
No Meeting

a salute of skewers

Miners entering the mouth of the Lakekamu passed a village on the right which they sometimes called Toaripi; Motu sailors on *hiri* trading expeditions to the Gulf called the same place Motumotu, and the people who lived there thought of themselves as belonging to two villages, Mirihea (on the beach) and Uritai (inland). About thirty years before the first miners went up the river a group from Mirihea had moved east to establish a new village on the beach at Kukipi. The Mirihea, Uritai and Kukipi were Toaripi people. About 4 miles from the coast on a creek coming into the Tauri from the east was another large settlement of around 2000 people. Miners and government officers used the Motu name of Moveave for the big village, but again the people thought of themselves as belonging to two villages, Heavala and Heatoare. Although speaking the same language and conscious of a common heritage, the Moveave and Toaripi feuded until peace was imposed by missionaries and government officers in the 1880s. The Moveave, from the oldest settlement and jealous of their land rights, limited the movement of the Toaripi up the Lakekamu and Tauri; but before they were employed on European-owned boats the people from the beach villages knew about 300 miles of the Papuan coast. They sailed south-east to the villages beyond Port Moresby where they had close links with other sea going and trading communities, and they went west to the Kikori delta.

The Moveave-Toaripi had a rich ceremonial life centred on the cycle of *semese* festivals and the construction of *eravo*. Up to 60 feet high at the front and sloping downwards to be about 20 feet high at the back, the *eravo* 'temples' could be constructed only by a people with an economy and social organisation which gave them the time and unity to carry out large projects not concerned with immediate survival. Tall and muscular, the Moveave-Toaripi appeared to outsiders to be fierce and independent peoples. After he visited them in 1893 MacGregor said the Moveave were 'a strong tribe, and used to feel very confident in their own strength'. The Reverend James Chalmers, who lived at Toaripi

from 1888 until 1892, wrote that his hosts had been 'the terror of all the other tribes' from the Gulf to Kerepuna. Where they had not been well-received they had

killed every pig they found and robbed all the plantations, and wound up by turning the houses into w.c.s In one afternoon they killed thirty-six men, women, and children at Kabadi, and at Partanu, inland of Hall Sound, a few years ago they made a nearly clean sweep of the village.

The Moveave-Toaripi cultivated sago in the vast swamps as their basic food. The beach people were short of good land for other crops, but the Moveave gardened on the banks of the Tauri and Lakekamu where they grew yams, sweet potatoes, taro and bananas and cut canoe logs. In 1893 MacGregor found gardens over 20 miles up the Tauri and he saw temporary houses ('hunting seats') to about 36 miles. The Moveave travelled the upper Lakekamu, and miners and government officers took over the Moveave names for the river and its tributaries: the Olipai, Tiveri and Arabi.

From the 1880s missionaries, government officers and traders visited the Moveave-Toaripi. The missionaries alone sustained their interest. From 1884 South Sea Island teachers of the London Missionary Society lived in the villages, and by 1910 there were 191 pupils on the rolls of the two schools in Moveave. Attendance was irregular, perhaps because the students and their parents saw little use in prolonged studies which gave no advantages except enabling a scholar to say a few words in English and read four gospels of the New Testament translated into a language which foreigners thought was Toaripi. The crafts, songs and beliefs of the people had been strongly influenced by the missionaries, but in 1910 the old cycle of festivals was still important.

Traders came for sago, copra and sandalwood, and at various times maintained stations in the area. On the Tauri MacGowan cleared a block which gave little sign that it would nourish the coconuts, cotton and other crops which he had planted. Generally the Moveave-Toaripi had decided not to work as indentured labourers. In 1909-10 only 186 men from the entire Gulf Division signed on while over 5000 Papuans from other areas decided that they would accept the recruiters' terms. Both missionaries and planters had offered glimpses of another economy to those who stayed in the villages: MacGowan employed a horse team to plough his land before planting, and the Reverend Edwin Pryce-Jones on pastoral visits bicycled along the sand-bars.

Government officers visited the area occasionally after Robert Hunter made a bloody entry into Moveave in 1887. He led a punitive expedition against the Moveave after they killed a South Sea Island

teacher, his child and five Toaripi who had accompanied him up the Lakekamu. The visits became more frequent from 1906 when the Gulf became a separate division with its headquarters at the new station at Kerema. Soon the government officers thought they knew the people well enough to give them a corporate personality. Charles Higginson said in 1908 that he found the coastal people

a very well behaved lot, compared with other parts of the Territory. ... The chief fault I find with them as a whole is their refusal to sign on for labour. This is particularly noticeable with Toaripi and Karama and Waima villages. The sooner some means of making the tightly-laced and ornamented young bucks go out and do some work, instead of as now, loafing around the villages, the better.

Other officers also said they were lazy. Wilfred Beaver thought the people of the Eastern Gulf had a 'rooted dislike to work' and James O'Malley wrote of the 'lordly male who spends his life in "magnificent idleness"'. To explain apparent indolence, some officers observed that now warfare had ceased the men could no longer perform their traditional task as warriors, and as food was always available from the sago palms they did not have to work hard to survive. Beaver thought it fair to add that the Gulf men were no lazier than 'all the other natives from Samarai to Cape Possession', and O'Malley conceded that the Gulf man made a 'good armed constable'. By 1910 several Moveave-Toaripi had served in the Armed Native Constabulary.

Apart from fruitless attempts to persuade the men to go away to 'work', the government officers who took the whaleboat east from Kerema on visits of inspection were most concerned with keeping the villages clean. In August 1909 Henry Ryan at Moveave 'shook the VCs [village constables] up about the state of the village and ordered it to be cleaned'. He was pleased to find Motumotu in better order, but the government rest house there was dilapidated and the surrounding area had been used as a rubbish dump. He selected a new site and the villagers promised to build a 'decent home'. In February 1910 Ryan instructed the people of Motumotu village to 'turn to and clean it up', and again in April a corporal and four constables were detailed to supervise the Motumotu while they cleaned their village. Moveave was 'none to [sic] clean' either, and Ryan ordered the village constable to see that it was improved immediately. The government's concern with hygiene and Ryan's administration of betel-nut tea did not save the Moveave-Toaripi from the whooping-cough and dysentery epidemics which occurred in 1909.

Government officers supported the mission teachers trying to make their students attend school regularly. In Motumotu Ryan called the

village constables together and impressed on them their duty to see that the children went to school, and he reported that at Karama the Assistant Resident Magistrate 'punished some of the children for not attending the school regular'. The combined influence of the church and state was limited: in 1910 at Heatoare where there were ninety-six registered students the average daily attendance was forty-three, and at Heavara from ninety-five registered students the daily average was only seventeen.

In their thirty years of close association with foreigners before the discovery of gold on the Lakekamu only one major change had been forced on the Moveave-Toaripi: the ending of warfare. The advantages of other changes had been pressed on them and they had seen many new ideas and objects displayed before them; but generally they had been able to take what they wanted and resist what seemed of little value. The villages were only intermittently connected to Kerema and Port Moresby. Attempting to govern by making one or two inspections a year, and unable to speak the villagers' language, government officers became concerned with what they could see, explain easily and knew to be 'good'. They looked first to see whether the village was clean. It was a form of government which might interrupt village life, but not transform it. In 1910 the Moveave-Toaripi were in danger of being overwhelmed.

Motumotu became a staging point for the goldfields. Early in 1910 tons of stores and over 1000 miners and labourers were landed on the beach. Government officers, who had the power to compel Papuans to carry, immediately recruited twenty men from Motumotu and Moveave to help establish the new government station on Ironstone Creek. But in April when the government wanted more men to work at Nepa they could not be obtained. Sergeant Kasari told Ryan that the Moveave had fled rather than recruit for the goldfield. Later at Karama, Ryan found the men equally unwilling to go to Nepa because they knew of 'the boys dying there'. To confirm the reports of those Moveave-Toaripi who had been on the field there were many deserters living in the villages, some of whom were sick with dysentery. It now became one of the duties of village constables to report runaway labourers to government officers, or if they were men with the authority of Village Constable Lai of Motumotu they themselves sent the deserters back to Nepa.

To maintain at least 300 labourers, miners, police, prisoners and government officers on the field until 1917 traffic on the river was heavy, but the Moveave-Toaripi continued to select from the parade of foreign goods and ways. Although few worked as indentured labourers many went to Nepa. Some worked as crewmen on launches, but most paddled their long, double-hulled canoes against the current to Tiveri landing. Hired to transport men and stores, Moveave canoemen also

took garden food and betel nut to sell to the labourers or exchange for tobacco. When the number of men on the field declined and the launches made infrequent trips, the Moveave did more of the carrying on the river. By July 1920 all goods going up-river were taken by the Moveave, and Whittens' Tiveri storeman made his last trip downstream on one of their canoes. Organised by the government agent at Kukipi, the Moveave made one trip a fortnight. At times they moved much cargo. On 3 March Muscutt reported the arrival of twenty-seven men bringing stores and the next day another fourteen men landed eleven more 180-pound bags of rice and four bags of meal. The Moveave were each paid one pound of tobacco for the trip.

Apparently only lightly touched by the goldfield, the Moveave-Toaripi may have been deeply influenced by what they had seen and experienced. The Reverend Herbert Brown came to live among the Toaripi speaking people of Moru in 1938, learnt their language, and stayed in the Gulf for over thirty years. He has recalled conversations with Moveave men who travelled with him across old mining areas:

As I walked the overgrown tracks in the company of the Heavara men who had worked there years before, listening to their reminiscences, it was apparent that their experiences had had a profound effect on them. The crowds of men, piles of stores, the sudden burst of activity directed towards what was then to the Elema a remote, unknown region, gave them a glimpse of power with which magic could not compare. In the villages the traditional way of life — seclusion, the Bull-Roader, the Oioi, and the Semese — continued as before, but beneath the surface minds were being prepared for a decisive break with the past.

The acceptance by the Moveave-Toaripi of a cult movement which spread from Vailala in 1919 was a sign of the depth of disturbance in the coastal communities and an agent of further change. Entranced leaders described by the Pidgin term, 'the-head-he-go-round-men', prophesied the arrival of their ancestors in a *sisima* (steamer) bringing food, tobacco, knives, axes and calico. While imitating the rituals of white culture and desiring its products and power, members of the movement expressed resentment against foreign intrusion. Old ceremonies were abandoned and objects made by craftsmen of the old ways were treated with contempt: 'Throw 'em away, bloody New Guinea somethings', a Moveave man told F.E. Williams. The movement was at least partly a rejection of a way of life which had apparently left the people inferior and an attempt to grasp the source of the foreigners' power. The growth and decline of the goldfield on the Lakekamu had not caused the Vailala 'madness', but its form and intensity in Moveave-Toaripi

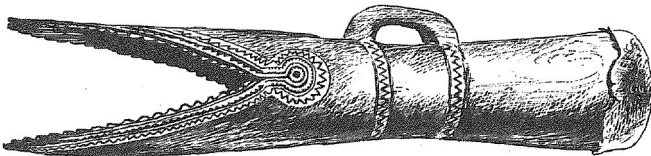
had been influenced by the events which followed the discovery of gold at Ironstone Creek.

In the 1930s the activities of the dredging companies and reports of gold on the Tauri quickened traffic on the river. Men from the coastal villages transported stores and sections of dredges, and they saw the airfield built at Bulldog by the mining companies. Influenced by missionaries, government officers, miners, traders, other Papuans and their own perception of the world, the Moveave-Toaripi changed. In the 1920s they abandoned the practice of secluding the young from the rest of the community, in the 1930s they held their last great *semese* festival, and more men began to go away to work. During World War II nearly all able-bodied men were taken from their villages to support Australian and American troops and fight the Japanese; and the Lakekamu, the feeder for the Bulldog track to Wau, carried a greater tonnage than ever before. The Moveave won more honours in the Papuan Infantry Battalion than any other village.

The Moveave-Toaripi returned from the war determined to build larger and stronger political institutions; and by starting a sawmill and engaging in coastal shipping they hoped to secure greater rewards in the new economy. Their positive response to the war was partly because they had been prepared by their experiences of the previous fifty years. They had suffered other shocks and they were already searching for a way to improve their position in the new order. After long delays the sawmill was built at Moveave and the Toaripi Association purchased the *SS Kukipi*, but the limited success of these ventures left men wondering whether or not the new way had been found.

The rapidly changing response of the Moveave-Toaripi as new opportunities opened to them can be seen in one Kukipi family: Hasu Morauta worked on the *Bulldog*, his son, Morauta Hasu, was a leader in the Toaripi Association and a Local Government Councillor, and *his* son, Mekere Morauta, graduated in economics from the University of Papua New Guinea and joined the public service.

Drum, Gulf of Papua, National Museum of Victoria, 1887



In 1910 small communities of Kovio people lived inland to the south and east of the Lakekamu. In earlier times they had been harried by their stronger neighbours, the Moveave in the south and the peoples from the mountains to the north. Government officers at Nepa first

became aware of their existence in 1913 when Moveave sago-makers reported the presence of strangers on the river. Oldham went downstream from Tiveri and met the Kovio one day's walk east from a point just below the Kunimaipa junction. Related by language and custom to the Mekeo on the St Joseph River, some Kovio had visited the government station at Kairuku, and they were prepared for their encounter with Oldham's patrol and his Moveave companions. The development of the goldfield and the station at Nepa gave the Kovio another point of contact with the outside world and protected them from raids from the north. At least during 1918 and 1919 groups of Kovio led by Village Constable Peuma made several trips to Nepa bringing sago to exchange for tobacco. The presence of the goldfield and their freedom from attack probably encouraged the Kovio to move westward on to the less isolated and more productive lands along the main rivers.

Numbering only seventy children and seventy-five adults in 1954, the Kovio have been too few and too far away to attract more than brief visits by white men. New ideas have come more from Papuan missionaries, Kovio who have been away, and contact with other Papuans on the rivers. In 1972 the Kovio occupied two villages, Okavai near the junction of the Oreba and Kunimaipa, and Urulau on the Lakekamu. The Moveave tolerated their presence at Urulau although they claimed the land on which the village was built. At Urulau a Kovio man, trained by the United Church in New Britain and married to a girl from New Ireland, conducted a school. It was unrecognised by, and in fact unknown to, the national education system.



The men who had contested the right of Crowe and the Prykes' prospecting expedition of 1909 to move through their lands were Kapau speakers, the most numerous and south-eastern of the Anga language group. To miners and government officials they were the Kukukuku; the Moveave called them the Iariva. Never having had to think of themselves as a group, they had no word to distinguish themselves from other men. The origin of the term Kukukuku is obscure, but some of the early officials in the Gulf believed it was a Motu term of abuse applied by the *hiri* traders 'in the same lordly way they renamed the villages, rivers, and other parts of the coast'. Through their habit of raiding coastal villages to kill and carry off the dead, the Kukukuku became known to government officials in the 1890s. In 1900 Blayney and

Amedeo Giulianetti, the government agent from Mekeo, investigated the killing of five people at Kerema and learnt from the survivors that the Kukukuku were a wandering people who occupied the interior from the Vailala to the Lakekamu. But it was not until the government station was established at Kerema that Griffin made contact with the Kukukuku. Using Hawaii people from the Vailala as intermediaries, Griffin had brief and peaceful meetings with two Kukukuku communities in the Lohiki Creek area. In 1907 the Hawaii conducted Charles Higginson into the presence of the Kukukuku and he told them that they were not to make any more raids on the coastal peoples. Two months later the Kukukuku attacked Lovera village just to the east of Kerema station and killed two men and a girl. Although he was uncertain if the raiders were the same people that he had spoken to earlier, Higginson took the raid as defiance of his orders and sent the police to pursue the Kukukuku. Getting between them and their homes, the police shot and wounded three or four of the raiders. Higginson was now confident that raids on the coast had ended and that the Kukukuku could await further instruction on proper behaviour while the government consolidated its position along the coast.

At the time the prospecting expedition went up the Tauri in 1909, government officials did not know how many Kukukuku there were nor how far their lands extended. They believed they were at least semi-nomadic and while they were aware of their skills as bowmen and bushmen, they found it difficult to explain the terror these 'fierce little people' caused among the coastal villages. 'All sorts of weird queer stories are woven round them and their habits', said Higginson. 'It is well the Kuku-kuku do not know their powers, as I am sure if one Kuku-kuku came out on to the beach he could chase the local population for as long as he liked to run after them.' For some coastal peoples the Kukukuku were not men but evil predators who watched constantly for their victim to relax his guard and then struck with unlimited and random savagery. Already they were known to Europeans as the 'famous Kukukukus', but government officials had no doubt that they would soon control them. 'This type of native', Murray wrote, 'may be brought to a state of comparative civilization without any great difficulty by the exercise of tact and patience.' He was too confident.

Matt Crowe and the Prykes had spent ten years travelling and working in country among hostile communities; but on the Tiveri they encountered a more tenacious people than they had found elsewhere. The Kukukuku attacked frequently and without warning. After the killing of Wagawaga Dick on the Tiveri the prospectors could not make an immediate counter-attack because those who had released the arrows were protected by the dense scrub and broken country. They buried Wagawaga Dick sitting up 'New Guinea fashion', but, as Jim said, no

doubt the Kukukuku dug him up and ate him, also New Guinea fashion. The Kukukuku 'set us again the next morning', Frank said, 'but we had the best of that argument as we had got up before daylight and had gone to meet them'. The Kukukuku were not intimidated. 'The nigs around here', Frank acknowledged, 'are the pluckiest lot I have run across in this country, they don't mind one or two getting topped over'. They refused all attempts to trade or talk and persisted in saluting the camp with an occasional flight of 'skewers'.

When Murray visited the goldfield in January 1910 he attempted to 'enter into communication' with the Kukukuku. Accompanied by Vavasua, a Moveave man who could speak their language, and Matt Crowe, Murray went beyond the point where the prospectors had been attacked. But while the members of the patrol thought they were being watched as they inspected gardens and houses the Kukukuku gave only further evidence of the 'gift of invisibility'. Occupied with the administration of the goldfields, government officials then suspended their attempts to civilise the Kukukuku.

Although there was a village within one day's walk of Nepa station, miners and officials had almost no contact with the Kukukuku for the first three years of the field's existence. Government officials on visits of inspection and police out looking for deserters sometimes saw them briefly, and two deserters and one of Frank Pryke's labourers were killed by 'bush natives'. The Kukukuku may also have been responsible for looting some of the camps left deserted during the day. By their attacks on Pryke's prospecting expedition to the Vailala in 1911 and on Newcombe's party in 1912 the Kukukuku maintained their reputation for fearlessness and treachery. The one serious attempt by a government officer to communicate with them was a failure. In September 1911 Lyons went up the Olipai to Thomas and Swanson's camp. The miners reported that on their way from Tiveri they had seen Kukukuku making sago but they had run away. The miners left tobacco at a shelter used by the sago-makers but it was not accepted; their lack of interest in the gift was not surprising as unknown to the miners the southern Kukukuku did not smoke. Thomas went with Lyons's patrol to an area occupied by Kukukuku gardens and houses where the police surprised and seized a young girl and a woman 'of fine physique ... and of bronze hue'. Unable to pacify them, Lyons held the woman's hand and she 'put it to her mouth not in gallantry but to bite it'. When released she fled, leaving the trade goods which had been offered to her. That night the Kukukuku showered the camp with arrows and Lyons ordered the police to clear the area with rifle fire. Members of the patrol picked up twenty-five arrows which had been fired into the camp: Lyons doubted that any of the attackers had been hit by rifle fire. The next morning Lyons examined the houses and gardens and, having taken some tools



Kukukuku warrior, Lakekamu Goldfield, 1914

PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK PRYKE

and plants, left trade goods in exchange. The events of Lyons's patrol were repeated many times: Kukukuku were seized and held for brief periods; but the most frequent exchange was between rifles and bows.

By the end of 1913 government officials had a little knowledge of the peoples whose lands they had occupied. A community of about fifty lived on the Arabi one day's walk from Nepa. Up the Tiveri and the Olipai were several hundred people, while across on the headwaters of the Tauri they were more numerous. They were not, it now seemed, nomadic, but lived in scattered hamlets of two or three houses on the ridges next to their gardens. The groups of cone-roofed houses were often within hailing distance of each other. The hamlets, government officers noticed, were kept clean and the surrounding area was planted with decorative crotons and betel palms. Extensive gardens were planted with sweet potato, taro, bananas and sugar cane; sago was cultivated in lower and wetter areas. Fighting men carried a bow, stone club and wooden shield. For clearing new gardens and preparing the ground for planting they used a stone adze or axe. Not being potters, the women used bamboo for holding water and cooking, and string bags were used for carrying between house and garden. Hunters set animal traps in the bush and built fish weirs on many of the streams, and while government officials saw no Kukukuku south of the junction of the Olipai and the Lakekamu, they saw the shelters which they had used while on hunting trips through the lowlands before the goldfields had placed a barrier between them and the south.

Much of the information about the Kukukuku had been collected by Chisholm, who arrived at Nepa station when supervising the few men left on the goldfield took little of his time. Murray too now decided that establishing friendly relations with the Kukukuku should be 'one of [his officers'] principal objects'; and after he had examined the Nepa station journals for September and October 1913 he reprimanded Oldham and Chisholm for the number of days when both men were on the station: 'One or other should always be out'.

More energetic than many other officers, Chisholm was certainly trying to bring the Kukukuku under the influence of the government. From a camp on the upper Tiveri he made a series of patrols to nearby villages. On 2 July he captured a man, a 'well proportioned, and very clean looking woman' and a boy of seven. All were released immediately but the experience apparently did nothing to reduce the hostility which the Kukukuku felt towards the foreigners. On the 4th the police surrounded a group of houses and managed to seize a man and some women and children. Chisholm and the police again tried ineffectively to calm them. (Chisholm collected a sample of hair which he attached to his patrol report.) Later the police saw a party of eight out hunting and managed to capture two whom they took back to Nepa, but they

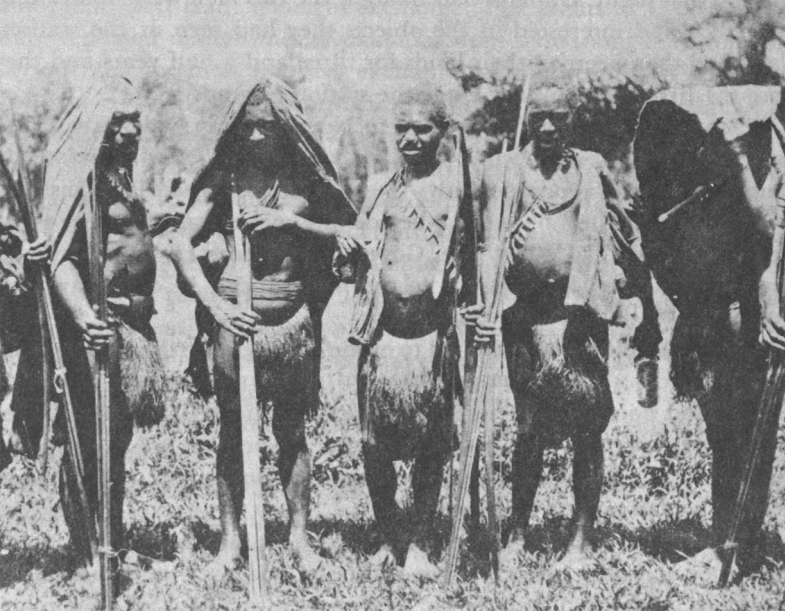
escaped that night. Oldham had thought the two men were unafraid of the police and interested in the objects they had seen at the station. Nepa had then been on their lands for three and a half years and they were the first Kukukuku to enter the station grounds.

When Chisholm was first posted to Nepa Murray had warned him that he was to do only 'what [was] strictly lawful'. Now he wrote on Chisholm's patrol report for July: 'Seen: I suppose when PO Chisholm speaks of "capturing" natives ... he does not mean that they were taken against their will'. When the Government Secretary conveyed the Lieutenant-Governor's message to the field officer, he may have had difficulty translating irony into advice.

On patrol Chisholm continued to evade arrows, seize the unwary, and attempt to calm them with gestures and proffered presents. The field officers had no other way to begin communications. In the Nepa area there were no people who could act as interpreters for the government and the Kukukuku were apparently neither curious about the intruders nor anxious to possess their goods.

But the small community on the Arabi was vulnerable. In November 1913 they accepted presents from Chisholm and then in January 1914 the police met a man and woman who chewed betel nut with them and afterwards led them into the village. Another ten men came into the village; they appeared to be weak and many were suffering from sores. Oldham presented the man who first met the patrol with a knife and he gave the others boxes of matches. When Chisholm returned to the Arabi in May he again distributed presents, and on the second day the Arabi permitted him to wash and dress their sores. After first refusing they assisted Chisholm to compile a brief list of Kukukuku words. But they would not go back to Nepa with him. A month later a group of Arabi men appeared at W. Brandon's camp and stayed overnight. Soon afterwards a group visited the Tiveri store where they accepted presents and in July they made their first free visit to Nepa station. From that time Arabi men visited Nepa irregularly; sometimes up to six months passed between visits.

During the six years before the abandonment of Nepa, relations between the Arabi and government officers did not advance beyond nervous visits to Nepa and requests for steel tools. In 1915 Chisholm thought the Arabi might be prepared for another step and invited two men to join the Armed Native Constabulary, but they declined. Government officers also attempted to accustom them to working for rewards. The Arabi delighted in the efficiency of the tools which they used to clear the scrub around the station, but were not enthusiastic about the new system; they were eager to take their pay and go. In turn the Arabi made a request of the government. Seven men and a boy came in from Arabi. They indicated that the Olipai were hostile to



Group of Kukukuku ('More of the nice boys'), Lakekamu Goldfield, 1914

PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK PRYKE



Patrol Officer Fred Chisholm trying to compile a Kukukuku vocabulary, 1914

PHOTOGRAPH: FRANK PRYKE

them and then pointed to the police rifles and the Olipai mountains: Armit assumed they were trying to tell him to direct the power of the police against their enemies. The deputation stayed overnight at the station and Armit put them to work at seven in the morning. When they knocked-off at noon he paid them in beads, knives, empty bottles and mirrors. The Arabi were unarmed while on the station, but when they passed a miner's claim a few hundred yards from the station all were armed. Armit assumed they must have hidden their bows close to Nepa. After one more session of working for reward the Arabi stayed away for six months. When they reappeared Humphries found their constant requests for steel 'almost annoying'. The Kukukuku were not satisfied with their role as mendicants either: they burst the wall of the tool store and took all the government's knives and axes. Humphries was indignant: 'After my treating them kindly and using every effort to gain their confidence, they steal all I have and creep away in the night.'

The theft gave the government officers a new way of exerting their power over the Kukukuku. When four men visited the store in April 1917 Humphries arrested two for stealing from the government store and sentenced them to six months' imprisonment to be served in the Port Moresby gaol. How Humphries determined their guilt, or explained the proceedings of the court to his prisoners, is unclear. The two men left on the *Bulldog* for Port Moresby where, it was hoped, they would learn some Motu and return able to explain to their own people the aims of the government and the benefits to be gained by intercourse with the outside world.

While the government officers had made slight progress with the Arabi the Tiveri and Olipai peoples remained hostile. In 1915 the Olipai killed one of Robertson's labourers and wounded a man working for Kelly. Chisholm, investigating the cause of the attacks, found that the labourers had been making sago from palms probably cultivated by the Kukukuku, who had acted in defence of their food supply. The Olipai fired on Chisholm's patrol when it entered a deserted village, hitting a constable in the shoulder. Chisholm called out to his attackers and showed them knives and tomahawks, but they replied with another flight of arrows. After the police fired a volley to disperse the bowmen, the patrol withdrew.

Several equally ineffective patrols followed. But Murray insisted that the 'efforts to effect these arrests must not be relaxed'. By November 1916 when Patrol Officer Cyril Cameron left on a patrol to Olipai, Humphries was able to predict that he was 'sure to be attacked'. In fact the patrol, caught on a narrow ledge while stones were rolled on them, was lucky to survive. When they finally entered the village it was again deserted and as they left they were fired on by unseen bowmen. Constable Lai-i-woi was hit in the arm. Humphries decided that the next attempt would be a night raid.

In May 1917 the police led a rush down a spur and over log barriers into a village. Protected by the gloom of a wet evening, Humphries hoped his police could trap the Olipai in their houses. By the time Humphries reached the village the police had fired 'one or two volleys', two men and three women had been captured, and the police were struggling desperately with one wounded man. Humphries bandaged the wounded man and released a woman who begged to be allowed to attend to him: 'The woman helped him to his feet and they walked slowly away, and I never saw them again ... he was shot through the lungs, through the liver and through the stomach, through the head and through the right arm.' Humphries took three prisoners to Nepa: a young woman, 'Mary' Bundowi, he held at the station and two men he sent to Port Moresby charged with murder. As there was no one in Port Moresby who could interpret for the court, the prisoners were never taken before a judge. Disturbed by Humphries's patrol report, Herbert Champion, the Acting Administrator, asked what instructions had been given to the police, why they fired and why had such 'shocking injuries' been inflicted on one man when at most one or two shots fired in self-defence should have been sufficient. Humphries, alone at Nepa, duly carried out an inquiry into his actions and those of his police.

Of the four Kukukuku sent to Port Moresby, one man died, and another was released after three months, possibly because he was older and government officials thought there was no chance of his acquiring a knowledge of Motu. At Nepa Humphries found Mary Bundowi's habits disgusting: she was, he decided, so akin to an animal that he thought 'the task of humanising her ... impossible'. When the first prisoner returned from Port Moresby she was released to accompany him back to Olipai. She had learnt very little Motu and had never settled to the routine of life among the wives of the police and their children. She was not seen again by government officers.

While returning to Nepa from a patrol which had taken him to Morobe on the north coast of New Guinea, Humphries saw the two prisoners who remained in Port Moresby. They had maintained a stony indifference to all efforts to gain their interest or teach them anything; but when Humphries spoke a word or two in their own language one man answered with a torrent of words Humphries could not understand. For the rest of Humphries's stay in Port Moresby the two men clung to him, not because they felt any affection for him but because they saw him as a link with their home. Humphries took one man, Iadu from Arabi, back to Nepa. Humphries believed that had Iadu been kept in Port Moresby any longer he would have died, and in any case he had now served his six months' sentence for the theft of His Majesty's tools. At the landing and at the station Humphries had to restrain Iadu from

setting off immediately for his home. Having given him a meal and a bag of food Humphries released him the next morning, watched him climb the ridge overlooking the station, fling the bag of stores into the bush, and disappear.

The other prisoner sent to Port Moresby, Didiam of Olipai, returned to Nepa after nearly eighteen months' absence. He had put on weight and allowed his hair to grow; Muscutt seemed disappointed to find that, dressed in a singlet and *rami*, he looked no different from other Papuans. Muscutt escorted Didiam to within hailing distance of his home village and stood with him exposed on a rock while he called his people. To Muscutt's astonishment he first called in Motu, and then when he tried to use his own language he had lost his fluency. The Olipai men seized weapons and women snatched up their children and prepared for flight. Didiam went forward while Muscutt and the police watched:

It was the most casual [meeting] imaginable. He went up within a few feet of them and started talking. There was not the slightest sign of any affectionate greeting by either side. It was just as if he was a stranger who had gone up to ask which way the road went.

Didiam was able to persuade six men, including one of the other men who had been to Port Moresby, to meet the patrol. Muscutt found it difficult to understand Didiam's behaviour: he was either reluctant or unable to interpret Muscutt's instruction that the Olipai were to refrain from shooting arrows at other people, and he seemed to prefer the company of the police to his own people. Before leaving, Muscutt asked Didiam to come to Nepa after one month. He did not go, and five months later when Muscutt took a patrol to Olipai to re-establish contact, he found that Didiam, having recovered his position in the village, no longer wanted any association with the foreigners. Muscutt regretted that Didiam

had reverted back to the same state as the other natives in dress and ways. He had lost a lot of his previous plumpness, was now dirty and hardly recognizable with his hair trimmed the same fashion as the others, bone through the septum of his nose, and wearing a grass rami. He had not forgotten all his motu, still we could not get him to talk much.

About fifty Olipai, including some women, came in to meet the patrol, but they were reluctant to trade and kept making signs that the government party should take the food and move on. Didiam refused to go to Nepa or show them the track to Fish Creek. That night, as the patrol camped in the rain after a day scrambling through dense scrub, an arrow was fired from close range at Constable Pangari. Muscutt

found the action of the Kukukuku most unreasonable: 'No cause whatsoever had been given to warrant any natives shooting arrows at my party.' Murray's only comment on the incident was that Constable Pangari should have had his rifle with him at the time. On the next patrol to Olipai the police contacted two men who acted as guides for a short time but in spite of the fact that Muscutt made a 'bit of fuss' over them and got them to shake hands with some Milne Bay and Orokolo labourers, they disappeared into the bush before the patrol reached the village. The village itself was deserted, and as the nearby creek was dry Muscutt thought the people might have shifted closer to water. The patrol returned to Nepa without seeing any more Kukukuku. Government officers did not speak to Didiam again.

Iadu of Arabi visited Tiveri and Nepa but at times when Muscutt was away. The two men never met again. The attempt to communicate with the Kukukuku by using men who had been to Port Moresby had failed. Just before Nepa station was closed government officers saw the Kukukuku only when men from nearby villages went infrequently to Nepa to try to get steel. The store was protected with barbed wire, and contrary to the normal rules on a station, the police were issued with ammunition in case of a sudden raid. When ten men arrived at the station in September 1919 Muscutt gave them an enthusiastic welcome, fed them and gave them a 'choice selection' on the gramophone. Although they kept together, holding each other by the wrist, Muscutt thought that they were unafraid and unimpressed. One advance was that Moveave canoemen and Kukukuku had met at Nepa. Thirty years before they had fought one another and perhaps at times had had other sorts of relationships. Now there was the possibility of a new association with the coastal peoples.

The Kukukuku had behaved differently from all other peoples encountered by government officers and miners in Papua. The officers thought this aberrant behaviour stemmed from some deficiency inherent in all Kukukuku. Humphries, while praising his own restraint, thought 'pacification' would take many years: 'Knock-kneed and splay-footed as most of them are, with great muscular legs and long arms, they are not unlike gorillas — with this exception in favour of the gorilla, he doesn't eat man.' Muscutt preferred another explanation which also owed a distant debt to nineteenth-century arguments about the evolution of man:

They being so childlike in their ways, it was quite likely that they were somewhat puzzled to grasp the reasons why we should come up here, give them presents and then try and coax some of them to go back to Nepa ... it's quite likely that he [Didiam] found great difficulty to explain matters to them which laid [sic] outside of their small world

and beyond their childlike intelligence, and they probably put him down as being a first-rate liar.

But the Kukukuku may have acted according to values which the patrol officers could have understood. They had looked at the actions and possessions of the foreigners and there was only one thing which was of obvious value. That was steel, and they took it whenever they had the chance.

Two factors beyond the control of men influenced relations between the Kukukuku and the foreigners who came up the Lakekamu in 1909. Firstly, the south-eastern Kukukuku were among the most isolated people in Papua. They knew no neighbours who could explain who the foreigners were or what they wanted. Vavasua of Moveave, who had gone with Murray in 1910, was an exception, but he was unable to persuade the Kukukuku to talk with any members of the patrol. Secondly, the foreigners on the Lakekamu were more independent of the local population than they were on any other goldfield. The river took them and their stores to within a day's walk of the field. The miners and officials did not need long carrier lines constantly bringing goods from the coast and they never had to buy food from nearby villages or starve. But labourers taken to the Lakekamu were dependent on the miners for a safe passage home. Because the miners knew the Kukukuku as fierce warriors and they did not need them as either workers or producers of food, they may have been more inclined to shoot on sight than they were in other areas. Many years after, the Kukukuku told the Reverend Herbert Brown that when they visited miners' camps to trade they had been shot at and the dogs had been set after them. Their apparent rejection of the government's advances may be partly explained by the fact that before and after the government began its conciliatory patrols, miners were reinforcing the pattern of violence which the Kukukuku knew well.

In 1930 the Kukukuku robbed Bethune's camp on Twisty Creek. Hides, sent to show that 'they could not steal, with impunity, the property of a white man', followed the tracks of the looters up the Olipai and across the ranges to the Kapau. In a village he found a novel, a china cup, pieces of cloth and other objects taken from Bethune's camp. Men had been working on shovel blades to cut them into strips which could be fitted to Kukukuku adzes. Hides believed he could distinguish four types of Kukukuku and the people on the Kapau, he thought, were pygmies, 'the nearest approach to the original inhabitants of New Guinea'. After a violent struggle Hides arrested some men, but the patrol was ambushed on the way back to Tiveri, a constable was badly wounded, and the handcuffed prisoners escaped. On a second patrol Hides was attacked frequently, and two carriers were wounded: he had

failed to carry out his instructions 'to establish friendly relations with the Kukukuku'. But by this time the most frequent intrusions into Kukukuku country were coming from the north as miners and government officials pushed out from Wau. In the early 1930s the Kukukuku killed three prospectors and many labourers from the Morobe goldfield, and attacked government patrols which attempted to investigate the killings. They earned a reputation among New Guinea officers as the 'most bloodthirsty and vicious' warriors in New Guinea.

It was not until the 1960s that government patrols could move peacefully through the country of the Anga peoples, and few of those patrols passed through the thinly populated country disturbed fifty years earlier by the miners fanning out from Tiveri. Some miners and prospectors returned after the war, but probably the people who have had most influence on the Kukukuku of the upper Lakekamu were other Papuans. Some Kunimaipa and Moveave men worked gold, began cattle and rubber projects near Bulldog, and cut timber. Papuan pastors, supported by the London Missionary Society churches on the coast, began work in the area. Some Kukukuku began to move south. In the early 1960s they established the village of Keremahaua on the Olipai just above the junction with the Lakekamu. Their culture is now strongly influenced by the coast: they are canoemen in regular contact with the outside world.

Brown 1956, 1973 and Ryan 1965 provided basic information about the Toaripi and Moveave peoples. I am particularly indebted to the Reverend Herbert Brown who talked to me about the history of the Gulf. Saunders 1965 wrote a popular biography of Brown. Mekere Morauta, students and residents of the Gulf, gave additional information. The two earliest European residents of the area wrote about the Gulf and its people: Chalmers 1898 and Edelfelt 1887, 1893. Lovett 1903 and Langmore 1974 examined Chalmers's work in the Gulf. MacGregor's account of his voyage up the Tauri and Lakekamu was printed in the *Annual Report 1892/93*, pp. 24-5. The information concerning the development of London Missionary Society schools and relationships between government officers and villagers was taken from *Annual Reports* and Kerema station papers. The work of the Moveave on the river is noted in the Nepa station papers. Brown 1956, p. 163 wrote of his conversations with Moveave men on the goldfields. Williams 1923, 1934 commented on the Vailala madness.

Neville Robinson, M.A. student, U.P.N.G., has collected material on the wartime experiences of the Toaripi. The building of the Bulldog track is described in Reinhold 1946 and McCarthy 1959. Wilson and Garnaut 1968, Brown and Ryan have recorded the attempts by the Moveave-Toaripi to change their way of life in the post-war period.

The Kovio have also been called the 'Bush Mekeo', 'West Mekeo' and 'North Mekeo'. Brown 1956, 1973 and in conversation provided much of the material used here. Other information was collected on a visit to Urulau in 1972.

Lloyd 1973, Appendix A, discusses the origin of the term, 'Kukukuku'. Gajdusek and others 1972 provide a comprehensive guide to printed material on the Anga. The references to early contact between the Kukukuku and government officers is taken from *Annual Reports*, Kerema station papers, Griffin 1925 and Monckton 1921. C.B.

Higginson described his encounter with the Kukukuku and summed up the government officers' knowledge of the Kukukuku in the *Annual Report 1907/08*, pp. 50-4. Murray's statement about the ease of civilising 'this type of native' is from the same *Report*, p. 17. The prospectors commented on the Kukukuku in their reports to Murray and in their letters: Frank to Dan Pryke 11 February 1910 and Jim to Mark Pryke, no date but late 1909 or early 1910. Murray wrote of his attempt to meet the Kukukuku in 1910 in the *Annual Report 1909/10*, pp. 12-14. The largely futile efforts of government officers to establish friendly relations with the Kukukuku are recorded in the Nepa station papers. Humphries 1923 retold the story of the men taken to Port Moresby and Murray commented on them in his introduction to the book. Hides 1935 published his account of his encounter with the Kukukuku and most of his patrol report survives in the Australian Archives, AS 13/26 item C 918 /3. Blackwood 1939a, 1939b, 1950 carried out fieldwork among the northern Kukukuku in 1936-7 not long after they had clashed with miners moving out from Wau. Sinclair 1966 summarised early relations between foreigners and Kukukuku and provided a lucid account of patrolling among the Kukukuku in the 1950s. Sinclair 1969 wrote on Hides's work on the upper Lakekamu. See McCarthy 1963 for a New Guinea officer's experiences with the Kukukuku.

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