intrinsic nature of one's group or race. One's culture is seen as a local variant abstracted from and set off by other local variants seen on all sides.

The Manus type of integration might be called "fabricative" (as Mead has suggested) or "combinatorial" (as suggested from linguistics usage to indicate a distributional framework for classes of substituents). Mead has remarked that with the Manus one never had the feeling that the culture in its 1928, pre-Christian form was necessarily more than 25 years old.¹

The interrelation of political atomism and economically integrative exchange, and the elaboration of the concept of exchangeability of blocks of non-material culture, conditioned the original prehensibility and integrative-set of Manus culture at the time of contact. Perhaps these conditions were general in Melanesia, but for some reason they were more extreme in Manus. The Manus were totally landless, entirely dependent on trade, and more intensely focused on exchange than most others, absolutely dependent on other cultural groups for all material resources, and surrounded by a mosaic of cultural variants on the areal pattern. These extremes conditioned in the Manus an extreme openness to culture change, a consciousness of

culture, and a readiness to fabricate with culture.

Melanesia and Papua² generally demonstrate this intrinsic broad-meshed segmentation within cultures—this setting for ready, accommodative, combinatorial integration. But as a culture may embody a certain setting for a type and level of integration, the setting itself is subject to the change that it facilitates. The Paliau Movement in Manus brought about a change in the mode of integration of a culture. Even such a change, seemingly so abstract in its formulation, was made remarkably explicit in the Paliau Movement. Among the earliest slogans of the Movement were those calling for a sorting, a separation, and a purification of the cultural components of the contact culture. They were put in many ways; rejection of all that was derived from the past, assertion of the new, and rejection of syncretism where it was perceived as such. One of the arguments most effectively used against the Catholic mission was precisely that it had been too permissive of peaceful co-existence of the new with the ways of the past. This mixture was now conceived as deadly. The new was likened to a powerful magic, which, if not used properly and if contaminated with things of the pre-Christian world, would kill its user instead of rewarding him. The Paliau Movement accomplished a re-sorting of culture. It brought about a different mode of integration that is more consistent for pattern and provenience. This change of mode of integration provides a major part of the discontinuity between the transform of the Paliau Movement and that of the preceding contact culture.

Aside from the initial restructuring of the orientational constructs, the later events of the Paliau Movement introduced a further phase of assortment of components, separating out and isolating *cargo* and neo-Christian elements from other elements of the contact culture derived from models of European social, political, and economic organization. The events that created the separation between Cult and Movement and brought these into a sharp antagonism were particularly important in this further sorting.

Thus Manus culture had developed within an aboriginal milieu of intense contact and ex-

¹ Mead, 1956a.

² What we here assert about Manus is intended only as suggestion in extension beyond Manus and the Admiralties.

change as part of a mosaic of markedly differentiated variants upon the areal pattern. It developed a loose, combinatorial level and mode of integration in which a culture is readily and flexibly segmentable into exchangeable, substitutable, and disposable blocks of culture. Neither sentiment nor tradition imposed itself as an obstacle to the substitution or syncretic addition of some new block of culture, if the substituent or new combination seemed to have greater pragmatic value. This mode of integration facilitated the rich elaboration of the contact culture and the toleration of the eclectic juxtaposition of diverse cultural components. The characteristic mode of integration of the contact culture was largely derived from a pre-contact pattern general to the Melanesian area. The historical experiences of the Manus that are described in this monograph led to a breaking up and assortment of the major cultural components that had entered into Manus syncretic contact culture. The early Movement produced its separation along the ready plane of cleavage

between pre-Christian and post-Christian cultural elements; the later Cult-Movement opposition exposed and sorted along another plane between the *cargo* neo-Christian and the European secular components. I do not know whether the new Manus condition is stable. The change from the old to the new mode of cultural integration is, of course, not complete. These changes of structure and of structuring principles are part of the directional process of change that must be, to a great extent, irreversible. Can the Manus, in the rapid and drastic change that they have experienced and actively promoted, preserve some of these basic qualities of their pre-contact culture that have contributed greatly to their success in acculturation thus far? At the time this field study was concluded there was cause for hope that they would be able to abandon the easy syncretism of the past and adopt new modes of integration, sacrificing some openness in return for greater purposive directionality.

GLOSSARY OF NATIVE WORDS AND PHRASES

All entries are neo-Melanesian in Anglicized form except those marked (M), which are Manus true.

all bigfela man belong before i more full-up true long bullshit: All of the big men of before are really full of bullshit.

all boy i go nabout nabout: Everybody is doing as he pleases.

all fashion belong before: The old culture.

all i loosim nothing: They stopped doing it for no good reason.

all i lotu long Jesus: They worshipped Jesus.

all i no gat meat belong em: They are incorporeal.

all kind kind kind belong em: All of the kinds of things they do (that are wrong).

all right finish: To be equal to the white man in terms of knowledge, health, power, and goods.

all rope belong em i slack: His body became limp.

another kind: Another kind, different.

arakeu (M): An artificial islet built in lagoon village.

ass belong place: The capital of a country, the source or center.

*bani*s: Fence, barrier, or clan.

bel: Abdomen, womb.

bel belong Patusi: To be born in Patusi.

bigfela man: An important man, a leader.

bighead: Obstinate, stubborn, insubordinate.

bilas: Ornament, to adorn.

black man: Native, dark-skinned people.

boat's crew: Native crew.

book taboo (*tambu*): The Bible.

boss: Leader.

boss belong black soldier belong Australia: Sergeant of the Native Constabulary.

boss boy: Native in charge of a work line.

boy: European term of address for natives, used by natives to mean a dependent or a follower.

buggerup: To ruin, spoil, or destroy.

buggerup his thinkthink: Disturbed his mind-soul.

bung: Market.

bush kanaka: A backward native from the interior.

calaboose: Jail.

capsized: To upset or turn over.

cargo: All European material culture.

catechist: A native who teaches for the Roman Catholic mission.

clearim thinkthink: Clearing the *thinkthink* (which see).

clerk: One who keeps records.

come up nothing: To materialize or appear out of nothing.

committee: A village or hamlet official. This term is applied only to individuals.

council: The head of a village or hamlet. This term is applied only to individuals.

custom house: A shed for receiving and handling goods in trade with other villages.

customs: An official in charge of inter-village trade..

Day Behind: Judgment Day.

die: To lose consciousness.

die finish: To die.

doctor boy: Native medical assistant.

Ecclesia Catholica: The Roman Catholic Church. See text for native interpretation.

em i onefela talk here: It is the same thing, or, we are in agreement.

em i thinkthink thats all: He is incorporeal (pure *thinkthink*).

em i wind nothing: He is incorporeal (pure *thinkthink*).

engine boy: A native who takes care of the engine on a ship.

Evangelio: The Gospels (see p. 259).

eye: An opening.

fashion belong before: The old culture.

fashion belong white man: European culture.

fashion no good: Bad or sinful ways, customs.

finish: Used after a verb, indicates completion of an act or process.

fire belong marsalai: Hell, the Inferno, the devil's fires.

First Order of God: The condition of men in Paradise.

fuse: £5 in a roll of shillings.

getupim place (getting up the place): To lead one's village toward a more Europeanized culture.

God i stop inside long snow: God was in the mists or clouds.

goodfela fashion: Good ways, customs.

goodfela thinkthink: Good *thinkthink* (which see).

guria: To tremble, shake, to have a convulsive seizure, an earthquake; nearly synonymous with *noise*.

guria liklik: To tremble slightly.

hard work too-much: To work too hard.

head belong me i must steerim abris body belong me: My head must steer my body clear (of something).

hearim talk (hearing the talk): To hear, obey, or agree with what is said.

hello, hello, hello, God Papa belong you-me, cargo belong you-me i like come up now: Hello, God, our Father, our cargo is to appear now.

house boy: A house for unmarried men.

house calaboose: Jail house.

house kiap: Rest house for administration officers.

house lotu: Church.

house pamuk: In old Usiai culture, a house in which a big man would bring together girls and women

- for practice of limited, ceremonial sexual license with his guests.
- Imperno*: Hell, the Inferno.
- i no gat meat*: He is incorporeal (pure *thinkthink*; which see).
- inside long all native*: To be accepted "inside" native society, the Movement.
- i wrong finish*: It is already wrong or spoiled.
- Jesus i payim wrong belong man long die belong em*: Jesus paid for man's sins with his dying.
- "John Brown's Body": Name of song.
- Kaiser*: Secular or temporal authority; government.
- kantre*: Mother's brother.
- kava*: An intoxicating beverage.
- kiap*: An administration officer.
- kibung*: A meeting.
- King Berra: Mythical king of the land of the *cargo* based on the name Canberra, the capital of Australia.
- kranki*: Confused, irrational, insane, foolish.
- kukerai*: A government-appointed village head man.
- kwila*: A kind of tree.
- lapan*: The upper rank of a hereditary two-rank system common to all Admiralty cultures. It is used also as *Lapan*, the word for God.
- laplap*: Loin cloth, wrap-around skirt worn by both men and women.
- Last Day*: Judgment Day. See also *Day Behind*.
- lau*: The lower rank of the two-rank system.
- law*: A law, or rule, or injunction.
- "Lay That Pistol Down": An American song.
- line* (as in lines of men): A work line; a generation.
- life*: Life, thought of in some ways as analogous to light and electricity.
- like belong me*: Will or preference, desire.
- long last dei baimbai yumi girap gen long dai*: On the last day we will rise again from death.
- longfela story belong God*: Long Story of God.
- longlong*: Crazy, insane. See also *kranki*.
- lotu*: Worship.
- Lucky*: A card game.
- luluai*: Village head man in old culture.
- malira*: Charm used in love magic.
- man belong go-pas*: A leader, innovator, one who showed the way.
- man belong ground*: The men or people to whom the village site belongs.
- man belong killim Jesus*: The people who killed Jesus.
- man belong Sky*: The dead, the men of the *Sky* (which see).
- man belong talktalk*: One who speaks well or who speaks too much.
- map*: A map, or, in the Second Cult, a graveyard.
- maremare*: Compassion; brotherly, unselfish giving or exchange; communalism.
- mark on Malei*: The initial appearance of the ghostly teacher in Malei.
- marsalai*: In the old culture a malevolent spirit of the bush; used by missions for the devil or devils.
- Masta* (Master): A white man, native term of address for Europeans.
- matmat*: A graveyard.
- meat*: Meat, flesh, the body.
- meat belong em i die altogether*: He died or lost consciousness.
- me can payim em*: I can pay (or buy) it.
- metcha* (M): An affinal exchange made late in life.
- missis*: Mrs., any white woman.
- Moen Palit* (M): Some specific ghost or the ghost of a house.
- monkey belong Usiai no got ear belong em*: The Usiai young men are insubordinate or disobedient (have no ears).
- Mouk i alright finish now*: The Mouks have now received their *cargo* (which see) and are like Europeans.
- nabout nabout*: All over the place; here and there; disordered.
- neck i fast*: Thinking was thought traditionally to be located in the throat. Here the meaning is that thoughts could not go to God.
- Newfela Fashion*: Sometimes abbreviated as NFF; refers either to the Movement or to the new culture established by the Movement; new way.
- newfela place, newfela thinkthink*: A new place for a new way of life.
- newfela thinkthink, newfela man*: New men, new leaders, for the new culture or ideology.
- no got bloody turnim more*: No more bloody turning things about (distorting things).
- no hearim talk*: Not listening to the leaders, disobedience.
- Noise*: The First Cult. See also *guria* and footnote (p. 266).
- nru konan*: True (Usaia).
- Oh Berra you come or me wait*: Oh King Berra will you come or must I wait? (First line of a Cult song.)
- palit* (M): Ghosts. See also *Moen Palit*.
- paramount *luluai*: A *luluai* (which see) appointed by the Administration as head man of an area; superior to village *luluais*.
- Paska*: Easter.
- pay the court*: Pay a fine or damages, also, buy off the court.
- payim*: To pay or to buy.
- persona*: Referring to the three aspects of God in the Trinity.
- pesman*: A village leader in the initial Paliau Movement.
- picture i walkabout*: Moving pictures.
- pikus*: A kind of tree.
- pilei*: Playful take-off on a traditional feast. Now an exchange of money and European goods between "cross-cousins."

place belong think: The place of the dead, of Jesus, and of God.

place belong you i got more plenty kind fashioni stop long em: Your village has plenty of ways that are not right.

place down: The earth, the world of the living.

plenty-plenty: A great many.

poison: A charm or spell used in sorcery.

police boy: A native constable.

power: Power (see p. 344).

price: A reward, the cargo.

prophet man: The Prophets, people originally created by God as contemporaries of Adam and Eve.

Purgatorio: Purgatory.

pwaro (M): Feast given after birth of a child.

rausim all fashion no-good belong before; findim all goodfela fashion belong now: Get rid of the bad ways of the past, find good new ways for the present.

ring: A rectangular meeting place.

road belong Council: The way of the Council, or by means of the Native Councils.

road belong matmat: The way of the *matmat* (which see), the Second Cult.

road belong meat belong man: The way of the flesh or the body of man, the secular.

road belong native: The way of the Native.

road belong thinkthink: The way of the *thinkthink* (which see).

road belong thinkthink, something belong God na all man i wind nothing: The way of the *thinkthink* (which see), something of God and of the dead.

road true belong white man: The real way of the white men.

rubbish: Poor, worthless.

rubbish men: Poor men having little property.

sacked: Rejected.

sackim talk: To disobey or defy the word of the leader or the community.

savi belong me: My knowledge, "know-how."

Second Order: The condition of men after the Fall, suffering punishment for the original sin.

sinal: A long, carved beam supported horizontally above the ground as a dancing platform.

skin belong me i noise too much: My body shook violently.

Sky: A place above (not Heaven), where Jesus and the spirits of the dead reside.

smoke: Smoke, mists, or clouds.

Smolpela katekismo: "The Small Catechism" (a Roman Catholic mission book in Neo-Melanesian).

snow: Mist or clouds.

something belong Australia: Something Australian.

something belong Caesar: Something belonging to the secular government. Caesar or *Kaiser* (which see).

something belong God: Something of God's.

something belong Jesus straight: Truly something belonging to or stemming from Jesus.

something belong meat belong man: A thing of the body, secular.

something belong meat belong you-me: Material things.
something belong Usiai: A thing characteristic of the Usiai.

star: The turnstile in the village gate having reference to Heaven or the sky.

stink fashion belong all bigfela man belong before: The stinking ways of the big men of the past.

straight: Right, correct, resolved, good.

straightim cross (cross-straightening): To resolve quarrels or ill feelings.

tajawai (M): A feast for ceremonial exchange.

Takondo: Spirit or Holy Ghost.

talk: Talk, good counsel; the word of the leaders, of the community, or of God.

talk belong God na tryim belong God: The word of God, and the trials, ordeals, or tests imposed by God.

talk belong money: Talk concerning money or economics.

talk bilas: Invidious or derogatory talk about others.

talk bokis (talk box): Speaking so as to conceal meaning.

talk boy: Neo-Melanesian or pidgin English.

talk cross: Speech in anger.

talk picture: Metaphor, analogy, extended comparison; may be used to conceal or leave meaning implicit.

talk steal: Speaking ill of people out of their presence.

tamberan: Spirit of a dead person (see p. 240).

tanritanitani (M): A cursing or blessing (see p. 392).

teachers: Village leaders in the transition between the First Cult Phase and the Organizational Phase; also the ghost teachers of the Second Cult.

thinkthink: Mind-soul. Mind, soul, thoughts, thinking, ideas, knowledge, culture, ideology.

thinkthink belong you i no catchim tru God, you savi Noise long skin belong you nothing that's all: Your *thinkthink* (see above) is not truly in contact with God; you shake with your body only.

thinkthink no good: Wrong, bad, evil *thinkthink* (which see).

tilitili (M): A seance, conducted by a medium.

time cloud i broke na i coverupim altogether place down: When the clouds broke and covered the whole earth.

Toktok belong Baibel: The Scriptures.

tryim: A trial or test or ordeal imposed by God.

tryim belong God: A trial or test imposed by God.

tutul: A government-appointed village official, a status second to that of *luluai* (which see).

wait-council: Applied both to the period before officialization of the South Coast Council extension of the Baluan Council and to the unofficial Council of that period.

washwash: Bathing.

way belong Caesar: The secular way, the way of the government.

way belong native: The old native cultures, or native culture as opposed to European culture.

way belong thinkthink: Way of the *thinkthink* (which see), the Cult.

way belong white man: The way of the white man.

white skin: A more hostile term for white man.

wind: Wind, something non-material; also to win, as to win a race.

wind nothing: Wholly non-material, pure *thinkthink* (which see).

wireless: The medium of a particular ghost who possesses her; term also occasionally applied to a gossip, or a go-between in a love affair.

work belong before: The old culture or a part of it.

work belong Johnston Island: The Second Cult.

work belong Thomas: The Second Cult, the work of the *matmat* (which see).

work boy: Any native working for a European.

work money: Work for Europeans for cash wages, or working on something sold for cash.

wrong: Any thought or act contrary to *Newfela Fashion* (which see), sin, in religious context

wrong straightening (*straightim wrong*), to set right a wrong.

youfela i boy belong me straight: You are my followers.

youfela all pikinini meri, man, mama, papa, brata, sista, youngfela man, youngfela meri, lapun man, lapun meri, youfela altogether, youfela must hearim

talk: You, children, male and female, mothers, fathers, brothers, sisters, young men, young women, old men, old women, all of you, you must obey!

youfela must feelim all thinkthink all-the-same sweetfela

kai i go inside long bel belong otherfela man: You must feel, test, or examine your words and thoughts in order that they should be as sweet food to go into the stomachs of other men.

youfela must straightim now: You must set it right now.

youfela no can go-pass: You cannot take the lead.

yumi ologeta yumi olosem wonem long last dei? (You-me altogether, you-me all the same what-name long last day?): What about all of us on the last day?

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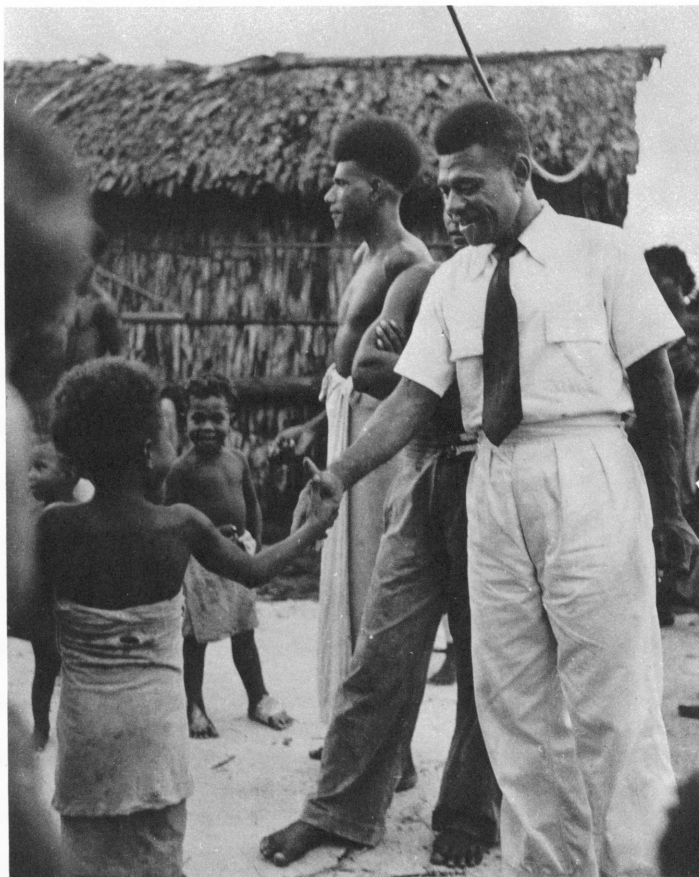
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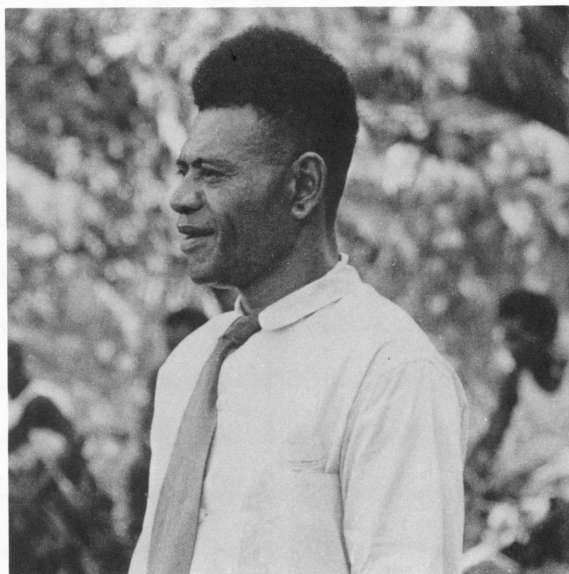
PLATES 14-28

PLATE 14

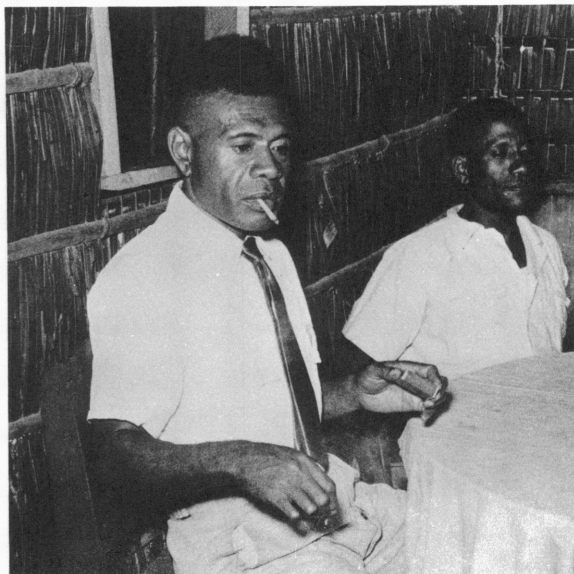
- a. Paliau in Peri Village in July, 1953.
- b. Paliau in Bunai.
- c. Paliau at party in his honor by Usiai of Malei Hamlet of Bunai, May 3, 1954, after Paliau's release from jail.



A



B

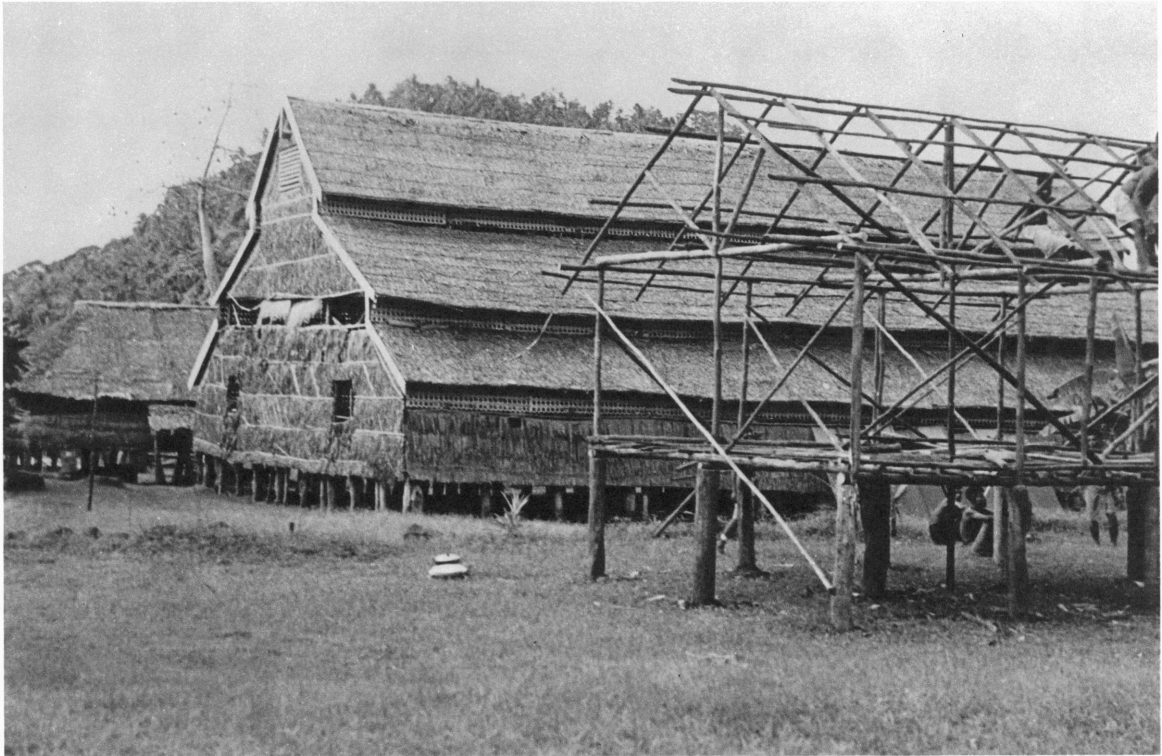


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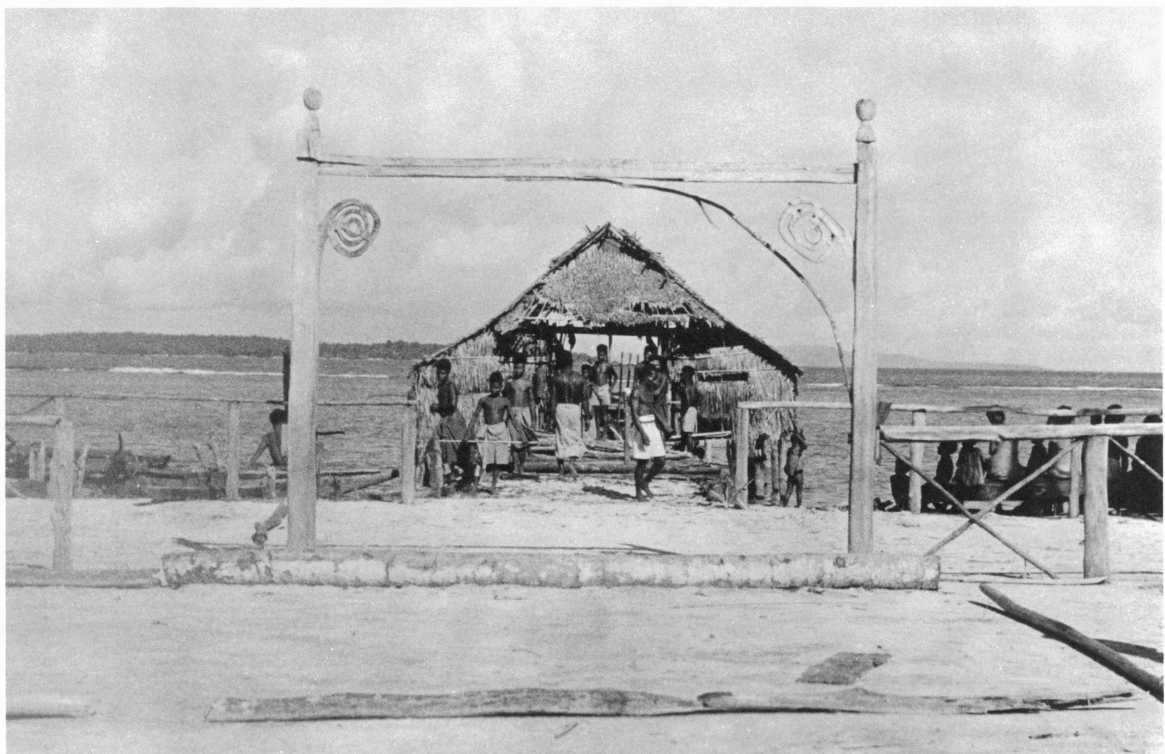
PLATE 15

a. Church in the Mouk section of Baluan. It was the largest building in the Admiralties and holds hundreds of people. The church was constructed of native materials and thatched with pandanus leaf, according to Paliau's plan and under his supervision. It has a balcony and a choir loft. The floors and side windows are covered with air field stripping abandoned by the United States Armed Forces. A new Mouk residence under construction is in the foreground.

b. Wharf, *custom house*, gate, and meeting ring of Bunai Village during the Plateau Phase of 1953. The dilapidated condition of the *custom house* illustrates neglect and "slacking off" of interest in early *Newfela-Fashion* ideas. The unity of the village within the Paliau Movement is symbolized by the gate. All villages of the Paliau Movement have such a gate. The end posts with the scroll represent the shepherd's crook symbolic of Christ. The arch called the *Sky*, symbolizes the joining of the worlds of the living and the dead through Christ. The logs in the foreground form the *ring*, where either the Manus section of Bunai or the amalgamated village of Bunai holds its meetings. The men are gathered to repair the wharf and to dismantle the now unused *custom house*.



A



B

PLATE 16

- a. Contemporaneity of the cultural past, *Fashion Belong Before*, with the present of the Paliau movement. An important man of the village of Nrano, who put on a large feast and affinal exchange (February 28, 1954). Nrano is an Usiai village in the interior.
- b. Men's house in Nrano. Much of social structure and ceremonial life, still following older patterns, centers in the men's house.

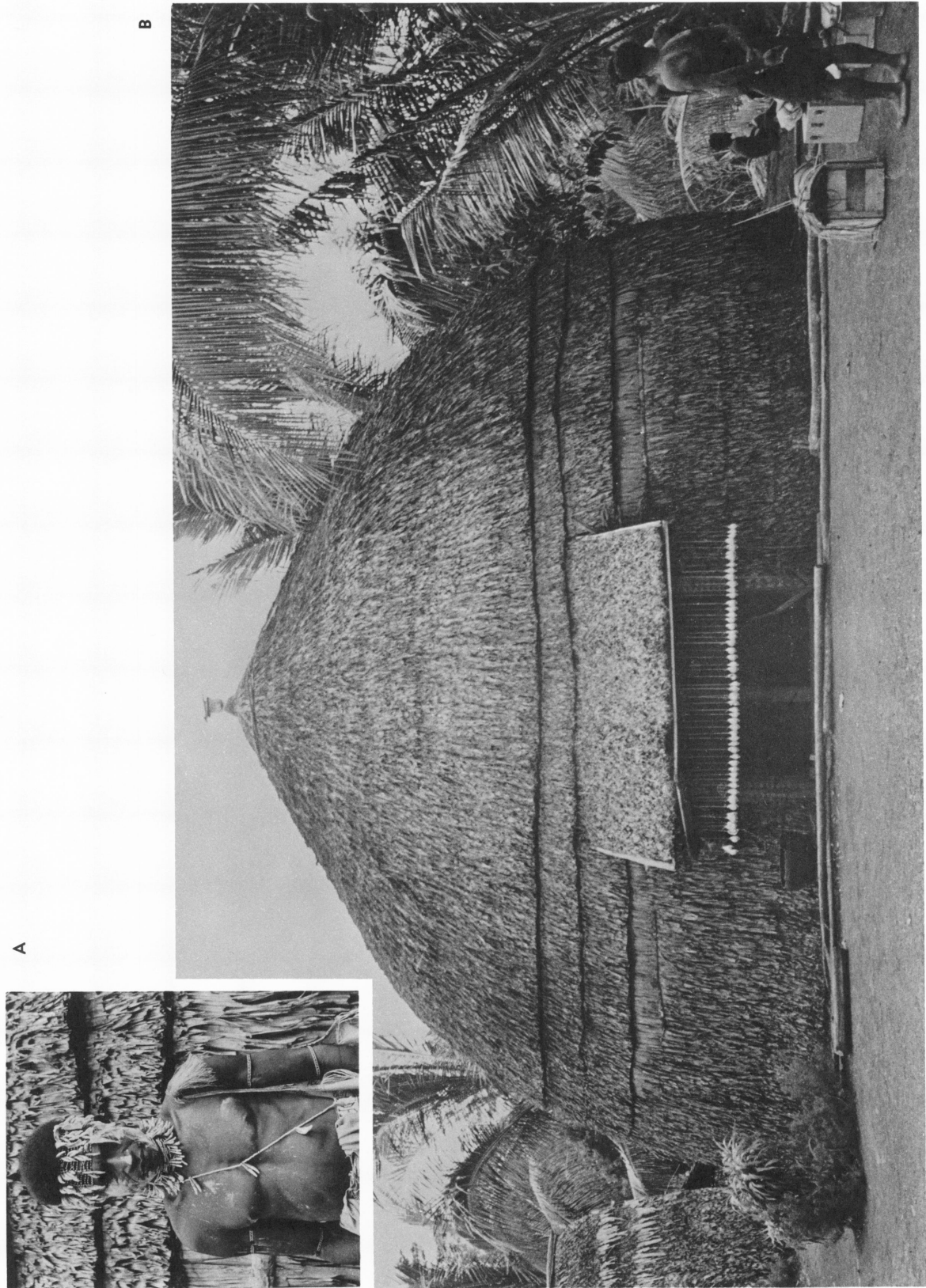


PLATE 17

Hand-shaking ceremony in Bunai between Manus and Usiai. Tjamilo of Bunai leads the moving Manus line. The hand shaking occurred after the Usiai-Manus fight over land ownership in Bunai. The incident illustrates well the newer improvised institutions that successfully preserved village unity, in spite of inter-group hostility.

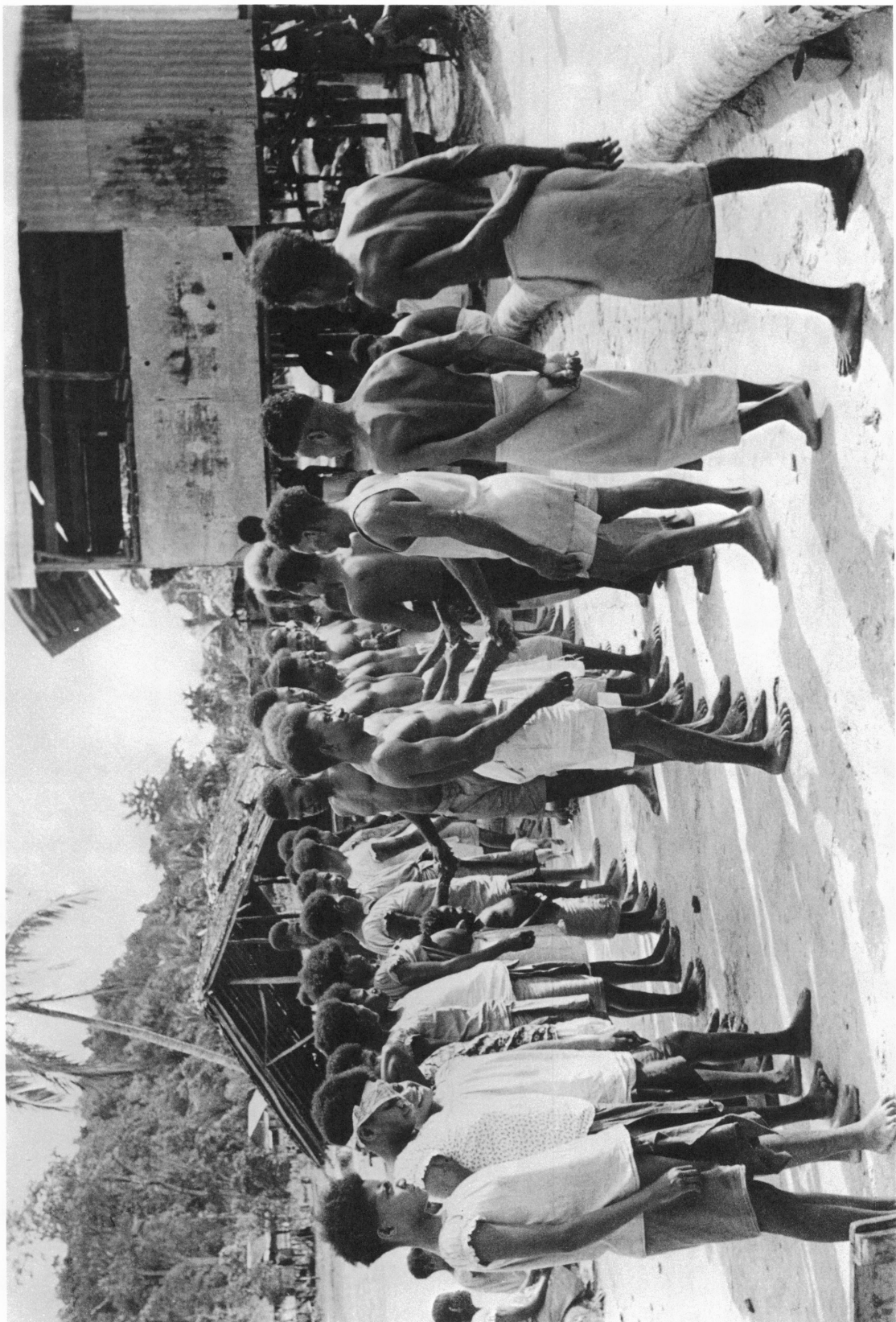


PLATE 18

a. Resurrection of Ponram. Ponram in his own house. He has come back from the dead but is not yet able to speak. He shows with firewood what the door of Heaven was like. He is assisted by Sayau Bombowai, the *committee* from Katin-Yiru. May 20, 1954.

b. A further stage in building the door of Heaven. Although a turnstile had been used in the early *Newfela Fashion* on Baluan, it is an innovation for Second Cult cemeteries. It was not used on Johnston Island. The turnstile was called the *star*.



A



B

PLATE 19

The entrance to the new Bunai cemetery built under Tjamilo's direction. It follows design elements based on Pwatjumel's dream, Ponram's resurrection, and Tjamilo's own ideas, e.g., the long corridor leading into the cemetery. The word "*mat*" relates to the Manus word "*mat*" meaning "dead," and to the Neo-Melanesian word "*matmat*" meaning cemetery.



PLATE 20

a. March and drill in Lowaja. The drill represents part of religious ritual of the Second Cult as well as revival of early *Newfela-Fashion* practices. The participants are Usiai youth from Malei and Lowaja, some in uniform of black shorts or loin cloths.

b. A mass re-burial in the new Bunai cemetery, May 26, 1954. The re-burial was carried out by Tjamilo actually after the formal ending of the Second Cult. The remains of the dead were removed from the old cemetery, which the village as a whole had shared, to the new cemetery that was restricted to the exclusive use of the Bunai Manus. The re-burial in the new cemetery emphasizes the continued vitality of the Cult beyond the end of the Second Cult Phase and a trend toward sectional and ethnic particularism left by the Cult. Tjamilo, in white, stands at the center rear. The first seven re-burials included not only all his children, who died between 1942 and 1952, leaving him childless, but the remains of his father, Laloan, who was once the leading *big man* of old Bunai clan.



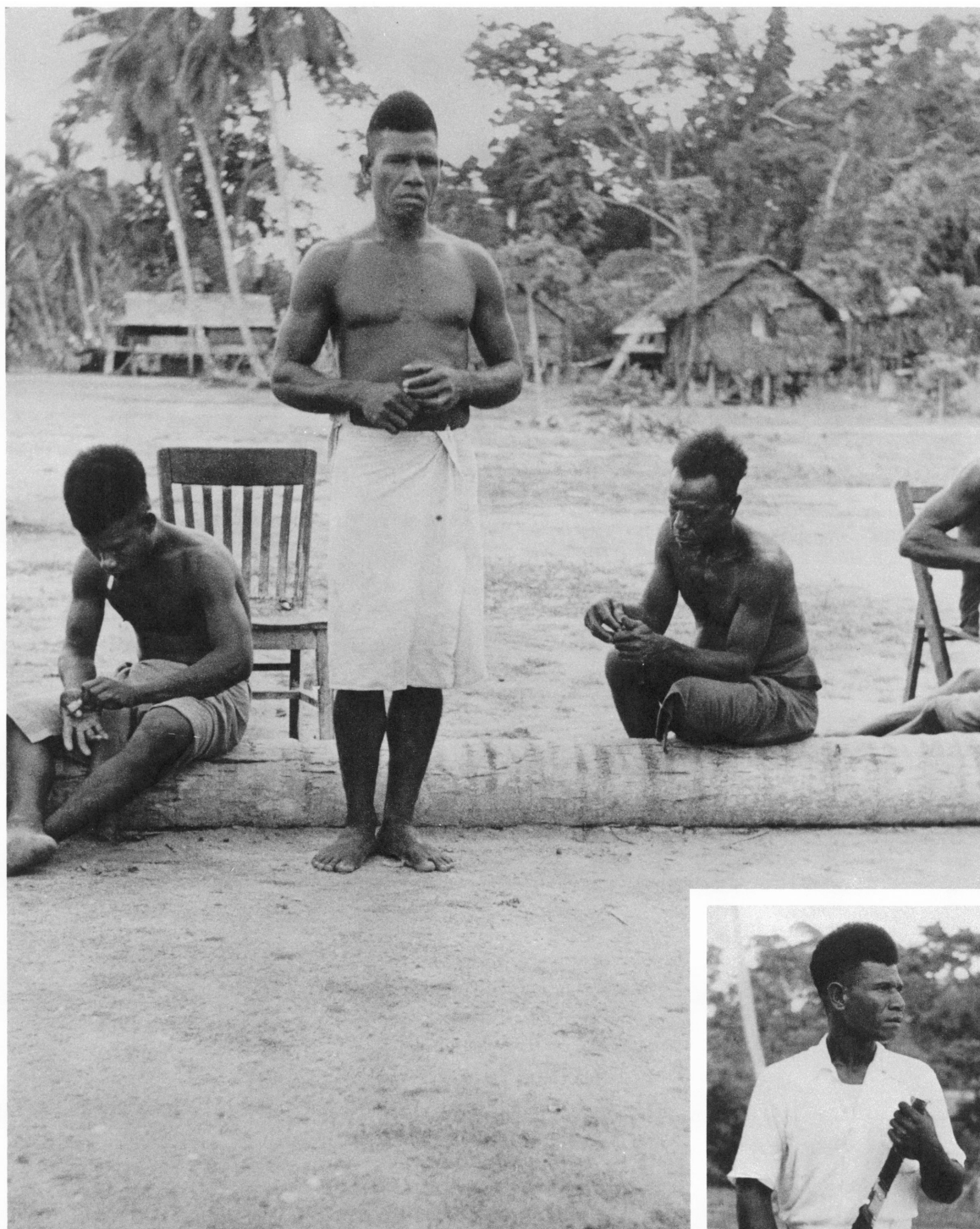
A



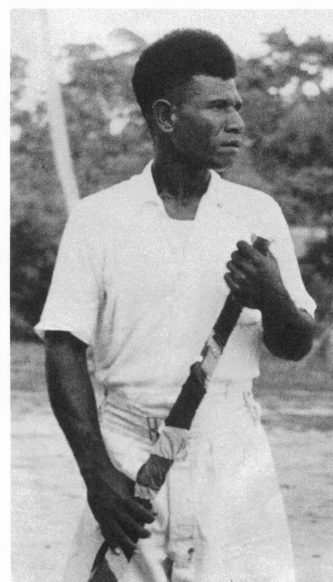
B

PLATE 21

- a. Tjamilo addressing a meeting in Bunai.
- b. Tjamilo, carrying a furled Australian flag, in preparation for the first procession for re-burial of remains of the dead.



A



B

PLATE 22

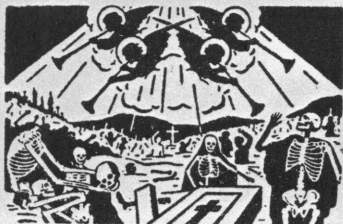
a. A page from a Neo-Melanesian catechism. Translation of the text: "What will become of us on the last day?" "On the last day we will arise again from death." From the "Smolpela katekismo bolong vikariat Rabaul."

b. Pita Tapo with his son in front of the author's house. At the time the photograph was made, Pita Tapo had withdrawn from leadership. Behind him is a pontoon left by United States Armed Forces.

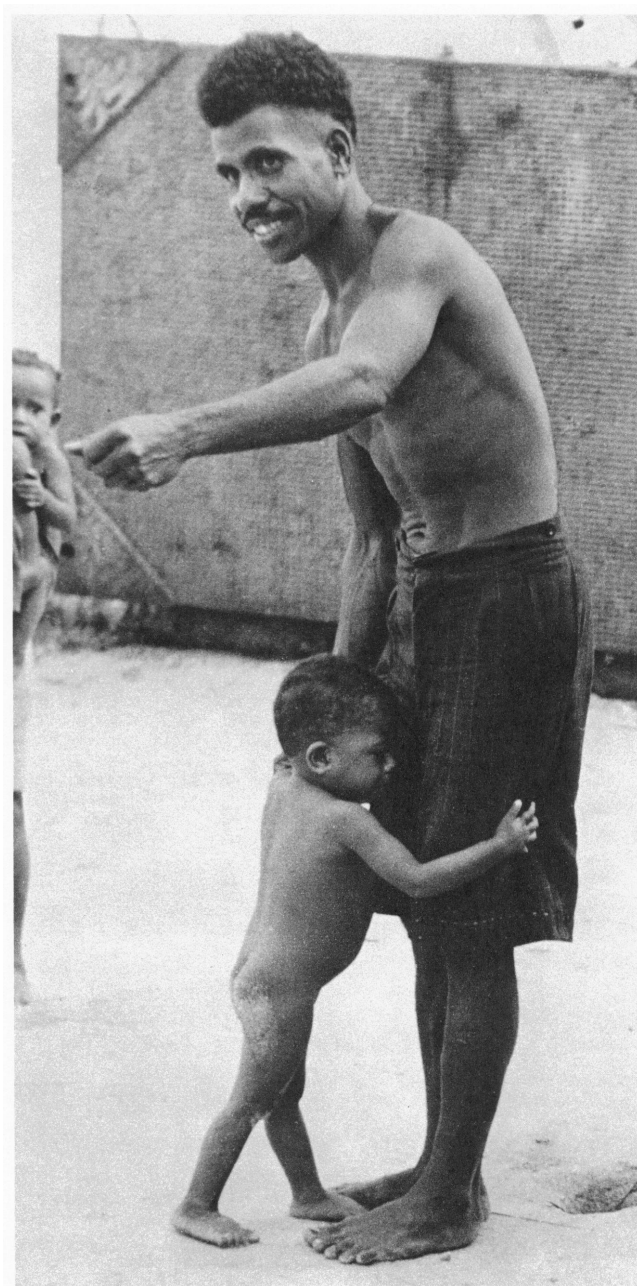
52. Yumi ologeta yumi olosem vonem
long last dei?

(138)

Long last dei baimbai yumi girap
gen long dai.



A



B

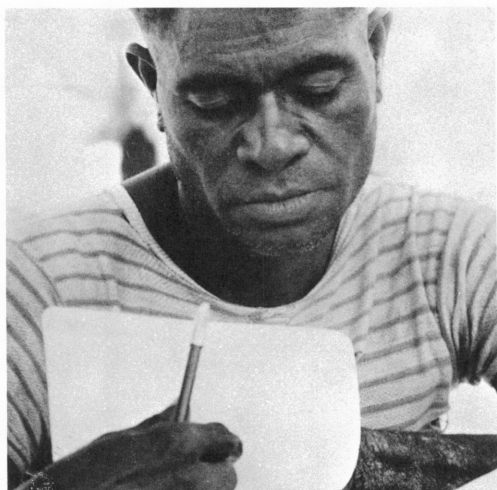
PLATE 23

Pita Tapo speaking at a night meeting in Bunai just before the end of the Second Cult Phase. He is making a belated attempt to assume leadership in the Second Cult.

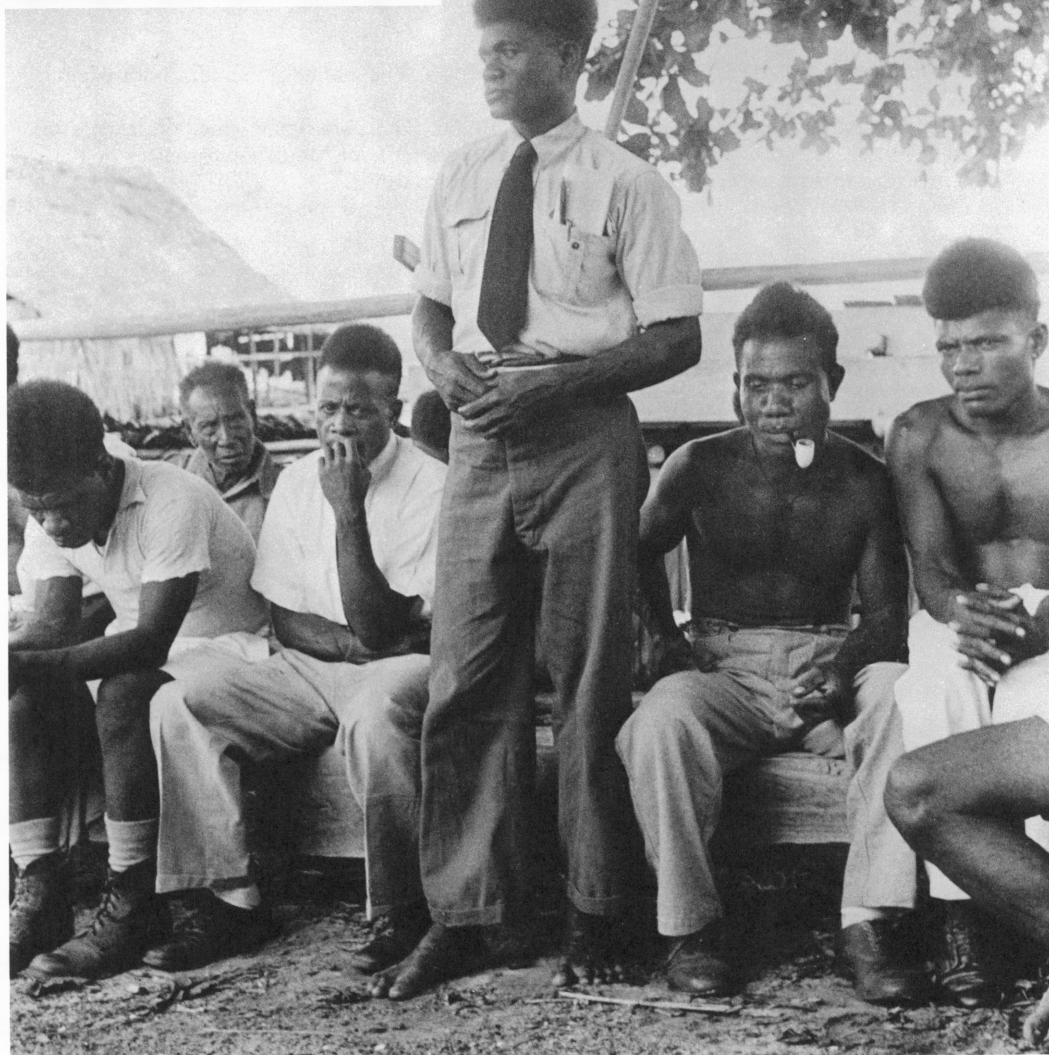


PLATE 24

- a. Kampo of Lahan, reading his notes while conducting a court case.
- b. Kampo of Lahan at a meeting in Bunai. He wears his best clothing.



A



B

PLATE 25

- a. Bombowai, *council* of Yiru, attacking the Cultists. The audience includes both Manus and Usiai from Peri and Bunai.
- b. Lukas of Mouk, addressing a meeting in Bunai. The participants include leaders of several villages. He attacks the Cult, reminding its adherents of Mouk's experiences in 1947 and threatens them with arrest by the *council* if they continue.



A



B

PLATE 26

a. Kilopwai, *luluai* of Malei, speaking at a meeting in Bunai. He threatens to remove Malei from the amalgamated village of New Bunai and is untruthfully denying Malei's participation in the Cult. His son, Pondis, was the *council* of Malei (fully dressed figure seated on viewer's left), but exercised no real power at this time.

b. Pantret of Lowaja, at the height of his influence as Cult leader in Bunai. He is jokingly denying allegations of Cult opposition at a meeting of leaders of several villages in Bunai.



A



B

PLATE 27

Samol, leader of New Bunai and of the South Coast area of the Paliau Movement, addressing a meeting of leaders of several villages in Bunai (see Pl. 26b), seeking containment and reconciliation of conflicting groups. His pencil and notebook characterize his leadership. Petrus Popu, former *lului* of Lowaja, in white undershirt, stands directly behind Samol.

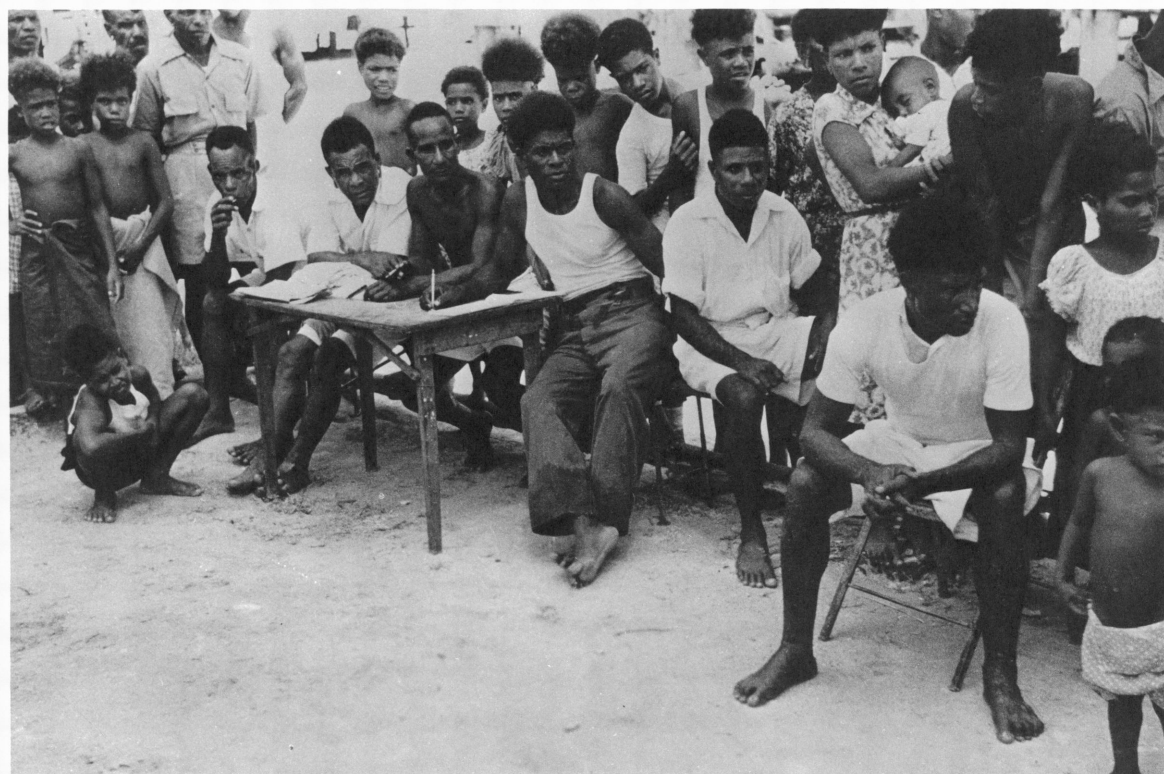


PLATE 28

- a. Peri women standing in line to pay taxes after the men have finished.
- b. Bunai leaders as observers at the tax collection in Peri. Samol, without shirt, is seated at table, with Kampo to his left, Pantret to left of Kampo, and Nrohas to left of Pantret. The two men to Samol's right are Usiai from North Coast Villages that are planning to join the Council.



A



B

