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CUSTOMARY EXCHANGE ACROSS TORRES STRAIT

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Customary exchange across Torres Strait is examined through a study of documentary sources, oral history and museum collections. The study includes an analysis of the material culture of exchange illustrating the variety of artefacts of subsistence, ornamentation and dress, recreation, ceremony and dance, and warfare.

The idea that customary exchange across Torres Strait was a system of fixed, formalised, point-to-point trade routes is contested. This misconception, based on Haddon (1890, 1901-1935), McCarthy (1939) and Moore (1979), has arisen from reliance on historical documentary sources. By contrast, oral history from Torres Strait Islanders and coastal Papuans suggests that customary exchange was flexible and open, tied to changing social, political and cultural factors and operated within the framework of a dynamic Melanesian economic system. Customary exchange is re-evaluated and the paths and patterns of exchange are restructured.

Patterns of customary exchange formed as a result of separate linkages between individuals and groups and served to distribute scarce resources between the Islander, Papuan and Aboriginal peoples across a region of considerable geographical, ecological and cultural diversity. Exchange is therefore interpreted in the context of the cultural and ecological discreteness of human groups within the Torres Strait region.

This study also investigates the extent to which customary exchange exists in the contemporary period and the implications of recent legal and administrative decisions such as the Torres Strait Treaty. □ *Customary exchange, oral history, Torres Strait, south coastal Papua, inter-island trade.*

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This study examines the material culture of customary exchange, across Torres Strait, within the framework of a dynamic Melanesian exchange system. Both indigenous and European perceptions of customary exchange are presented followed by assessment of the similarities and differences. Misconceptions concerning the nature of customary exchange in the Torres Strait region have arisen from the continued reliance on historical documentary sources. It will be shown that these sources may have distorted the true character of customary exchange across this diverse region. Oral testimony from the Torres Strait Islander and Papuan people and examination of the objects of exchange, which are essentially material evidence of customary exchange, are important elements.

Change in the customary exchange system may also be evidenced by changes to the material culture of exchange. A further objective was to determine how dynamic and resiliant was customary exchange in a region of Papua New Guinea(PNG) and northern Australia that is often overlooked and regarded as being on the political and cultural periphery. The Torres Strait/Fly estuary region is culturally diverse, and politically divided and has been subjected to different patterns of colonial subjugation. However, customary exchange has served, along with marriage and warfare in the pre-colonial period, to integrate the region. This integration has enabled the small scale communities of the region to balance unequal resource allocation, for the essence of exchange is circulation of both material and non-material items.

Historical sources recording contact with Islanders commenced with a brief description of outrigger canoes off Yam Island by Luis Baes de Torres in 1606 (Hilder,1980:76). Sustained contact, following the voyages of William Bligh in 1796 (Bligh, 1976) and Matthew Flinders in 1802 (Flinders, 1814), began in the mid-nineteenth century with the scientific voyages of the survey ships sent to chart a safe passage from the

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Australian colonies to the markets and ports of India and Asia (Jukes,1847; Macgillivray,1852; Allen & Corris,1977; Moore,1979).

Following missionary activity and establishment of the London Missionary Society on Darnley Island in 1871, eommereial fishing and pearling began. European eommereial aetivity led to exploration of the Fly estuary and the SW eoast of PNG by adventurers (Chester,1870; D' Albertis,1881) and missionaries (Maefarlane, 1875/76; Gill, 1874a,b; Chalmers, 1903a,b; Baxter-Riley,1925). Colonial administration established at Mabudawan in 1891 and then at Daru in 1895, encouraged field offieers (Jiear, 1904/05; Beaver, 1920; Austen,1925) to report ethnographic data so that the eolonial government could exercise eontrol over the various ethnic groups inhabiting this isolated region. This rich source of historieal documentary evidenee may be eompared with oral evidenee from indigenous peoples.

The most important work on the social, economic and cultural life of Torres Strait Islanders is by Haddon (1901-1935) who led the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits in 1898.

The Finnish anthropologist and sociologist Gunnar Landtman, a protégé of Haddon, noted that extensive 'trade' had been carried on between the Kiwai region and the Torres Strait Islands (Landtman,1927: 213-216). He assumed a degree of resource speeialization among various ethnic groups inhabiting eoastal and riverine areas and eollected oral evidenee of inter-ethnic relations, kinship connections and population movements (Landtman, 1917) as well as artefacts which he documented and catalogued himself (Landtman, 1933). Landtman (1927:215) could see no elear difference between 'actual commerce' and the 'exehange of friendly presents' and remarked (Landtman,1927:205) that socially sponsored journeys, whieh originated from gift exehange between visitor and host, assumed, in most eases, the 'charaeter of regular trading enterprises'. Both these points will require further elarification.

Oral evidence of exehange relations, inter-ethnie contaet and eoastal population movements between Torres Strait Islanders and eoastal Papuans has survived most strongly among the coastal people of PNG. There are many historical and cultural reasons for this. The islands of the Torres Strait were, by the 1860s, home to many nationalities. The intermingling of people, as a result of prolonged impaet of eolonial administration and eommercial exploitation of the Torres Strait, has served to alter the cultural and economic focus of the Islander people. Political pressure imposed from outside resulted in the enforeement of legal and quarantine regulations across the Torres Strait whieh inhibited the free movement of goods and people aeross the Australian-PNG border. This had a detrimental effeet on Islander-Papuan relations and, despite the ratifieation of the Torres Strait Treaty in 1985, which formally reeognized indigenous rights to free movement and exehange, the politieal, social and economic separation of Islanders and Papuans is now almost eomplete.

Of the multitude of islands in Torres Strait, only 16 are inhabited, although use of uninhabited islands, either permanently or temporarily, has occurred during reeent time.

The SW eoast of PNG extends from Parama Island in the east to the entranec of the Mai Kussa, opposite the island of Boigu.

The triangular Fly estuary extends from Parama Island in the south and Dibiri Island in the northeast to Somogi Island at the entranee of the Fly River proper. The estuary contains c.40 large islands and numerous tidal islets. The largest island in the estuary is Kiwai Island, the original home of the Kiwai-speaking people, some of whom now dwell in eoastal villages along the northern (Manowetti) bank and the western (Dudi) bank of the Fly estuary. Kiwai-speaking people also live along the SW eoast (Fig. 1).

'Western Province' refers to the politieal region of PNG immediately to the north of the Torres Strait and will be used in prefercnee to the earlier names: 'Western District' and 'Western Divisi-on'.

Preliminary fieldwork involving two trips by small boat, principally to the Torres Strait islands of Moa, Badu, Boigu, Saibai, Dauan, Masig, Mer, Erub and Ugar, was undertaken in 1984. This was followed by two extended periods of fieldwork, during 1985, in PNG. The first trip, by boat, commeneed in Buji, opposite Boigu, and was completed at Kadawa, opposite Daru. The seeond trip ineluded journeys by canoe and on foot to villages visited during the first trip. As well as an inland walking trip from Masingara to Kulalae, I also made a long trip on a hired double-outrigger canoe from Kadawa into the Fly estuary. During this canoe journey, coastal Kiwai villagcs along the Dudi bank, as well as villages on Kiwai Island, were visited. Fieldwork ended in Madiri in the Fly estuary. A short trip by light plane was also made to the inland village of Wipim. Wim

and Iamega at the headwaters of the Oriomo River were reached by foot. Field research concentrated on recording, on tape, oral testimonies of interaction, exchange and population movements across the Torres Strait. Oral evidence was first recorded in the vernacular language, this was then replayed to the storyteller for possible alteration or correction. A translation into English was then made in the presence of the storyteller using local English-speaking men as translators. In many cases this resulted in additional information being given by the storyteller and/or other listeners.

'Material culture' may be defined as '*the tangible phenomena of a human society that are the purposive products of learnt patterns that are not instinctive*' (Reynolds,1984a:4).

Material objects such as canoes, shells, drums, bows, arrows, masks, headdresses, costumes and ornaments, moved across the Torres Strait often over considerable distances. Exchange in material goods was complemented by the movement of non-material items such as songs, dances and rituals. Women, as willing partners in marriage or as unwilling prizes of raiding and warfare, also passed from one ethnic group to another. Exchange was facilitated by means of canoes, the largest of which, the double-outrigger sailing canoe, was the most important object of customary exchange.

I shall contest the idea, long held, that customary exchange across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary consisted of a complex system of fixed and linear trade-routes. I shall show that patterns of customary exchange formed as a result of separate linkages between individuals and groups and were subject to considerable change due to external and internal factors.

'Exchange' is taken to mean the 'reciprocal traffic, exchange or movement of goods through peaceful human agency' (Renfrew,1969:152) and is a transaction involving two transactors and two objects. The two transactors may be individuals or groups and the objects may be alike or unalike. Separation of commodity exchange which 'establishes quantitative relationships between the objects transacted' from gift exchange which 'establishes personal qualitative relationships between the subjects transacting' (Gregory 1982:41) is difficult in Melanesian economic relations. Ambiguity is the key to Melanesian economics for, as Gregory (1982:116) observed: '*A thing is now a gift, now a commodity, depending on the social context of the transaction*'.

Exchange served not only the economic function of circulation of goods and resources, it also fulfilled a cultural role as a disseminator of ritual and myths, and through kinship and 'trade partnership' relations, served to integrate scattered communities. For these reasons 'exchange' is used in preference to the more common terms 'trade' or 'traffic'. Where 'trade', or 'trading' or 'traffic', was used by an author this terminology will remain, but will be marked by quotation marks. The terms 'canoe trade' and 'canoe traffic' (Landtman,1927:213; Haddon,1904, V:296, 1908,VI:186), were attempts to incorporate the concepts of exchange for canoes and exchange by means of canoes.

GEOGRAPHY AND PREHISTORY OF THE REGION

The Torres Strait is defined (Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence,1976:xiii) as '*Generally that area of sea and islands lying between Cape York and the Papuan coast bounded as follows: in the east by the northeast extremity of the Great Barrier Reef and thence in a northwesterly direction to include Bramble Cay terminating at Brampton Point on the Papuan coast; in the west by Parliament Point on the Papuan coast; and thence south to 11° S latitude including Turu Cay and Cook, Merkara and Proudfoot Shoals.*'

This reef-strewn passage between Cape York and southwest PNG, west of the Fly River, is only a little over 150 km wide but contains more than 100 islands, coral reefs and cays between 141° 15' and 144° 20' E longitude and 9° 20' and 10° 45' S latitude (Fig. 1).

The Torres Strait is a shallow shelf, 10–15m deep, along longitude 142° 15' E which approximates the position of the land bridge of intrusive igneous rocks that was drowned by postglacial transgression. The bridge was drowned during the early Holocene (8500–6500 years B.P.); according to Barham & Harris (1983: 531,536), if the postglacial transgression of the continental shelf by the sea was completed in two to three thousand years the present configuration of islands would have been reached by 6000 B.P.

Torres Strait islands may be divided into four groups: an eastern group of high Pleistocene islands of basalt and tuffs; a central group of low carbonate sand islands; a western group of high islands of Upper Carboniferous acid volcanic and granitic rocks, which form part of the pre-Mesozoic basement Cape York-Oriomo Ridge (Willmott,1972:6); and a 'top' western group of

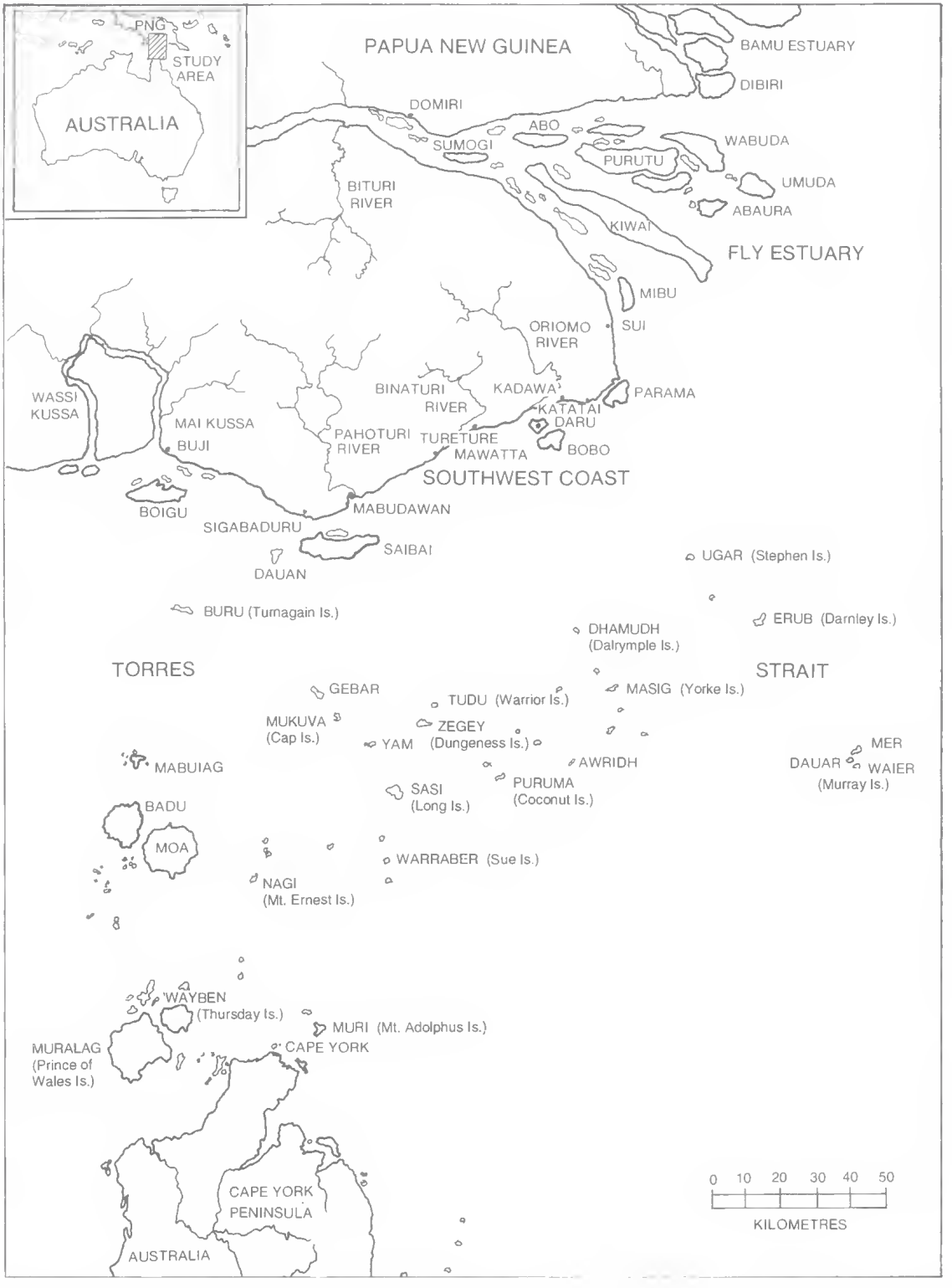


FIG. 1. Map of Torres Strait, SW Coast of PNG and Fly estuary with local and English names for major islands.

low mangrove mud and peat islands overlying coralline platforms (Barham & Harris,1983:533). Sixteen are inhabited at present (Appendix A).

The western pre-Mesozoic islands, Badu, Moa, Mabuiag, Wayben (Fig. 2), Keriri, Muralag and Narupay have steep hill slopes and poor soils with broad plains of clay silt which turn to fine dust in the dry season. The sandy, acidic soils are covered with patches of scrub and forest. The islands are surrounded by mudflats, mangroves and freshwater swamps. The surrounding seas and fringing reefs support a variety of sea life, including dugong and turtle.

The 'top' western islands, Saibai (Fig. 3) and Boigu, are the alluvial accumulation of organic, intertidal and mangrove muds from PNG rivers deposited on reef limestones. These islands, 2–3m above Mean Sea Level, are fringed with mangroves and have broad interior swamps subject to seasonal drying and flooding. Formerly, parts of the higher internal lands were cultivated by the inhabitants in drained plots, and water was obtained from wells. Fish and crabs are plentiful, but dugong and turtles are fewer than in clearer waters to the south. Dauan, with geographical characteristics of the western group, is also included in the 'top' western group.

The central islands, Yam, Masig (Fig. 4), Warraber and Puruma, are low sandy cays formed by wave action over platform reef limestone and are generally 3–6m above Mean Sea Level, with some patches of mangroves. Vegetation is scrubby but large areas of coconuts have been planted. Extensive fringing reefs contain abundant fish life. Yam Island, the easternmost, has geographical characteristics of the western group.

The high, volcanic, eastern islands, Mer (Fig. 5), Erub, and Ugar have fertile, brownish soil and steep well-vegetated slopes with some exposed rock. These islands show signs of deforestation and soil erosion. Their wide reefs support a variety of sea life including many sharks and rays. Sea grass beds and dugongs are scarce but turtles are plentiful.

The dominant climatic feature is the seasonal alternation of wet (December-April) and dry (May-November) periods. The wet season occurs during the time of the north-west monsoon whereas the dry season corresponds to the period of the south-east trade winds.

Vegetation (Willmott,1972:3) of the coastal region of PNG consists of grasslands, open savanna woodlands with patches of rainforest and dense palm forests. The high western islands of Torres Strait support sparse eucalypt forest and some areas of montane forest, while the eastern islands are covered in dense grass, patches of rainforest and coconut groves. The central islands, particularly east of Warrior Reef support coarse grass, low scrub and coconut groves.

Savanna country contains a range of vegetation types from grassland to dense woodlands, with a more or less continuous ground layer of grasses beneath or between trees (Harris,1980: 5) and '... *the Intermediate Tropical or Savanna Zone can be defined as that part of the tropical world that experiences a dry season of 2.5 to 7.5 months ...*' (Harris,1980:3). The Torres Strait islands and

FIG. 2. Wayben (Thursday Is.) with Narupay (Horn Is.) in distance. (Photo:W. Gladstone)

FIG. 3. Saibai village, Saibai.

neighbouring coastal PNG are within this classification.

The Western Province of PNG is the largest but most sparsely populated district in the country. It is bordered on the west by Irian Jaya, on the north by West Sepik (Sanduan) province and on the northeast by the Southern Highlands and Gulf Provinces. To the south, the Western Province and Australia share a political border in the Torres Strait.

Most of the Western Province is a vast lowland area with high mountains only in the north and northwest. The Oriomo Plateau extends west from the mouth of the Fly River to the Irian Jaya

FIG. 4. Masig (Yorke Is.) village.

FIG. 5. Mer (Murray Is.) village.

border, being defined in the north by the Fly River and in the south by a narrow coastal plain. The coastal plain is featureless (Fig. 6), except for the hill at Mabudawan (59m). The plains are flooded during the wet and desiccated during the dry. The Bensbach, Morehead, Pahoturi, Binaturi, and Oriomo Rivers are widely spaced and slow flowing. Tidal inlets of the Wassi Kussa and Mai Kussa create Strachan Island.

The coastal plain, in places less than 3km wide, and 3m above Mean Sea Level is subject to seasonal and tidal flooding, the narrow sandy beach being the only dry part in some heavy wet seasons (Fig. 7). Shallow coastal waters are muddy and contain reefs, mudbanks and sandbars. The mouths of the Fly and Bamu Rivers consist of numerous channels separating low islands which are mostly uninhabited tidal swamps. The Fly River contains many obstacles to navigation. Constantly changing shoals and floating tree trunks in muddy waters plague river journeys. Rapid rise and fall of floodwaters and an unpredictable tidal bore in the lower Fly River, especially during new and full moons at the southeast season, are also hazards to the inhabitants.

Soil on the Oriomo Plateau is generally poor,

FIG. 6. Kadawa village, PNG. Daru Is. in left background.

FIG. 7. Wabuda, Fly estuary, PNG. Small fishing village located on sandy point.

and on the coastal plain is poorly drained and clayey. However, some good gardening soil exists along the narrow beach ridges and inland along rivers and swamps (Fig. 8).

Vegetation inland in PNG is generally savanna grasslands similar to Cape York. The coastal swamps contain nipa palm, mangrove and sago palm and are bordered by areas of dense woodlands.

Cape York and southwest PNG are joined by a pre-Mesozoic basement ridge, known as the Cape York-Oriomo Ridge, which extends from Cape York to Mabudawan on the PNG coast (Willmott, 1973; Willmott et al., 1969; Whitaker & Willmott, 1969). These Carboniferous-Permian volcanic rocks are mostly rhyolite welded tuffs, subordinate dacite or dellenite welded tuff, agglomerate, rhyolite, andesite and volcanic breccia (Willmott, 1973:102). Postdating these is the Permian Badu Granite, exposed on the islands of the western side of the Torres Strait north of 10° 30'S and west of 142° 50'E and in the hill at Mabudawan. Lapping onto these Palaeozoic rocks from the south are Mesozoic sediments of the Carpentaria Basin.

In the area south of the Fly River, Mesozoic sediments are overlain by Cainozoic limestones, and Plioeene and Pleistocene mudstones, sandstones and gravels (Whitaker & Willmott, 1969:535). River alluvium, sand, dune sand and sand cays are exposed along the southwest coast.

Pleistocene ash cones (now tuffs) in the eastern

FIG. 8. Map of SW Coast, PNG.

part of Torres Strait belong to the Maer Voleanics and form the islands of Mer, Erub, Ugar, and Daru and Bramble Cay.

Land bridged the Sahul Shelf linking PNG to Australia, aeross Torres Strait and the Arafura Sea, between 80000–10000 years B.P. (Bellwood,1979:37). The full evidence of human settlement in the area now under the sea between Australia and PNG is unknown. The last land bridge between Australia and New Guinea was aeross Torres Strait, and when this was breaehed, many islands were left in the gap (Golson, 1972: 379).

The breach was dated at 8000 B.P. (White & O'Connell,1982:171) or between 6500 and 8000 B.P. (Bellwood,1979:62). Thus, by 4000-5000 B.P., Torres Strait had eome elose to its present eonfiguration. The shallow seabed, gently ineelined to the west, would have been formed by small rivers and swamps draining from the north and south. Meandering rivers and numerous swamps would have provided subsistenee for human groups (Moore,1979:308). Flooding of the Shelf would have eaused subsistenee dwellers to move to the higher land or baek up the river eourses towards PNG or Australia. Assumptions based on studies of early sites are that humans have been in the PNG and Australian area since the Pleistoeene (see Bellwood,1979:62). Prior to the breaeh, the Torres Strait region formed a plateau which separated fluvial systems draining westward into the Arafura Sea basin and eastward to the Coral Sea basin (Barham & Harris,1983: 543).

Hypotheteal reeonstruetions of Torres Strait prehistory have been outlined by Golson (1972), Vanderwal (1973), Moore (1979), and Barham & Harris (1983) and arehaeologieal investigations are eontinuing (Harris, Barham & Ghaleb,1985). Any hypothesis regarding prehistorie events in the Torres Strait region that might have led to the ethnographie situation as found at first European eontaet must draw on the findings of other diseiplines (Moore,1979:308).

LANGUAGE AND CULTURAL GROUPS

Based on the work of Ray & Haddon (1893) and Ray (1907) Torres Strait has been considered a linguistic barrier between PNG and Australia. However, linguistic influences appear to have crossed in both directions. Ray & Haddon (1893: 494-496) stated that the Miriam (now Meriammer) language was spoken on Mer, Erub and Ugar. Saibai language (now called Kala Lagaw Ya) was spoken on western islands from Cape York to within a mile or two of the New Guinea mainland (Ray & Haddon, 1893:464). Ray stated that the 'chief divisions of the tribe' in the western islands were: Kauralaig on Muralug and Moa, Gumulaig on Badu and Mabuiag, Saibailaig on Saibai, Dauan and Boigu, and Kulkalaig on Nagi, Tudu and Masig. Ray & Haddon (1893:465) also noted that between these groups the language varied with both dialectal and pronunciation differences.

Meriam-mer belongs to the Papuan (non-Austronesian) language family, the Eastern Trans-Fly Family (of the subphylum level Trans-Fly Stock of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum). Wurm (1972:349) stated that Meriam is structurally a typical Papuan language related to Bine, Gidra and Gizra. Its closest geographical proximity is to Southern Kiwai language and, while structurally and lexically Gizra is the closest linguistic relative of Meriam (Wurm, 1972:348), the simplified phonology of the Meriam language is the result of the strong influence of Southern Kiwai language (Fig. 9).

Kala Lagaw Ya or Kala Lagau Langgus (Bani,1976) belongs to the Pama-Nyungan group of Australian languages (Bani,1976:3). However, dialect differences are still apparent. The so-called Mabuiag dialect (Ray,1907:6), spoken by Badbulgal and Gumulgal of Badu and Mabuiag and the Mabuygilgal of Mabuiag as well as the Italgal and Muwalgal of Moa, is now referred to as Kala Lagaw Ya. The dialect of the Boigu, Dauan and Saibai Islanders (the Boeygulgal, Daewanalgal and Saybaylgal), referred to as Saibai dialect (Ray & Haddon,1893) is now termed Kalaw Kawaw Ya. Dialect differences also could be noted in the language variations spoken by the central Islanders (the Kulkalgal) of Puruma, Yam, Warraber, Masig and on other islands only occasionally inhabited as well as in the language of the Kawrareg of Muralag and the other SW islands.

All dialects were mutually intelligible and differed only slightly in vocabulary and phonology. At present, western islands language is spoken in three different ways: pure language (Yagar-Yagar); Ap-ne-Ap or 'Half and Half' that is, a mixture of Torres Strait creole and Yagar-Yagar; and Modern Laggus, a simplified form of Yagar-Yagar used mainly by younger people in the western islands (Bani,1976: 3).

In the classification of the linguistic patterns of the Torres Strait region it is important to note a northward Australian linguistic influence was followed by a southward Papuan linguistic influence (Wurm,1972:361). These influences were not equal, for while Meriam contains some Kala Lagaw Ya loan words of Australian Aboriginal origin, there is negligible Australian Aboriginal influence on Meriam which contrasts to the strong Papuan influence on the language and dialects of the western Islanders.

The position of language on the northern islands of Boigu, Dauan and Saibai has not been comprehensively studied. Laade (1970: 271) noted that Europeans as well as Islanders regarded the Mabuiag dialect of Kala Lagaw Ya as the purest form of western islands language. Although the Saibai people state that their language represents an older form, Laade (1970: 271) stated that Saibai and Boigu were inhabited before the other western islands and Mabuiag was settled by men who obtained women from Saibai and Boigu. Badu was then settled from Mabuiag, but at a later date. The central islands were inhabited at the same time as Boigu and Saibai by people who based their permanent settlement at Tudu and used the other islands on hunting and fishing expeditions. Laade (1970:272) therefore suggested that the Mabuiag language was a combination of Saibai language and the language of the original Tudu settlers.

Proto-Paman loan words in languages of the Eastern Trans-Fly Family indicates the influence of Australian Aboriginal language in the eastern Trans-Fly area. The predominance of proto-Paman loan words in Gizra suggests that the influence postdates the splitting of Eastern Trans-Fly proto-languages into daughter languages. This is assumed to have taken place 3000–4000 B.P (Wurm,1972:360), indicating a spread northwards of Australian linguistic influence. This was followed by a southward Papuan linguistic influence into Torres Strait and Cape York Peninsula, perhaps 1000 years later. Wurm (1972:362) suggested that Gizra and Meriam split from a common proto-language after the splitting of the original Eastern Trans-Fly proto-language into daughter languages. Meriam thus shares a

FIG. 9. Language map of Torres Strait. Languages used in areas indicated are underlined. (From Wurm, 1972, 1973, 1975a,b; Shnukal, 1983, 1988)

number of words with Mabuiag which are separate from the commonly shared words of Papuan and Australian origin. The original reason for this movement south may have been the linguistic migrations assumed to have commenced in the Markham Valley 5000 B.P., spreading to the Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages through three-quarters of the New Guinea mainland. The spread into the southern areas of New Guinea may have taken place between 2000 to 3000 B.P. This is supported by the suggestion that the ancestors of the present day Kiwai people, who migrated down the Fly, were the carriers of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. Linguistic elements of these Phylum languages became superimposed on the non-Trans-New Guinea Phylum languages of the Trans-Fly area as part of ancestral Kiwai influence (Wurm,1972: 363).

'Broken', also called 'Brokan' or Torres Strait Kriol (Creole), originated from pidgin languages brought to the islands by Pacific Islanders in the 1850s. Shnukal (1988) stated that creole is predominantly spoken: at Bamaga on Cape York; Erub and Mer in the eastern islands; Masig, Puruma and Warraber in the central islands and Moa (St Pauls), Yam, Thursday Island and Hammond Island in the western islands. The number of first language speakers of Broken is probably about 2500-3000 but there are about 12000-15000 second language speakers (Shnukal, 1988:3). Although negative concepts associated with the use of Broken are common among some Islanders, as it is seen as 'Pidgin' or substandard English, it is a common language in daily life and on some local and regional radio programmes. English is the main administrative language on Thursday Island and the language of instruction in all Torres Strait island schools.

The languages spoken on the southwest coast of PNG are members of the Papuan (or non-Austronesian) language group belonging to the Eastern Trans-Fly Family of the Trans-New Guinea Phylum. Of these languages the Kiwai family of languages has the largest number of speakers. The Kiwai family of languages consists of c. 7 distinct languages with 15 different communalects of divergent dialect status located on the coastal, near-coastal and insular areas of the Western Province (particularly the Fly estuary) and the Gulf Province (Wurm,1973:219). Geographically, these languages extend from Mabudawan across the Fly estuary as far as the eastern bank of Era Bay in the Gulf Province (Fig. 10).

Wurm (1973:225) stated that of the 22700 speakers of the Kiwaian family, 9700 spoke the Southern Kiwai variant, 1700 spoke Wabuda and 4400 spoke Bamu Kiwai. Of the southern Kiwai speakers, Wurm claimed that the Coastal Kiwai dialects of Southern Coastal Kiwai comprised 1800 speakers, Eastern Coastal Kiwai 3000 speakers, Daru Kiwai 1000 speakers, Island Kiwai 3500 speakers, Doumori 400, Wabadu 1700 and Bamu Kiwai 4400 speakers. Southern Coastal Kiwai, a subdialect of Coastal Kiwai, is spoken in the villages of Mabudawan, Mawatta and Tureture, while Eastern Coastal Kiwai is spoken in the villages of Katatai, Kadawa and Parama on the southwest coast, and Sui, Dawari, Severimabu and Koabu on the eastern bank of the Fly estuary (Wurm,1973:234).

Island Kiwai is spoken in Saguare, Ipisia, Samari, Iasa, Kubira, Doropo and Sepe; a variant being spoken in Aibinio. Wabuda is spoken in Wabuda Island, Wapi on Aibinio Island, and two villages on Dibiri Island between the Fly and Bamu estuaries (Wurm,1973:236). Bamu Kiwai is spoken in villages of the lower Bamu River and, in recent times, in the large Bamu villages on Daru Island and in the lower Oriomo River.

Kiwaian languages show strong links with the languages located in the Upper Fly River headwaters (Wurm,1973:252). This suggests that the original Kiwaian speakers migrated down the Fly River to the delta region, and thence along the eastern and southern coasts of the Trans-Fly area and north to the Bamu region. This migration moved further north where the original languages were subject to linguistic changes when in contact with the older original languages. A similar migration southward would explain linguistic connections between Kiwai and Meriam (Wurm, 1973:253) and perhaps the slight influences of Papuan language on the western islands. This southward migration began no more than 3000–4000 years ago (Wurm,1973:255).

Within the Kiwai language a number of dialect differences were first noted late last century. Ray & Haddon (1893:465) stated that specimens of language obtained from Mowat (Mawatta or Moatta) at the mouth of the Binaturi, Parama (or Parem), and on Kiwai Island showed a variety of dialectal differences. The use of Motu as a lingua franca has declined in post-colonial years and has been replaced by English. English is used in schools, government and administration throughout the Western Province.

A common feature of all points and assumptions is that cross-cultural contact, internally among Islanders, as well as externally between

FIG. 10. Language map of the SW coast and Fly estuary, PNG. Language names are underlined. (From Wurm & Hattori, 1981).

Papuans, Islanders and Aborigines, has always existed. While the full extent of these patterns of language, migration and inter-regional movements is not well known, elements of specific cross-cultural contacts are mentioned in oral histories.

In the Oriomo-Bituri region linguistic affiliations extend inland from the southwest coast. The Gidra (Gidera) speaking people occupy the inland villages of Rual, Kapal, Iamega, Wipim, Podare, Gamaeve, Ume, Kuru, Zim, Peawa and Abam, as well as the coastal village of Dorogori. They call their own language Wipitungam. The Gidra live along the Oriomo River and in a cluster of villages at the Oriomo headwaters. The term Gidra, meaning 'bush people', was originally given to these people by their Bine speaking neighbours.

To the north, at the headwaters of the Binaturi River, are the Magayam speaking people living in the villages of Sanguanso, Upiara, Tewara, Mutumu (Mutam) and Lewada. These people call themselves Magayam but are called Masam by their neighbours. The Pasuam speakers live in the villages at the headwaters of the Pahoturi River in the villages of Wim, Biambod, Sogare (Sogale), Nanu, Ngao (Gnao) as well as Glabi, Sebe and Kubuli, and are called Kawam by the Bine (Watanabe, 1975:1, 76). The Bine speaking people living along the Binaturi River inhabit the villages of Bose, Giringarede, Masingara, Irupi, Drageli, and Kunini, while the Gizra people live in the villages of Waidoro, Kupere and Kulalae (Togo). The Agob speaking people live in the small isolated villages of Sigabaduru, Ber and Buji, between the Pahoturi River and the Mai Kussa. As oral evidence shows, contact between Islanders and Papuans was first established by the 'bush' people rather than the 'coast' people.

Language groups in the Oriomo-Bituri district are concentrated in close proximity to the larger

river systems. Villages are spread along the river and interconnecting streams. Access between villages can be effected by walking through the bush and swamps as well as by small river canoe. Travel along the southwest coast and into the islands of the Torres Strait is facilitated by means of large sailing canoes or large fiberglass 'banana' boats.

Since early times, the canoe provided the Torres Strait island people, as well as the coastal Papuans, with their principal means of long distance maritime transport. It must be apparent, therefore, that across the Torres Strait the canoe assumed paramount importance within the pattern of customary exchange between Islanders and Papuans.

POPULATION AND SUBSISTENCE PATTERNS

Subsistence systems varied along a gradient from north to south across the Torres Strait from the lowlands of Papua in the north to the western islands of the Torres Strait in the south.

In lowland Papua and the northern Torres Strait islands mixed systems existed which blended limited horticulture with foraging; in the southern Torres Strait islands and Cape York Peninsula subsistence was almost completely non-horticultural and a wide range of wild plant and animal resources was exploited (Harris, 1977:422, 1979, 1980). A subsistence gradient also existed across Torres Strait from east to west.

Diversity of subsistence strategies across Torres Strait needs to be understood in terms of the relationship between location, size and population density of islands, and relationship of one island community to another.

The non-horticultural, subsistence pattern of the western Torres Strait Islanders combined exploitation of bush plants with hunting and fishing. Prior to European contact, social groups were organized into mobile, generally semi-permanent, exogamous patriclans and bands. In the eastern islands horticulture exploited the rich soil of the fertile high islands. The eastern Islanders were organized into exogamous villages and hamlets divided into clan areas. In the northwestern low islands a combination of horticulture and wild food procurement was practised by social groups organized into permanent established villages divided into clan wards (Beckett,1972: 320-325). Sandy cays and islets of the central Torres Strait were intermittently inhabited by groups utilizing large double-outrigger sailing canoes obtained from PNG.

Along the coast of PNG, from the Fly estuary to the Mai Kussa River, subsistence patterns varied with geography and topography. Overall slash and burn horticulture was combined with hunting and fishing. The most common horticultural products were taro (*Colocasia esculenta*), yams (*Dioscorea* sp.), bananas (*Musa* sp.), sugarcane (*Saccharum officinarum*), sweet potatoes (*Ipomoea batatas*), and coconuts (*Cocos nucifera*). Semi-domesticated sago (*Metroxylon* sp.) provided much of the carbohydrate food base for coastal and riverine Papuans (Fig. 11).

'*Traditional subsistence in the littoral woodlands and swamps of the Papuan coastal zone appears to be based on limited horticulture, including the tending of semi-wild species, on the gathering of wild plant products and shellfish, on fishing and to a lesser extent turtling and dugong hunting, and on the hunting of wild pigs, wallabies, other small marsupials, lizards, snakes, land birds and waterfowl*'(Harris,1977:451). The reliance on horticulture in the Papuan lowlands and on eastern Torres Strait islands contrasted with a reliance on foraging and hunting on SW Torres Strait islands and on Cape York.

Within this broad spectrum of subsistence patterns, regional and local specialization could also occur. Thus exploitation of marine resources on Torres Strait islands, apart from its role in the subsistence economy, played an important part in social and ceremonial life. In order to exploit marine resources the Islanders and Papuans required a sophisticated marine technology; this included the large outrigger canoes, which could remain at sea for long periods and hold large sea animals such as dugongs and turtles (Fig. 12). Along the Papuan coast, particularly in the riverine zone, the emphasis on horticulture was also an indication of regional resource specialization which encouraged the growth of settled communities. On swampy Fly estuary islands reliance on sago starch as a food staple was a regional resource specialization.

Across the whole of the region, where indigenous populations were supported in broad-spectrum subsistence systems, with some regional resource specialization, the impact of population pressure may have been the key to the development of more specialized subsistence patterns, either through the exploitation of crops or marine resources.

Adoption and development of horticulture, particularly in the eastern Torres Strait, may have

FIG. 11. Woman washing sago pith. Sepe village, PNG.

been related to increases in population resulting from a more sedentary settlement pattern, internal migration of people, or emigration from PNG or Australia (Harris,1977: 456).

Horticulture may have been stimulated by the emigration into the islands or by a gradual move towards resource specialization. Golson (1972: 384) stated that if, in the eastern islands, the original hunter-gatherer groups had been isolated by transgression of the sea during the flooding of the Sahul Shelf, the population would have been small. Any immigrant group, particularly from PNG, with sufficient maritime technology to make the required sea crossings and a horticultural economy on which a viable population could be based, would be able to establish itself on the islands with little or no opposition. Golson's assumption was that the ethnographic evidence supported this hypothesis. For example, eastern Islanders had a horticultural subsistence economy and spoke a Papuan language, while in the western islands, the close network of inter-insular subsistence economies ensured the survival of the hunter-gatherer populations. Any migrant group attempting to impose itself upon the western island communities would have had to contend with long and well-established occupants existing only in semi-permanent habitations of some relatively large but scarcely populated islands. Thus, according to this hypothesis, the economic base of the western islands remained virtually non-horticultural while the language of the western Islanders remained structurally akin to the Paman languages of northern Australia. Golson's model emphasises the complexity of regional subsistence patterns and that, within these patterns, a long term balance of resources and populations could be maintained relative to island size, availability of natural resources and relative geographical position.

Both the coastal Papuan and the Torres Strait Islander communities were small-scale acephalous societies, separated by water barriers. Such societies were characterized by creation of artificial interdependencies by means of ritual and exchange which fostered intermittent co-opera-

FIG. 12. Ocean going canoe (*motomoto*) from Mabudawan village, PNG, sailing to Saibai village.

tion where otherwise interrupted warfare and hostilities would have occurred. Throughout the region, there was a complex division of labour which induced people to refrain from producing goods and required them to import them instead. Trade, warfare and marital exchange provided interaction (Beckett, 1972:319).

Harris (1979:84–102), examining pre-European economy and population patterns of western Torres Strait islands, stated that a direct correlation could be found between inter-insular variation in resource availability and the variation noted in assumed economic structures prior to sustained European contact with Islanders in the mid-nineteenth century. Harris (1979:91) noted, in particular, that it was possible to draw general conclusions about community size and inter-insular variations in population density which related directly to mid-nineteenth century patterns of community organization and the structure of socio-economic exchange in three inter-insular allied groupings in the western islands. The allied groups were: the Muralag group, together with Moa and Nagi; Badu and Mabuiag; and Boigu, Dauan and Saibai. It may also be shown that a fourth insular grouping could include the central islands, particularly Yam, Tudu and Masig, and a fifth grouping in the eastern islands would link Mer, Erub and Ugar (Fig. 13). The last two groups were not examined in detail by Harris. These groupings correspond closely to the known linguistic affiliations of the Torres Strait Islanders.

'*At the local, inter-community level contact was frequent and informal; at the intermediate, inter-community scale it was less frequent and more formal; and at the regional island-mainland level it took the form of systematised trade*'. (Harris, 1979:85).

Using references from the Brierly manuscripts (see Moore, 1974, 1979, and Brierly, 1849/50) and Haddon (1890), Harris showed that subsistence economies of Badu and Mabuiag complemented each other. Badu was well provided with wild terrestrial food, while Mabuiag had access to rich fishing grounds, including the most productive dugong hunting grounds in Torres Strait. Horticulture was more intensive on Mabuiag. Horticultural and sea foods from Mabuiag were

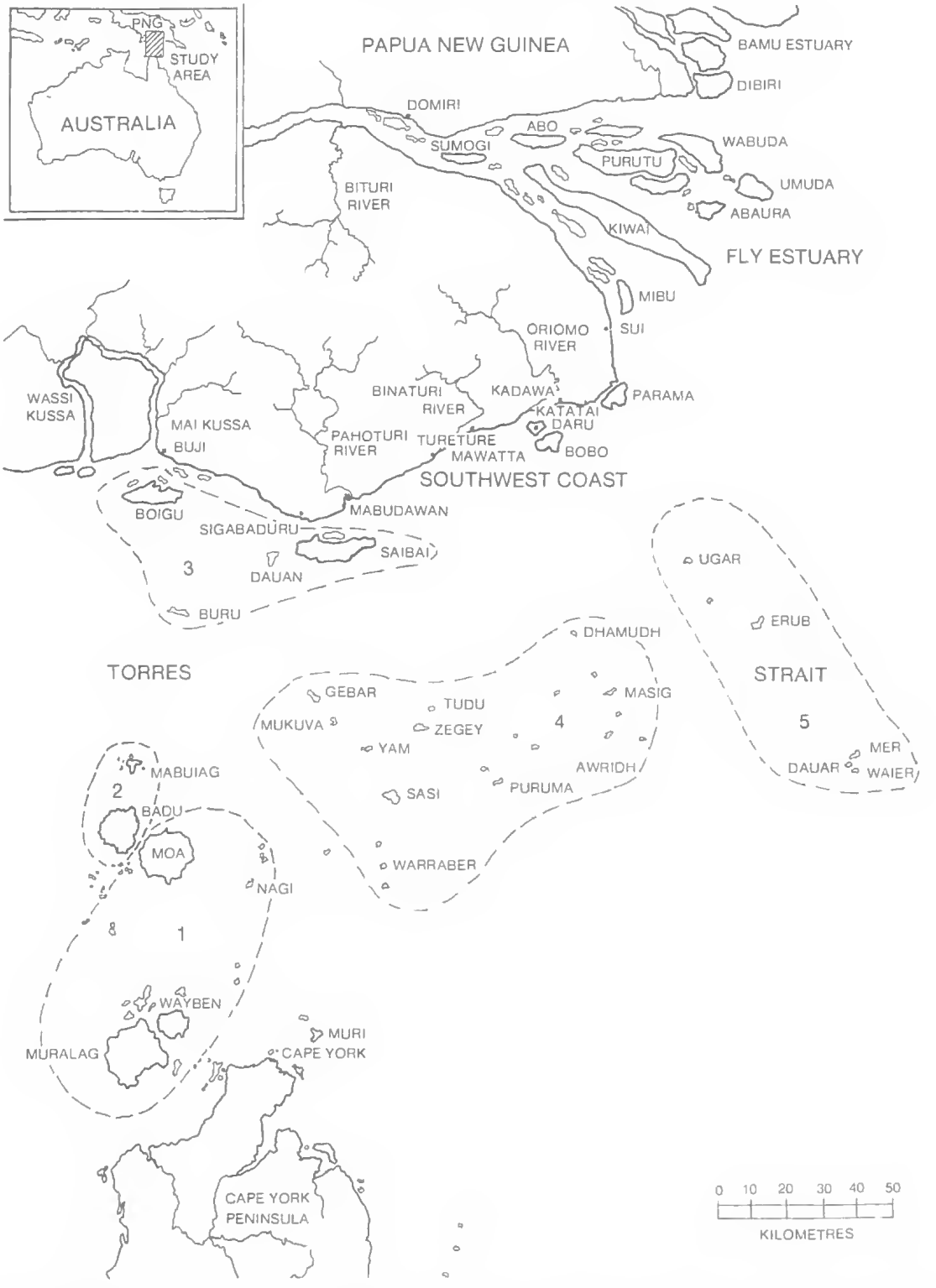


FIG 13. Insular allied groups for inter-marriage, raiding and exchange within the Torres Strait (from Harris, 1979). 1=Muralag group. 2=Badu & Mabuiag. 3=Boigu, Saibai & Dauan. 4=Yam, Tudu, Masig. 5=Mer, Erub & Ugar.

exchanged for wild foods from Badu (Harris,1979: 96-99).

In the SW islands of Muralag and Moa which were subjected to strong seasonal variations and could only support a semi-sedentary population, subsistence activities were mainly wild food procurement. In contrast, Nagi had a higher population density. Because Nagi was more fertile than the Muralag group, horticulture would have been more intensive. The people of Nagi visited the Muralag people regularly, for social and economic reasons, and brought with them bamboo knives, tobacco, fibres for clothing, bows, arrows, mats, ornaments, food and canoes which, in particular, they exchanged for wild yams, and pearlshell ornaments (Moore,1979: 276, 301). A similar relationship existed between the islands of Dauan, Saibai and Boigu (Harris, 1979: 99-101). Dauan, having permanent water and some gardening land, was more intensively cultivated than either Saibai or Boigu. However, Saibai and Boigu provided sea foods and wild animals. This relationship was further complicated by the closeness of Papua.

Harris (1979:87-92) supported his hypothesis of insular allied island groups by examining estimated pre-European contact populations and population densities of western Torres Strait islands. However, many discrepancies occur in accurate estimation of pre- and immediate post-contact populations of these islands (Beckett, 1987:26 footnote)(see Appendix B). This was due, in part, to errors of estimation of movements of semi-permanent populations, and the natural reluctance of many groups to make initial contact with Europeans.

Harris (1979:92) related the estimated population to calculations of population density, and stated that a pre-European contact (c. 1840) population of 2870 for the western islands gave an overall population density of 3.7 persons/km^2 or an average of 7.1 people/km of island coast. Beckett (1972:312; 1987:26) stated that, in 1860, the estimated population for inhabited islands of the Torres Strait was c. 4000–5000. By 1900 this had fallen to 2000, although by 1970 it had again risen to 8000. Chalmers (1887:318) reported that epidemics of European diseases, such as smallpox, wiped out substantial numbers of Torres Strait Islanders and Papuans on the adjoining coast during the late 1860s. However, it needs to be remembered that, although epidemics also occurred in coastal Papua during the 1850s to the 1870s (Oram,1977:92), warfare, seasonal famines and local diseases also served to limit population growth.

The statistics do emphasise, however, that the population groups on Torres Strait islands, prior to the 1840s, were relatively small groups, dependent upon seasonal horticulture, hunting and fishing.

The creation of artificial interdependencies through ritual and exchange of goods would therefore have been of vital importance in drawing Islander and Papuan communities into permanent co-operation for social and economic survival.

Of the western islands Nagi, Dauan and Mabuiag had the highest population densities and on these islands horticulture was most developed (Harris,1979:92). Nagi was associated with Muralag and Moa; Mabuiag with Badu, and Dauan with Saibai and Boigu. Thus, despite population and density fluctuations, these three insular allied groups functioned as separate socio-economic units and within the insular allied group, population figures and density patterns were basically similar. Harris (1979:92) supposed that these identifiable regularities related directly to the seasonal pattern of subsistence and to the pattern of exchange of goods which operated across Torres Strait.

The complexity of the pre-contact patterns of insular subsistence systems is shown in Harris's model. Inter-insular socio-economic ties maintained a balance between resources and population which was profoundly disturbed after contact with Europeans. Study of subsistence strategies across Torres Strait by Harris (1979:103-104) revealed '*three insular communities with almost equal populations, linked by an exchange network in manufactured goods but dependent for their basic subsistence on the complementary exploitation of wild foods and cultivated crops in the physically contrasted islands of which each community consisted.*' It is possible to extend Harris's model into an examination of subsistence patterns for the eastern islands using historical population data.

Mer, Ugar and Erub constituted a similar insular allied community for the eastern Islanders were bound by a common language and, inhabiting the high fertile eastern islands with relatively easy access to the marine resources, were united by isolation from the western and central islands. Figures from Hunt (1899:5), Beckett (1972: 312), and Haddon (1935, I:95, 190) show that prior to 1871, Mer, with 700 persons and an area of 4.8 km^2 had 146 persons/km^2. The Mer, Dauan and

Waier group, with a population of 800, had a density of 133 persons/km^2. Erub with 500, had 100 persons/ km^2, and Ugar with 70, had 64 persons/km^2. The eastern islands, with an estimated population of 1270, had 116.5 persons/ km^2 (Beckett,1987:113). This figure is higher than that of the western islands. The eastern islands supported high populations on small, fertile islands where intensive horticulture was combined with exploitation of rich marine resources in a pattern of subsistence similar to that which operated on the SW coast and Fly estuary.

Mer had the highest population and population density. Mer was also the principal island in which external exchange was formally regulated by one clan group, the Komet. It would seem that high population density in small islands demanded large scale interdependence for ritual, marriage and external, as well as internal exchange. Beckett (1972: 323) suggested that it was the authority of the clan leaders, expressed through control of the Malo-Bomai cult, that united the separate village units of Mer. It may be, therefore, that population density was one reason for development of a highly regulated clan system which permitted the Komet clan control of external exchange relations, particularly with Papuan groups on the mainland to the north, while permitting the Peibre clan control of internal exchange between the eastern Islanders and the central Islanders.

Population figures for the central islands of the Torres Strait are not comprehensive. However, it may be assumed that the Yam and Tudu Island group maintained a higher population density than the other islands of the central group which were largely sand cays (Beckett,1972:312; Chester,1870:1,3). The Yam and Tudu Islanders constituted one people. Tudu was most likely only temporarily inhabited before the establishment of a pearling station there prior to 1870 (Chester, 1870). Yam was an important centre of contact between Torres Strait Islanders and coastal Papuans well before European contact .

Exchange of shell ornaments from Torres Strait for canoe hulls from the Fly estuary was, until the introduction of European boats, the principal transaction.

Ethnographic evidence supports the idea that a variety of subsistence economies operated across Torres Strait. As Harris (1977: 458) summarized, particularly with reference to the western Torres Strait islands and Papuan coastal area west of Daru, '*aboriginal populations were sustained by broad-spectrum systems which incorporated some degree of resource specialization, whereas in the island zone, where population pressure on resources is likely to have been greatest, more specialized systems developed which focused to varying degrees on the exploitation of both horticultural crops and marine resources.*'

The underlying factor which facilitated exchange relations between the small Island communities and coastal PNG during pre- and early historical periods was the necessity to create artificial dependencies through marriage, exchange and warfare, to overcome, or mitigate against unequal distribution of natural resources. Contact with Europeans was also unequal and, as the historical documentary literature, supported by oral testimony, will show, introduction of European trade goods into the exchange system led to the eventual disruption of the customary patterns.

EUROPEAN PERCEPTIONS OF CUSTOMARY EXCHANGE

Historical sources cannot be considered completely authoritative because they result mostly from superficial contacts between two groups of people lacking clear understanding of each other's cultural practices, beliefs and languages. From an era of colonial expansion they may have Eurocentric biases, or may exhibit racist sentiments, ignorance or misinformation.

Nevertheless much important information can be extracted from these historical sources. The writings of missionaries, traders and colonial officials must also be approached with caution. Notwithstanding these problems, historical documentary sources yield much on the material culture of observable exchange patterns.

HISTORY OF EUROPEAN CONTACT WITH INDIGENOUS GROUPS IN THE TORRES STRAIT AND FLY ESTUARY, AND NOTES ON DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

Although Luiz Baes de Torres passed through Torres Strait in 1606, it was not until the early nineteenth century, when expansion and settlement of the Australian Colonies began in earnest, that inhabitants of the region began to attract the attention of Europeans. Interest was generated more as a result of the difficulties of passage through the reef-strewn waters and subsequent shipwreck than from any real interest in the peoples and cultures of Torres Strait.

Edward Edwards, in HMS *Pandora* named Murray Island (Mer) in 1791 and noted the canoes of the eastern Islanders (Flinders,1814,I:xvi). William Bligh had passed through Torres Strait in 1789 after the mutiny in HMS *Bounty*. In 1792, in HMS *Providence*, he charted a wide course through the Strait, naming Darnley Island (Erub). He made detailed notes on his passage and his contacts with local people (Bligh,1976).

Conflict occurred in 1793 on Darnley Island when the crews of the *Hormuzzer* and *Chesterfield*, under the command of Captains William Brampton and Matthew Alt, destroyed huts and canoes at Bikar village now known as Treacherous Bay (Flinders,1814,I:xxx-xxxvi). They destroyed 16 50–70 (15–21m) foot canoes. In 1802, Flinders in the *Investigator*, sailed through the Strait, describing people and canoes (Flinders, 1814, II:105-123). In 1836, the *Isabella* ,under Captain Lewis, was sent to search for survivors of the *Charles Eaton*; the narrative of this voyage contained some ethnographic material (Brockett,1836).

Torres Strait, southern coastal PNG and northern Australia were explored by the *Fly* and *Bramble* under Captain Blackwood in 1842–1846; evidence of the material culture of the peoples encountered came from reports of these voyages (Jukes,1847; Macgillivray,1852; Melville,1848). Brierly (1849\50) who recorded the rescue of Barbara Thompson, who had been shipwrecked at Cape York (Moore,1979), added valuable ethnographic information. The journal of John Sweatman (Allen & Corris,1977), who served on the *Bramble* (1845–1847), added cultural information from the first half of the nineteenth century. The era of the surveying voyages, 1837–1850, began a period of great social and economic change in Torres Strait and the Fly estuary.

After 1860, Torres Strait became a centre for commercial pearling and bêche-de-mer fishing with a labour force of Pacific Islanders, Australian Aborigines and Europeans, as well as Torres Strait Islanders. The Queensland colonial government promoted interest in Torres Strait by establishing a settlement at Somerset, Port Albany, in 1864 to serve as a base for control over Torres Strait Islanders and white adventurers living beyond colonial laws.

A colonial administrative centre at Cape York, and on Thursday Island after 1877, assisted exploration, missions and administration of Torres Strait.

The pearl-shelling industry was established on Warrior Island (Tudu) in 1868 by Captain Banner (Chester,1870). Employment of Pacific Islanders in the industry was outside the Queensland Polynesian Labourers Act of 1868 and subsequent political moves were made by the Queensland Government to secure the region under its jurisdiction.

As late as 1877, Murray, Darnley, Saibai, Dauan and Boigu were still under jurisdiction of the Governor of Fiji and Western Pacific High Commission. Henry Marjoribanks Chester, Resident Magistrate on Thursday Island, and the then Queensland Premier, John Douglas, actively sought control over these eastern and northern islands in an attempt to regulate the bêche-de-mer and pearl-shelling industries and to control lawlessness in the Torres Strait.

In July 1871, the London Missionary Society under Samuel Macfarlane and A.W. Murray established a base on Darnley Island and from there began a steady outward movement across the Torres Strait islands and into PNG.

The London Missionary Society used Pacific Islanders, notably Samoans, Cook Islanders and Loyalty Islanders, as missionaries and evangelism was left to these Pacific Islander pastors. As a result, Polynesian cultures were to have a profound impact on customary practices of the Torres Strait people in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The history of the Christian missions in Torres Strait must be seen in terms of colonization (Beckett, 1978a:209). Mission paternalism mirrored economic and political paternalism of the white administration although Macfarlane recognised the ability of the Islanders to make judgements about the missions because he believed that they welcomed the missionaries as protection against the uncertain actions of European and Pacific Islander boat crews from pearling and bêche-de-mer stations (Beckett,1978a:213). By the end of the nineteenth century most Islander communities were nominally Christian. The Administrator of Papua, Sir William Macgregor, gave the London Missionary Society a sphere of influence from Milne Bay to Torres Strait which was maintained until 1914, when it handed over its activities to the Church of England. The only exception was the Congregation of the Sacred Heart Mission at Yule Island from 1885.

In this climate the first major anthropological study of the region was made by the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition of 1898 led by A.C. Haddon; it was a watershed in the history of British anthropology (Urry,1984:98). Haddon's methodological approach to ethnology reflected his long concern with the processes of evolution

which he had derived from his earlier training in the biological sciences (Urry,1982:77). Haddon undertook zoological research in Torres Strait in 1888 and published an ethnography of western Islanders (Haddon, 1890).

Of the 6 volumes of reports (Haddon, 1901–1935) II-VI, which dealt in detail with physiology, psychology, religion, sociology, linguistics and arts, were published between 1901 and 1912. Volume 1 on general ethnography was published 37 years after the field work; Haddon maintained regular correspondence with a number of people in Torres Strait during the interval so that volume 1 contains information not included in the earlier, more detailed, volumes.

The philosophical dictum of expedition members that it was necessary to record all aspects of Torres Strait Islander culture was prompted by a now discredited evolutionist premise that change was fundamentally destroying the 'traditional fabric' of indigenous societies and that it was important for ethnographers to document these cultures before their inevitable decline (Sillitoe,1976:13; Urry, 1982).

Early European contact in the Western Province of PNG may be described in terms of establishment and decline of missions and reluctant growth of colonial administration. The first European to settle in Papua was the Reverend W.G. Lawes of the London Missionary Society who, in 1874, established a mission near Port Moresby.

In 1872, Pacific Islander teachers were landed at Katau (Mawatta), 48km NW of Darnley Island. James Chalmers arrived in Papua in 1877 and established a mission at Suau, off South Cape. Confliet between Lawes, Chalmers and Macfarlane, on Dauan, over personal and professional matters led to 3 spheres of mission influence. Several administrative changes occurred between proclamation of the British Protectorate in 1884 and the 1908 Papuan Act of the Australian Parliament which established the Australian Territory of Papua.

The impact of explorers, prospectors and traders, and uncontrolled labour recruitment on village life led to extended British and Australian administration over Papua and the Torres Strait islands in the late 19th century. Macfarlane, Chester as well as the Italian adventurer D'Albertis travelled up the Fly River in 1875 (Macfarlane,1875/76; Wilson,1978; D'Albertis, 1879). The Mai Kussa area was explored by Octavius Stone and Macfarlane in 1875 (Stone, 1880) and by John Strachan in 1884 (Strachan, 1888). D'Albertis acquired notoriety from his account of his second trip up the Fly River in 1876 (D'Albertis,1881; Austen,1925).

Chester voyaged from Torres Strait into the Fly River in 1870. During a trip to the pearl-shelling station on Warrior Is. he collected a vocabulary of 'New Guinea' words on Darnley Is. which appear to be mainly Kiwai language; he also referred to the frequency of contacts between Papuans and Islanders (Chester, 1870).

British New Guinea government control caused a decline in mission influence, especially after Macfarlane's retirement in 1886. When Chalmers assumed responsibility for the mission in the Western Province, he found it in a state of collapse with posts abandoned, churches deserted and demoralised teachers living in poverty and ill health (Chalmers,1887; Langmore,1978). He established a base at Saguane, on Kiwai Is. but, following the death of his wife in 1900, re-established the station on Daru Is. In 1901, Chalmers and his assistant Tomkins were killed at Goaribari Island, near the Omati River, and the mission to the Kiwai floundered. Edward Baxter-Riley took charge of the Fly estuary-Mawatta coast after Chalmers. Based at Daru for 30 years, he re-established the Kiwai Mission and wrote extensively on the cultural life and language of the Kiwai (Baxter-Riley,1925). By 1895, Daru was administrative and mission centre of Western Province following the closure of the government residency at Mabudawan which had been established in 1891. Daru became harbour, water and fuel depot and a base for trade and commercial exploitation of the Fly River and the Torres Strait. While based at Daru, resident magistrates, such as A.H. Jiear (1904/05) and Wilfred Beaver (1920), made notable contributions to an understanding of the cultures of Papuan people. They also reported on Papuan contacts with Torres Strait Islanders.

The most important anthropological study of the people of the SW coast was made by Gunnar Landtman, between 1910 and 1912 (Landtman, 1917,1927, 1933). Landtman made a comprehensive collection (Landtman,1933) of the material culture of the coastal and riverine peoples. His collection of more than 1300 artefacts was placed in the National Museum of Finland, Helsinki, in February 1913. It complements Haddon's Torres Strait collection.

Administrative control of SW Papua was extended from the permanent colonial administrative post at Daru. Police and colonial authority suppressed warfare and raiding, leading to

pacification of the SW coast. Commerce was only partially successful with plantations established only at Mibu Island, at Madiri near the mouth of the Fly, and at Dirimu on the Binaturi River. The Fly estuary and SW coast never developed to any extent economically. Transportation and communications remained undeveloped. The SW coast of Western Province remains one of the most economically depressed regions of PNG having only small villages with low population. Today, these villages continue subsistence activities supplemented by small-scale cash cropping, market gardening and artisanal fishing, and by remittances from kin working away from the village.

CUSTOMARY EXCHANGE PATTERNS AS RECORDED IN HISTORICAL SOURCES

In 1770, off Possession Island near Cape York, Captain James Cook sighted a party of men '*nine of them were armed with such lances as we had been accustomed to see, the tenth had a bow, and a bundle of arrows, which we had never seen in the possession of the natives of this country* [Australia] *before.*'(Flinders,1814,I:xv).

Edward Edwards in 1791 and William Bligh in 1792 detailed the size, quality and excellence of canoes of the Islanders. Bligh (1976: log entry Thursday 6th September) remarked on the desire of the Torres Strait Islanders for iron: '*While the* Assistant *was at Anchor several Cannoes* [sic] *went alongside her and traded their Bows and Arrows for Iron of any kind - They took care to make good bargains, but were honest and readily gave up what was agreed for - ...*'(Fig. 14).

Flinders (1814,I:xxiii) described the large double-outrigger dugout canoes: '*Their canoes were about fifty feet in length, and appear to have been hollowed out of a single tree, but the pieces which form the gunwales, are planks sewed on with the fibres of the cocoa nut, and secured with pegs. The vessels are low, forward, but rise abaft, and, being narrow, are fitted with an outrigger on each side, to keep them steady. A raft, of greater breadth than the canoe, extends over about half the length; and upon this is fixed a shed or hut, thatched with palm leaves. These people, in short, appeared to be dexterous sailors and formidable warriors; and to be as much at ease in the water, as in their canoes.*'(Fig. 15).

On Darnley Is., Captains Brampton and Alt in 1793 noted that men were rubbed with a reddish or burnt substance [ochre], and that cassowary or emu feathers decorated a string of skulls and hands in a hut (Flinders,1814,I: xxxiii, xxxvi). On Stephens Is., Brampton described an opossum which had probably been brought either from New Guinea, or Australia (Flinders,1814, I: xxxviii). Brampton and Alt noted: '*The natives of the island came down in considerable numbers; and exchanged some bows and arrows, for knives and other articles*' (Flinders,1814, I:xxxiii).

Flinders (1814,II:109) made detailed notes on the material culture of Torres Strait and noted the eagerness to barter bows, arrows and food for metal, particularly iron.

In 1822 Wilson (1835:313) observed that many of the people on Murray Is. may have belonged

FIG. 14. 'Torres Strait. The general order of sailing'. Sketch by George Tobin from Bligh (1976:146), showing Torres Strait Islanders offering exchange goods to passing vessels.

FIG. 15. 'View of Murrays Is., with the natives offering to barter.' Sketch by W.Westall from Flinders (1814, II: facing 110), showing sailing canoes and canoes being paddled by Torres Strait Islanders offering bows, shell, and either a small mat or tobacco pipe.

to Darnley, Warrior and other neighbouring islands and he praised their ability to sail their canoes close to the wind (Wilson,1835:309 footnote).

George Windsor Earl, a noted advocate of settlement in northern Australia and defender of the scheme to establish an entrepôt port at Port Essington in the Northern Territory wrote, in 1839, some notes on the indigenous peoples at Cape York:'*The natives were seen, but we had no communication with them. They did not appear to differ from those to the south. When passing the N side of Hammonds Is. we saw an encampment of natives in a small bay, from which two canoes put off under sail, the people in them holding up pieces of tortoise-shell and pearl-shell, but we did not heave to for them. These canoes, which were large and well managed, answered perfectly the description given by Flinders of those of the islanders of Torres Strait. This renders it probable that the people we met with here were natives of some of those islands, or perhaps even of the S*[outh] *coast of New Guinea, who had come here to trade with the ships passing.*'(Reece,1982:28).

Jukes (1847) provided the most detailed accounts of contacts between Islanders and Papuans during the nineteenth century. He gave an analysis of contacts between Torres Strait Islanders and coastal Papuans at Darnley Is. on April 21,1845:'*I enquired about places to the northward: they seemed to have no acquaintance with any such names as Papua or Arafoora, but frequently mentioned Dowdee .. In this Dowdee they gave me the following list of names of places apparently in the order of their occurrence: Samarree, Dodee, Keewai, Eemaree, Parrem, Baeb, Kereged, Erro, Mowatt, Saibai, Dowar ...Oige, Katatai, Sowee, Kagga, Coer, Baigoo; all these they said, were in Dowdee, expressing it as Samaree Dowdee, Keewai Dowdee.*'(Jukes, 1847,II:211). These names may be interpreted as: 'Samaree' (Samari,Kiwai Is.); 'Dodee' (Dudi,the western bank of the Fly River delta); 'Keewai' (Kiwai Is.); 'Eemaree' (Sumai of Imari village); 'Parrem' (Parem or Parama Is.); 'Baeb' (Bubo Is.); 'Karaged' (Kagaur); 'Erro' (Yaru); 'Mowat' (Old Mawatta), 'Saibai' (Saibai); 'Dowar' (Dauan); 'Oige' (Auti); 'Katatai' (Katatai village); 'Sowee' (Sui village); 'Kagga' (Kagar - the eastern part of Saibai); 'Baigoo' (Boigu); 'Samaree Dowdee' (Samari, New Guinea [side]); 'Keewai Dowdee'(Kiwai, New Guinea [side]).

'*I have, therefore, no doubt that they are acquainted with a considerable extent of that part of the south coast of New Guinea which lies immediately north of them, and that their general name for the country is Dowdee.*' (Jukes,1847,II: 211).

Jukes also noted that Papuans in small single outrigger canoes understood Meriam language and resembled the people from Erub. Contact between Islanders on Erub and other Torres Strait Islanders was recorded by Jukes on his return to Darnley in June 1845. At the village of Keriam he noticed two men from Warrior Is. and at Maedha [Med] he found ten or twelve large canoes drawn up on the beach, and a large party of men

and women from Tudu and Dhamudh, and other islands to the westward, on a visit.(Jukes, 1847, I:292-293).

The Sweatman journals (Allen & Corris, 1977:24) reported that contacts with Islanders from Masig, Tudu and Dhamudh were made on Erub. Sweatman stated:'*... out of about 90 natives we met in York Bay in 1846 at least half were islanders, and in the same years we met their canoes as far south as Sir Charles Hardy's Islands* [to the east of Cape Grenville].'(Allen & Corris, 1977:24). He also supposed that the people of Cape York were connected with Islanders from Masig.

Sweatman remarked, while describing the bows, arrows and clubs of eastern Islanders, that there were no reeds (for arrowshafts) on the islands so it was assumed that arrows were obtained by barter from New Guinea (Allen & Corris,1977:33). Although Darnley Islanders were competent in making their own bows from local bamboo, Sweatman noted (Allen & Corris, 1977:33) that bows in New Guinea were of a totally different construction. Stone heads for clubs were a prized possession and Sweatman thought they were obtained from New Guinea (Allen & Corris,1977:33).

Following a detailed description of Islanders' canoes Sweatman wrote:'*The canoes are procured from New Guinea, there being no trees on the islands of sufficient size to make them, and appear to be pretty numerous, we saw 10 or 12 together at Erub ...*'(Allen & Corris,1977:35).

In Sweatman's opinion, based on observations by Jukes, Darnley people could travel long distances in their canoes. They maintained sustained contact with New Guinea from where they procured canoes, arrows, clubs and feathers in return for shells which were highly prized by New Guinea people whose muddy shores had few or none of them. (Allen & Corris, 1977:36).

An interesting point concerning the role of 'name changing' in Islander custom was made by Sweatman (Allen & Corris,1977:36). This practice, he maintained, ensured that the two people who had 'adopted' each other's names maintained a preferential position in all bartering transactions and formed a close personal relationship which required the giving of presents and attention. Sweatman correctly assumed that personal relationships formed the basis for all customary exchange transactions.

Because of the regular contact between Islanders and the men of the Fly, an informal market was established at the house of the Mamoose (headman) at Bikar, on Darnley Is. Sweatman noted:'*... several women sitting in a row with mats before them on which were piled coconuts, yams, shells, etc., much in the same style as the Malays. Some of these mats are very large and well-made and one of them was generally spread out for us to sit down on when we got into a yarn with the natives.*'(Allen & Corris,1977:37).

Brockett (1836), in his account of the rescue of the boys John Ireland and William D'Oyley (survivors of the *Charles Eaton*) at Murray Is., recorded that John Ireland had accompanied the Murray Islanders to New Guinea on a 'trading trip'. His protectors on Murray Is. gave Ireland a canoe which was '*purchased at New Guinea ... for a large tomahawk and a bow and arrow*' (Ireland,1839?: 51). The journey to New Guinea was made in 12 large canoes, each 60 feet (18m) in length, containing 10 to 16 men, women and children. The people collected as many shells as they could; in return they hoped to obtain canoes, bows, arrows and feathers. Ireland's voyage was abruptly curtailed when his protector, fearing for his safety on the Papuan coast, left him at Darnley Is. (Ireland,1839?:80) (Fig. 16).

King (1837) wrote of this 'trading' journey and noted that Murray Islanders obtained dogs from New Holland (Cape York) and:'*Their weapons are spears, which they procure from the New Holland natives; clubs, headed with stone and bows, and arrows; the latter they get from New Guinea ...*'.

At Restoration Is. [Rock] near Cape Weymouth the *Beagle* anchored beside the island where Stokes (1846, II:256-257) made contact with a party of Torres Strait Islanders who had hauled their double outrigger canoes up onto the beach. These Islanders recognised a Murray Is. canoe from a drawing, in a copy of the narrative of Flinders' voyage, and they spoke Meriam language. The Torres Strait Islanders, Stokes (1846, II:441) noted, wanted to barter turtle shell for iron, carried bone tipped spears and had dugong harpoons.

Macgillivray (1852,II:4) commented on relations between the peoples of Cape York, the western Islanders and coastal Papuans: '*The Kowraregas* [Kawrareg] *speak of New Guinea under the name of Muggi' (little) Dowdai, while to New Holland* [Australia] *they apply the term of Kei' (large) Dowdai. Their knowledge of the former island has been acquired indirectly through the medium of intervening tribes. The New Guinea people are said to live chiefly on pigs*

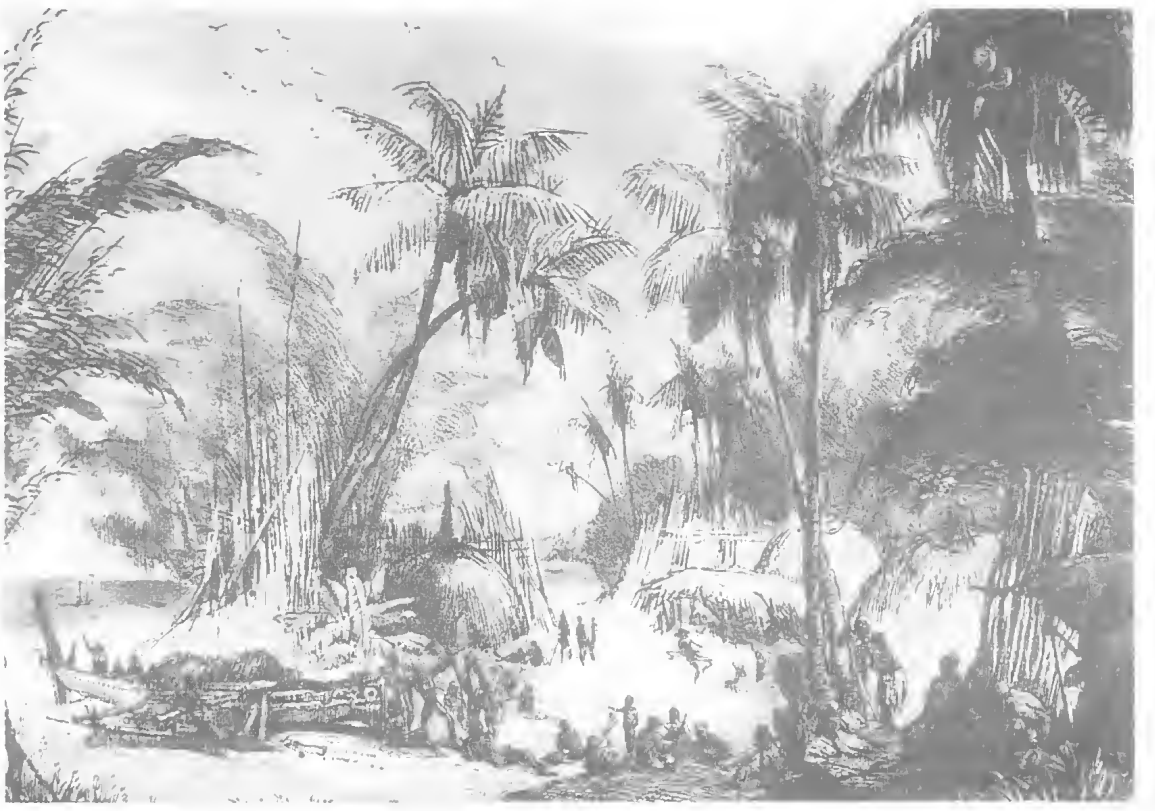


FIG. 16. Village on Erub (Darnley Is.). From a sketch by H.S. Melville (1848:pl.17).

and sago; from them are obtained the cassowary feathers used in their dances, and stone-headed clubs. They trade with the Gumulegas [Gumulgal on Badu and Mabuiag], *who exchange commodities with the Badulegas* [Badhulgal on Badu] *from whom the Kowrarega people* [on Muralug, Moa and neighbouring islands] *receive them. These last barter away to their northern neighbours spears, for bows, arrows, bamboo pipes, and knives, and small shell ornaments called dibi-dibi. They have friendly relations with the other islanders of Torres Strait, but are at enmity with all the mainland tribes except the Gudang* [who lived around the Cape York and Evans Bay area].'

Not all relationships were friendly, for Macgillivray (1852,II:44-45) noted that a headman of Kiriam [Keriam] village on Darnley Is. had been killed in New Guinea while on a visit in the company of other Darnley Is. men. A stand of sago palms at Mogor village was established with palms brought from New Guinea many years prior to Macgillivray's visit and a small cuscus (*Phalanger* sp.), which one Islander had brought across from Ugar, was also procured in Papua.

The extent to which contact between friendly peoples developed into regular exchange is recorded in Brierly's journal. He based his findings on an interview with Barbara Thompson who lived with the Muralag people from 1844 to 1849. Moore (1979:301–306) detailed the external relations of the Kawrareg people of Muralag and neighbouring islands, basing his study on Brierly's journal. The Kawrareg maintained regular contacts with the people of Moa, Badu, and Mabuiag while other important exchange relationships were with the central Islanders of Nagi (Moore,1979:301).

Exchange between PNG and Cape York was not direct but through a series of interrelated exchanges. Mabuiag people maintained direct exchange with coastal Papuans and with the Badu Islanders who forwarded items on to the western Islanders on Muralag. Thus cassowary feathers, bird of paradise plumes and cone shells, ground down to make breast pendants, found their way from PNG into the islands, while pearl-shell, dugong harpoons, as well as spears and spearthrowers from Cape York, found their way north and into PNG (Moore,1979:301).

The other important exchange relationship for the western Islanders was with the central Islanders of Nagi. In exchange for pearlshell the central islanders gave food, bamboo containers, mats, bows, arrows, bamboo knives, fine lines of coconut fibre, plaitwork and sago as well as seasonal foods for planting, including tobacco, coconuts and bananas (Moore, 1979:203,301). Many of these items, particularly mats, bows, arrows and sago, originated in PNG, although Brierly's journal (Moore,1979:173) stated that the central Islanders made sago from palms washed up on the islands. It would have been poor sago after long immersion in seawater!

The western Islanders obtained red and white ochres from the Gudang of Cape York, although Thompson stated (Moore, 1979:224) that ochre from Saibai was 'prettier'. Stone-headed clubs and drums from PNG also passed along exchange routes (Moore,1979:303) (Fig.17). The Saibai people maintained social relationships with the central Islanders (Moore,1979:224). Moore (1979:301) stated that the principal centres along the SW coast for the movement of exchange items were Saibai and Mawatta (Fig.18).

Crew of the *Rattlesnake* sketched many fine canoes at Evans Bay and the Brierly journal contains many useful ethnographic references to canoe construction, decoration and repair. One section on the barter process described an exchange, on Kudalag (Tuesday Islet No.1), between some central Islanders and a western Islander who had made a small canoe out of light wood washed up on the beach.

'*After they* [Central Islander] *sat for about half an hour here, the Kulkalgas, man and wife, went down to the canoe and brought up a mat into the women's camp and spread it. Ubi is called over and he sits down on the mat and the man and his wife standing. First she gave two* dibi-dibis [conus shell breast pendants] *to her husband, he lays them down before Ubi, and then she hands two* yegellies [coconut fibre fishing line, used for sucker fish] - *made by the Kulkalagas* [Central Islanders] *of coconut fibre and used for* [catching] *waru* [turtle]. *He lays them down, then two or three coconuts, lays them down, then a bundle of tobacco, and then a* sagooba marappi [bamboo tobacco pipe]. *Now it is all put down, and then he says to Ubi, "That's all I've been able to get together for this time. I will look out for more when I go back again". And Ubi says, ... "Stop, stop, there are plenty of things. The canoe is small."* (Moore, 1979:222–223). Then the canoe was modified by the addition of planks and trimmed for sailing to Nagi (Fig 19).

Brierly (1862b:396) noted:'*The Prince of Wales Islanders have no direct communication with New Guinea, but get ornaments, feathers and weapons through the Badus and other tribes, who obtain them either from New Guinea or from islands immediately upon its coast and take back in return from the Kowraregas* [Kaurareg] *the shell of the large flat oyster they call* Marri [mari or mai: pearl-shell], *which is much valued by the people to the north for making breast ornaments.*'

Gregory (Gregory & Gregory,1968:101) wrote that indigenous people of the Port Albany region on Cape York had made contact with European vessels using the Torres Strait passage and had thus become acquainted with tobacco which they continued to smoke in bamboo pipes. He saw 'natives' with spears, bows and arrows and canoes, which were made from a hollowed out single tree, stabilized with outriggers.

Ethnographic details of exchange between Islanders and Australian Aborigines in Cape York were recorded by Byerley (1867). Near Newcastle Bay the Jardine party, who were moving live-stock to Cape York, camped near three large canoes, the largest being about 28 feet (8.5 m) long and 30 inches (76 cm) wide cut from a single log. People from the canoes spent the night playing on two large drums procured either by barter or by war from the Islanders who frequent the coast (Byerley,1867:68). Cape York people exchanged turtle shell, particularly the hawksbill turtle, with the Islanders who used them for masks and other ornaments (Byerley, 1867:82). '*communication between the islanders and the natives of the mainland is frequent, and the rapid manner in which news is carried from tribe to tribe to great distances is astonishing.*' (Byerley, 1867:85).

Chester (1870:2), Police Magistrate at Somerset, recorded details of a visit to the Warrior Is. (Tudu) pearling station: '*For weapons they have bows, arrows and stone clubs. Their canoes are similar to, but larger than those of the mainland* [Cape York]; *they (as well as their weapons and turtle spears) are obtained from New Guinea in exchange for shells and the knives and tomahawks procured from Europeans*'.

As the Tudu Islanders were in frequent communication with coastal Papuans between Saibai and Daru, Chester (1870:3) recommended their use as interpreters in establishing contact with coastal Papua.

Chester was enthusiastic about the potential for

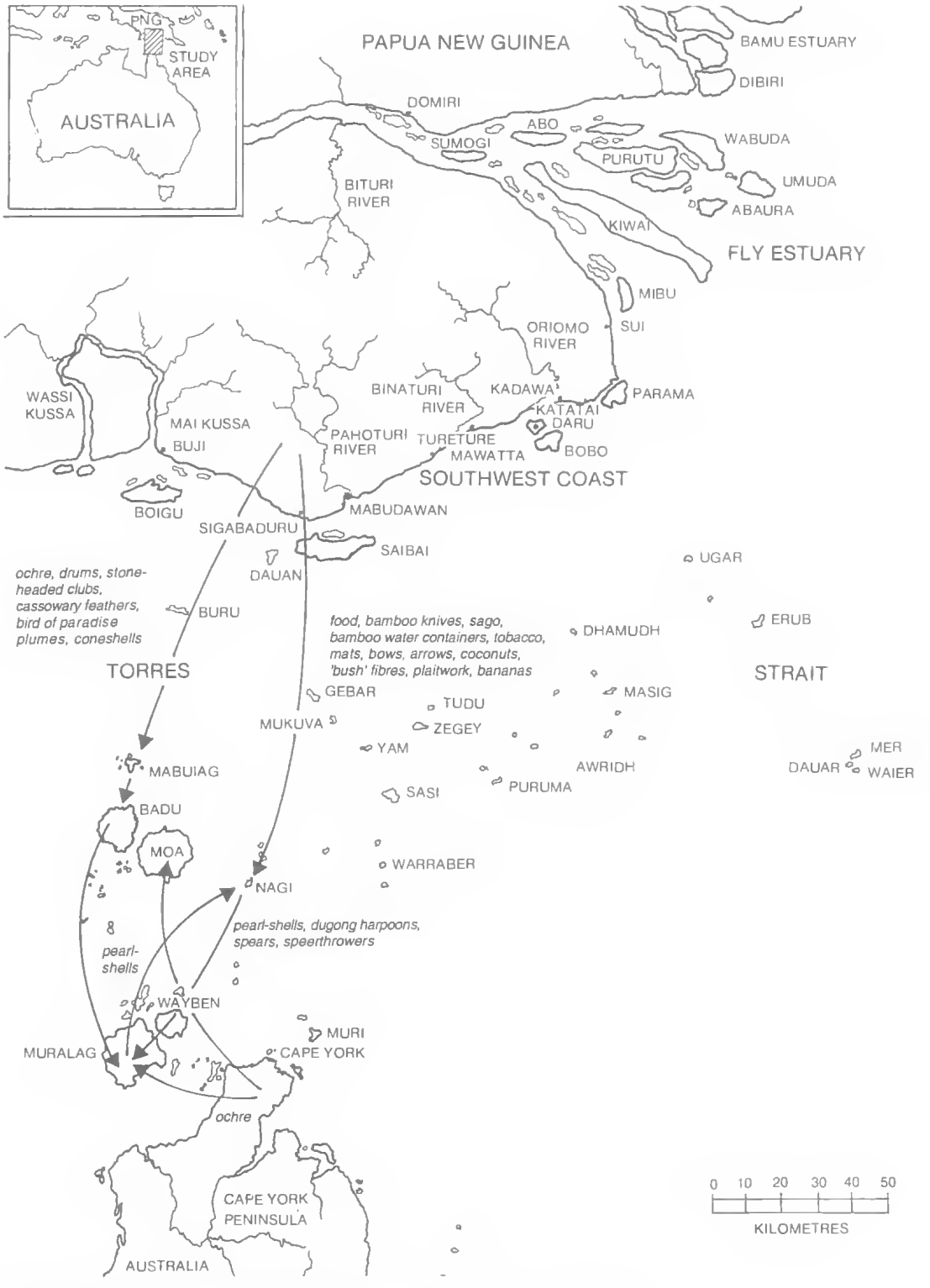


FIG. 17. Patterns of customary exchange (Brierly, 1849/50; Moore, 1979).

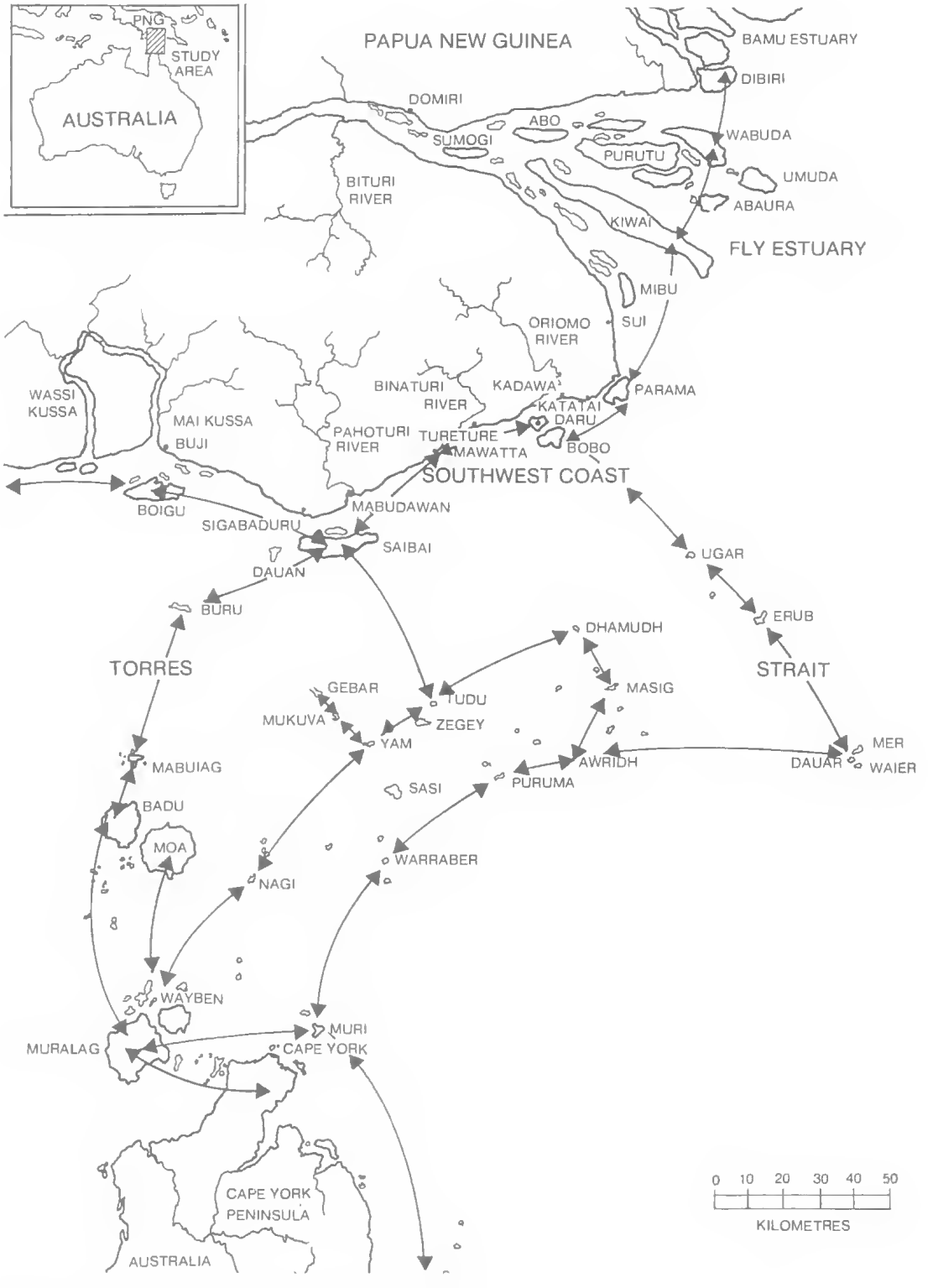


FIG. 18. Patterns of customary exchange (Moore, 1979).

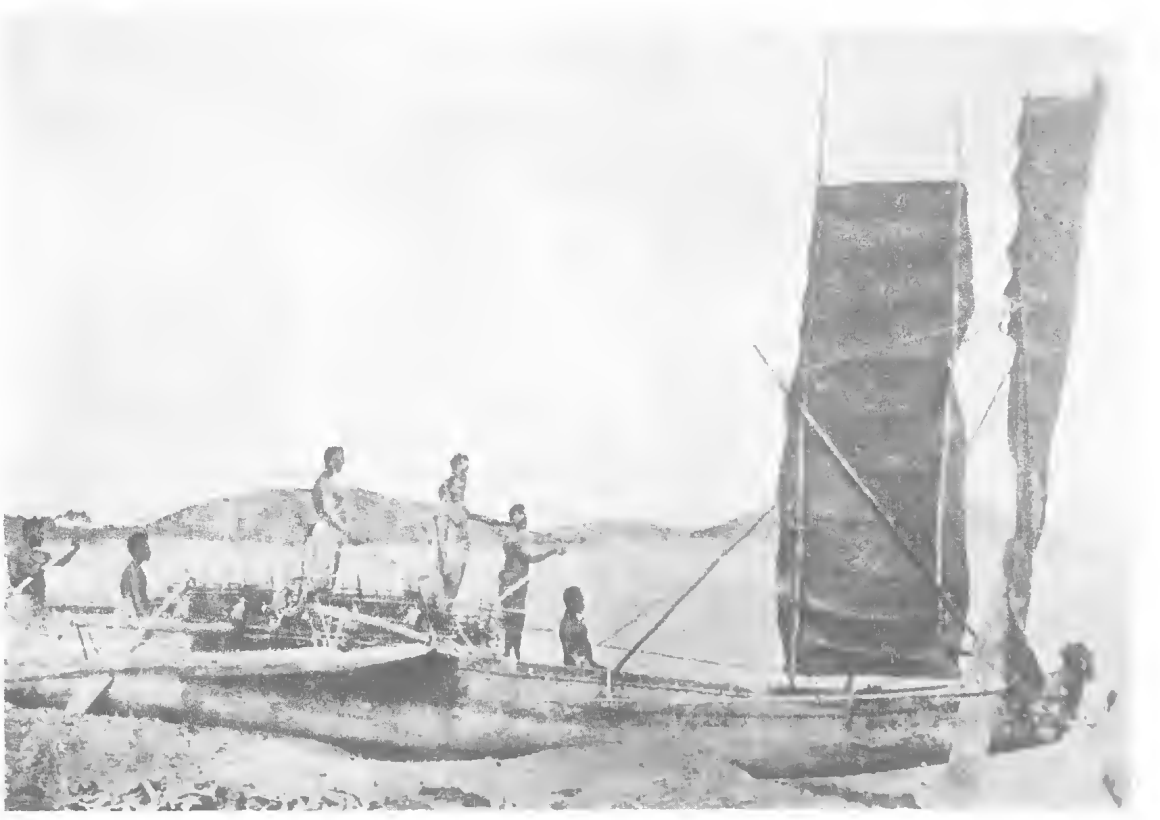


FIG. 19. Canoe rigged for sail, Mabuiag, 1888. Mat sails were positioned in the bow and held by stays. A small platform was built across the outrigger booms. (Haddon, 1912,IV:pl.26).

commercial exploitation of the Torres Strait. His account, however, is of interest largely for the details of his ethnographic notes, particularly his appended vocabulary of words collected from Papuans resident for some time on Darnley. The vocabulary is Coastal Kiwai dialect although Chester remarked that he thought that it must have been from 'eastward of Aird River.' It may be that Chester meant eastward to Aird River but his summation that the dialect may be common for over 150 miles (240km) of coast is a fair estimation of the distribution of the Kiwai language and its subsidiary dialects.

Chester, in September 1870, visited the SW coast of PNG with Captain Banner, 2 interpreters from Warrior Is. station, 4 whites, and 20 Islanders and/or Pacific Islanders in 2 large whale boats. The party landed at a small village of about 12 houses at the mouth of a river. Chester (1870:2) noted that the man, 'Mino' (Maino), was 'Chief' (sic), that the village was called 'Katau' (present day Mawatta on the Binaturi River) and that the nearby coastal village was 'Toura Toura' (Tureture). Maino carried a 'trade' tomahawk, a stone club, bamboo knife and a cane loop (for holding human heads). Chester traded turkey red calico for taro, yams, coconuts and bananas. He noted 2 large canoes on the beach and the tracks of 4 more. The houses, he observed, were the same as Fly estuary houses described by Jukes and one longhouse was built parallel to the beach.

European tradestore goods crossed Torres Strait to Mawatta before permanent colonial administration on the Papuan coast and they were exchanged, circulating well inland.

Chester's peaceful reception by Kiwai villagers at Mawatta stands in contrast to his remarks concerning contact along the coast between Papuans and Torres Strait fishermen. Growing lawlessness in Torres Strait was a direct result of uncontrolled pearlshell, trochus and bêche-de-mer fisheries.

The missionary Gill (1874b) remarked on 6 pearl-shelling boats at Dauan. At midday a number of Saibai Islanders in 'their splendid canoes (bought on New Guinea)' joined them on Dauan.

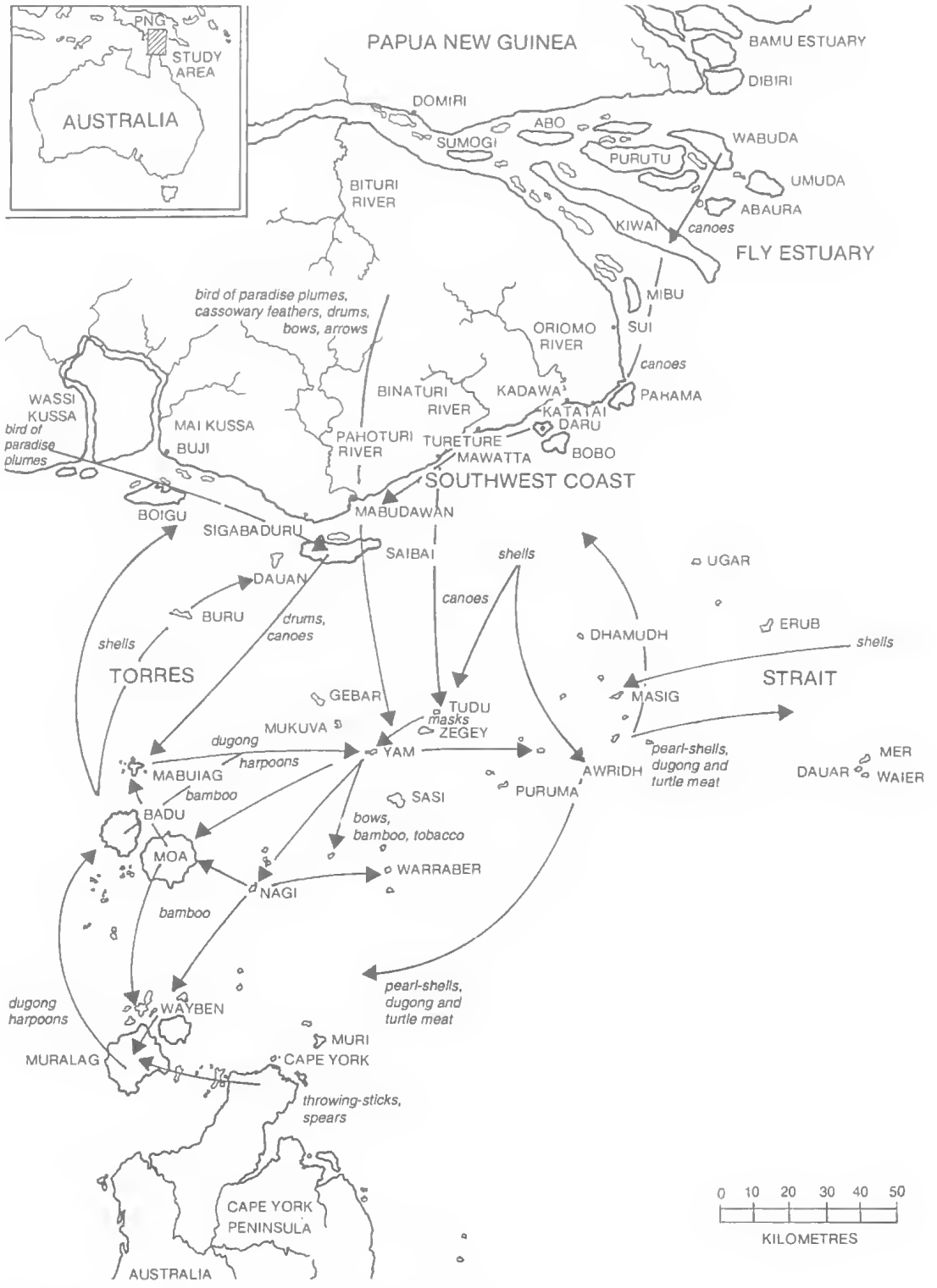


FIG. 20. Patterns of customary exchange (Haddon, 1890).

Gill (1874b:219) reported that the Saibai Islanders spoke a dialect of the language of the nearby mainland people and that they understood the customs of their neighbours and maintained friendly relations with the Katau (Mawatta) and Turetura people. As Gill determined that the coastal people opposite Saibai were aggressive, he proposed to sail to Katau (Mawatta) on the Binaturi River. However, previous contact with Maino, the village headman at Mawatta (Chester,1870), would have determined Mawatta as a choice of contact on the coast for it appears that mission teachers had previously visited Katau on canoes. Gill explored much of the Mawatta coast from Katau (Binaturi River) to Parama Island and noted: '*The warriors of Tut* [Tudu] *and Saibai unite with those of Katau* [Mawatta] *and Torotoram* [Turetura] *in making raids upon the inland tribes, for the sole purpose of obtaining heads. The skulls are carefully prepared and traded with other tribes, or retained as precious treasures by those who secured them.*' (Gill,1876:207).

Moseley (1892:307) visited Cape York in 1874, on the *Challenger*, and wrote that the Aboriginal groups at Somerset used bamboo pipes for smoking and that 'bamboos are procured by barter from the Murray Islanders who visit Cape York from time to time'. Moseley had Jukes' (1847) narrative and so was able to document social and cultural changes as a result of a decade of European settlement at Somerset after 1864: '*Cape York* [Somerset] *is a sort of emporium of savage weapons and ornaments. pearl-shell-gathering vessels ... come to Somerset with crews which they have picked up at all the islands in the neighbourhood, from New Guinea, and from all over the Pacific, and they bring weapons and ornaments from all these places with them. Moreover, the Murray Islanders visit the port in their canoes, and bring bows and arrows, drums and such things for barter*' (Moseley,1892:311). Water police at Somerset acted as middlemen, obtaining these artefacts and then selling them to crews and passengers on passing vessels and the surgeon of the *Challenger* was paid 'a large New Guinea drum of the crocodile form' as a fee for service (Moseley, 1892:311).

The missions assisted colonial administration and illegal raiding on Torres Strait islands and the SW coast from pearl-shelling stations was reduced. The introduction of European goods into customary exchange increased. Islander communities re-formed around the church. Seasonal movements of central and western Islanders were curbed and new social structures created within the puritanical shadow of the church. The church manipulated customary exchange and gift giving and became the chief benefactor (Beckett, 1986:42). European trading companies and timber getters were encouraged to establish posts on the Papuan coast. Edward Beardmore established himself at Mawatta village, originally called Katau (Beardmore,1890: 459), and wrote: '*Canoes are made at Kiwai and Paramoa* [Parama] *(Bampton Island) but not, I am assured, in the Maikusa* [Mai Kussa] *Baxter River ... Payments are made to suit the purchaser, sometimes in advance, but usually by three instalments of shell ornaments (or in recent times of trade, such as tobacco, tomahawks, and calico). The unadorned canoes, with but a single flimsy outrigger, are transferred from one village to another until the destination is reached; each party receiving the canoe being responsible for the payment by the next. The builders, or rather diggers-out, usually deliver at Mowat* [Mawatta], *from thence the canoe travels to Saibai, then to Mabruag* [Mabuiag], *and from there to Badu, Moa, and ultimately say to Muralug* [Muralag] *or Nagir* [Nagi]. *In the case of evasion of payment a row ensues between parties and the delinquent is injured invisibly (by sorcery) in some way at the instigation of the sufferer. The wooden harpoon used in killing dugong and turtle is got and worked into shape about Mabruag* [Mabuiag], *Moa and Badu and sent in the same manner as the canoes to New Guinea, via Saibai.*' (Beardmore, 1890:464-465).

Haddon met Beardmore at Mawatta in 1888 and later published a paper in which he classified trade as: '(1) Intra-insular trade; (2) Trade with Daudai [Papua]; and (3) Trade with Cape York' (Haddon,1890:329)(Fig. 20).

Because of their geographical location and greater access to natural resources, certain villages and islands possessed greater facilities than others and were in a position to exchange their surplus production for scarce resources, thereby dominating intra-insular trade. Haddon (1890: 339) wrote that Muralag was the chief centre for manufacture of dugong harpoons, although harpoons were also made on Moa, Badu and Mabuiag. The finest examples of cone shell (*Conus litteratus*) came from Warrior Reef and other reefs to the east, and consequently the most prized examples came from Tudu and the eastern islands such as Mer. The base of the cone shell was made into a round shell ornament worn as a

FIG. 21. Shell armlets and shell pendant made from *Conus* sp. Pendant is attached to a cord made from plant fibre decorated with dogs' teeth. Photographed in Madame village, PNG.

breast pendant, while the cone of the shell was made into an armshell worn on the upper arm. Pearlshells, traded as breast ornaments, were obtained throughout the Torres Strait. Other necklaces made from olive shells (*Olivia* sp)were used as items of exchange. The islands which grew bamboo (e.g., Moa, Yam, Nagi) exchanged bows, and bamboo for making bows, with other islands. Similarly, armlets made from plaited coconut leaf were exchanged with islands without coconut trees, such as Muralag. People of Tudu made wood and turtle-shell masks, decorated with feathers, shells and rattles, and traded them to Yam and Nagi. Waisted drums were traded to the western islands from Saibai (Haddon,1890:340).

Arrows were imported from Papua, because shafts were made from reeds which did not grow in the western islands. Bows were imported from Papua, as were large, open-mouth and small, cylindrical drums, cassowary feather headdresses and plumes of bird of paradise feathers. Bird of paradise plumes were obtained from the west from 'Tugeri pirates via Saibai' (Haddon,1890: 340). Other items obtained from Papua included canoes and sago. Shells were sent to Papua from the western islands, in return for canoes.

All large canoes in Torres Strait came from the Fly estuary (Haddon,1890:341), principally Wabada village in the Bamu River where canoes were fitted with one outrigger. From here, they passed through the Kiwai and then to the Mawatta people and to Saibai. On Saibai, single outrigger canoes were re-rigged with two outriggers, a gunwale was fitted and the bow decorated with feathers, shells and other ornaments. From Saibai, these decorated canoes found their way into the western islands.

Haddon's (1890) assumptions about ethnography of the western Islanders concerning the nature of customary exchange were undoubtedly correct at the time. However, he was documenting patterns of exchange at one point in the long history of contact between Islanders and Papuans. These patterns had changed since European contact, and were still changing. Haddon did not fully comprehend the significance of change on cultural and economic life of Islanders and Papuans.

Another canoe trade route (Haddon,1890:342) was from Mawatta direct to Tudu and then via the central islands and Nagi to Muralag and the western islands. Orders for canoes were sent through contacts across the Torres Strait and along the SW coast. The completed canoe would follow this line of contacts until it reached the origin of the request. Payment may have been made with other items of exchange, for example, shell breast-pendants, dugong harpoons or shell armlets (Haddon,1890:342).

Haddon (1890:343) noted that one shell armlet (Fig. 21) would be exchanged for one canoe and that 10 shell breast-ornaments would have had the same value. Three or four shell breast-ornaments constituted the annual payment for a canoe. A woman was equivalent in value to one canoe, one dugong harpoon, or a shell armlet. However, value also depended upon quality and so, because no equitable rate of exchange could be stated, these items could not be called 'money'. Haddon (1890:344) recorded that Maino on Tudu paid 1 camphor wood chest full of trade items, including: '*7 bolts (i.e. pieces) of calico, 1 dozen shirts, 1 dozen singlets, 1 dozen trousers, 1 dozen handkerchiefs, 2 dozen tomahawks, 1 lb. tobacco, 1*

long fish spear, 2 fish lines, 1 dozen hooks and 2 pearl shells' for his wife from Mawatta. This statement documents the process by which European tradestore goods were being substituted for customary exchange items. This was to have a profound impact on exchange of shells for canoes.

The Gudang people of Cape York exchanged spears and throwing sticks with the Kawrareg into the western islands. Haddon (1890:341), referring to the Macgillivray narrative, noted that other groups on Cape York were hostile to the Kawrareg and that the western Islanders probably had friendly relations with only one or two Australian Aboriginal groups.

Warfare severed friendly exchange relations; when a Dauan woman was killed by Mabuiag men, the trade of canoes to the western Islands was suspended (Haddon 1904, V:316-317). Haddon (1904, V:297) noted this trade route extended through the western islands to Saibai, then along the SW coast and into the Fly estuary. Another route passed from the eastern islands via Parama into the Fly estuary (Fig. 22). The relative value of exchange along each route is shown in Tables 1 and 2.

Payment for canoes was by bailer shells (*Melo amphora*), conch shells (*Syrinx aruanus*), dugong harpoons, and human mandibles. These were sent from Moa to Mabuiag to Saibai and Mawatta. Bailer shells, sent to Papua, were exchanged for cassowary bone daggers, arrows, bamboo knives, and bamboo. Moa people exchanged small bamboo knives, threaded seeds (*Coix* sp.) and large sections of bamboo with the Muralug people who then exchanged them to Cape York. Badu and Moa also sent human skulls to Tudu in exchange for canoes.

Haddon (1908,VI:185), analysing exchange in the eastern islands, stated that because they are geographically remote, Meriam speaking people were 'practically removed from intercourse' with the Aboriginal groups on Cape York. 'Intra-insular trade' was also not substantial although contact with the western islands was maintained through the central islands. From the eastern islands, shell ornaments such as armlets, pendants, necklaces, nose ornaments and pearlshell breast ornaments, along with turtle-shell and presents of food, were sent to Papua. In return, Islanders obtained cassowary feather headresses, plumes of bird of paradise feathers, dogs' teeth necklaces, pigs' tusks, women's petticoats made from sago palm bast, pandanus mats, canoes, drums, stone-headed clubs, and bows and arrows (Haddon, 1908, VI:185). Sago, dried then wrapped in banana leaves and bound in bundles encased by the base of the sago palm leaf, was obtained from Parama and Kiwai Islands. Olive shell necklaces were obtained from Nagi, Warraber and Awridh, and turtle-shell, Torres Strait pigeon and reef-heron feathers were obtained from the central islands (Haddon,1935,I: 183).

The principal trade routes into the eastern Torres Strait islands, as recorded by Haddon (1908, VI:185), were Erub, Parama, Mibu to Kiwai Is. (for the purchase of canoes), and Erub, Ugar, Dhamudh, Tudu, and Daru to Mawatta, and occasionally to Tureture (Fig.23). While acknowledging his debt to John Bruce, schoolteacher and long-term resident on Murray Is., for information regarding exchange relations in the eastern islands, Haddon (1908,VI:186-187) stated that the Komet clan were the 'traders in canoes' for the Murray Islanders. This is the first reference to a particular clan or group assuming the role of traders for external economic relations within island communities of eastern Torres Strait. Although this division of labour differed from Haddon's description of trade among the western islanders he offered no explanation as to why it existed only in the eastern islands.

Haddon (1935,I:182–183) described trading relationships maintained by friendship ties which, once formed, were never broken. These ties were handed from father to son but by the 1920s and 1930s, such ties were becoming difficult to maintain because of government regulations limiting freedom of movement across the national border.

The people of Tudu and Yam maintained close association with coastal Papua and 'joined in the ceremonies at Mawatta' (Haddon,1935,I:77). Maino on Tudu had married a Papuan woman and other intermarriages were known. The men from Tudu did not travel to Cape York but Islanders from Badu and Moa sent human skulls to Tudu in exchange for canoes while ochre used on ceremonial occasions was obtained from Coconut Island [Puruma], Masig and Awridh, and also from down the Queensland coast (Haddon, 1935,I:77). Haddon thought that Awridh was a centre for intra-insular exchange between eastern and central Islanders:'*The Miriam-le came in their canoes at certain seasons of the year bringing arm-shells which they exchanged for stones for clubs, ochre for painting themselves and their zogo* [sacred] *stones, turtle grease, and other products. These articles were obtained by the Aurid* [Awridh] *men as well as by those of Masig,*

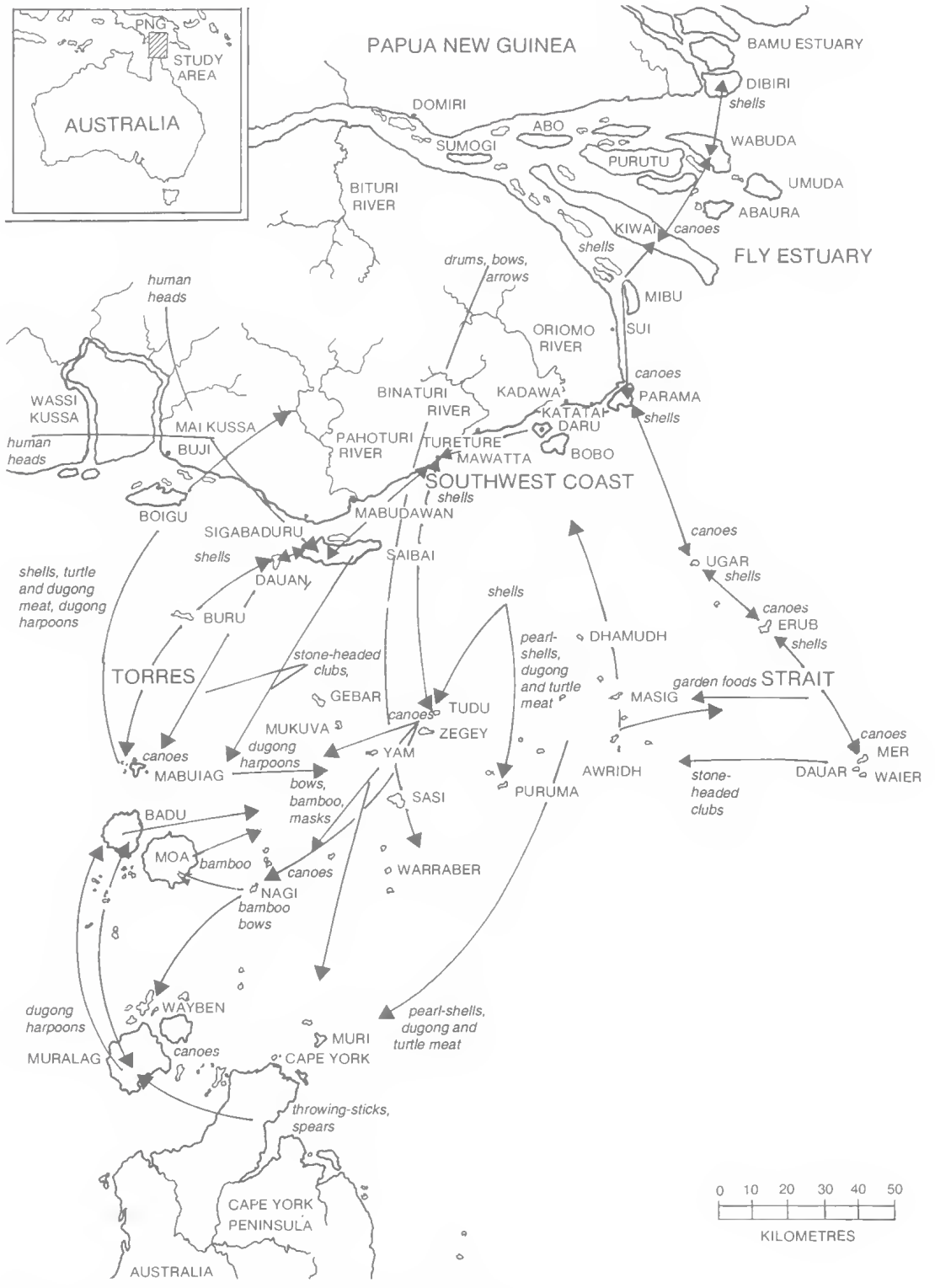


FIG. 22. Patterns of customary exchange (Haddon, 1904, V).

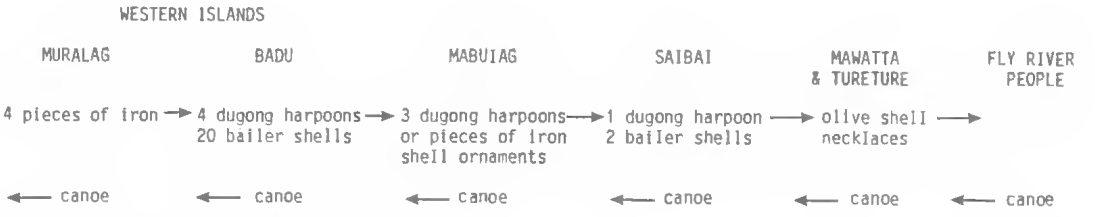


Table 1. Equivalent values (Haddon, 1904,V:296-7).

Damut [Dhamudh], *and Pareinar* [Puruma], *when they visited the islands off the east coast of North Queensland, particularly the Sir Charles Hardy group, and the Forbes Islands, whither they resorted every south-east season to live for a while and to barter. The stone for making stone-headed clubs was obtained from the Forbes Islands. Aurid and the other islands also traded with New Guinea.*'(Haddon,1935,I:88).

However, because Haddon's chief informant, Maino, was a central Islander, the composite picture of exchange patterns across Torres Strait developed by Haddon emphasised the central islands (Fig.24). There was no 'trading' centre in Torres Strait and the Fly estuary. Perceptions of exchange varied within each cultural group. The composite picture of exchange created by Haddon, based on information collected during the years between field research and publication has distorted the true picture of customary exchange.

The missionary, James Chalmers (1903b:117), wrote that the Kiwai people of the Fly River:'... *have canoes (pe) with one outrigger. These canoes are chiefly got from Dibiri, on the mainland, near the mouth of the estuary, and on its eastern side. A few of the smaller ones are made by themselves. The large canoes obtained from Dibiri are traded to Parama, Tureture, Kadawa and Mawata* [Mawatta]; *and they trade them to Saibai, Dauan, Boigu, Mabuiag, Badu, Moa, Prince of Wales, Waraber* [Warraber], *Damut* [Dhamudh], *Masig, Stephens Is., Darnley, and Murray. In all these places, the single gives place to a double outrigger, with a platform in the centre, and a large amount of ornamentation fore and aft; these canoes are used for dugong fishing, and for going long journeys*'.

Chalmers noted that large, good quality canoes were hollowed out at the left bank village near the mouth of the Fly, presumably between Koabu and Balamula: '*Once I called there, and all along the bank, were quite a hundred large canoes, covered with coconut leaves. My boat's crew were natives of Ipisia and Saguane* [on Kiwai Is.], *and, as soon as those ashore saw them, the coconut leaves were thrown aside and the canoes exposed for sale. Several of my crew arranged to have canoes, selected by them, sent to their homes, or kept for them until they returned*' (Chalmers,1903b: 123).

Human heads, taken in inter-group warfare, were often exchanged for canoes and, while possession of skulls increased the social status of the owners, many were obtained by exchange rather than fighting. Chalmers (1903b:123) stated that young men returned to Kiwai Is. from long stays at Mawatta or Tureture with skulls usually obtained through friends. Baxter-Riley (1925: 271) wrote that men went from the Fly River to Tureture and Mawatta and purchased heads with canoe hulls and other produce; the exchange rate for a good canoe was two heads.

Jiear (1904/1905), when Resident Magistrate at Daru, described the exchange of canoes for barter goods as the most important form of 'native trading' in the Western Province. He noted the equivalent exchange value of large and small canoes, not only in terms of exchange objects but also in terms of European tradestore goods (Table 3). This information can be compared with Haddon's list of relative exchange values for canoes in Torres Strait. Jiear indicated that exchange transactions were considerably more complex than Haddon had described. Jiear noted that a wider range of customary objects was exchanged between coastal Kiwai and Bamu estuary people.

Expeditions from the coastal Kiwai villages of Katatai, Mawatta, Parama, Tureture, and including Sui, went to Kiwai Island villages of Auti,

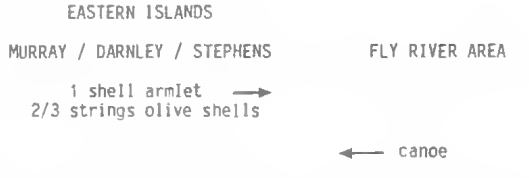


Table 2. Equivalent values (Haddon, 1908,VI:185).

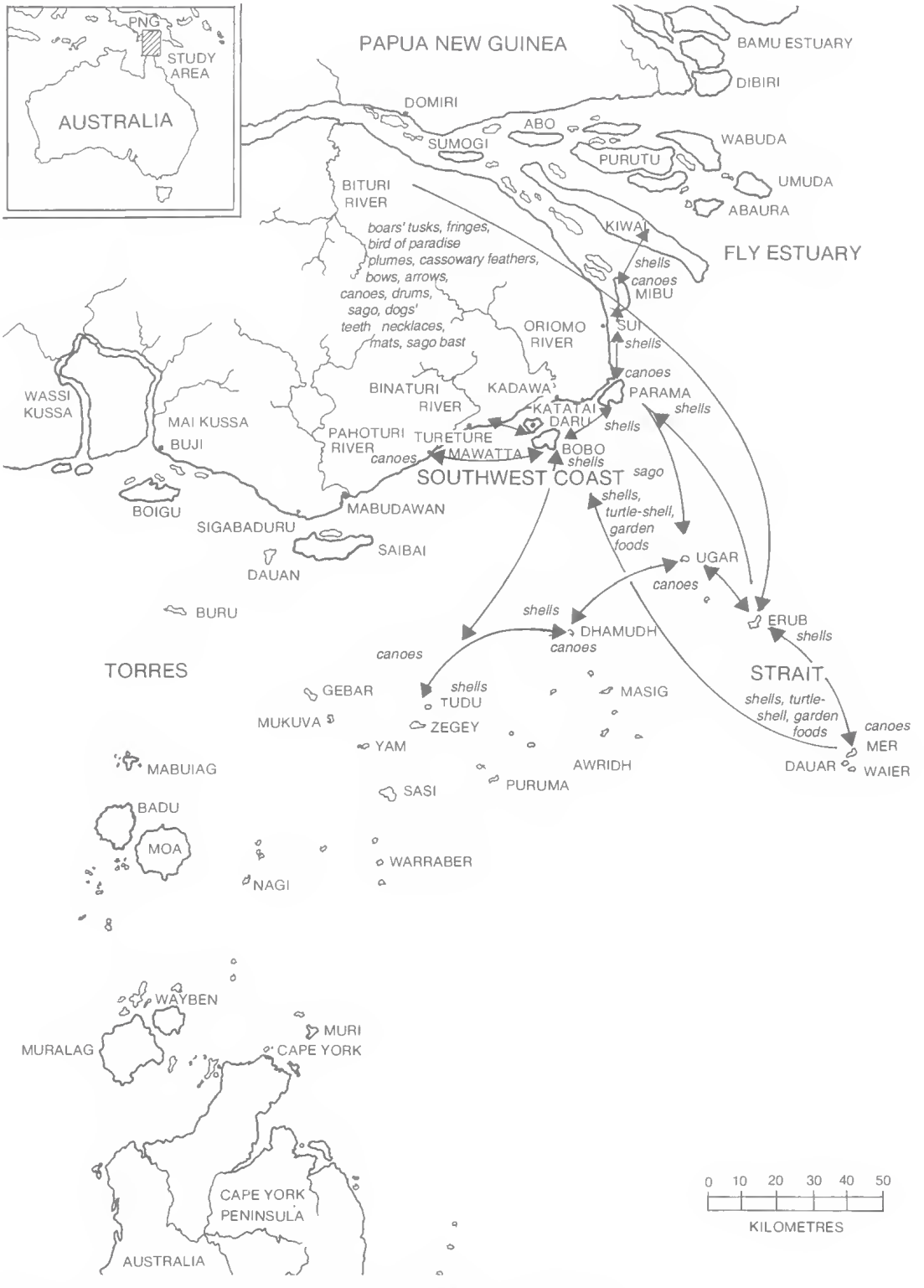


FIG. 23. Patterns of customary exchange (Haddon, 1908, VI and 1935, I).

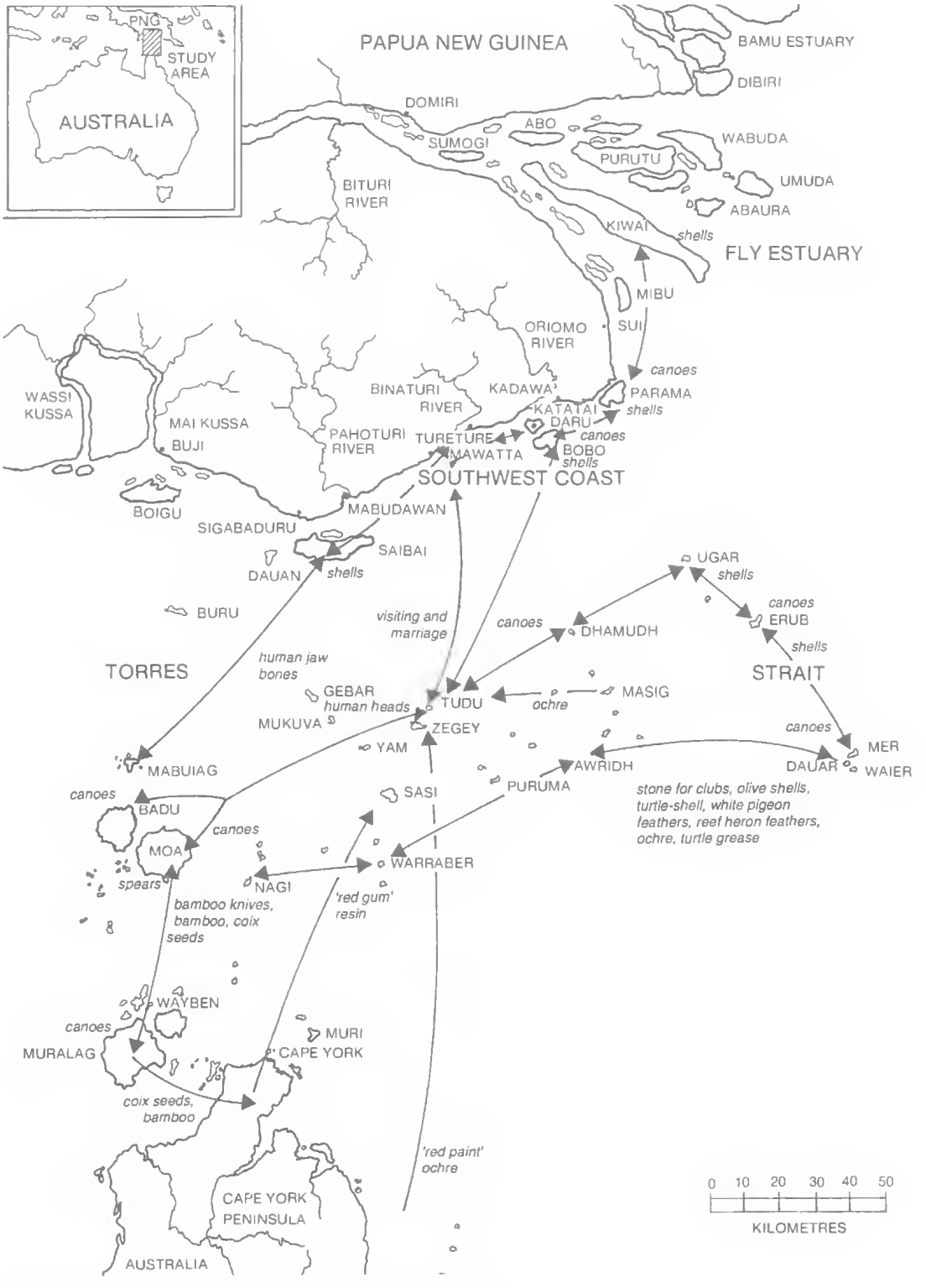


FIG. 24. Patterns of customary exchange (Haddon, 1935,I.).

Iasa and Sumai, as well as the coastal village of Daware, to obtain canoes at the exchange value of one large canoe, 30–65 feet (9–20m) for two large conical armlets. One small canoe of about 12–30 feet (4–9m) could be obtained with one melon shell, one dugong rib-bone and one full set of dog's teeth. Canoes could be obtained for an equivalent amount of European trade goods. One large canoe could be had for 1 axe, 2 half axes, 1 tomahawk, 3 large knives, 1 pair of trousers, 1 shirt, 1 woman's dress, 10 yards (9m) of calico, and 1 pound (0.45kg) of tobacco. One small canoe could be obtained for 1 tomahawk, 1 large knife, 2 yards (1.9m) of calico and 5 sticks of tobacco. Only part payment was made upon delivery of the canoe, the balance could extend over 5 years (Jiear, 1904/05:70).

'Canoe buying expeditions' were sent from the Kiwai Island villages of Agabara [Agobaro], Agaramuba [Agara Point], Doropodai [U'Uwo], Gibu [Kubira], Ipisia, Kubira, Saguane and Wiorubi [Wapa'ura] to lower Fly River villages of Baramura [Balamula], Domori, Pisarame [Canoe Is.], Taitainato [Tirio], and Waripod-oro [Wariobodoro], where canoes were made. Exchange value of 1 large canoe in the upper Fly estuary was 3 large conical armlet shells and 30–40 large cowrie shells (Jiear,1904/05:70).

A small canoe could be obtained for 5 large cowrie shells, and 1 string, c. 3 yards long (2.7m), of small cowrie shells. In European trade goods, 1 large canoe could be obtained for 3 axes, 5 half-axes, 12 tomahawks, 6 large knives and 1 medium sized armshell. A small canoe could be obtained for 1 tomahawk, 1 large knife, 2 yards (0.9m) of calico, 10 sticks of tobacco and 1 half-string of cowrie shells (Jiear,1904/05: 70).

From the Dameratamu and Gesoa villages on Wabada Is., people obtained canoes from Bina, Damera Is., Maipani, Oropai, and Wabada villages in the Bamu estuary where 1 large canoe exchanged for 2 armlet shells, 1 string of small cowrie shells, 1 pearlshell crescent, and 1 bailer shell for use as a pubic cover and a small canoe exchanged for 2 pearlshell crescents, 2 bailer shells, and 1 half-string of small cowrie shells. A large canoe could also be obtained for 9 tomahawks, 14 large knives, and 6 shirts or 6 singlets (Jiear,1904/05:70).

Kiwai Islanders paid in full for canoes obtained from the lower Fly River as did Wabada Islanders with Bamu and north bank people (Jiear, 1904/05:70).

Fly estuary people travelled to Mawatta and Tureture to obtain shells. They exchanged 1 large pandanus mat and 1 woman's fibre skirt for 1 bailer shell and 1 large trumpet shell. Kiwai Islanders exchanged sago for bows and arrows at the rate of 1 bundle of sago for 26 arrows or 1 bow. However, this exchange had been discontinued because bows and arrows had ceased to be of importance to Kiwai Islanders following pacification of the coastal and riverine peoples; they were used then only for occasional pig shooting (Jiear,1904/05: 69).

Coastal Kiwai people in Mawatta and Tureture exchanged fish, turtle, dugong and shells for garden produce with their immediate inland neighbours, especially the Masingara, Kunini, Dirimo and Irimisi villages. Jiear believed that this exchange was declining due to the proximity of the market in Daru and the fact that inland people had so often been cheated by coastal groups. He stated that fishing for food bartering was usually undertaken by the women and he gave, as some indication of the rates of exchange which favoured the coastal fisherman, the following list: 1, 10 pounds [4.5kg] of fish for 1 large bunch of bananas; 2, 20 pounds [9kg] of fish for 1 basket, about 60 pounds [27 kg], of taro; 3, 10 pounds [4.5kg] of worst quality dugong meat for a 60 pound [27kg] basket of taro; 4, 1 dugong calf for 2 large pigs; 5, 1 large melon shell (used for making shell hoe-heads) for 40 bunches of bananas and 10 baskets of taro, estimated at 400 pounds [180kg] (Jiear,1904/05: 70). Exchange values varied according to demand, although at the time Jiear noted these transactions, the importance of conical armlet shells in exchange for canoes had not altered and demand for armshells was greater than supply.

The Finnish sociologist, Gunnar Landtman (1927) concentrated his research on coastal and riverine peoples from the Pahoturi River east and into the Fly region. Landtman did not accurately distinguish between linguistic and cultural groups in this region and referred to them all as 'Kiwai Papuans'. Despite this simplification, Landtman's data are essential to a study of the exchange relationships between Papuans and Torres Strait Islanders. He (1927:213) stated: '*Since olden times an extensive trade has been carried on between different parts of the Kiwai region, as well as between these and the islands of Torres Strait*'. From the inland region of Daudai [PNG] 'bush' peoples supplied bird of paradise plumes, cassowaries, parrots, objects made from cassowary bones, bows, arrows, garden foods and gamoda (*Piper methysticum*; 'kava'). Kiwai Islanders provided canoes, sago, garden foods, bows and arrows, mats, belts,

COASTAL KIWAI — KIWAI ISLAND	KIWAI ISLAND — LOWER FLY RIVER	WABADA ISLAND ESTUARY — BAMU
	CUSTOMARY EXCHANGE OBJECTS	
← large canoe 2 shell armlets →	← large canoe 3 armshells → 30/40 cowrie shells	← large canoe 2 shell armlets → 1 string cowrie shells 1 pearl-shell crescent 1 bailer shell pubic cover
← small canoe 1 melon shell → 1 dugong rib 1 set dog's teeth	← small canoe 5 cowrie shells → 3 yds small cowrie shells	← small canoe 2 pearl-shell crescents 2 bailer shell pubic covers → ½ string cowrie shells
	EUROPEAN TRADE STORE GOODS	
← large canoe 1 axe → 2 half axes 2 tomahawks 3 large knives 1 pr trousers 1 shirt 1 dress 10 yds calico 1 lb tobacco	← large canoe 3 axes → 5 half axes 12 tomahawks 6 knives 1 medium armshell	← large canoe 9 tomahawks → 14 large knives 6 shirts or singlets
← small canoe 1 tomahawk → 1 knife 2 yds calico 5 sticks tobacco	← small canoe 1 tomahawk → 1 large knife 2 yds calico 10 sticks tobacco ½ string cowrie shell	← small canoe

Table 3. Equivalent values (Jiear, 1904/05:70).

women's fibre petticoats, and feathers. Mawatta people supplied coconuts, shells, fish, dugong meat, turtle meat, cassowary bones and dugong bones (Landtman,1927:214). Torres Strait Islanders supplied coastal people with stone axes, stone clubs, harpoon shafts, various kinds of shells, and dugong and turtle meat.

Landtman emphasised canoes as the principal items of exchange from Dibiri Is. and the Banu River region, down into the Torres Strait islands. Goods were exchanged over short distances between peoples who regarded each other as friends; exchange relations mitigated against inter-group warfare and promoted peaceful relations. Landtman (1927:215) remarked that exchange transactions, through intermediaries, were maintained by trust and honesty, and followed established rules of behaviour. Intermediaries regulated exchange and were required to provide subsistence and gifts to those people transporting exchange articles (Landtman,1927: 215; Haddon,1908,VI:186).

Landtman (1927:215) failed to comprehend fully the difference between gift and commodity exchange when he stated: '*On the whole we find that in the canoe traffic, as in any other form of barter, there is no clearly marked difference between actual commerce and the exchange of friendly presents*'. Landtman did not recognise that, in Melanesia, exchange reinforced social and cultural integration. Gift exchange established personal relationships between transactions, whereas commodity exchange established relationships between the objects transacted (Gregory,1982:41). However, as Landtman (1927:216) stated: '*Nowadays* [1910–12] *the canoe traffic has greatly decreased and very few of the craft are sent any longer to Torres Straits*'. This decline in canoe 'traffic' and subsequent interruption to contacts between Islanders and Papuans were due to administrative regulations limiting travel. Macgregor (1911:4) reported that government regulations were responsible for this interruption: '*Formerly Murray Island had a brisk trade with the New Guinea coast from the Fly River westward. This was carried out directly, but was conducted by a privileged tribe at Murray Island, through Daruley Island, and then by Darnley through Warrior Island. In this tedious and round about way the Murray Islanders obtained their canoes from New Guinea, and the Papuans obtained their shell ornaments, &c. But all that has been brought to an end by the Customs barrier that has been rigidly maintained during the last half score of years between the Commonwealth and Papua. This rupture of ancient intercourse has been much felt at Murray Island, and at other places in the Straits*'.

Beaver (1920:75), who spent 11 years in the colonial administration, believed that Mawatta

acted as a trading and distribution centre on the SW coast, and noted that Mawatta and Tureture people traded surplus fish and sea foods with Masingara people for garden foods. Tureture traded with other inland villages such as Dirimu and Irimisi. Sago was brought from Kiwai Island as this was not made at Mawatta; exchange was 1 bundle of sago for 1 bow and 20 arrows (Beaver, 1920: 76). From Torres Strait came shell armlets, pearl-shell breast ornaments, dugong harpoons, nose ornaments, and small pieces of iron. In return, drums, arrows, bird of paradise plumes, [cassowary?] feathers, boars' tusks, and sago were sent to the islands. Beaver (1920:75) recorded that some pigment earths (ochre), baskets and woven armlets were imported from the Wassi Kussa region near Boigu. From the Fly estuary pandanus mats, and women's fibre petticoats were traded for melon shells and conch shells.

Canoes were the most important items of trade (Beaver, 1920:76). Mawatta and Turcture acted as buyers for the islands but, as a rule, Saibai obtained canoes from the Fly estuary via Mawatta while the eastern Islanders obtained canoes via Parama Island. Kiwai Islanders acted as middlemen in the trade of canoes between the principal canoe building areas of Daumori, Pisarame (Canoe Is. near Lewada), Balamula, Taitiarato (Tirio) on the southern bank of the Fly River mouth, and Wariabodoro (near Teopopo) on the northern bank of the Fly estuary. Canoes from Dibiri, near the Bamu River delta, were traded through Wabuda. '*For a sixty feet* [18m] *canoe three very large armshells and thirty large cowries might be paid, for a small canoe five large and a fathom* [c. 2m string of shells] *of small cowries. European goods are now largely used in the purchase price. One large canoe would cost, for example, three axes, five half-axes, a dozen tomahawks and one armshell ; indeed the latter is an essential to the bargain*' (Beaver, 1920: 164-165). Beaver probably obtained some of his information (Fig. 25) from sources such as Haddon (1904,1908) and Jiear (1904/05). Since Landtman contributed a chapter to Beaver's book, and they both worked out of Daru between 1910 and 1912, it is likely that they exchanged information and corresponded with each other.

McCarthy (1939:183-184) concluded his examination of 'trade connections' between Cape York and Torres Strait by repeating Haddon's suppositions, reinforced by material obtained from Landtman. This argument was that Saibai and Mawatta were the principal centres for converging Torres Strait and coastal Papuan exchange routes. McCarthy (1939:185–186) had personal communication with Leo Austen, a patrol officer and resident magistrate in Daru between 1919 and 1924; his first hand information adds to European perceptions of Torres Strait trade and supplements that provided by Jiear (1904/05).

Austen (McCarthy,1939:185) stated that the Kiwai speaking villagers along the Mawatta to Parama coast near Daru maintained trading links with Saibai, Boigu and Dauan but that people of these villages, notably Parama, Katatai, Tureture and Mawatta had kinship links not only with Saibai, Boigu and Dauan, but also with Yam and Murray Is. (Fig.26). After establishment in 1891, the Kiwai-speaking village of Mabudawan, became the centre of trade from Torres Strait and other coastal villages.

Saibai, Dauan, and Boigu have limited gardening land and these Islanders obtained garden foods and nipa palm, for use in house thatching, from the mainland. Canoes were obtained along the coast from the Fly River. The coastal people around Daru were the main agents in the movement of canoes from Wabuda and the Bamu estuary, and then into the Torres Strait.

Austen (McCarthy,1939:186) believed that pearlshells and cowrie shells from Torres Strait were sent via villages on Daru as far east as Goaribari Is. north of the Bamu River, in part payment for canoes, although European tools, particularly iron axes and knives, were also in demand. McCarthy (1939:189) added that these shells eventually passed inland and up the Fly River into the PNG highlands. In summarizing trade connections across Torres Strait, McCarthy (1939:190) stated that trade routes from Cape York passed through the western and central islands into PNG via Saibai and Mawatta. A second route from eastern Cape York passed through the eastern islands and Parama to coastal Kiwai villages in the Fly estuary. Trade routes radiated from Saibai and Mawatta, west along the coast to the present Indonesian border, and east through the Fly estuary to Dibiri. Trade routes moved inland to the middle and upper Fly and Strickland Rivers. '*A local inter-village bartering, and canoe trade between distant points, exists along the coast of Papua from the Fly estuary to far eastern New Guinea*' (McCarthy, 1939:190) (Fig.27).

Gabey (1949), a Murray Islander, wrote that, in former times, shells were the most valuable exchange item of Torres Strait Islanders. Armlet

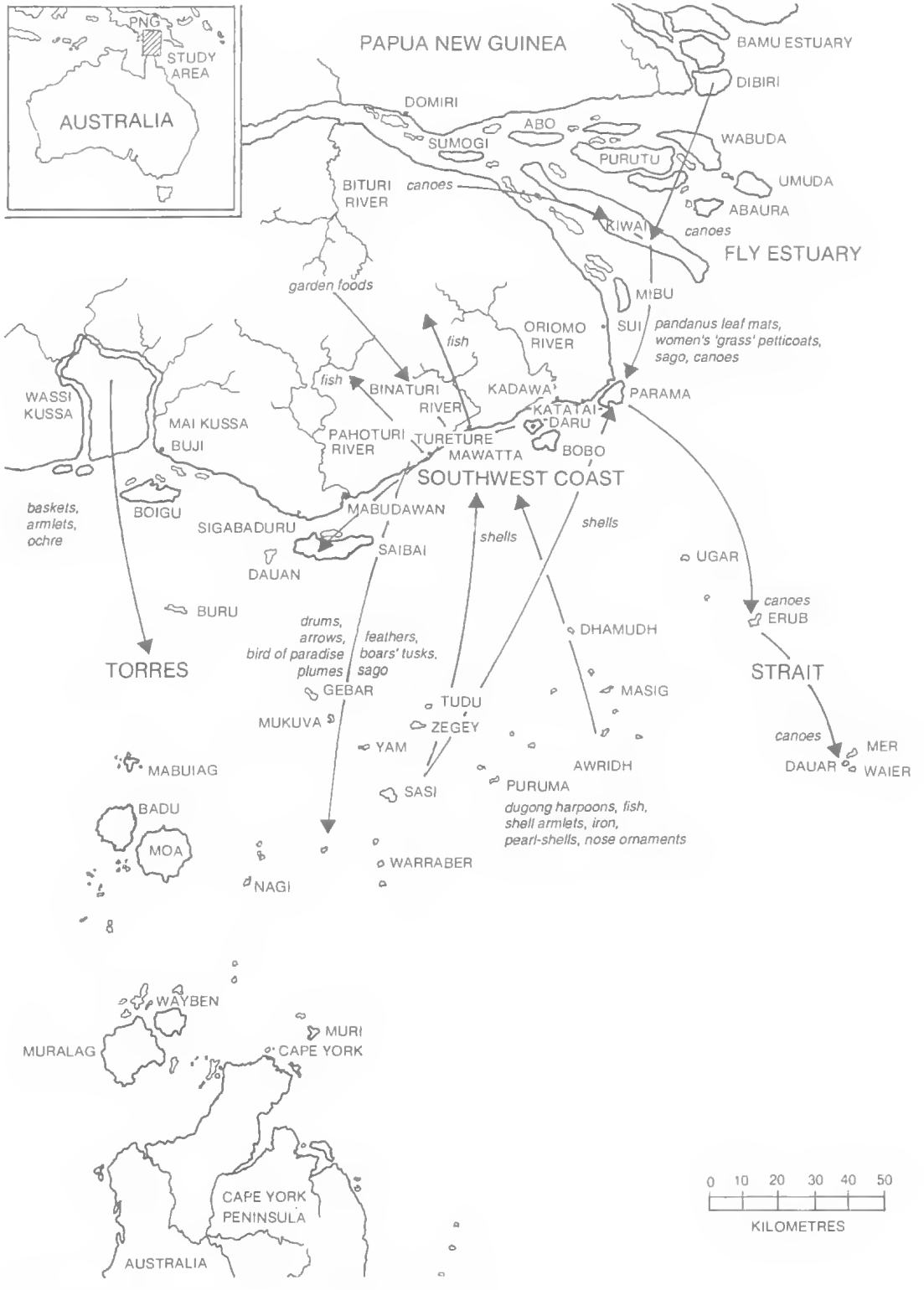


FIG. 25. Patterns of customary exchange (Beaver, 1920).

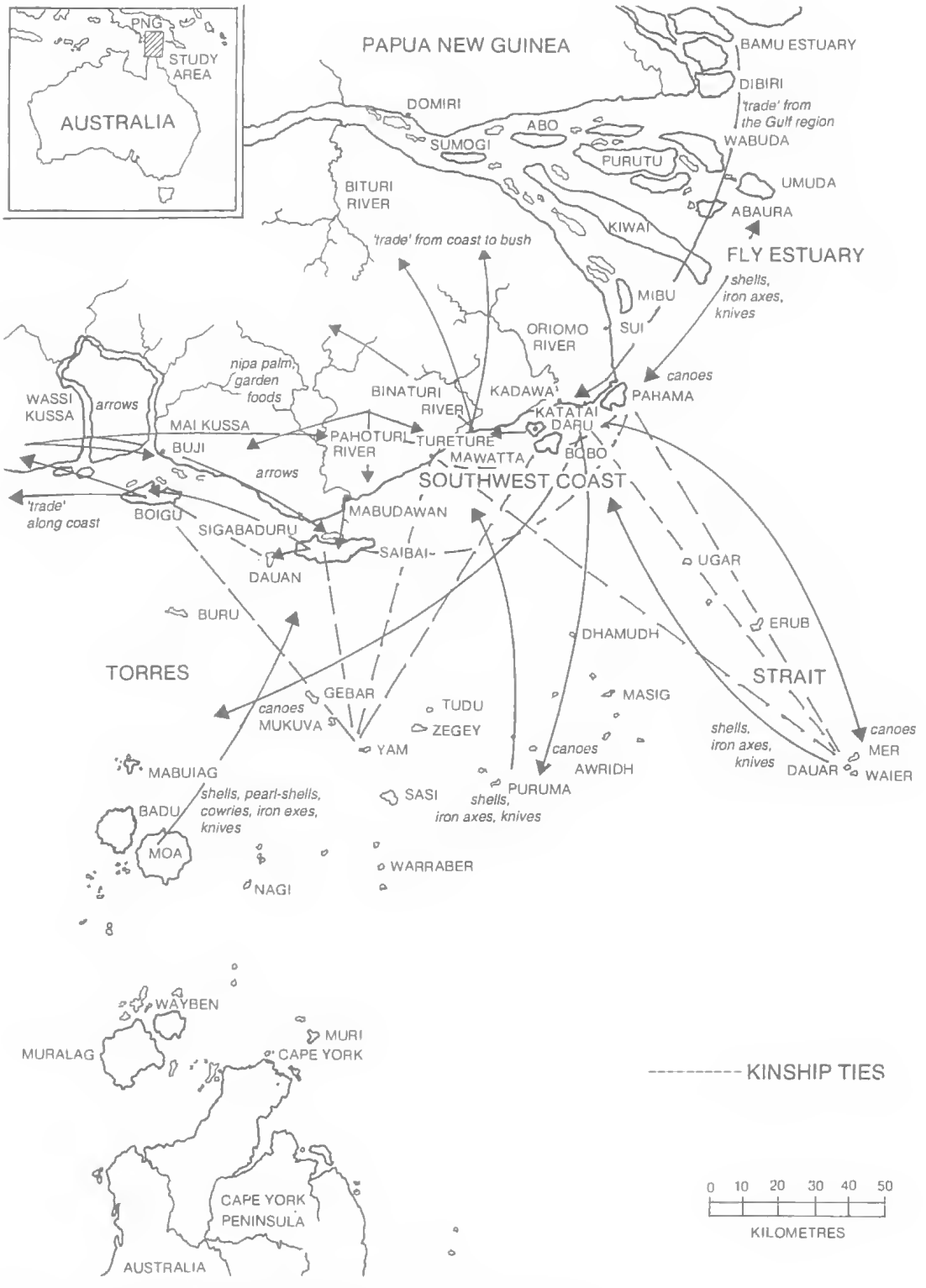


FIG. 26. Patterns of customary exchange (Austen in McCarthy, 1939).

shells were used in negotiations for canoes, sago and women. They could only be worn by people of high status. A secondary use was as payment for sorcery in putting another man to death. The second most valuable shells, bailer shells (*Melo* sp.), were found on reefs or obtained from central Islanders through exchange for food; they were used as cooking utensils, for storage of water or for bailing water from canoes, and their flesh was eaten (Gabey, 1949:2). Clam shells (*Tridacna* sp.) were used as rain water containers and the flesh was also eaten. *Bu* shells (*Syrinx* sp.) were used as trumpets for signalling fighting or dancing. Pearlshells (*Pinctada* sp.), mostly found in the western islands, were used as ornaments. Nautilus shells (*Nautilus pompilius*) were used as drinking containers and as artificial eyes for the dead. Gabey (1949:3) stated that the best canoes came from Papua because of the lack of suitable canoe timber on Torres Strait islands. However, Murray Islanders made small canoes using local cotton trees (possibly *Bombax* sp.).

Contact between Papuans and eastern Islanders was still evident in the late 1950s. Hall (1957:17) wrote: '*Canoes from the Papuan side come south with sago and those pencil thin sticks of tobacco ... the older Torres Strait islander prefers this type of smoke, and he will trade pearl-shell, calico, fishhooks or any other item in the trade store for these molasses-soaked, saltpetre-impregnated sticks of tobacco that burn slowly with a frightful smell.*'

Internal dynamics of the exchange system which operated through the western islands have not been documented. Most attention centred on descriptions of movements of goods from place to place and on recording objects of exchange. In general, exchange took place between established exchange partners. Haddon (1904,V:296) wrote that exchange among western Islanders was through known friends and relatives such that: '*If a Muralug man wanted a canoe he would communicate with a relative at Moa who would speak to a friend of his at Badu ..* '. These links between kin and between friends, transcended linguistic and political divisions.

Dynamics of the exchange system of the eastern Islanders were described in more detail by Haddon (1908, VI:186), Macgregor (1911) and Laade (1969a, 1973). Macgregor (1911:4) noted that people of Mer formerly conducted a brisk trade with coastal Papuans west of the Fly estuary, and through a 'privileged tribe at Murray Island', obtained canoes in exchange for shell ornaments. This exchange, he stated, had been curtailed since about 1900 by the imposition of customs regulations and had become a matter of concern on Mer, although Hall (1957:17) remarked that contact between Papuans and Islanders was still much in evidence 50 years later.

Haddon (1908,VI:186) first wrote of the internal structure of exchange relations in the eastern islands that enabled control of external exchange to pass exclusively through the hands of one clan, the Komet. This differed significantly from other islands. Only the Komet could obtain canoes from Papua for other Islanders and it was the Komet clan who journeyed to New Guinea to conduct exchange on behalf of eastern Islanders. According to Laade (1969a: 36), the Komet, who lived from Zaub to Larte on the NW beach side of Mer, were known as 'front side people' or people belonging to the water.

The Komet were traders and fishermen (Laade, 1969a:37); they exchanged fish for garden foods produced by other clans on Mer. The Komet-le controlled trade, especially in canoes, with the Papuan coast from Murray, to Darnley, then through Stephen Is. to Papua. Papuan canoes came south late in the NW monsoon season (March/April); canoes, drums, bows and arrows, cassowary feathers and bird of paradise plumes returned with the commencement of SE trade winds (May/June).

Laade (1969a:37) stated that Papuans also brought 'arrow-proof "shirts" (bisi om)'. However, this should be interpreted as sago palm (*bisi*) bast (*ome*) which, in former times, was used as skirts by Torres Strait Islander women. The Murray Islanders gave in exchange mostly shells and in particular armshells (*Conus* sp.). Laade (1969a:37) wrote: '*The Komet-le were the sailors and intermediaries travelling from Mer to Darnley or Stephens Islands to do trading. As expert sailors, the Komet men were also experts in astronomy and meteorology*'. While the Komet-le regulated trade with Papua, Laade (1969a:38-39) reported that they did not engage in inter-insular exchange with central Islanders. This, apparently, was the special preserve of the Piebre or Dauer people who were fishermen and lived on the sandy beach front of Murray Is. facing SE. They hosted central Islanders, especially those from Yam, Puruma, Awridh, Nagi and Masig, who came regularly to Mer to obtain garden foods in exchange for shells, fish and turtle meat. Laade (1969a:39) stated that the stone used in stone-headed clubs and adzes was imported from New Guinea but an informant of his from Puruma stated that Islanders from Warraber

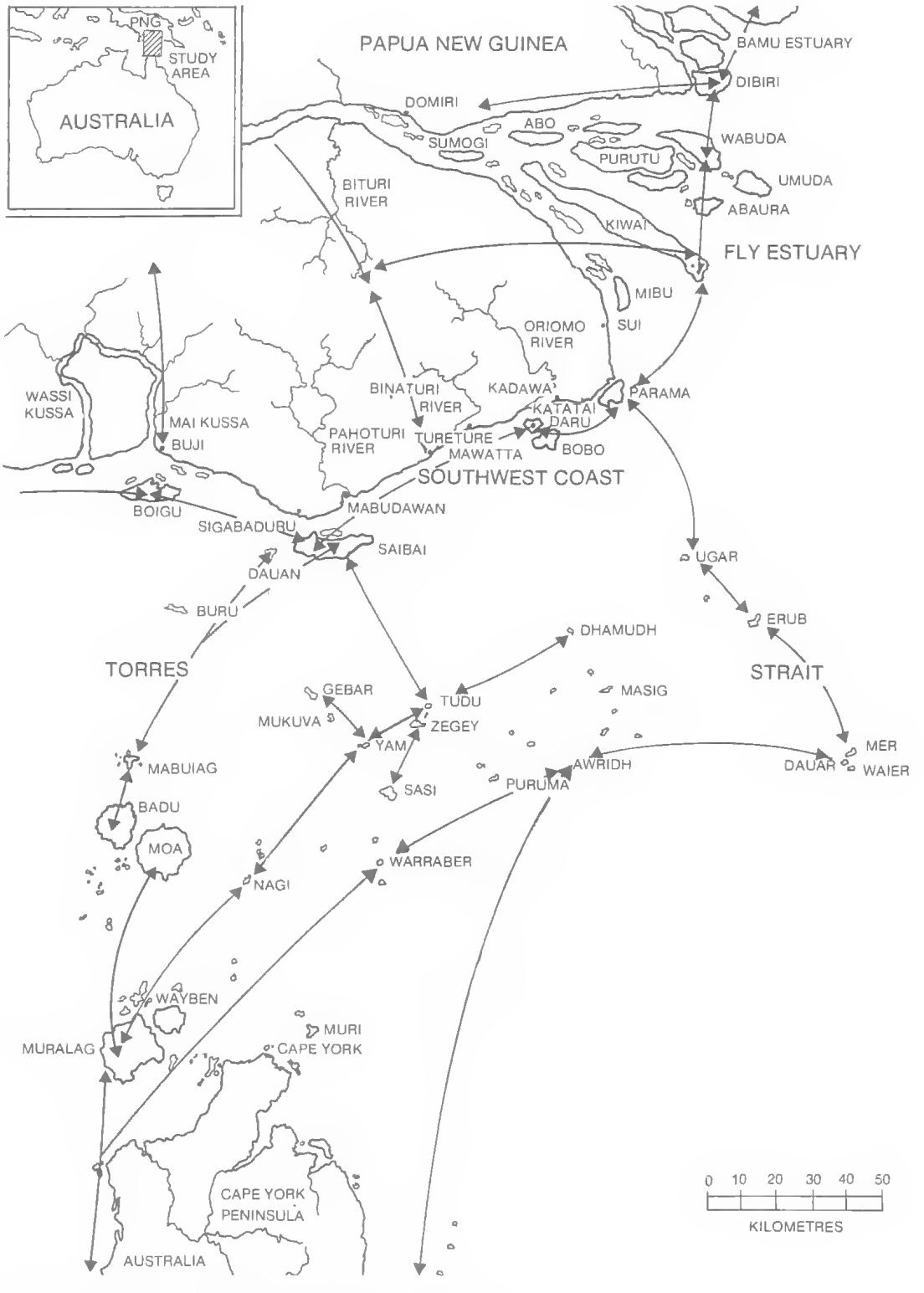


FIG. 27. Patterns of customary exchange (McCarthy, 1939).

and Puruma travelled as far south as Lizard Is., east of Cape York, to obtain clubstones. Central Islanders were the trading link between the eastern and western islands and Cape York. Thus black (charcoal), red and white 'paint' clays (ochres), arrows and Torres Strait pigeon feathers were traded from Cape York through Muri, Nagi, Gebar, Yam, Puruma, Awridh, Dauar and Mer. Laade (1969a:40), quoting Sam Passi, a former chairman of Mer, reported that the last major central island trading expedition to the eastern islands was in 1919.

Haddon (1908,VI:186) described the internal dynamics of exchanging armlet shells for canoes on Mer. First, a man who desired a canoe presented a member of the Komet clan with a shell armlet as part payment. Together with supplementary objects, such as shell ornaments and food, which were used as payments for middlemen, armlets were taken by the Komet clan to Papua. Following the receipt of the armlet, the canoe maker or vendor in Kiwai cut a long bamboo pole attached to which were placed return gifts, such as dance objects, feathers and plumes, dogs' teeth necklaces, boars' tusks, fringes and skirts, mats, bows and arrows, and other exchange objects. This pole, called in Meriam a *seker lu*, was sent to the canoe purchaser. The canoe purchaser and the intermediary removed any obligation to each other by cutting a cord. This complex system of interlocking exchange relationships consolidated inter-group and inter-island relationships.

Although exchange processes in the Fly estuary and coastal Papua were not specifically described, Landtman (1927:214–215) noted that intermediaries in the exchange system received articles as gifts and substituted other articles for them. Payment for a canoe was made in instalments and such payments continued over the life of the canoe which acknowledged the continuing good services of the canoe. When the canoe was destroyed or broken up, a final gift of a shell armlet or dogs' teeth necklace, together with a portion of the old canoe, was sent to acknowledge completion of the obligation (Landtman, 1927: 214).

The custom of intermediaries extracting portions of the gifts exchanged and substituting other gifts, but most notably food, emphasised collective community involvement in exchange. Canoes were collectively owned, collectively used and required for collective well-being. Maintaining the common good and strengthening inter-group relations through customary gift-giving was vital in preserving this communal well-being. Internal dynamics of exchange among eastern Islanders and coastal Papuans were complementary.

'*The peoples of the Torres Strait Islands* [and adjacent coasts] *were neither politically united nor culturally homogeneous. ... Varied though they were, the communities of the Islands were geared to one another through raiding, ritual and trade.*' (Beckett,1972:308).

Each Torres Strait community exploited natural resources in its own area but, through intra-insular exchange as far as PNG and Cape York, was able to exploit resources of a wider region. Patterns of exchange were set by availability of foodstuffs and marine resources and access to other communities. Canoes were vital to survival of Torres Strait communities.

Summarizing the pre-European contact exchange system, Beckett (1972:316) noted that goods from Papua included canoe hulls, bows, arrows, drums, feathers and pigments while from Cape York came woods and red ochre. These items circulated amongst the Torres Strait islands together with garden foods, sea foods, harpoons, shells and human heads. In former times, western Islanders in particular, exchanged human heads for canoes but eastern Islanders traded shells (notably *Conus* sp.) for canoes (Fig.28). Beckett's statement (1972:317) that Kiwai speaking people of coastal Papua may have preferred gardening to fishing, providing others supplied the turtle and dugong, is not accurate for the coastal Kiwai are principally fishermen. He correctly stated that the key to patterns of exchange across Torres Strait was a division of labour and resource allocation that made exchange an economically and socially viable occupation.

Integration of small, economically independent households was necessary for economic survival and, particularly in the eastern islands, this was offset by large scale interdependence in ritual, marriage and organisation of exchange (Beckett, 1972:323; 1987:115). Torres Strait communities coexisted with limited, but necessary, interchange.

Baldwin (1976:14) correctly stated the objective of exchange:'*Viewed functionally, the primary economic purpose of the Torres Strait trade system was to distribute resources among the diverse human habitats of the region. In other words, the system enabled goods plentiful in one locality to be exported to other localities where those same goods were scarce and therefore valuable*'. He emphatically stated that specific

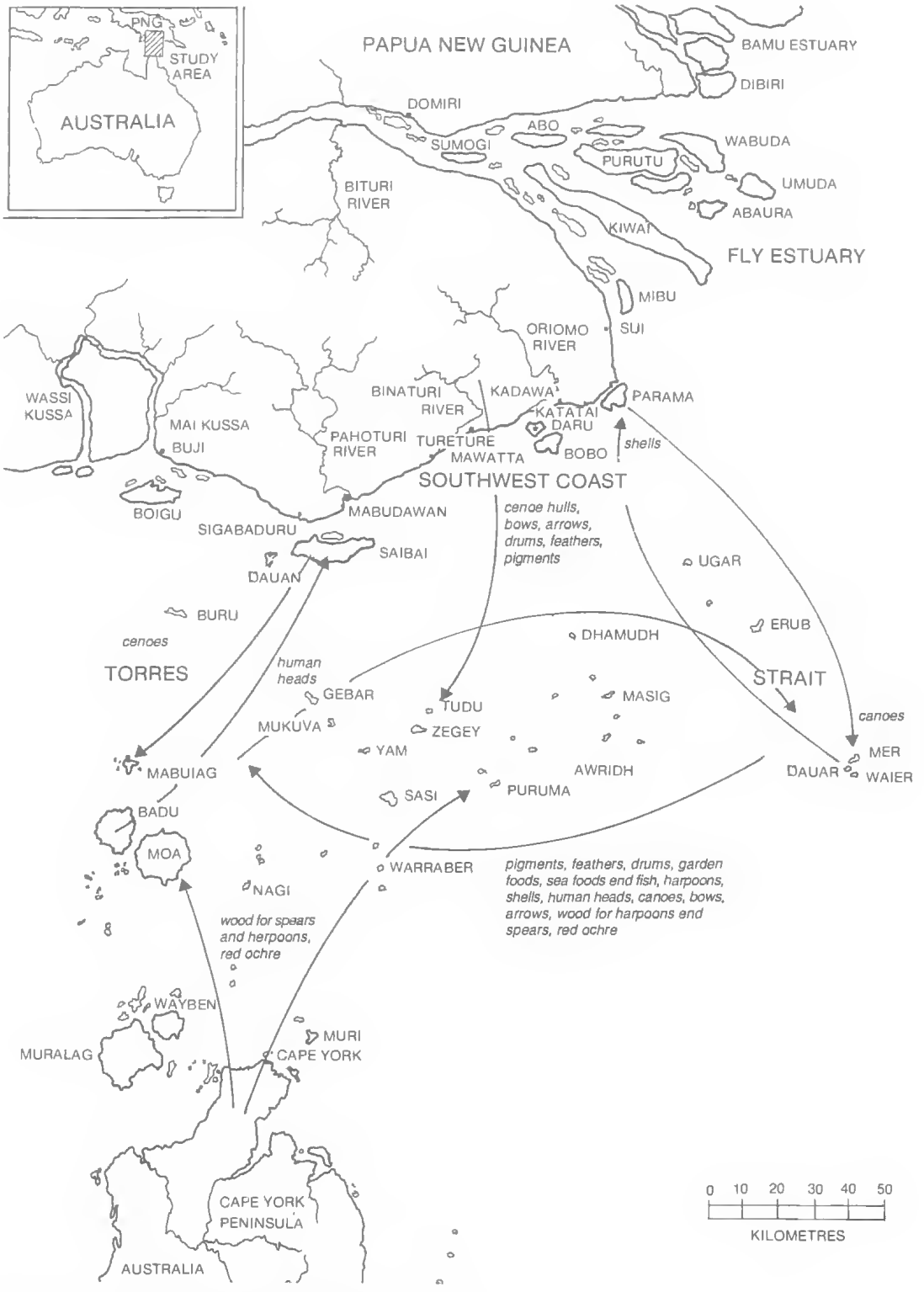


FIG. 28. Patterns of customary exchange (Beckett, 1972).

trade routes were recognized and that the formal structure of the trade system that operated in the region involved hereditary trading partnerships and standardized exchange rates. He repeated the belief that villages such as Parama, Tureture and Mawatta acted as coastal trading centres and he was convinced that western and central Islanders served as middlemen in a long distance movement of goods between Australia and PNG and that movement of dugong and turtle meat from Torres Strait into coastal and Fly estuary areas, and movement of sago in the reverse direction, was based on the same habitat contrasts that governed trade in ornaments, canoes and weapons (Baldwin, 1976:14–16).

Baldwin (1976:16) speculated that eastern Islanders were intimidated from making exchange contacts with Cape York Aboriginal groups by headhunting practices of central and western Islanders. There may have been other reasons for the lack of contact between eastern Islanders and Cape York Aborigines. The eastern islands were relatively resource rich, and contact with Papuans of the SW coast was considerably easier and more economically advantageous. Because eastern Islanders had been sighted as far south as Temple Bay, their contacts may have been with Aboriginal groups further south rather than those living at the tip of the peninsula.

Baldwin also speculated on the role of headhunting in Torres Strait: '*... the reason head-hunting was so popular among the Torres Strait islanders was not only because heads were valuable trade items in New Guinea, but also because such activity tended to discourage or eliminate competition in the trade system.*'

It was Baldwin's opinion that Cape York Aboriginal groups were unable to come into direct long-lasting contact with eastern Islanders who practised extensive horticulture and that the Torres Strait, therefore, acted as a 'cultural filter', allowing certain cultural traits to pass from PNG into Australia via Cape York, while blocking the movement of other cultural practices. He supported this argument with the example of the limited practice of horticultural activities through the western islands into Cape York (Baldwin, 1976:16). This argument neglects the relative lack of fertility and seasonality of climate of the western islands and of Cape York that inhibits horticulture. It also discounts the fact that Aboriginal people could make a considered choice of lifestyle.

In the mid-nineteenth century there was a broad north–south subsistence gradient across Torres Strait moving from a reliance on gardening to a reliance on foraging. Variations in the economics of western island communities related to inter-island differences in resource availability, patterns of community organization, socio-economic exchange and population densities (Harris,1979: 84). '*At the local, intra-community scale contact was frequent and informal; at the immediate, inter-community scale it was less frequent and more formalized; and at the regional island-mainland scale it took the form of systematized trade.*' (Harris,1979:85).

Thus the long distance trade network spanned Torres Strait and allowed movement of products manufactured from resources obtained in different environments, either on the mainlands or the islands; these products constituted the principal objects of exchange.

In the inter-island sphere the main objective of exchange was distribution of resources and, within each insular allied group, one specific island became the base for intensive horticulture (Harris,1979:86). In the west, these islands were Dauan, Mabuiag and Nagi. Each practised intensive horticulture and was, in the pre-European contact period, at a critical point in the long-distance trade network (Harris,1979:104). Exchange therefore encouraged and stimulated horticulture and the manufacture of items favoured in the exchange system. This participation further stimulated social and economic specialization during the nineteenth century (Harris,1979:105).

The model of inter-insular social and economic integration (Fig.29) developed by Harris (1979) provided a model of socio-economic regularities which united indigenous economies of the western islands during the mid-nineteenth century. It emphasises the study of patterns of exchange between integrated groups of islands.

Historical literature constructs a framework of reference against which oral evidence, and an hypothesis of interaction patterns. Historical evidence provides invaluable details and descriptions of a wide variety of exchange items and it is from the historical literature that a full list of the material culture of the Torres Strait and Fly estuary 'canoe traffic' can be extracted.

Early European perceptions of indigenous exchange in the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region, as extracted from historical documentary sources, were based on observations, usually made at irregular intervals, by travellers, sailors, missionaries and officials whose knowledge of the social and economic life of the people of the region was only superficial.

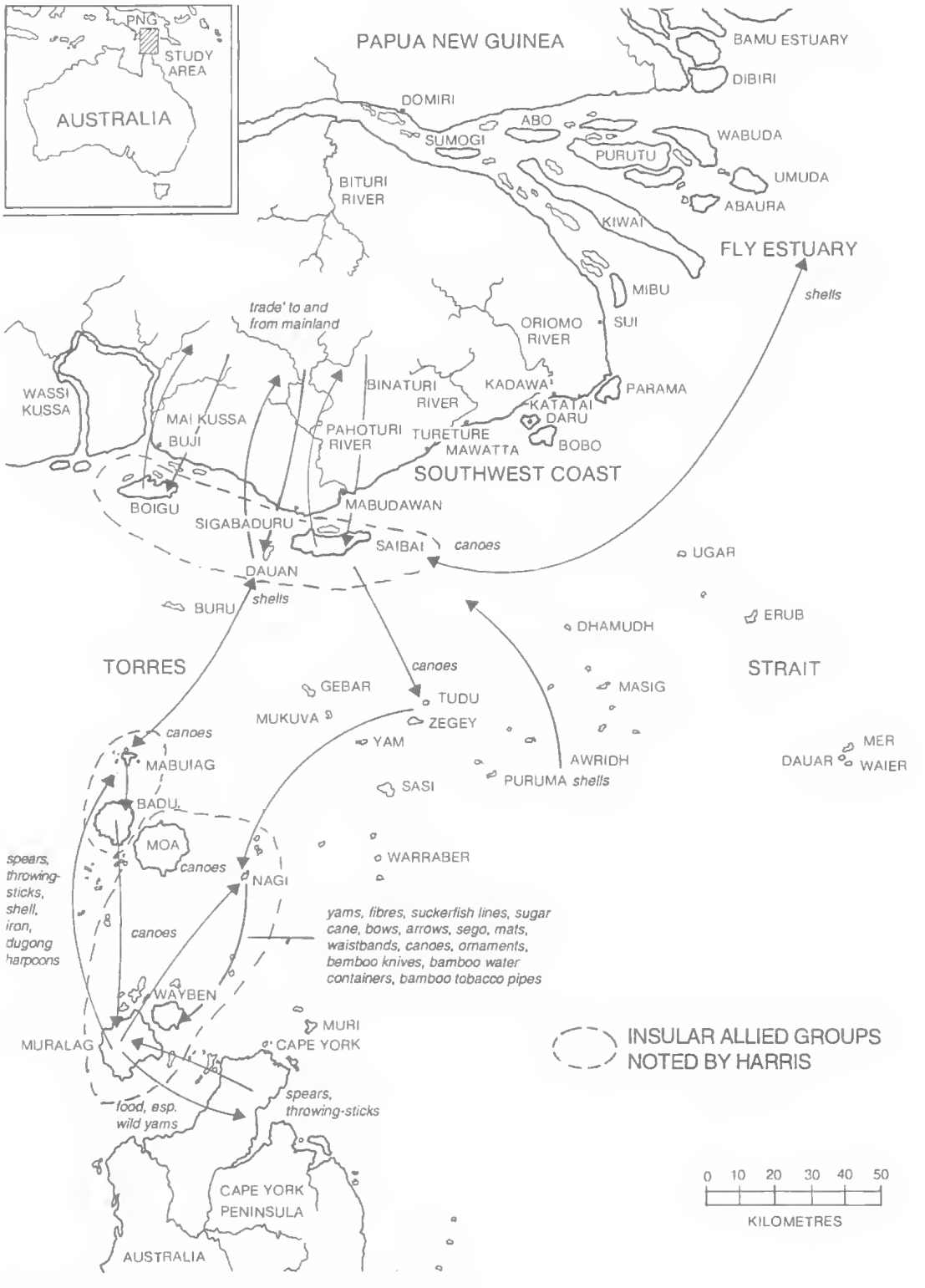


FIG. 29. Patterns of customary exchange (Harris, 1979).

The first contacts between Europeans and Islanders resulted in the recording of specific instances of exchange, generally Islander artefacts being obtained for European iron and knives. Nineteenth century European perceptions emphasised an indigenous desire for 'trade'. However, the European visitors were unable to perceive the underlying social constructs of the exchange process. The historical record emphasised the seemingly commercially oriented aspects of indigenous 'trading' practices. It was not until the latter part of the nineteenth century when detailed ethnographic information was recorded during the scientific surveying voyages of north Australia that the real nature of Islander, Papuan and Australian Aboriginal exchange relations were more fully described.

The historical documentary literature has reinforced the idea that customary exchange relations across the Torres Strait were part of a formalized system of set 'trade routes'. This has led to an interpretation of linkages, shown particularly in writings of McCarthy (1939), Moore (1974, 1979) and Baldwin (1976), that shows islands connected in extensive networks by single, fixed lines, indicating a formalized point-to-point movement of exchange items extending from Australia to Papua New Guinea. Of course objects of exchange moved from island to island, as they moved from village to village, or camp to camp on the mainlands. However, this interpretation presents a simplistic or generalized view of a set, inflexible and unchanging system of customary exchange which is fundamentally incorrect. In reality, as the oral evidence will show, the customary exchange system was flexible and open, and tied to many social, political and cultural factors. It was also open to manipulation. Movement of exchange goods fluctuated according to circumstances, changes in social and kinship networks, geographic conditions and community, and even individual needs. Reliance on the historical documentary sources alone presents a distorted impression and provides us with a static interpretation of what is in reality a dynamic system.

There can be little doubt that the fundamental nature of customary exchange, as presented by writers such as Haddon (1904, 1908), Landtman (1927) and Jiear (1904/05), was recorded accurately. However, their interpretations represent the state of exchange relations as they were at a particular period in the social and economic history of the region. Distortion of reality has come from the re-interpreation of these writings over time and the assumptions that these writngs present descriptions of a set, unchanging pattern of relationships.

From historical sources some idea can be gained of the full impact of economic and political colonialization which saw the introduction of tradestore goods into the customary exchange system. Introduction of tradestore goods led to re-interpretation of the value of customary exchange items and restructuring of the exchange system. Patterns of exchange across Torres Strait and the Fly estuary altered because of internal and external factors. Absorption of new material goods and adaptation to changing social and cultural circumstances emphasises the dynamic nature of Melanesian exchange.

THE ORAL TESTIMONY OF EXCHANGE

Oral testimony of exchange connections, population movements and inter-ethnic contacts of the people of the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region was collected from the 'top' western, central and eastern islands of Torres Strait, and from Papuan people of the SW coast and Fly estuary region of PNG. This oral evidence shows a high degree of correlation with historical documents such as Landtman (1917), the Annual Reports on British New Guinea (1886/87-1905/06) and Papua (1906/07-1919/20) and Haddon (1901-1935).

The oral testimony illustrates the long and continuous history of exchange and contact relations. Kinship ties and inter-ethnic contacts extended throughout the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region. Knowledge of these contacts is well known and transmitted orally through the generations.

Mythical and legendary culture heroes serve as cultural markers and the journeys and adventures of these heroes established the legitimacy of present day contacts. Oral testimony of exchange relations provides details of the circulation and distribution of objects. Oral testimony also demonstrates that traditions are shared between Islanders and Papuans in a region of complex cultural and linguistic divisions and that these traditions serve as cultural links between Islanders and Papuans. These links have only been broken by imposed divisions created by European political, religious and economic forces.

Oral evidence seeks to present a 'people's history' to balance the often prevalent and dominant 'colonial' or Eurocentric history, for ethnohistory concerns the relationship between written records and the spoken traditions. My functional definition of ethnohistory incorporates

historical documentation and oral evidence to study cultural change in non-European societies since European contact (Ruhan, 1981:39; Trigger, 1982:2). However, the ethnohistorical method also relies on archaeological and linguistic evidence as well as comparative ethnology as supplementary sources.

Ethnohistory has been used (McBryde, 1978:2; Dening, 1966:25) to refer to the process of historical investigation of an ethnic group not generally studied in the past, based on documentary, usually European, colonial sources. This definition of ethnohistory is not used here.

The use of an integrated method of cultural and historical description, according to Valentine (1960:2), may be termed ethnohistory and it is in that context that the term is used here. This differs from the more restricted definition that emphasised historical documentation alone as the source for reconstruction of the contacts, movements, cultural activities and locations of preliterate groups.

While Tippett (1973:1) stated that ethnohistory was basically a research technique, or a synthesis of methodologies used for considering cultural data spatially as well as sequentially, Trigger (1985:25) argued that ethnohistory attempted '*to document the resilience and dynamism of native peoples and their cultures from earliest European contact to the present*'. The oral testimony of exchange, contact and movement across Torres Strait and Fly estuary region presented in this chapter fully supports Trigger's view of the role of ethnohistory. This testimony illustrates the resilience and dynamism of indigenous culture and serves to dispel the misconception that socalled 'traditional' cultures existed in an ideal state of harmony and equilibrium prior to European contact.

The general European perception of pre-contact PNG culture was that '*In the pre-contact period PNG society fragmented into small, largely self-sufficient population units, closely tied to land and relatively static in size and location. There was little internal migration apart from movement on marriage, flight following warfare, or other short distance moves. European intervention brought peace over wide areas, new activities requiring labour, new means of travel, new wants and new means of fulfilling those wants.*' (Ward, 1980:121).

This perception, which reflects a generalized view of pre-contact Melanesian society, neglects the internal resilience and dynamism that is evidenced from a study of the ethnohistorical record.

The incorrect belief that cultures were static prior to sustained European contact was based on the false premise that these cultures were 'sensitively attuned to a stable environment' (Trigger, 1985:28). Yet evidence from archaeological sources (Irwin, 1978) as well as from oral narrative, suggests that changes occurred rapidly in the pre-European contact period. Each culture needs to be studied as part of the structural transformation of its own past. Societies need to be interpreted as systems that interact not only with their own cultural environment but also with those systems of their neighbours. Only then is it possible to take account of the full range of the processes which acted as catalysts to cultural change.

The importance of critical analysis in diachronic studies was stated by Evans-Pritchard (1962:47) who argued that anthropologists were often uncritical in their use of documentary sources and made little attempt at reconstruction from the historical records and the oral traditions.

The relationship between the use of historical documentation, oral testimony and material culture was examined by Hudson (1973:123–126). He classified historical research in anthropology into four areas: studies of inferential history and material culture; historical research by archaeology; various forms of research by social anthropologists; and research on folk history.

Lacey & Kolia (1975:9) described two broad types of oral evidence, underlining the value and meaning of such evidence in a Melanesian community: 'First, traditions of importance to a group as a people, which link them with important ancestors and events in their past and which are owned by the people as a whole or by groups of experts among them; and secondly, sources about more recent events and experiences which are shared with other villages and which come from the spread of colonial life through this country [PNG].' Lacey (1981:251) referred to the first as oral evidence of 'group or community traditions'. These may be more generally referred to as myths and legends. The second type, 'oral sources about wider events', may be termed stories or narratives.

Legend may be described as non-historical stories handed down through the generations but popularly recognized as having some historical character. Myths may be regarded as narratives, usually fictitious, involving supernatural persons, actions or events. Myths may also contain some

generally recognized historical character. On the other hand, stories or narratives may be described as accounts of recent important events or tell of the experiences of celebrated persons from the less remote past.

'Myths' and 'legends' are used here to refer to accounts of remote former times and/or supernatural persons and events.'Story' refers to accounts of the more recent past or the experiences of known persons or celebrated recent events. It is important to recognize the functional difference between the two forms.

Use of oral testimonies poses complex problems. Even Malinowski (1954) included in his work on the Trobriands details of magic and myths that he frankly did not fully comprehend. Substantial collections of myths, legends and stories have been collected in the recent history of PNG, notably sponsored by organisations such as the Institute of PNG Studies, and the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The difficulty for the ethnographer lies not in the collection of such oral history, but with the adequate assessing of this testimony as historical and ethnographic records (Lacey, 1981:257).

Oral traditions can change the past to suit the present (Gammage, 1981:115-117). No two eyewitness accounts are the same; emotions and prejudices colour interpretation and oral evidence may therefore be inaccurate or biased. Oral accounts of the past can be constantly altered or even reinterpreted for the stories can be changed or distorted in order to add credence to present needs, such as land disputes, and can omit details which are no longer considered relevant and traditions no longer considered useful and may even be considered as dangerous. This is especially true with regard to issues such as sorcery which may cause dissension within a community or wider cultural group. But despite these issues, oral testimonies are a reflection of indigenous values, when used with careful consideration.

The most important use of oral evidence is to act as a counterbalance to the inherent ethno- and Eurocentric biases contained in the historical documentary evidence.

MYTHS AND LEGENDS OF CULTURE HEROES

A number of myths and legends were collected in the Torres Strait by Haddon in 1898 (Haddon, 1901-1935 and 1928) and later, on the Papuan coastal side, by Landtman (1917). Myths and legends of the Torres Strait peoples have been collected by Lawrie (1970), Laade (1968, 1971), and Beckett (1975, 1985).

The original settlers on the Murray Islands were said to be Pop and Kod, who came from the Fly River to the area of Zaub, the central part of the present Mer village (Haddon, 1908, VI:19; 1935, I:103–104 & Laade, 1968:141–143). Another version of this story states that three women from a shipwrecked fishing party swam ashore at Erub and Mer. These women were later seen by men from Papua who settled with them on these islands where they were joined by other people from the Papuan mainland. A similar story of the origin of the Meriam people is also given in Haddon (1935, 1:102). As Laade (1968:142) recorded: ' ... *the two traditions concerning the earliest settlers on the eastern islands tell of the first people coming from New Guinea, - nothing more and nothing less*'.

Laade (1968:145) stated that Maida was the first Yam Islander but he also stated that other oral traditions noted that the original inhabitants of both Yam and Tudu came from the Binaturi River. The knowledge of this tradition was known by both the Bine-speaking people from the Binaturi region and by the Yam Island people. An early version of the story of Maida of Yam, which documents the close relationship between the people of Tudu and the people of Papua was collected by W. Macfarlane (1928/29 and Haddon, 1935, I:81–83) from Maino of Yam Island who learned it from his father, Kebisu (Appendix C).

In this account, Amubalee, a man from a Dirimu village on the Binaturi River, fled from a wild pig and sailed out into the Torres Strait to Tudu. Here he met with other people who exchanged a woman with him and he remained on Tudu and had a family there. In the meantime, his wife in PNG had given birth and raised a son. This son, Uibalu, killed the wild pig and in doing so raised up all the people from the villages of Peawa, Kuru, Jibu, Masingara, Itupi and Togo who had been killed by this pig. Leaving his mother, Uibalu then set out to find his father, in a canoe made from bamboo. He arrived at Tudu by sailing down Wapa Reef. Uibalu was reunited with his father and gave him food from PNG, including parts of the pig which he had killed. Uibalu returned to PNG after instructing his father that after five days he was to come back to Papua bringing many of the Tudu people. The Tudu people came and made friends with the people living in the bush in Papua and after this

the Papuan people married with people from Tudu and Yam. Maida, the great fighting leader of Yam, came from the family of the son of Amubalee and a Tudu woman.

This legend illustrates the closely established exchange and marriage ties between the Yam and Tudu Islanders and the people living in the riverine area of the SW coast prior to contact with Europeans. Other stories relating to the strength of these ties are also told by the people living in the Bine- and Gizra-speaking villages along the Binaturi and Pahoturi Rivers.

Laade (1968:142) recorded that the first settler on Saibai was Melawal who lived underground in a bailer shell. Another man, named Budia, who came from the direction of Boigu and moved around in the shape of a willy-wagtail (*Rhipidura leucophrys*), settled near Melawal's home on the western side of Saibai. Two men, Nima and Puipui who were both 'bushmen' from Papua, came from the eastern side to where Melawal and Budia were living, in search of their lost sister. They later returned to Papua. Saibai originally contained two settlements: one at Ait on the eastern side, and the other on the western side at the site of the present village of Saibai. According to Laade (1968:144), the people at Ait were 'bush people' from the Pahoturi River. Landtman (1917:148-152) stated that Nimo and Puipui, who lived at Ait, travelled to the Mawatta area opposite Daru Island where they obtained outrigger canoes which they brought back to Saibai. Two men from Mabuiag came to Saibai and saw these new canoes and, after remodelling them by adding another outrigger, returned to Mabuiag. This was the legendary origin of the traffic in canoes from the SW coast of Papua and the Fly estuary to the islands of the Torres Strait and illustrates the close relationship between the people of the 'top' western islands and the coastal riverine dwelling people of PNG.

Muralag and Moa were places of refuge of the Hiamo-Hiamo people from Daru who fled to the western islands to escape the frequent raids of the Kiwai people (Laade, 1968:145). The story of the flight of the Hiamo-Hiamo of Daru was recorded by Landtman (1917:366–367) who also collected two stories detailing early contacts between Yam and Tudu Islanders and the Papuans of the southwest coast (Landtman, 1917:361–364; 415–416). These stories tell of how the Yam Island people first obtained dugout canoes from Papua and how contacts were maintained with Daru Islanders despite attacks by the Kiwai people.

Laade (1968:150) believed that a series of statements concerning contact between Islanders and Papuans could be made from oral evidence:(1) The eastern Islanders' traditions tell of people coming from the Fly River settling in the eastern islands; (2) The Muralag and Daru traditions tell of the Hiamo-Hiamo people who fled into the Torres Strait away from warfare and Kiwai raiding, settling in the western islands; (3) The Yam-Tudu and Papuan traditions tell that the central islands were settled by the Papuan peoples from the Binaturi River area; (4) Saibai was settled by two groups of people, one of which was probably from the Pahoturi River region.

The long history of contact between eastern and western Islanders can also be noted in oral traditions. Gelam lived at Moa with his mother. After quarrelling with his mother, he left Moa taking with him a dugong which he had fashioned from canoe timber. After journeying via Nagi, Warraber and Puruma, he finally arrived at Mer. There the dugong turned into the hill now called Gelam. Gelam, according to the story (Haddon, 1908, VI:54), was the man who brought garden foods to Mer.

The origin of the Malo/Bomai cult, the principal culture myth of the eastern Islanders, further emphasises contacts between Papuan and Islander peoples. According to this myth (Haddon, 1908, VI:61), Bomai came from 'Tuger', the coastal area west of Boigu between the Wassi Kussa and the Morehead River. By changing through various disguises, such as a turtle, dugong, porpoise, crayfish and a canoe, he eventually reached Mer, having visited Boigu, Dauan, Mabuiag, Badu, Moa, Nagi, Yam, Masig, Dauar, the Great Barrier Reef, and Waier. Haddon (1908, VI:40) also told of how men from the other clan groups of the Meriam people, particularly the Omai, Daumer, Geregere, Begam, Wazwaz, and Zagareb clans, all came from Tuger in canoes in the search for Bomai.

George Ohshima (1983:6), using information obtained by Kitaoji (1979), reported a slightly different route for the journey of Bomai, passing from 'Tuger' to Boigu, Dauan, Mabuiag, Muralag, Nagi, Warraber, Puruma, Awridh, Masig and then to Mer. Lawric (1970:326) stated that Bomai was the secret name for the cult. The secular name, Malo, according to Lawrie (1970:327) was derived from the Meriam word for the deep sea outside the reef, Malo. In western island language this was Malu. The notion of the dual nature of the Bomai cult was brought by the men from Nagi, Yam and Masig who came in

search of Bomai/Malo. Thus the cult which originated in the Morehead region of PNG became firmly established in its dual form in the eastern islands of the Torres Strait.

The story of another culture hero of Mer, named Waiet, was told to Haddon by A.O.C. Davies who was the school teacher on Mer during the 1920s (Haddon, 1928). In this story, Waiet travelled from Mabuiag to Nagi and then to Mer. Hearing that Malo was in possession of Mer he settled at Waier. An effigy of Waiet was made from turtle shell by the people of Mer. Until its removal by Davies early in the 1920s, this effigy was hidden in the rocks of the island of Waier. The effigy is now housed in the Queensland Museum, Brisbane. Other versions of the story told to Haddon (1904, V:48) were of Waiet's journeys from the Binaturi River to Daru, then to Ugar and later to Tudu. Yet another version (Haddon, 1928:129) told of Waiet's travels from the Fly River to Mer and then to Badu, Moa, Nagi and Mabuiag. Concerning the links between cult ceremonies of the Torres Strait and the Papuan mainland, Haddon concluded that:'*The traditional origin of the Waiet cult from the western part of British New Guinea is thus substantiated, as it is in agreement with analogous cults of that region.*' (Haddon, 1928:135).

The object of this examination of perceived cult origins is not to deny the 'originality' of the old ceremonial practices of the Torres Strait Islanders but rather to demonstrate the continuity and antiquity of inter-ethnic contacts across the Torres Strait. It also emphasises that the mutual sharing of ritual and ceremonial practices extending over a long period of time was an integral part of the customary exchange system.

Contact between the western islands and Cape York was the theme of the legends about Kuiam, a culture hero of mixed Islander and Aboriginal heritage. These legends were also collected by Haddon (1904, V:67-83;1935, I:380-385) as well as Laade (1967). Donald Thomson (1933), the Australian anthropologist, also recorded detailed accounts of Cape York Aboriginal hero cults, initiation and totemism. The importance of the Kuiam myth is that the hero came to the western islands from Cape York and, according to both Laade (1967:70) and Haddon (1904, V:81), he originated from the Australian mainland. He was assumed to be either Aboriginal or part-Aboriginal and the Kuiam legend became the principal cult myth of Mabuiag and the western islands. It is therefore apparent that non-material items, such as cult practices and important ceremonies, were also part of the pattern of customary exchange across the Torres Strait. The mythological, or legendary, origins of these exchanges serve to emphasise the antiquity of customary exchange patterns across Torres Strait.

Other cult and origin myths are known throughout the region. However, the principal Kiwai origin myth concerns the story of Sido (or Sida), from his creation at Dibiri in the Fly estuary, to his death on Boigu. The story of Sido was recorded by Haddon (1908,VI:59). According to his version, Sido came from Daudai (Papua) in a canoe and went to Mer. Wherever he went Sido planted bananas and pandanus trees. Sido had intercourse with various women. Coconuts were created from his semen and he was responsible for the creation of many shells and the rich marine life of the reef. After these adventures he returned to Papua New Guinea.

Other versions of this myth were also recorded by Haddon (1935, I:374–378; 1904, V:28–36). Haddon's conclusion (1935, I:377) was that Sido was a culture hero who came from the extreme west beyond Boigu and visited the islands of the Torres Strait. He was responsible for the introduction of important plants, he instructed people in their languages and was credited with stocking the reefs and islands with various forms of life. There is, therefore, a close association between human and horticultural fertility. The Kiwai versions specifically refer to Sido's origin in the Fly estuary and his journey to Boigu: '*According to these tales Sido journeyed along the coast between the estuary of the Fly and Boigu ... The essential feature of the Kiwaian versions is that Sido was a hero who was associated with death and was the pioneer to the land of the spirits ...*' (Haddon, 1935, I:377).

Early versions of the Sido myth were also collected by Landtman (1917:95–119) and Beardmore (1890:465–466). Another version of the long and complex story of Sido was collected during this research from Daru (Appendix D.)

The story of Sido commences with his creation at Dibiri, near the mouth of the Bamu River. Sido was then expelled from Dibiri because of the power of his magic and so he journeyed to U'uwo on Kiwai Island where he was reborn through the body of a woman joined at the waist to her sister. These women taught Sido the magic associated with food collecting and hunting and in return he split them apart so that they could live in separate places.

During his wanderings around Kiwai Island, Sido met an old man who showed him the magic

of making drums and small canoes. From the sound made by his first drum Sido learned the name of a woman who lived at Iasa on the western side of Kiwai Island. By using a magic tree, Sido was transported to Iasa where he met this woman, Sagaru. However, Sido and Sagaru soon quarrelled over Sido's sexual inabilities and she fled from Sido to mainland Papua. Sido decided to follow her, aided by his magic children, the birds. Sido made canoes from various trees, such as nipa palm, but these were unsuccessful. Finally, he made a large canoe from a 'strong tree' This canoe was in the form of a partially hollowed out log and, in this canoe, Sido made room for his food, bows, arrows and his bird children.

Sido sailed to Mibu where he met Sagaru again. Again she fled from him but Sido followed her along the coast to Mabudawan. At Mabudawan, he climbed the hill and, when he jumped down, his feet made an imprint in the rocks which can still be seen. From Mabudawan, Sagaru and Sido went to Boigu Island but they were followed by a man named Meuri who also desired Sagaru. On Boigu, Meuri and Sido fought and Meuri cut off Sido's head. Meuri gave Sagaru water in the decapitated head but she threw it away and where it fell was turned into a deep well which still exists on Boigu. Meuri caused Sagaru's death but the spirits of Sido and Sagaru returned to U'uwo. Sido's grave can still be seen there in a place that stays fresh and green during all seasons. The location of Sagaru's grave is not known.

Beckett (1975:177-178), discussing the Sido myth, stated that the saga incorporated elements common to most creation myths in Oceania. These elements include :"*... the primeval killing; re-incarnation through rebirth and through shedding of the old body, followed by the acquisition of a new one; death becoming irreversible; the separation of ghosts and mortals; and the establishment of a ghostly world*".

Sido was a Papuan culture hero credited with the introduction of certain plant foods into the Torres Strait (Laade, 1971:1–8). The reason for the difference in fertility of the various islands was because Sido was given a woman in return for food plants. In some islands he was given an ugly woman, and these islands are barren, but on Mer he was given the most handsome girl, and this island is one of the most fertile in Torres Strait. Sido later returned to Kiwai Island from Mer.

In Melanesia, oral testimonies also form a record of the patterns of journeys of people as both traders and migrants:'*These traditions of migrations are significant to people's heritage, for the knowledge transmitted through generations in legend, song, chant and dance constitute their basic legal, political, social and economic charters. It is on this basis that the rights and obligations of lineages are defined within communities, and both access to and use of specific resources and territories are defended.*' (Lacey, 1985:89).

INDIGENOUS PERCEPTIONS OF EXCHANGE PATTERNS, POPULATION MOVEMENTS AND INTER-ETHNIC CONTACTS

Oral evidence of exchange patterns, population movements and intergroup contacts was obtained during field work in the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region in 1984 and 1985.

Oral testimony emphasises the cultural and ecological discreteness of the ethnic groupings in the region and, for these reasons, the oral evidence of exchange relations is presented according to cultural and ecological divisions.

Acculturation, intermarriage with non-Islanders, migration to the Australian mainland, the impact of European administration and the cash economy have reduced the importance of the customary exchange system across Torres Strait. Torres Strait Islanders have felt the impact of European ways of life since early contact with traders and sailors and following contact with missionaries after 1871. While knowledge of the customary exchange system forms part of the oral history of the elders, both men and women, who saw and took part in such exchanges in their youth or young adulthood the young indigenous Islander's perception of such exchanges is heavily dependent upon the historical documentary evidence obtained from sources such as Haddon (1904, 1908).

Oral testimony from the Papuan coastal villages is much stronger. The people of the SW coastal villages have not engaged to the same extent in intermarriage with outsiders. Despite the influence of colonial administration, missionization and the cash economy these villages have not felt the impact of an externally imposed way of life to quite the same extent as have the Islanders. The transmission of oral testimony is, therefore, still common among the people of the Fly estuary and the SW coast of Papua. For this reason Papuan knowledge of the customary exchange practices between Papuans and Islanders is still strong. Economic factors, such as the lower

standard of living among Papuan people and the high cost of petrol, building materials and hunting weapons, have been influential in the retention of such skills as canoe making, construction of houses using nipa palm, and hunting and fishing with bows, arrows and spears.

INSULAR ZONE

Torres Strait Islander ethnic groups from the 'top' western islands of Boigu, Dauan and Saibai, eastern islands of Ugar, Erub and Mer and central island of Masig (Fig. 1).

Boigu: In former times, the people of Boigu maintained extensive exchange relations with the Agob-speaking people on the mainland opposite Boigu; Boigu Islanders still obtain bows and arrows, drums, mats, dance ornaments and some vegetables from Buji. Mud crabs, usually caught by Papuans on the southern side of Boigu, as well as bamboo and *wongai* (*Manilkara kauki*) wood are still brought to Boigu by the Papuans. Wongai is especially valuable as it is used for dugong hunting spears and fishing spears. Most items brought to Boigu by the Buji and Ber people are now exchanged for cash. In former times, Papuans spoke the Boigu dialect although Boigu Islanders did not generally understand nor speak Agob language (Abia Ingui pers. comm. 1984).

Saibai: The people of Saibai have had a long and continuous relationship with the Agob-speaking people of Sigabaduru village and with the Kiwai-speaking people of Mabudawan. Papuans from Mabudawan and Sigabaduru lived on Saibai in separate villages, apart from the Islander community, in 1984 and 1985. Sailing canoes from Mabudawan were regular visitors to the Saibai village and sailing canoes, fitted with one outrigger, have been brought from the Fly River along the SW coast for many generations (Kinaur Akiba pers. comm. 1984). The canoes were fitted on Saibai with two outriggers, a platform and sails, although early this century they did not have the full deck platforms that the present canoes have, for this was at first thought to be too heavy for sailing.

The Papuan people from Sigabaduru and Mabudawan also brought yams, taro, sweet potatao, sugar cane, banana suckers and sago, as well as mats and canoes which they exchanged for clothing, tools and European food. In former times, the Saibai peoples had their own special exchange partners among the Papuan people on the mainland. This was a result of frequent intermarriages between Papuans and the Saibai Islanders. Saibai men often married women from the Papuan mainland. Exchange relations are still maintained although these days the Papuan people usually come to Saibai to shop at the island store.

Dauan: The people of Dauan Island also obtained their canoes from the Papuan coast, in exchange for armshells or cash. According to Jerry Mooka (pers. comm. 1984), when he was young the cash exchange for one canoe was about £100 ($200). This was the equivalent of 3 armshells. His mother was from Saibai but his father was from Dauan and he stated that contacts between Saibai and Dauan people had always been close. Canoes were fitted out on Saibai and it was the Papuan people who adopted the modern version of the double outrigger canoe from the Saibai Islanders. Relations are still maintained between Dauan Islanders and Papuan people and, in 1984, young Papuan men were employed, for board and lodgings, as labourers at the Island Industries Board store in Dauan.

Masig (Yorke Island): The people of Masig had close associations with the Yam and Tudu Islanders. The central Islanders were one inter-related group with kinship links to coastal Papuan people. The Mosby family on Masig, for example, is related to a number of families in coastal Papuan villages through the wives of Kebisu, the warrior, and through the wives of Maino, who was formerly a policeman to William MacGregor at Daru.

The people of Masig acted as intermediaries in exchange between the coastal Papuans and the eastern Islanders as well as with the Yam and Tudu Islanders (Elder Mosby pers. comm. 1984). Exchange relations and kinship ties were inter-related. Intermarriage was especially common between Masig and Murray Islanders.

People from Masig, well placed near the extensive Warrior Reef, took turtle and dugong meat from Wapa Reef (the main section of Warrior Reef) to the Papuan coast and exchanged them for bows and arrows, yams, taro, sago, drums and skins for drums. The exchange of garden foods was particularly important to the people living on the low sandy islands of the central Torres Strait. The Murray Islanders brought vegetable foods from the fertile eastern islands, as well as many varieties of shells, including pearl-shell. In former times, Papuan people also brought canoes which were exchanged for shells, particularly cone shells, pearl-shell, trumpet shells and trochus. Dhamudh was considered one of the best

places for cone shells (Elder Mosby pers. comm. 1984). Trumpet and helmet shells were obtained from reefs near Ugar.

Papuans who signed on as crews for the pearling and fishing boats were recruited from the coastal villages, especially Turetture, Mabudawan and Sigabarduru (Bob Gela pers. comm. 1984). Men from these villages would sail from the Papuan coast to Saibai and Boigu, then over the western reefs to Mabuiag, Badu, Moa and on to Thursday Is. where they were contracted for one year. At the completion of their contract they were paid off and returned to Papua with clothes, store goods and cash for their relatives.

The main connections between the peoples of Papua and the Torres Strait islands were established through kinship ties. Relatives established exchange partnerships and built up mutual obligations through the exchange of gifts. Between non-kin, items were exchanged for cash. A small group of Parama people resided on Masig in 1984 and 1985. The people of Parama have kinship connections with Erub, Mer, Masig, Warraber, Purumа and Yam Islands. Many of these connections are through the family of Simoi Paradi, an influential Parama man living at Daru. The exchange of fish for garden foods was particularly important in Papuan-central island exchange relations. From Parama, people brought garden food, mats, brooms and drums to these islands in exchange for turtle and dugong meat, clothes and cash (Opeta Gamea pers. comm. 1984).

Exchange relations between the eastern islands and Parama are especially strong. This is due, in part, to the geographical proximity of the eastern islands to Parama, Kadawa and Daru. The principal lines of connection from Erub, Parama, Katatai and Daru were through Mer and Ugar and Masig (Timothy China pers. comm. 1984).

Erub (Darnley Island): Papuan people sailed directly to Erub on the NW winds, particularly during the high tides of December and January when all the reefs were covered with high water, and they brought sago, taro, mats and *lap-laps* in exchange for European style clothing. They remained in the eastern islands until the SE winds. The prevailing winds were of considerable importance to people dependent on large heavy sailing canoes. The large Papuan canoes which often arrived before the doldrums prior to Christmas left after the New Year (Loiko Baku, Mapoo Gela and Sam Savage pers. comm. 1984). In former times, they had to obey the winds and currents but now, with outboard motors, they are able to come and go anytime. The canoes went to Medege and Dadabud villages on Erub, and the procedure was that goods were spread out on mats on the beach for the inspection of the Erub people. They brought mats, baskets, drums and garden foods to exchange for clothes, rice, flour and cash. The Parama people brought sweet potatoes and taro to plant, and they dug gardens and planted crops for the Islanders on Erub, but these were often destroyed by wild pigs after the Papuan people had returned home.

While the Papuans resided on Erub they contributed to the well-being of the community by digging and planting gardens and growing useful vegetable foods which were exchanged throughout the community. Similarly, the use of Papuan labour to construct the sea wall at Boigu in exchange for cash, and the employment of Papuan youths in the island store on Dauan in exchange for food and lodgings, must be seen as extensions of the exchange processes facilitated through kinship ties.

The Papuan people living on Erub in 1984 near Mogor village were principally from Parama however villagers from Katatai and Kadawa still regularly visited Erub, particularly at Christmas or for important events such as funerals and church openings (Loiko Baker and Mapoo Gela pers. comm. 1984).

Ugar (Stephen Island): Ugar, located on extensive reefs NW of Erub, was particularly accessible from the Papuan coast. The Stephen family had 'external' kinship ties with the coastal Kiwai speaking village of Parama and Turetture, as well as 'internal' kinship links to Masig, Mer and Erub (Arthur Stephen pers. comm. 1984). Papuan people who sailed down to the eastern islands brought mats, drums and garden foods, particularly yams (some of which were planted on Ugar), as well as canoes which were exchanged for cone shells obtained from rocky areas of the reef near Bramble Cay. Prior to the total substitution of European boats for canoes in Torres Strait, the eastern Islanders also obtained canoes in exchange for cash and some axes or knives.

The main reason for establishment and maintenance of exchange links between Papuans and Islanders was due to kinship connections. Kinship ties facilitated the establishment of exchange partnership ties. Due to geographical proximity as well as language affiliations, eastern Islanders had strongest connections with Parama, Katatai and Kadawa villages as well as with Daru. The western Islanders, and the Saibai, Boigu and Dauan peoples, for similar reasons, had strongest

connections with the SW coastal villages. However, because of inter-marriage between western, central and eastern Torres Strait Islanders and restrictions on free movement and exchange across the Australian/PNG border, many people claim kinship affiliations throughout most of the Torres Strait islands. Recent contacts between Ugar and the mainland have been severely restricted by border laws and regulations so that few marriages now take place between Islanders and Papuans. Ugar people mostly marry with other eastern Islanders or central Islanders. Some Papuans, with kinship ties in the islands, have settled in the Torres Strait where they believe that education, health and welfare facilities are superior to those in PNG, particularly in the economically depressed Western Province.

Mer (Murray Island): In former times, strong exchange partnerships were established between coastal Papuan people and Murray Islanders through the Komet clan. These partners exchanged goods only, rather than cash. Meriam people also had very close connections with the Erub people.

As well as kinship ties with Erub, the people of Mer continue to have close connections with the people of Parama Is., who come to Mer every year (Henry Kibere pers. comm. 1984). However, in recent times the size of the groups coming to Mer has declined. On one trip in the 1960s for example, seven canoes, each with about 20–30 people, came from Parama and Sui bringing yams, bananas, sago, taro, mats, baskets and drums. Such large groups are rare these days. On these trips the Papuan people generally came in October, November or December during the NW monsoon season. After Christmas and New Year they returned to Papua with the SE winds.

In former times Mer maintained especially close exchange and kinship connections with Parama and Sui villages (Sam Passi pers. comm. 1984) For example, Sam Passi, from the Dauareb clan, still retains kinship links with Erub as well as with these Papuan mainland villages. In former times, intra-island exchange was also important. The people from the central islands of Yam, Masig, Puruma and Warraber came to Mer to exchange turtle and fish for garden foods. Now this exchange continues to a limited extent but eastern Islanders exchange store bought food, especially rice and flour, as well as clothing from the island store or the mainland, for fish and turtle from the central islands.

In 1984, Kaba Noah of the Komet clan, the caretaker of the last of the sacred Malo/Bomai drums, *Wassikor*, stated (pers.comm. 1984) that the people from the coastal Kiwai villages of Mabudawan, Tureture, Katatai and Daru, as well as Parama, Sui and Kiwai Is. were the people with whom the people of Mer maintained closest exchange and kinship connections. The principal items that the Papuans brought to Mer were bananas, mangoes, taro, mats and drums, including large drums (*warup*) and small drums (*boroboro*), as well as yams and sago. The last big trading party to come to Mer in the late 1960s landed near the present church, on the Komet clan lands which face NW. Similar practices took place on Erub, where Egru village, which is on the land of the Komet clan also faces the prevailing winds.

According to James Rice (pers. comm. 1984), kinship ties are the key to the entire Torres Strait and Papuan exchange system. This is especially true with regard to relationships between Parama and eastern Islanders, who were first related through the marriage of Gagaro from Parama to a girl, Sapaia, from Erub. From Parama, the main sailing route to Erub and Mer was from Parama to Daru and Bobo, then to Ibumuba Reef to Dhamudh, then to Ugar, to Erub and then to Mer. Parama people often arrived in March at the end of the wet season and before the start of the dry season when their food was short and the garden foods not yet ready for harvesting. After three months in the eastern islands they returned to Parama. In exchange for garden foods obtained on the eastern islands they brought mats, brooms, coconut oil, drums, sago, bows and arrows. The Parama people also had connnections with both the Fly estuary people and with the coastal Kiwai people of Kadawa and Katatai. Thus, the main exchange contacts between eastern Islanders and the coastal Papuans concentrated on the coastal Kiwai-speaking peoples of the lower Fly estuary, Parama Is. and the Mawatta-Katatai coast.

Littoral Zone

The Agob-speaking people live in the small villages of Buji and Sigabaduru, west of the Pahoturi River. The coastal Kiwai-speaking people live in Mabudawan, Mawatta, Tureture, Kadawa and Katatai villages located on the narrow foreshore extending from the mouth of the Pahoturi River to Toro Passage, the narrow entrance passage from the Torres Strait to the lower Fly estuary (Figs 30, 31).

In contrast to the broad focus on customary exchange gained from oral testimony in the Torres Strait, the indigenous perspective of exchange

gained from oral testimony among the villagers of the SW coast of Papua and the Fly estuary is specific and detailed.

Buji: The small, isolated village of Buji, situated on the mainland coast opposite Boigu Is., was established as a police post in 1897/1898 (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1898, Appendix L:79). Following its establishment about 220 Agob-speaking people from the small scattered villages of Buji, Tuldu, Wasi, Bei Dapu, Mat, Pabu and Tabatat moved into the area of the post and built permanent dwellings. These people had long been subjected to raiding from the Tugeri people who lived in the coastal region west of the Wassi Kussa.

According to oral accounts, in former times, the people of Buji lived in small bush camps where they slept on the ground. They had no permanent houses and moved according to the seasons between hunting and fishing camps. Undoubtedly, the establishment of the police post, which effectively limited and reduced Tugeri raiding, assisted in the consolidation of these scattered village camps into one centre. The Buji people had established contacts with the islands of Badu and Moa which the story of Ubrikubri serves to illustrate.

A man, Ubrikubri, and his daughter lived at Buji. The girl had no children and she asked her father to find her a piglet to care for. The father, after trial and error, eventually gave the girl a small crocodile which she lovingly raised on yams and taro. One day she told her father to feed the crocodile but as he reached through the fence surrounding the pen the crocodile grabbed him and dragged him to the beach and into the water. It took the body to Boigu and then brought it back to Buji, thereby creating the channel between Boigu and the mainland. Meanwhile, the girl began searching for her father and the crocodile and eventually found her father's body near the rocks on the shore. She then left that place and moved down the coast. The crocodile swam to Buru Reef and then to Moa and Badu where it can still be seen in the channel between Badu and Moa (Appendix E, story 1).

This story links the first people of Buji with the people of Moa and Badu for, in the story, the crocodile and the old father are both called Ubrikubri. Other legends linking Buji and the western islands of the Torres Strait also concern the actions of mythical crocodile figures. For example, the story of the origin of fire collected by Bingham Hely, then Resident Magistrate for the Western Division (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1892/1893, Appendix P:58-59), told of contacts between the Buji and the Mabuiag peoples and stated that fire originally had come to Mabuiag from Buji. The Mabuiag people saw a crocodile near the coast carrying fire in its mouth However, when they requested fire from the crocodile it refused and so Iku, the headman, swam across to Buru and then to Dauan. At Dauan he saw smoke rising from the shore. He crossed over to the mainland and saw a woman with fire coming from between her thumb and forefinger on her right hand. By trickery, he stole this fire and he returned to Mabuiag via Dauan and Buru. Fire was then carried to all the islands of the Torres Strait, The Mawatta and Tureture people obtained their fire from Tudu, after it had been carried there from Mabuiag.

According to the people, the old days were hard and the struggle for survival strengthened the ties between the people of Buji and Boigu. People from Boigu came to the mainland to make gardens and Buji people also made gardens on Boigu. Their ties of friendship were also strengthened by kinship ties through the marriage of a Boigu man and a Buji woman named Kalmo, and these ties continue to the present day.

Buji people hunted deer, pig and wallaby on the coastal plains behind the village and exchanged meat for fish, dugong and turtle from the Torres Strait. The main fishing areas used by the Boigu people were close to the mainland near the village of Ber and also on the southern side of Boigu Island. As well, the people of Buji used the reefs of Kussa Island and obtained turtle eggs at the sandbanks near Boigu and near the coastal villages of Mari and Jarai to the west. People hunted in the swamps on Boigu together with the Boigu Islanders (Bapu Mose and Rubu Ag pers. comm. 1985).

The Buji people used only small canoes with mat sails and so they stayed close to shore. It was the people of Boigu who introduced them to large sailing canoes. The people of Boigu then taught the Buji people how to construct their own large canoes. This mutual interaction was emphasised by strong exchange links between the two peoples. The Buji people exchanged *wongai* timber to the Boigu Islanders. *Wongai* timber was used by Boigu people in the manufacture of dugong harpoons which were renowned in the western islands of Torres Strait. In 1985, Charlie Gibuma of Boigu was still making fine harpoons from *wongai* traded from Buji. In former times, Boigu Islanders obtained sago and nipa palm leaf

for construction of their homes from Buji sago swamps.

Small drums are still obtained from the Morehead region to the west and large drums, with wallaby skin heads, are also obtained from villages to the west for about 30–40 kina (approx. A$40–50). Drums may also be made with a snake skin tympanum, but this is generally considered less satisfactory than the stronger wallaby skin head. Both Morehead and locally made Buji drums are exchanged with Boigu Islanders for cash. They are then sent to the other Torres Strait islands, where they are often resold and repainted by the Islanders using bright acrylic paints.

Besides drums and *wongai* timber, bows and arrows are also exchanged to Boigu. The people of Buji also take yams, baskets, mats, drums, cassowary feather dance decorations and vegetables to sell on Boigu. With the money from the sale of these items the Buji people can buy food and petrol at the government store on Boigu.

The Agob-speaking people have always been widely scattered, dwelling in small villages, having only limited contact with each other. For this reason contacts with the Boigu Islanders are most important to Buji villagers.

Sigabaduru: For the Agob-speaking people of Sigabaduru village, to the east of Buji, their closest links are with the Saibai Islanders. The cultural significance of the crocodile to the Agob-speaking people is emphasised in the story of the Akron clan of Sigabaduru village. Two brothers of the Akron clan decided to separate and, after a feast of pig, the elder brother entered the water and became a crocodile and swam away from the mainland. The younger brother stayed as a man and had many children. Now this clan is forbidden to eat crocodile. The crocodile also know the magic words of this clan and can identify clansmen (Appendix E, story 2). The separation of the younger brother and the older brother is a common theme in Papuan myths and legends and perhaps serves to illustrate the segmentation of large clans into smaller clan groups prior to out-migration.

Sigabaduru village, located on the coast directly opposite Saibai, is the most eastern of the coastal Agob-speaking villages. The close association between the peoples of Sigabaduru and Saibai is expressed most clearly through legend. In former times there were two brothers. The elder brother decided to live on the mainland at Sigabaduru but the younger brother decided he wanted to live on Saibai. The elder brother made a bamboo raft so that he could visit his brother on Saibai and journeyed back and forth. The younger brother married a girl from Ait and had many children. The elder brother also had children at Sigabaduru and through these families the people of Saibai and Sigabaduru are related and to this day exchange gifts with each other (Appendix E, story 3).

These ties remained despite intermittent warfare between the two groups. The story of Wagebau of Saibai (Appendix E, story 4) illustrates how the people of Sigabaduru gave a woman to the fight leader Wagebau and by doing so established peace with the Saibai Islanders. The Samogaud clan of Sigabaduru is now related to the descendants of Wagebau and this woman.

Like the people from Boigu and Buji, the Saibai and Sigabaduru people hunted and fished together. The main fishing areas were Wapadubun Reef near Sigabaduru and on the large reef in the channel between Saibai and the mainland, usually called Saibai-Sigabaduru Reef.

In former times, the people used bamboo rafts and hunted with bows and arrows (Gabi, Tai, Pino, Darua, Koiget Sali pers. comm. 1985). It was only after introduction of the steel axe and arrival of Kiwai-speaking people with the first Europeans, that the people of Sigabaduru began constructing large sailing canoes. They learned how to make these large canoes from the people of Saibai. Canoe hulls, which were exchanged for armshells and shell ornaments, were floated down the Pahoturi River near Mabudawan. The exchange value was sometimes two or three armshells for one canoe log. Using this type of canoe, the Agob-speaking people were able to extend their journeys to Badu, Mabuiag, Moa and Kubin (on Moa). The people of Sigabaduru were then able to develop kinship and exchange ties with the people of the western islands of the Torres Strait. Although they still maintain contact with the Saibai Islanders, the people of Sigabaduru no longer exchange canoes or ornaments. They still take mats, bags, bows and arrows and vegetables to Saibai which they now exchange for cash.

The village of Sigabaduru is an amalgam of a number of small communities called 'corners' which include the old village on the foreshore and, behind this, a group of houses belonging to people from other villages who have moved to Sigabaduru to take advantage of the proximity to the school, the medical aid post, and the church. The people of Tabalat 'corner' village, for example, moved many times before they finally

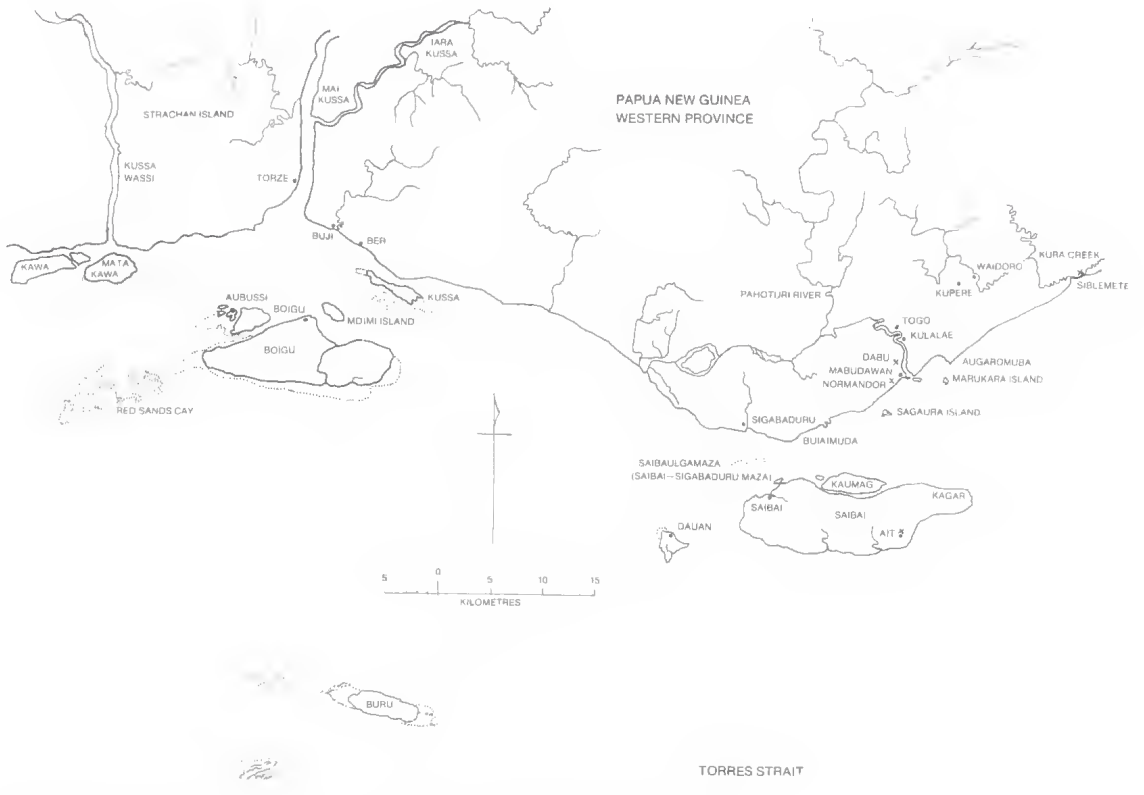


FIG. 30. Top western Islands of Torres Strait and the SW coast of PNG.

settled at Sigabaduru. According to the Tabatat people, these moves were prompted by Sirnai, an ancestor spirit of the Tabatat people (Appendix E, story 5).

The coming of the Kiwai along the SW coast was the most significant factor in severing established links between Torres Strait Islanders and people of the littoral coast and adjacent riverine lands. Following the establishment of the government station at Mabudawan in 1891 (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1892, Appendix L:42), conflicts arose between the Agob-speaking people and the coastal Kiwai who had come as workers and policemen with the European officers.

The pressure exerted on the Sigabaduru people to move west is illustrated in the clan story of the Bibra people (Appendix E, story 6). The ancestors of the Bibra clan formerly lived at Mabudawan which they called Mabunardi. They planted gardens there. The Kiwai who came from the east first settled on the island at the mouth of the Pahoturi River in the 1890s but then, after making friends with the Bibra, moved over to the Papuan mainland. Although the Kiwai were given land to use, they began stealing garden foods from the Bibra, and so the Bibra were forced to move away from their lands. They settled near Simabod, not far from Mabudawan, but still the Kiwai stole from them. Again they moved, this time to Darbud between present Sigabaduru and Mabudawan. Again the Kiwai stole from them. Finally after trying to find good land they settled near the shore at the present Sigabaduru.

Mabudawan: The Kiwai settled at Mabudawan following the establishment of the government station in the Western Division of British New Guinea under instructions from the Administrator, Sir William MacGregor. J.B. Cameron, the Resident Magistrate, had established the station by March 1891, although his first difficulty was ascertaining the ownership of the land. The Mawatta people first claimed it, stating that '*the land belonged to them, as they were the owners of the whole of the coastline in this district*' (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1890/1891, Appendix L:42). However, it was officially decided that the Dabu (Agob-

FIG. 31. SW coast of PNG, E of Saibai, and W of the Fly estuary.

speaking people), who occupied the district NW of the station and W of the Pahoturi, were the original owners. One of the first Kiwai settlers at Mabudawan was a policeman named Kesave and although the people of Sigabaduru are related to the Mabudawan people through Kesave and his wife Makai from Sigabaduru (Appendix E, story 7), the question of ownership of the land around Mabudawan is still unresolved. Although Mabudawan is the most westerly village of the Kiwai speaking people, the site was contested by the Togo and Kulalae villages (Gizra-speaking people) who formerly lived on the eastern bank of the Pahoturi.

The coastal Kiwai-speaking villages of Kadawa, Mawatta, Tureture and Mabudawan share one common origin story. The story of Bidedu, as recorded by Landtman (1917:85–88), was that:'*Long ago the Mawatta* [mouth of the Oriomo River] *that is Tagara* [old] *Mawatta the area of beach and headland opposite Daru Island, people lived inside a creeper of a kind called* Buhere-apoapa. *When swimming in the sea at Dudu-patu, they came across the intestines of dugong and turtle, which had been thrown away by the Daru people and had floated over to the opposite coast, and they ate them. A large hawk once flew away with a turtle bone and alighted on a* Kaparo *tree at Kuru, close to a garden where a man named Bidedu was working. The hawk dropped the bone, and Bidedu, after picking it up and examining it, decided to go and find out where it came from. He found the people in the creeper and cut them out ... Both the Mawatta and Tureture people had been in the creeper. Their leader Bidja came out first, and Bidedu made friends with all of them. They used to eat poor kinds of fruits, roots and earth, and to smoke the leaves of a tree called* omobari, *but Bidedu gave them food of the right sort and showed them the use of tobacco. He also taught them to build houses, and they founded the village of Old Mawatta* [the point NE of Daru].'

The story of Bidedu as told by Jawagi Maru and Amabi of Mabudawan village (pers. comm. 1985) illustrates the close associations between

inland and coastal people who established themselves on the littoral zone close to the mouth of the Fly River. The coastal people, after settling on the beach at Mawatta opposite Daru, mixed with Daru and Fly estuary people, and then began to separate. These groups established the present Kiwai-speaking villages of Tureture, Mawatta and Mabudawan to the west.

This version of the story of Bidedu,which varies slightly from the one collected by Landtman, documents the arrival of the Kiwai who came to settle on the coast (Appendix E, story 8). Bidedu, who lived inland at Kuru, had much knowledge of gardening, hunting and fishing. One day an eagle dropped a turtle bone in his garden and as he had no knowledge of this type of bone, he decided to journey to the shore to discover where it had come from. Near the coast opposite Daru, he found people locked in a 'vine tree' and he released them. Bidedu showed these people how to make fire, to wash, to cook garden foods and how to plant gardens. Bidedu and the 'vine people' settled at Dudupartu at the mouth of the Oriomo River. Bidedu caused Biza, the first man to come out of the 'vine tree' to go to sleep, he also caused him to dream and in these dreams he would find a way to the beach where he would be given knowledge of fishing.

Biza went to the coast and later moved his people, who were then called the Kadawarubi, to Mawatta-Dodomea. They settled on the beach at Mawatta opposite Daru and from there they made contact with the inhabitants of Daru Island who taught them how to hunt dugong. Bidedu 'remained behind in the dust'. A similar story was collected from Tureture village by Eley (1988). Eley (1988:26) interpreted the Bidedu story three ways: the coastal Kiwai originated at Dudupatu near the Oriomo River; they occupied vacant lands and then gained access to reefs, and seas; and there was no explanation for the origin of the people found in the bush by Bidedu, called variously the vine people or the five brothers. However, as oral evidence presented here will show the Fly estuary people describe the gradual migration of the Kiwai-speaking people out from Kiwai Island and their movement along the SW coast and the Bine-, Gidra- and Gizra-speaking people contest the vacant coast. The people discovered by Bidedu were the first Kiwai settlers.

The Bidedu story illustrates the way in which the Kiwai-speaking people, who settled on the Mawatta beach area after moving from the Fly estuary, first learned from Oriomo River people how to make gardens and eat garden foods. From the Daru Islanders they learned to hunt dugong and turtle and the rituals and ceremonies associated with hunting. As the story of the Hiamo-Hiamo people will show, these Daru people were most likely Torres Strait Islanders, possibly related to the Yam Islanders.

At Mawatta, opposite Daru, the village began to grow. The headman, Gamea, had gathered other people from the Fly estuary, Parama and Daru. Gamea settled these people on the beach east of the Oriomo River (Appendix E, story 8). Gamea then began searching the coast for new lands in a canoe which he had learned to make from the Daru Islanders. As he travelled along the coast he named rivers, islands and points as far as Saibai Is. On a second journey along the coast, Gamea sailed in a canoe that he had obtained from Kiwai Is. He also brought a man from Saibai to Mawatta to teach the people how to catch dugong. Gamea and his people established a village at the mouth of the Binaturi River which they named Mawatta after the old village and they settled there. At this village fighting broke out between the Kadawarubi people (descended from Gamea) and the Tureturerubi people (descended from Kuke, Gamea's younger brother), over the issue of an illegitimate child. The villages separated into the present villages of Mawatta and Tureture. After some time, the tribal fighting was stopped by the exchange of women and the removal of the magic which had prevented the growth of the gardens (Appendix E, story 8). From then on the two villages lived in peace.

The story of Gamea documents the movements of the Kiwai people along the SW coast from the Fly estuary to the Pahoturi River. As they went, the Kiwai obtained knowledge of gardening from the bush people and, from the Torres Strait Islanders, learned the techniques for hunting dugong and turtle, fishing and making seaworthy canoes. The story of Gamea and Kuke (Eley, 1988:50–52) confirms the recent arrival of the Kiwai along the SW coast and supports the claims of the coastal Kiwai that the coastal villages are divided into two sections: the eastern coastal villages of Parama, Kadawa and Katatai, and the western coastal villages of Mawatta, Tureture and Mabudawan.

Following establishment of villages along the coast, the Kadawarubi and Tureturerubi began using the waters and reefs of the Torres Strait. From there they began visiting the Fly estuary people. The people of the coastal villages obtained canoes from the Fly estuary in exchange for shells and learned to modify the river canoes

and make large canoes which could be used in the open sea of the Torres Strait (Jawagi Maru pers. comm. 1985).

The Kadawarubi made friends with the inland people living along the Binaturi River. It was at the mouth of the Binaturi River that the first Christian mission was established in 1872 by the London Missionary Society (Gill, 1874a,b). Kadawarubi men from the coastal villages were trained to be pastors on Darnley Is. and sent back to PNG, together with pastors from the Pacific Islands. It was from Mawatta that Christianity spread along the coast (Appendix E, story 9). Contacts between Kiwai and Torres Strait Islanders were established after the founding of the coastal missions and these contacts, particularly with the eastern Islanders, were further encouraged by the common heritage of their languages.

Mawatta: The present village of Mawatta is situated on the western bank of the Binaturi River close to the river mouth, and has been variously called Kadawa, Katau (Kataw) and even, incorrectly, Old Mawatta. According to Laade (1968: 152–153), the strongest and most sustained contacts between coastal Papuan people and Torres Strait Islanders centred on Mawatta. Laade stated that the Kiwai-speaking people who lived at the mouth of the Binaturi River acted as intermediaries in exchange between the Islanders and the inland peoples. European contact with the Kiwai at Mawatta predated establishment of the mission station and Landtman (1917:540-541) recorded a Mawatta story of the irregular visits of Pacific Islander pearling crews seeking food, and possibly women, in exchange for tobacco.

Chester (1870) wrote an account of a trip to Papua New Guinea accompanied by Captain Banner, who had established a fishing station at Tudu in 1868, and two Tudu Islanders. Unable to ascertain their exact position due to flood tides and currents, they landed near a village of about twelve houses close to the Binaturi River. They later found that the village was called Katau. Another village, about three miles (5 kilometres) north along the coast, was Tureture. These villages, at that time, were at war with each other.

Cameron (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1892/1893, Appendix U:67-68) reported that the Kiwai first settled on the coast about 1880 on land that was vacant and, according to his informant, not claimed by any other people: '*The Mawatta tribe are not aboriginal owners of the soil. The two chiefs of Old Mawat (which was situated on the mainland NE of Yaru* [Daru]*, named Gamia* [Gamea] *and Kuke, came exploring for new country, as they were being harassed by the Kiwai tribe. Kuke remained at Turi Turi* [Tureture] *and Gamia went on to the island of Dauan. On his return he called at the present Mawat* [Mawatta], *and was offered land by the Masingara tribe. The Masingara people are the aboriginal owners of the Mawata country. They gave the land already described to Gamia and his tribe for ever. They gave no payment for the land. They have lived on the most friendly terms with the Masingara people ever since.*'

The original village site was east of the Binaturi River. The move to the present site on the western bank was the result of flooding of the eastern site and trouble with mosquitoes. This may account for the name of the village, for Mawatto means 'to cross over'. The long establishment of both the Mawatta and Kadawa villages is also evidenced by Hely's statement (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1982/1983, Appendix I:40) that the old Kadawa village was ordered to be pulled down as it was in poor condition and new houses 'of an improved type', with room for two families, were ordered to be built. Following establishment of the mission station, Mawatta became a small commercial centre.

European presence at Mawatta was also mentioned in the oral account of the final fight between the Tugeri from the W and the Kiwai as told by Kanai Tura (pers.comm. 1985) of Mawatta village (Appendix E, story 10).

This story is confirmed in a report by MacGregor (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1888/89, Appendix H:68) which stated in part: '*Last season* [1888?] *they* [Tugeri raiders] *went as far as Kadawa and killed there a European named Martin. A Kadawa native shot a Tugere man, striking him in the eye with a revolver bullet*'.

In former times, the people fought with the Tugeri as well as the inland people. The Tugeri also fought the people of Saibai, Dauan and Boigu but occasionally they exchanged drums and ornaments with the Kiwai for European clothes, food and implements which the Kiwai had obtained from the Torres Strait, especially from Masig. The Tugeri people also intermarried with Torres Strait Islanders. Yam Island was the centre of kinship relations with the Kadawarubi of Mawatta and Tureture and, by extension, the Mabudawan people.

The position of Mawatta village at the mouth of the Binaturi enabled the Kiwai to act as intermediaries in the exchange system between Is-

landers and the people living inland from the Papuan coast. The Kiwai were then able to dominate the two principal lines of interaction between Islanders and the inland people, or from Tudu to Warraber and other smaller central islands. The other line of interaction went along the coast to the northern islands of Saibai, Dauan and Boigu, and from there to Mabuiag and Badu. Regular travel to the eastern islands was not possible until the introduction of the larger, safer seaworthy sailing canoes.

The canoe hulls of the Fly estuary villages were fitted with one outrigger but, because of the weight of the sails required in coastal waters, two outriggers were fitted. Large platforms were built on the canoe to take the weight of the dugong platforms which were transported to the reefs off the southwest coast.

According to oral accounts recorded in Mabudawan village (Amabi pers. comm. 1985), the size of the canoe hull determined the type of canoe. In former times, the small single outrigger canoe was used without sail in the Fly River. These could be made from small, locally available trees using stone axes, but could not be used in the open seas. Use of pandanus leaf sails was necessary along the open sea coast where winds and currents made sailing difficult. Larger canoes were needed to go to the reefs and open seas. From these beginnings the development of the larger double outrigger canoes became possible using larger logs obtained from as far away as Dibiri. Dugong and turtle as well as people could be carried in the large seagoing canoes which were also used on long distance travel into the Torres Strait.

The canoe hulls were obtained from the Fly estuary Kiwai-speaking people, especially from the villages of Severimabu, Madame and Koabu on the west (Dudi) bank of the Fly estuary, as well as from Iasa, Sepe and Kubira on Kiwai Island. In exchange, coastal people took armshells (*mabua*), breast ornaments (*dibidibi*), pearl, bailer and trochus shells, dogs' teeth belts, European axes and knives all of which originated in the Torres Strait.

From Mawatta, coastal Kiwai exchanged fish from the reefs at Keseperege, Otamabu, Karaba and Marigee in the Warrior Reef (Fig. 32). Trade-store goods were obtained from Torres Strait islands and these were sent inland. In return, the inland people, particularly the Bine-speaking people, exchanged garden foods and built bamboo fences around the small garden plots of Mawatta village in return for plates, knives, spoons and axes. The coastal Kiwai people from Mabudawan, Mawatta and Tureture still travel into the Torres Strait, especially for ceremonial occasions such as church openings, funerals and at Christmas. The text of a popular Kadawa village sailing song records the names of places visited :

Imara iirogu ro Torres Strait,
rodu okami eh,
Puruma, Yorke Island, Murray Island, Darnley
...
We are going to Torres Strait,
to reach the places, eh
Puruma, Yorke Island, Murray Island, Darnley
...
(Nano Moses pers. comm. 1985)

The Kiwai-speaking villages of Mabudawan, Mawatta and Tureture have strong exchange relations and a long history of contact with the western and central islands of Torres Strait. Kadawa, situated opposite Daru near the site of the first Mawatta village, maintains the longest established relations with the eastern islands of Torres Strait.

Kadawa and Katatai: The movement of the Kiwai people from Iasa (Kiwai Is.) is described in the story of the origins of Kadawa village (Appendix E, story 11). When the people of Kiwai Is. began moving out of Iasa, some went to the N bank of the Fly, and others went to the W bank. One man, Sewota, crossed to the W bank and sailed S as far as the SW coast near Katatai Point. A man named Bagari, who lived near the Point told Sewota to stay near Huboturi. Another man named Bani from Boigu Is. came to Daru but was told by Damabe who lived there that he could not stay on Daru. So Bani journeyed to where Sewota lived. Sewota gave Bani his son to care for and sent them back to Gewi on the W bank. Bani and the child settled at Gibu but renamed it Doridori, meaning men's headdress. It was at this place that people came from along the coast to form two longhouses called Kudin and Wasigena.

The people of Kudin were the Kadawarubi and the people of Wasigena were the Gebarubi. The people living in these longhouses at Doridori would travel to Kiwai Is. and to other villages (Appendix E, story 12) but they would not travel far south as the waves frightened them. They then saw that the waves were breaking on a large sandbank which they called Parama. Later the people from Doridori moved to Parama and settled there but disputes between men over women forced them to separate. The elder brother clan,

the Gebarubi, remained on Parama but the younger brother elan, the Kadawarubi, erossed back to the Papuan mainland and settled near the present village of Katatai. It was near Katatai, that Bidedu found the 'vine people', called the Apuapu. Afier they came out, the Apuapu settled on the eoast and later joined with the Kadawarubi. Products of this union were the brothers, Gamea and Kuke, who later journeyed west to found the villages of Mawatta and Tureture. Thus the people of Parama, Kadawa and Katatai villages all trace their ancestors baek to Kiwai Isl.

When the Kadawarubi and the Gebarubi journeyed to the Fly estuary they went to the villages of Koabu, Madame, Severimabu, Sepe, Iasa, Samari, Madiri, Oromosapua, Ipisia, Agobaro, U'Uwo, Wabada, Wapa'ura, Gesoa, Wasua, Teapopo, and Sagera, as well as Tirere (Dibiri Is.), Maipani and onto the villages on the Bamu River. They took dugong, fish and shells to exchange for sago and eanoes whieh they usually obtained at Madame, Koabu and Severimabu.

Contact with the Torres Strait Islanders was also established when the Kadawarubi settled at Katatai. Sometimes there was fighting between the people from the Fly estuary and the Kadawarubi. The story of the rape of Sebea's wife, Siworu, illustrates this (Appendix E, stories 11 and 13). Some of the Kadawarubi were forced to flee west, and the story implies that this was the reason for the journeys of Gamea and Kuke.

However, the village of Katatai grew from the joining together of the vine-people, the Kadawarubi and some people from Yam Is., Boigu and Mer, as well as from Masig. It was from these people that some of the present subclans of Kadawa village, such as the Y.T.D. (Yam/Tudu/Daru/) sub-elan, the Sewota (Sewota Kupama elan, the deseendants of Sewota of Kiwai Is.), and the Boigudai (Boigu people) subelans originated. Following the establishment of the village at Mawatta, opposite Daru, contact with the Gidra-speaking people was established and some of these 'inland people' moved to the coast and settled at Dorogori (Appendix E, story 14).

Prior to the coming of white peoplc, the Katatai people maintained long and eontinuous eontaet with Torres Strait peoples. The Hiamo-Hiamo people on Daru, were said to have eome originally from Yam Island. The Katatai people, sometimes eombined with the Fly estuary people, harassed the Hiamo-Hiamo people who had settled on Daru. Despite the exehange of eeremonies and early peaceful contaets, warfare continued and inter-ethnic warfare remained endemie to the SW coast until the establishment of European colonial administration on Daru after 1895.

An aeeount of the flight of the Hiamo-Hiamo from Daru to Muralag was eollected by Landtman (1917:366–367) and this account was confirmed in a recently collected story of the massaere of the Daru people (Appendix E, story 15).

Daru: In former times, Daru Is. was only a sandbank but it was inhabited by the Hiamo-Hiamo peoplc from Yam Island. A man from Yam Island, Gaidiri, had married a Hiamo-Hiamo woman and they had a son Damabe. One day the Kiwai Islanders and the Katatai people erossed from the mainland with plans to kill the Daru people. Many were killed but Damabe eseaped by covering himself with a turtle shell. After the Katatai people had returned to the mainland Damabe swam to Bobo Is. The Katatai people saw smoke from his fire, and again crossed over to find him. They took Damabe back to Katatai where they gave him the sister of Bani from Boigu as a wife. The deseendants of this union still live in Katatai and Kadawa village. This story also confirms the relationship between the Daru people and the Katatai people.

A story concerning the origin of the 'traffie' in eanoes between the Fly estuary people and Saibai through Old Mawatta (Kadawa/Katatai) was collected by Landtman (1917:148–152; 1927:211–212). The introduetion of the dugout eanoe and the establishment of exehange relations resulted from thc adventures of two men, Nimo and Puipui, who lived at Ait on the eastern end of Saibai. They travelled to PNG in a bowl made from a coconut shell. As they travelled E to W along the eoast they named many islands, points and ereeks. Eventually, they reaehed Aberemuba, near the Oriomo River, faeing Daru Is. The brother-in-law of Nimo and Puipui gave eaeh of them a dugout canoe with a single outrigger. They lashed these two canoes together and sailed back to Saibai. Two men from Mabuiag in the western Torres Strait eame to Saibai in a solid log eanoc with two outriggers. Nimo gave them one of the dugout canoes and they returned to Mabuiag, where they added washstrakes, two outriggers and mat sails. They also ornamented the sides of thc canocs. They sailed to nearby Badu where the people put down shell valuables, stone axes and harpoon handles in payment for a similar eanoe. The people of Moa did the same. The two Mabuiag men returned to Saibai and taught the people there how to improve their eanoes. They

obtained other canoe hulls and brought them back to the Badu and Moa people. Since then, canoes have been traded along the coast in exchange for shell valuables. Nimo and Puipui remained at Saibai on the coast and did not return to Ait.

However, the people of Yam Is., it was said, first learned about canoes and entered into the canoe 'traffic' when a model canoe drifted away from Daru and landed at Yam (Landtman, 1917:361–364). The Yam Islanders, using the model, then constructed a solid log canoe with two outriggers, a small platform and mat sails and travelled to Daru. The Daru people showed them their dugout canoes and the Yam Islanders learned that these dugout canoes originated from the northern part of the Fly River, near Waboda, and were exchanged for shells, obtained from the reefs of the Torres Strait. The Yam Islanders then entered into the exchange of shells for canoes. With the exchange of valuables for canoes also came the introduction of ceremonies and ritual which spread to the western islands of the Torres Strait (Landtman, 1917:363).

From Kadawa, people exchanged with the Fly estuary villages, as well as with other coastal Kiwai groups, and into the Torres Strait. Details of these linkages between Kadawa and Fly estuary villages can be found in oral evidence (Appendix E, story 16).

The Fly estuary people also came to Kadawa village bringing sago and bananas, for no sago could be grown in the salt water swamps behind Kadawa village and the coastal gardens were poor. The principal 'trading' villages in the Fly estuary were Iasa, Koabu, Madame, Wederehiamo and Severimabu. Friendship ties ended at Sepe because the Sumogi Is. and Domori Is. people were enemies of the Kadawa people.

From Kadawa the village people took drums, stone-headed clubs, cassowary feather headdresses, drum skins and mats as well as bananas, taro, watermelon, sago and cassava to the Torres Strait. In return, the Torres Strait Islanders exchanged shells (armshells, breast shells, and pearl-shell), clothing and money. The most important source of these shells was Bramble Cay (Moses Somogi pers. comm. 1985).

The principal travelling route for long distance fishing trips from Kadawa into the Torres Strait was from Daru to Tudu and Zagai then either to the west or east of Warrior Reef, depending on the prevailing winds (Fig. 32). From Tudu or Zagai the canoes sailed to either Yam Is. or Masig, when food and water became short. From Masig they sailed to Dhamudh before returning to the reef. Canoes that went to Yam could return easily to Tudu. Dugong, crayfish and turtle could be obtained at Marakai Reef near Yam. Turtle eggs were obtained at Garuboi (Moon Passage) or at Tudu and Dhamudh. Fishing and exchange trips were usually combined. After obtaining food and water at Masig the Kadawa people sailed to Ugar, Erub and Mer to exchange goods with the eastern Islanders. From Yam it was possible to sail to Puruma and on to Moa and Mabuiag or return to Kadawa via Dauan and Saibai. Pearl-shell was obtained at Todiwo Reef near Tudu and, at Oram Reef (Beka) near Mabuiag, trochus, pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer could be obtained (Kamairi Mauga pers. comm. 1985).

To sail in the open waters of Torres Strait, with sufficient food, goods and people for a long voyage, it was necessary for all coastal and island people to have large, strong, seaworthy canoes. It was the Torres Strait Islanders, particularly the Saibai Islanders, who developed the first version of the double outrigger canoe. They then taught coastal Kiwai people how to manufacture these canoes and later the Kiwai taught the people living along the Oriomo, Binaturi and Pahoturi Rivers their methods of canoe making and sailing. Thus the patterns of settlement and customary exchange became established.

Riverine Zone

The riverine dwelling ethnic groups living along the Pahoturi, Binaturi and Oriomo Rivers (Figs. 30, 31) are principally Bine- and Gizra-speaking groups. Oral testimony from the Kiwai-speaking people of the western bank of the Fly estuary is also included here, together with oral evidence of the Makayam-speaking people of Sumogi Is.

Masingara: Masingara, close to Mawatta village and inland from the mouth of the Binaturi River, is the principal village of the Bine-speaking people. It is a large, clean and prosperous village with a church and substantial primary school serving a number of villages including Mawatta, Kunini and Irupe. The people of Masingara village often refer to themselves as the Masingle (or Masa'ingle) people. Masingle is generally used to refer to the former village of the people who now inhabit Masingara village. The old village site of Masingle is located near the present village graveyard c. 1–2 km from the centre of the present Masingara village.

Landtman recorded a legend (1917:77–81) concerning the Masingara people who were

believed to have descended from the worms of a wallaby killed by the first woman on earth, Ua-ogrere. She taught these people how to make houses and weapons and how to perform ceremonies. All garden foods, such as taro, yam and bananas, derive their origin from Ua-ogrere. When she died she returned to the sky. The Masa'ingle people fought among themselves and so separated and moved out to settle the villages of Irupi, Tati, Djibaru, Glulu, Sogale and other places along the Binaturi River.

The story of the Masa'ingle people as told by Sisa Muwe (Appendix E, story 17) also describes, in part, the first contacts between the inland Bine-speaking people and the coastal Kiwai-speaking people at Siblemete on the coast at the mouth of the Kura Creek.

Some of the Masa'ingle in former times lived together at Glulu. Water destroyed the village and therefore, one man, Soriame, journeyed east in search of a new place to live. He found that Bidedu had settled at Kuru. Journeying to the southwest he found that Woboiame had settled on the eastern side of the Bullawe River. He continued his journey to the west naming places as he went. At Bademope he met a dwarf who indicated that he should go south and so he came to the mouth of Kura Creek to a point of high land which he called Siblemete. He rested, then journeyed back to Glulu, and brought his clan's people to the coast.

During the time that the Masa'ingle lived at Siblemete, they often fought among each other and many of the people there were killed in warfare. The people at Siblemete made contact with the Fly estuary Kiwai-speaking people who brought fish and sago and exchanged this for garden foods. However, one day, an Iasa man raped a Siblemete woman and so the good friendship between the two people broke down. There were many fights and, as many Siblemete men were killed, the people decided to move away from the coast. They moved inland near the Binaturi River until they made contact with other groups of Masa'ingle, and together they went to live at Noawale. It was at this time, while the people were living at Noawale, that they made contact with Gamea, who stopped at the mouth of the Binaturi on his travels to Dauan and Mabudawan. Gamea and his people settled on the beach near the Masa'ingle people and established Mawatta village.

At present the three main clans in Masingara village are Molobo, Dariame and Obetope. There are also about twelve subclans of which Molobo Badepiame is the senior one. The story of this clan (Appendix E, story 18), as told by Pomame Buje, details the movements of the Masa'ingle people from earliest times.

The story of the subclan Udidariem Ubriam of Dariame clan, told by Side Saiade Ben, tells of first contacts between the Bine-speaking peoples and Torres Strait Islanders, from their first home at Glulu until they settled near the Bullawe River and their eventual amalgamation at the present Masingara village. During the time when the people settled further inland, contact was made with the Yam Island people.

The story of the first contact with Torres Strait Islanders was told by Side Saiade Ben (Appendix E, story 19). This story records how, in former times, warfare scattered the Masa'ingle and they were forced to move away from the inland areas towards the coast. People travelled down the rivers, naming camp sites and places as they went. Eventually they reached the coast and they named places near the Binaturi River mouth and along the coast with the names that they had used for places inland.

The Masa'ingle people sailed in their bamboo rafts out into Torres Strait and populated the islands: '*They journeyed by raft to the reefs and islands. To Guriwal, Casambade, Magibade, Tudamono, Tabeani and Garabui* [places on Warrior Reef], *also to Iame* [Yam Is.] *and Tudomo* [Tudu Is.]. *When they returned from Tudomo they left behind a woman with a pig. From Tudomo, they went to Iame and settled there, and named the places with names from the mainland, such as, Sugisugi, a water well, Apala, and Bullawe, the name of the river. The people settled there and those names are there.*' (Appendix E, story 19).

The story of Omebwale, as told by Side Saiade Ben, is similar to the story of Uibalu as told to W. Macfarlane by Maino of Yam Is. (Appendix C). In this story Omebwale, the son of Tiburi, journeyed in search of his father who had gone to Yam and Tudu Islands. Omebwale killed a pig and on his way he scattered the parts in the ocean. The leg became a turtle, the skin a stingray, and the head became a dugong. The sea spirits gave him a harpoon with which he caught food from the ocean. From the people of Tudu he took a wife whom he brought back to PNG. From this union came many children and the close association between the people of Yam and Tudu Islands and Masingara.

The story of the establishment of contacts between the Bine-speaking people and the people

FIG. 32. Warrior Reef and SW coast of PNG, E of Saibai.

of Yam Is. is continued by the story of Saika (Appendix E, story 19) who lived on Yam Is. Saika wished to visit his relatives in PNG and so the Islander people gave his reef fish, dugong, turtle, cone shells, bailer shells, shellfish and trumpet shells. All these things came from the reef and he took them to PNG. After living with his relatives, he decided to return to Yam and so the Masa'ingle gave him garden foods for the Islander people. In this way, the exchange of garden food for fish came about and now Masingara people have relatives on Yam, Masig, Puruma, Boigu and other Torres Strait islands. These contacts were established and maintained before the Kiwai settled on the coast and interrupted exchange between Bine-speaking people and Islanders.

Yange, Tiburi's grandson, was the first man from Masingle to make contact with the Europeans before the establishment of the mission station at Binaturi in 1874. His story (Appendix E, story 20) describes his capture and life among the white people. Yange was fishing at the junction of the Bullawe and Binaturi Rivers but he fell asleep in a tree. He heard a noise in the river and saw a European boat coming towards him. He heard a man call out 'I see you. Don't hide', and he tried to escape but he was caught and taken, along with his bow and arrows, fishing equipment and one eel that he had caught. Further up the river the boat was attacked by the people from Iremisiu village. The men on the boat turned the boat around and sailed back to Somerset on Cape York Peninsula. Yange's family thought

that he had been taken by a crocodile so they prepared a funeral for him, and his wife dressed in mourning clothes.

Meanwhile, Yange was living at Somerset. The Europeans taught him how to cook rice, make dinner and tea, boil water, eat sugar and so on. He was also taught how to wash clothes, and to use soap and towels, razor blades, mirrors and combs. They then brought him back to the Binaturi. As there was no village at Mawatta, they left all the goods he brought back with him on the beach at the mouth of the river. Yange went back to his village. He was dressed as a European, and the village people thought that he was a returning spirit and ran away. He calmed their fears and told his story. Later the people went to the river mouth and collected his goods and Yange explained the use of saucepans, plates, tinned fish and spoons. Yange showed the people rice, flour, tea, black tobacco and other European tradestore foods.

The men from Somerset had planned to return and so Yange and the people waited. This time they befriended the Europeans who shared their stores with the village people. These Europeans then told the missionaries about Masingle village and a pastor named Enoka [Enoch] came from Mer and settled near the men's house at a place called Aipupu [Wongai]. After this, the government came and the fighting between the Masingara and the Irupe people ceased. The Masa'ingle began to work for the whites and later went to Marukara Is., near Mabudawan, to help establish the government station there in 1892. According to the story it was only after the coming of the missionaries in 1874 that Gamea and Kuke settled at Mawatta. The colonial administration later moved to Daru in 1895 because there was not enough land and no sea passage to Mabudawan.

After the first pastor left people moved back to Bullawe and other previous village sites, but the administration officials ordered them to form one village at the old Masingle site. It was the colonial government that called this new village Masingara. The family of Yange called themselves Siu, now spelt Seeyou, after the first words spoken to Yange and they continue to use this name. According to MacGregor (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1890/91, Appendix M:46), Masingara was located 3 miles (5 km) W of Kadawa, now called Mawatta. It had a population then of approximately 400–500 people, and MacGregor noted that their houses were a compromise between the long houses of the Kiwai of the Fly estuary and the small family houses of the east. Housing consisted of men's houses, about 50–60 feet (15–18 m) in length decorated with bone trophies from hunting, surrounded by smaller family houses whose sides and ends were completely closed to the ground. These were the usual habitations of the women and children. The people of Masingara were well known to the Kiwai inhabitants of Kadawa and Mawatta villages. In former times the Masingara people lived in houses built on the ground surrounded by high fences. These villages were usually located on high ground in the swamps and the people were therefore protected from their enemies.

The original Masingara village people split up after the departure of the early missionaries and the people moved further up the Binaturi River, until the government instructed them to re-form one large village near the old graveyard. The move to the present village site was made about 30–40 years ago (Sisa Muwe pers. comm. 1985). However, the present village, the first Masingara noted in the Yange story, was established at the time of MacGregor, between 1890 and 1895, and was the first with houses constructed in the coastal style.

In 1894, Bingham Hely (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1893/94. Appendix E:54–55) reported that the population of Masingara was 400 inhabiting about 67 ordinary houses and four men's houses. The village was divided into 6 clans. The Masingara people intermarried with Kadawa (Kiwai-speaking) village people as well as other Bine-speaking peoples, especially in the neighbouring villages of Kunini and Gowa, among others. It is also apparent that by 1893 the people of the inland river areas, dwelling in close proximity to the Oriomo, Binaturi and Pahoturi river systems, had begun to mix with each other for social and ceremonial occasions.

The oral accounts stress that access to the Binaturi River enabled the Masingara people to gain and then maintain contacts with the Torres Strait Islanders, particularly those on Yam Is. This contact, established before the arrival of the coastal Kiwai, predated European contact with the people of the SW coast. After the establishment of initial contacts, the Islanders would come to the coast in their canoes to exchange with the villages inland. It was after this that the people of Masingara and Kunini villages began to acquire and use ocean going canoes.

The Masingara people, with limited maritime technology, did not actively travel to the Torres Strait islands. In former times, people used bamboo rafts and, although people could travel along the coast in safety during the SE season when the

winds blew onshore, during the time of the NW winds when the wind blew offshore and out into the Torres Strait, travel by raft was dangerous. These rafts were substantial, consisting of many layers of bamboo tied to each other, and could be used effectively to cross even large rivers. Such rafts, often made out of bamboo or sago palm trunks, are still used by the Bine people when fishing and hunting in swamps along the coast and inland rivers. First contact with the Islanders may have been made by people who were accidently blown out to sea, or during heavy rains and floods when rafts could be washed out of the rivers and well into the open sea. However, regular and sustained travel into the Torres Strait required more sophisticated maritime technology than that possessed by the Bine-speaking people.

The Masingara people are predominantly horticulturists who supplement their diet with cassowary and wallaby meat obtained by hunting with bows and arrows in the savanna grasslands behind the coastal swamps. Exchange relations with the coastal Kiwai have therefore always centred on the exchange of garden foods, such as taro and bananas, for sago and crabs brought from the Fly estuary and fish, dugong and turtle brought from Saibai, Dauan and Boigu in the Torres Strait. In former times, exchange relations were often broken off during the early years by fighting between the people of Masingara village and the coastal Kiwai. However, the Masingara people, the Kiwai and the Islanders, at times, also combined to fight other groups, such as the Tati and Irupe peoples who had refused to unite with Masingara (Landtman, 1917:402–408, and Appendix E, story 20). The Masingara people also fought the Daru people (Landtman, 1917:408–411, and Appendix E, story 17) over the outrage of a Masingara woman.

The Masingara people had kinship relations with all surrounding groups with the exception of the Gudra to the east, and they fought and exchanged goods with the same groups. The Walliame subclan in Masingara village, for example, is related to the Gizra-speaking, Waidoro village people, through the common ancestry of the Bine men captured by the Gizra during intergroup fighting, who stayed and married Gizra women. Thus, their descendants continue to be exchange partners.

The Masingara people were not directly involved in the exchange of shells for canoes, for it was only after they moved closer to the coast and obtained canoes that they began to learn to sail. It was only after the men started to go to work in the Torres Strait that they obtained large canoes from the coastal Kiwai using clothing, money and trade goods as payment. These canoes had only one outrigger and a half platform, and they were steered by men standing inside the hull. After mastering the techniques of sailing, the Masingara people began to go into Torres Strait to visit friends and relatives and especially those on Yam Island, and it was from Yam Island that they began to go to Mer and Erub, to Puruma and Masig and even Badu. In former times, exchange with Torres Strait Islanders was important to the Masingara people but with the introduction of the open markets at Daru, they now go to Daru to sell taro, yams, bananas, watermelon, pumpkins and betel nut in exchange for cash which is used to buy tradestore foods, clothing and petrol and to pay taxes and school fees.

Kunini: The Bine-speaking people of Kunini, on the eastern bank of the Binaturi 5–10 km from Masingara, have a close affiliation with the coastal Kiwai village of Tureture, in much the same way that Masingara and Mawatta are closely connected villages of people with different languages and subsistence bases.

Kunini has existed as a separate village since before the 1890s (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1888/89, Appendix H:67). The close proximity of the Kiwai has enabled the Kunini people to gain knowledge of canoe making and undertake voyages into Torres Strait for fishing and exchange. They also gained access to the Kiwai exchange system operating along the coast and into the Fly River in which canoes and sago were exchanged for dugong and turtle meat. Access to Kiwai maritime technology allowed the Kunini people to benefit from their close proximity to the reefs and islands of the Torres Strait.

About 70 years ago Kunini village was on the beach c. 1km from Tureture village. Water ruined their village, so they moved into Tureture began living with the Kiwai-speaking people. From Tureture they went to the Torres Strait working for the Japanese on trochus and pearling boats. It was during this time that they became interested in making canoes and canoe sails. They travelled in their canoes around Torres Strait exchanging mats and food for tradestore goods. During their travels they went to Badu, St. Pauls (Moa), Nagi, Dauan, Saibai, Erub, Mer, Ugar, Puruma, Warraber and Yam Islands. They caught dugong and turtles at Tudu and at Potomaza, Otamabu, Kimusu, Baidamtaik, Silvertail, Bago, Parakari and other reefs, to Tabaiame and Dugong Stick,

as well as Ibumuba on the other side of Daru. Sometimes they took turtle and dugong to the Torres Strait islands. They also took turtle to Kiwai Island to exchange for sago and canoes. They still go to the Fly estuary but they also make canoes from trees near Kunini village. They moved to the present village in 1962 after old Tureture was flooded (Umia Jubi pers. comm. 1985) (Appendix E, story 21).

Waidoro: The Gizra-speaking people occupy the land W of the Kura Creek and E of the Pahoturi River. Waidoro, the principal village, is situated in an area of open savanna grassland and forest c. 8 km E of Kulalae on the Pahoturi River. Direct access to the coast is maintained via a canoe landing on Kura Creek c. 6km from Waidoro village.

The principal story of the Gizra-speaking people concerns the conflicts, separation and reuniting of two brothers, Geadap, the elder, and Muiam, the younger (Appendix E, stories 22-25). It also illustrates the relationship between the Gizra-speaking people and the Kalaw Kawaw Ya-speaking people of Saibai. Geadap took possession of the bullroarer of Kumuz, a woman with magic powers, and, obtaining these magic powers, created men and women at Basirpuk, (now Mabudawan). Geadap, who had two wives, lived at Basirpuk. He became jealous because one of his wives fell in love with his handsome younger brother, Muiam. Muiam was injured by Geadap who used a ritual 'man' arrow and Muiam left his brother taking with him a canoe called 'Mumul', loaded with pigs, dogs, birds and garden foods. There was no sea, and Muiam created the water using ash from the fire of a fig tree at Basirpuk.

Muiam travelled to the east creating people as he went from words from his mouth. He created the Kulalae who became Geadap's people, then he created the Jibram, who became Muiam's people, then the Bine and then the Gidra. He sailed further east eventually coming to the village of Iasa on Kiwai Is. There he met Sido who gave him a wife. On his journey home Muiam planted sago and coconuts and created children. At Kuru, his dog Jibargab, caught a wallaby. Instead of eating it, Muiam brought it to Ume, Bole, Giringarede, Tati, Kunini, Masingara, Drageli and Irupe. At Irupe he singed the skin but still he did not eat it. At Getragiz, near Waidoro, he cooked the wallaby and seeing that the meat was good, he ate it. It is said that this is why in former times the Gidra and Bine, to the east, did not eat wallaby, but the Gizra and Agob, to the west, did.

Muiam finally met again with his brother. Muiam spoke in Bine language and Geadap in Saibai language. Muiam instructed Geadap in many ways, including the way to make children, and Geadap returned to Basirpuk. The Jibram people took their name from Muiam's dog and the name Gizra came from the area in which they live. According to this story, Geadap did not die, but there is a belief that his spirit was stolen by the Meriam people of the eastern Torres Strait Islands, whose language bears some resemblance to Gizra, along with his sacred dancing drum.

The story of Geadap and Muiam is retained by the Kulalae and Waidoro village people. Only Kulalae people are permitted to tell the story of Geadap while Waidoro people can only tell the story of Muiam. The theme of the story, the separation of two brothers, is a common one. Strong ties exist between the people of Kulalae and Waidoro because of their relationship through Geadap and Muiam.

Kulalae: According to oral accounts (Appendix E, story 26), contact between the Gizra people and the Meriam people was first established when a group of people, including women, crossing the river on rafts, was swept out to sea by a strong wind. They travelled for many days sustained by fruits and nuts. They mixed and married with the people on Mer. Today Mer is rich with food because of the seeds from the fruit and nuts brought on the raft. The Waidoro people state that the difference in language between Gizra and Meriam is due to the tongues of the people swelling from drinking salt water on their long journey (Bamaga Imari pers. comm. 1985).

The Waidoro people, in former times, used only rafts to cross the creeks and swamps along the coast. It was only after the arrival of the Kiwai that they learned to make canoes but by then all the good canoe timber around Waidoro had been cut to clear land for gardens so they too were forced to obtain canoe hulls through the Kiwai. They still obtain their canoes from the coastal Kiwai in exchange for cash, and nowadays travel to Daru to purchase hulls at the markets there. The men of Waidoro do not convert the hulls into double outrigger canoes like the coastal people. The common form of canoe is the *gorowae*, a single outrigger canoe with a platform, now powered by a large outboard motor. This is easy to manoeuvre in the narrow Kura Creek and, although faster than a sailing canoe, is an uncomfortable means of transport in the open sea.

The village of Kulalae is on the E bank of the Pahoturi River c. 5km from Mabudawan. The former village of Togo, named as such by European patrol officers, was known as Usakuk, and was the first permanent village settlement of the Gizra-speaking people of the area. In former times, they moved from one semi-permanent settlement to another in the area between Karaku and Inakaku, generally the area between Old Togo and Kupere villages. The present village of Kulalae is located at the former canoe landing place of old Togo village (Jibu & Gamod Marita pers. comm. 1985).

In former times, the Gizra people lived inland away from the coast because the coastal people, as well as the Saibai Islanders, often came for fighting. On one occasion, two women were carried back to Saibai. One, named Bagau, became the mother of the Wagea family and the other, Yakao (known as Yakame), became the mother of the family of Tanu Nona. Nona operated a fleet of luggers out of Badu and often returned to Kulalae area, especially during the 1950s, bringing European stores in return for mats, garden foods, and nipa and sago palm used for thatching and house building in the islands. The name, Kulalae, was given to the old Togo canoe landing place by the Torres Strait Islanders. Nona also recruited crews from among the village men and these men worked for many years in the Torres Strait. Contact is still maintained between Badu, Mabuiag and Kulalae, as well as between Saibai, Dauan, Boigu and Kulalae, through old kinship ties. The Kulalae people also maintained contact with Torres Strait Islanders before the coming of the Kiwai to Mabudawan and before the establishment of European administration on the coast, as indicated in the following story: '*Our relationship with the Torres Strait Islanders began a long time ago, when we lived at Basirpuk, now called Mabudawan. The Islanders saw us there. At that time we wore only our traditional clothes, we had no knives, plates and other things. Our only method of transport was bamboo rafts. The Islanders, seeing our way of life, gave us iron, knives, saucepans, etc. At that time our language was Saibalgar Iamulkud (Saibai Island language). Today our language is similar to Miriam, the eastern islands language. From that time, the Islanders returned with gifts and our relationship grew stronger and stronger. At that time, our method of fishing was to use baskets, and the Islanders taught us how to use fishing spears. The Islanders told us to fish at Ait Reef. This area was free for all to use. From then some young men went to work for the Islanders in order to strengthen our relationship, and this practice still continues. Soon after we made contact with the Islanders there was another migration of Kiwai people from the Fly River, and they pushed us back inland by tribal fighting and now they live at Mabudawan. Since the Kiwai came we have had trouble maintaining the relationshp with the Islanders which was really working. This has had some effect on the language for now we learn the Kiwai language., But it still did not stop our old relationship. Today we trade regularly, and some still know the language well. Internarriages have taken place, and our men have married Torres Strait Islander girls. Today we have people from the village, living over there, who have become Australian citizens, but they come back for holidays, especially at Christmas.*' (Appendix E, story 27).

Before the Kulalae people obtained canoes, contact with Saibai Islanders was maintained by raft crossing. The mainland people lit fires at Arke, the point opposite Saibai now called Augaromuba, to indicate that they wanted to exchange goods, and so they travelled back and forth between Saibai and the coast. The people of Saibai then lived at Ait, and were called Aitalgans. It was from the Saibai people that the Gizra obtained their first European goods, such as clothes and iron in exchange for garden foods, and sago and nipa palm.

From the Agob people to the west and from people further inland the Gizra obtained drums, bows and arrows, skirts made from fibre, yams, bird of paradise and cassowary feathers, and in return the Gizra exchanged shells from the reefs and other shells such as that of the mangrove cockle (*Polymesoda erosa*) found in the mud and swamps near the coast and used by all inland people as a cutting and scraping tool.

With the arrival of the Kiwai at Mabudawan in about 1894, direct contact with the Saibai Islanders and the Gizra was interrupted. Saibai Islanders combined with the Kiwai to raid the Gizra who were forced further up the Pahoturi River and inland away from the coast. In this way the Gizra lost access to their ceremonial lands at Mabudawan, and they still feel that loss of control over the land associated with Geadap and Muiam has been a loss of power and status to them as a community.

During the time of fighting between the Gizra, Kiwai and Saibai Islanders, women were stolen from each other and their descendants are now related. Exchange relations with the Kiwai were

later established, centred on the exchange of garden foods for fish. The Kiwai became very dependent upon Gizra food supplies but, with moves towards wage labour in fishing, pearling and government employment following European administration and commercial control over the region, this dependence was lessened and now it is the Gizra who are economically disadvantaged.

The Kiwai established early contact with Europeans and because of their close contact, and better understanding of English, were able to obtain government employment. The Kiwai were therefore able to make claims against the inland people who were often looked down upon by the coastal people, Islanders and Europeans.

In 1975, a decision was made by the women and old men of Togo to move the village from near the old inland site to the Kulalae canoe place, on the Pahoturi River. This move was made because so many men had gone to work in the Torres Strait that movement of goods from the river to the village had become a problem for the young and the elderly. As well as this the Kulalae children were required to attend school at Mabudawan. Although the site at Kulalae is swampy and subject to flooding, it is generally preferred because Mabudawan, with its church, school and medical aid post, can be reached by small canoe.

Sui: The coastal Kiwai-speaking village of Sui is located on the eastern bank of the Fly estuary, north of Parama Is. Original settlers at Sui were a mixture of inland people and Fly estuary people, including some people from Kiwai Is. (Fig. 33).

Tawai No'ora (Appendix E, story 28) stated that in earlier times his great-grandfather had come to Sui from Aramo on the Oriomo River. The people of the Dudi coast of the Fly estuary were then living near Doridori closer to Parama Is. His great-grandfather used magic to dispel the people's fears about living on the coast and the people then settled permanently at Sui. However, according to MacGregor (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1888/89, Appendix H:65), the people of Sui had been persuaded to move to the river banks from the interior by the mission teachers from Parama, and had joined with the Parama people to journey N by canoe to Daware in search of sago.

Oral accounts stated that Sui village people obtained sago and bananas from Kiwai Island and that they had always intermarried with Kiwai from Iasa village (Tawai No'ora pers. comm. 1985). However, they did not obtain canoes from Kiwai Is but from the Dudi coastal villages at Lewada, Tirio, Balamula and Sumogi Is., further along the W bank of the Fly estuary. In former times, canoes were not supplied with a platform and had only one outrigger, for Fly River people did not use double outrigger canoes. The hull was not completely hollowed out but had holes cut in the log for men to stand in, and other holes for the transportation of goods. These canoes were made laboriously with stone axes but, after the introduction of European axes, full dugout canoes were made and fitted with platforms and canvas sails. In exchange for these canoe hulls, they received armshells, bailer shells, cowrie shells, and dogs' teeth on rope, obtained through the Parama Islanders. The men who later worked on the pearling and trochus boats in the Torres Strait brought back clothes, axes and European tradestore goods which were also used in exchange for canoes, sago and bananas.

Madame, Wederehiamo and Koabu: The villages of Madame and Wederehiamo are the last of the coastal Kiwai-speaking villages on the W bank of the Fly estuary. The people of Madame village originally moved from the mouth of the Fly River near the present village of Madiri, to Madame, where they were joined by other Kiwai-speaking peoples from Kiwai Is. and the N bank of the Fly estuary.

The following story tells of the relationships between neighbouring villages Wederehiamo, Madame and Koabu and details some of history of the movements of the Kiwai-speaking people (Appendix E, story 29).

In former times, people moved from the area near present day Madiri to the side of the Madameturi River. Warfare between coastal and island people from the other side of Kiwai Is. was common. This was the time when William MacGregor came [1891 and 1892]. The Wederehiamo and Koabu people lived in one village. Wederehiamo people had originally come from Sepe on Kiwai Is. and Koabu people originally came from Mugu near Teapopo (on the Manowetti side). They then formed one village with the Madame people but later divided and moved back to the old Wederehiamo and Koabu sites. Madame village people again moved, before settling at Madameturi where people from Madiri joined them. On the Dudi coast the early villages were Tirio, Madame and Meai near the present Severimabu. Severimabu, Koabu and Wederehiamo are newer villages. From Madame people travelled inland as far as Iamega to visit and exchange and, along the Dudi coast, they main-

tained friendships as far as Parama and Katatai. Canoes, exchanged for shells at Dibiri and on the Manowetti coast, passed through these villages on their way down to the villages of the SW coast.

Madiri: The village of Madiri is located at the site of the former Madiri plantation and is comprised of some people from the three neighbouring villages of Tirio, Balamula and Madiri, who all speak Bugumo language. The large villages in this area was first reported by MacGregor (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1888/89, Appendix F:45) who, on an inspection tour of the Fly River, reported seeing there the largest longhouse yet seen in the Western Province. It measured 520 feet (159 m) long and 30 feet (10 m) wide. Although coastal Kiwai people will not travel beyond this point for fear of sorcery, they still obtain canoes from the Bugumo-speaking people.

Madiri people exchanged canoes as far south as Daru, Tureture and Kadawa. Canoes were made only of hulls, with no platforms, and one outrigger, and the bows were decorated with a front board on to which white cowries, obtained from Torres Strait were added. The story of the origin of the exchange or 'traffic' in canoes between Bugumo-speaking people and the coastal Kiwai states: '*Two brothers started out from here (Madiri) by canoe, and went to Gewi Creek. Their canoe sank there. The youngest brother said: 'Look at the big fish coming up from the water.' The other brother said: 'Can you dive in the water and catch some fish.' So while he was diving for fish he found the canoe and told his small brother that he had found the canoe. So together they pulled the canoe out of the water. They fixed it properly, and sailed down to Daru. They then started fixing the canoe with two outriggers, like the Kadawa people. They decorated the canoe and painted two barramundis on the sides. The Kadawa people saw this canoe and started decorating their canoes in this style.*'(Appendix E, story 30).

Madiri people also exchanged goods inland to Iamega, Kapal and Kual villages in the Binaturi River system but not to Womie and Kuru situated in the Oriomo River area. From the hill regions around Iamega and Wipim they exchanged drums, bows and arrows for sago, bananas and coconuts. Although Madiri people did not cross over to Doumori or to the Manowetti side, they had extensive exchange contacts with the Sepe village people on the northernmost part of Kiwai Island, from whom they obtained banana suckers, *gamoda* (*Piper methysticum*) and sago as well as clothes, knives and saucepans after European contact in the Fly estuary.

Adulu, Tirio and Balamula: The Makayam-, or Magayam-speaking people from Adulu village on Sumogi Island, moved from their first home near the Suki lagoons because the Suki people raided and killed them. They first settled near the mouth of the Bituri River then they moved, in about 1960 or 1962, to the Balamula area before finally settling between Madiri and Tapila villages. Later they were given land on Sumogi Island, formerly owned by Tirio and Balamula villages, and settled there. The Makayam language is spoken by the people of Adulu, Suami Creek and Lewada villages (Wagama Wakina pers. comm. 1985).

Tirio, Balamula and Adulu villages, at the apex of the Fly estuary, have always been in an ideal position to regulate exchange relations between the S and N banks of the Fly estuary.

The Makayam people brought canoes down from the middle Fly and exchanged them at Balamula and Tirio villages. Canoes were also made on Sumogi Island. The canoes made on Sumogi were fitted with one outrigger and exchanged with the Fly estuary people who added platforms, sails and planked sides for use in the river and ocean. In exchange for canoes the Kiwai provided shellfish, crabs, axes and adzes, *gamoda*, bananas, sago and cowrie shells as well as other shells, especially those from the Torres Strait. The Makayam also exchanged bows and arrows from the Trans-Fly region which were brought down the river through the Suki area. The Makayam also exchanged goods with the Gogodala-speaking villages of Kawiyapo and Waliyama on the N bank of the Fly estuary, as well as the Kiwai-speaking villages of Doumori, Pagona, Abe, Aberagerema, Wariobodoro and Kename. Through Makayam-speaking villages on the S bank of the Fly River the Adulu people maintained exchange relations through the Bok, Kuikui and Kandobol people of the Trans-Fly area S of Suki lagoon and obtained valuable items, such as bird of paradise plumes, from the inland villages near Wim and even from villages up the Suami Creek and the Bituri River.

The Tirio and Balamula area was recognised, during the early part of this century, as a major canoe building region. Wilfred Beaver (1920: 139) noted: '*... the Balamula are among the best canoe-builders on the Fly. Pulling up the Baramura Creek I have seen scores of canoes of all sizes in the making. All are dugouts with the single outrigger, but without a platform.*'

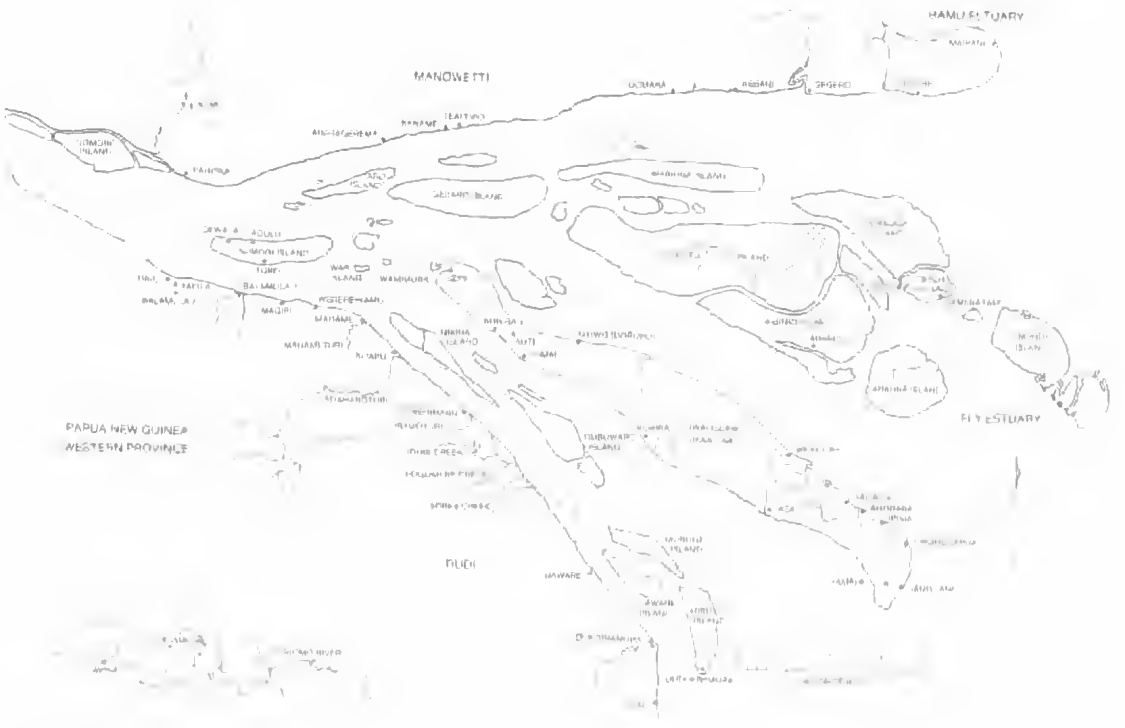


FIG. 33. Fly Estuary, PNG.

According to Watanabe (1975:76), the other Makayam-speaking villages are Sanguanso, Upiara, Tewara, located at the headwaters of the Buturi River, and Mutumu (Mutam) and Rewada (Lewada), located at the mouth of the Fly River.

Complete details of construction and methods of sailing of canoes in Torres Strait, prior to adoption of European sailing techniques and maritime technology is given in Haddon (1912, IV:205-217). The transition from old style craft to European craft commenced, according to Haddon (1912, IV:212) prior to the turn of this century for he noted in 1888 only two canoes with mat sails existed among the western Islanders (at Mabuiag), and that no canoes with mat sails existed in the eastern islands. This does not mean that canoes were no longer used, for long-lasting European canvas sails quickly replaced mat sails. All canoes could be paddled without sails. Photographs taken in the 1920s on Darnley Island show that the old form of canoe still existed, together with European boats and other craft, well into this century. The substitution of European watercraft for Papuan canoes, however, had a profound impact on the customary exchange system.

Canoes were brought from the Fly estuary and exchanged for shells, particularly the valuable armshells (*Conus*). The hulls were painted and carved by their Papuan makers, but decorations and extensive additions, including outrigger attachments, were made by the Torres Strait Islanders themselves (Haddon, 1912, IV:213). According to oral testimony, the Islanders taught coastal Papuans the techniques of adapting canoes to open sea sailing requirements. This was echoed by Beaver (1920:77): '*The double outrigger which is an introduction from Torres Strait, is now* [1907-1910] *the usual thing on the coast and in the estuary of the Fly River. It is interesting to find that the dugout canoe, as far as Torres Strait is concerned, is a New Guinea invention, but if New Guinea gave the dugout to the Islanders it obtained the double outrigger sailing canoe from them.*'

Construction details of early coastal Papuans watercraft can be found in Landtman (1927:204–217; 1933 20–21); Beaver (1920:77) and Baxter-Riley (1925:115–116).

A variety of timbers was used in the construction of canoes by the people of the N banks of the Fly estuary and by those people who had moved down the Fly River to the mouth near to Sumogi Island. Oral testimony from a Sumogi Island man (Wagama Wakina pers. comm. 1985) indicated

that the type of canoe was determined not only by the needs of the maker but also by the availability of timbers, size of the logs and type of timber obtained. Thus, a tree, called *sorea* in Makayam language, which was soft to cut but hardened slowly and was long lasting, was most favoured. The second most popular canoe timber was *asait*, the trees of which were long and straight limbed with branches at the crown and with reddish/pink fruits when ripe. Smaller canoes were made from *iwiu*, a sweet-smelling light timber, reddish brown in colour. Occasionally the heavy rainwaters flowing down the Fly brought large logs suitable for canoe making. The most useful, called *upopu* was a strong cross-grained timber with a nice pattern in the wood. Generally only one outrigger was attached and the most suitable were *tean*, a tall straight limbed young tree, and *sak*, a bush most commonly found as secondary growth in old gardens. Black palm and mangrove timbers were occasionally used as well.

It is most probable that the main canoe timbers were of *Syzygium* and *Acmena* (formerly *Eugenia* see Maiden, 1975:530–532; Francis, 1981:307–329). *Eugenia* is amongst the most common savanna forest trees along the left bank of the Fly estuary, and the main tree in the upper reaches of the Fly above the D'Albertis Junction (Brass 1938:179, 185). *Calophyllum*, most particularly *C. inophyllum* and *C. tomentosum*, were commonly found in savanna forests near Gaima (Brass, 1938; Maiden, 1975). *Calophyllum* species were commonly used for watercraft (Powell, 1976:157, pl. 48) and this may be the plant *sorea* described, for the fruit latex of *C. inophyllum* was noted as being used as glue on tools and weapons (Powell, 1976:152). *Melaleuca leucadendron* (=*M. viridiflora*) is also common in the savanna forests of the lower Fly and Fly estuary regions (Brass, 1938:179 and Paijmans 1976:54). As Maiden (1975:569–570) noted, it produces an excellent hard, heavy, close-grained timber suitable for shipbuilding and has great durability, being almost impervious to water. It is possible that this may be *upopu* obtained during floods. *Melaleuca leucadendron* also shows fine ripple and light and dark shadings when cut. Canoe making normally occurred in areas where large savanna and rainforest trees were obtainable. Other timbers common to this region were *Hibiscus tiliaceus*, black palm (*Areca normanbyi* in Maiden, 1975:379) or *Caryota rumphiana* var. *papuana*), bamboo (*Bambusa* spp.) and mangroves (both *Rhizophora* sp. and *Soneratia* sp.). Fibre or 'bush rope' made from *Hibiscus tiliaceus* and *Calamus* sp. was also used as lashings and bindings in canoe construction throughout the region.

At the time of Landtman's field work (1910-1912), the double outrigger canoe used by the coastal Papuans, particularly the Kiwai-speaking people, closely resembled those of the Torres Strait Islanders described by Sweatman (Allen & Corris, 1977:35), except for the post-contact introduction of lugger style sails and the subsequent decline in ornamentation and decoration. Between 1910 and 1912, Landtman (1927:210) noted the survival of bow decoration on Fly estuary canoes where a shield of basketwork, supported by stays, was placed in the bow and decorated with leaves. A carved and ochred wooden splashboard decorated with a stylized human face was placed facing the interior of the canoe. At this time, the large *motomoto*, or double outrigger canoe was constructed with only a half platform and was steered from inside the dugout (Landtman, 1933; fig. 21; 1927; fig. 75). At present a full deck platform is used.

Oral testimony relates that the first full deck platform was made by the men of Kadawa village for a European trader, Lenny Luff, resident on Daru. This canoe, *Olga*, was used for many years both for racing and carrying stores. Subsequently, this style of construction was adopted by other coastal Kiwai villages from Kadawa to Mabudawan.

Sepe: Sepe village, on Kiwai Island, commenced when the people first began to move out of Barasaro which was a village formerly located in the centre of Kiwai Is. The riverine villages of Iasa, Kubira, Doropo, Paara and U'Uwo were all created from the separation of the Barasaro people after this move to the river. Barasaro is referred to in many oral testimonies as the original home of the Kiwai-speaking people (Landtman, 1919:68-69). From Sepe the people moved to Sumai. The elder brother clan remained at Sumai but the younger brother clan moved to Auti. From there the younger brother clan moved back to a new village at Sepe (Appendix E, story 31).

However, a second story detailing the origins of Sepe village (Appendix E, story 32) states that after the people were created at Barasaro, they moved to Mibu Island. From there they went to near Sui but as good land was scarce they moved again. They followed the coast to near the site of the present village of Severimabu on the Dudi coast. From there they crossed to Sumai on Kiwai Island but again land was scarce and so they

separated. The village of Sumai again divided into two groups. An old woman had four children, two went to one side and two to the other side. The eldest males and females went to Auti and the younger children remained at Sumai. Later some people moved to Sepe and others to Severimabu.

Sepe and Severimabu are therefore from one common village origin and maintain extensive exchange, kinship and marriage relations. The people of Sepe and Severimabu also share a common tradition concerning the origin of the dugout canoe. The following story by Ausi Bira of Sepe village illustrates how the first dugout canoe used by the Kiwai people was obtained from the Bamu River, to the E along the Manowetti coast :'*They first made a canoe called* Burai *at Wawoi near Bamu River. The man who cut the canoe hull was named Iyapa. When it was time to pull the canoe hull they called some young girls to come and help, because they could not move it. They took off all their clothes and pushed the canoe hull naked. They helped to push it into the water at Wawoi River, but the canoe hull did not float. It sank straight away. Later, the canoe hull came up out of the water by magic and Iyapa took the canoe hull to where he was living and made it into the canoe* Burai. *From* Burai *others learnt how to make dugouts and they brought that canoe here to Iasa and some of our great-grandparents came on that canoe. They went to Barasaro. Their great-grandparents did not visit each other because at that time there was still fighting. Their grandfathers used to take canoes and fill them with sago and bananas. They also took new canoes to Parama, Tureture, Mabudawan and Old Mawatta. They used to sell garden foods for bailer shells, cone shell breast-ornaments and pearl-shell breast-ornaments. These things they took to wear on their chests for dancing and fighting. They used to go fighting around Kiwai Island.*

In their great-grandparent's time, if they had friends or relatives in other villages, they only travelled in the night not the day time. For them to make peace with other villages they used to sell their wives to their friends. The wife and the friend would sleep together apart from the husband. This was how they made friends before the missionaries came.The friend would then tell them when to come again and he would wait for them. The friend would also do this for the husband and his other friends. This was how peace was made all around the villages. Then their fighting stopped.' (Appendix E, story 33).

The origin story of the first outrigger states that the movement of the Bamu people who brought the first canoe into the Fly estuary, paralleled the movement of canoes along the N bank of the Fly estuary, down the S bank and into Torres Strait, eventually reaching Saibai (Mapo Mopia pers. comm. 1985.)

According to oral testimony (Appendix E, story 34), the attachment of outriggers to canoes was first taught to the people of the Fly estuary by the Bamu River people. After the magic creation of the first canoe, *Burai*, the young women with magic powers (*Busere-busere*) made canoe outriggers modelled on the canoe shape. Then they were taught to paddle, to make one long stroke, then to rest and to call out. The Bamu still paddle this way. The route of *Burai* also parallels the movement of canoes in the exchange system which operated from the Bamu River to Torres Strait as the following story details :'*From Bamu they travelled to Domori, the island near Sumogi Island, then to Lewada, to Tirio, Balamuda, Wederehiamo, Severimabu, Daware, Sui, Parama, Gaziro. They told all these people how to put outriggers on canoes.* [Then] *from Gaziro to Doridori at the time when the longhouses reached the water. From Doridori to Daru. From Daru to Aberemuba, they told them how to make canoes this way. From Aberemuba to Binaturi. There they found a bridge at Waitoto. From there they went to Kagaro on Saibai, and the canoe stuck on Kagaromuba. The* Busere-busere *girls had a longhouse at Kagaro, near the big stones there. The longhouse went from Kagaro to Otamuba Reef.* Burai *went down in the passage between Kagaro and Mabudawan and is still there. It is marked by rocks.*' (Appendix E, story 34).

MacGregor (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1895/96, Appendix L:48) also noted that canoes were obtained from the former Dibiri village (now Segero) near the mouth of the Bamu estuary and that these canoes were constructed for Kiwai Is. people and used as part of the sago and canoe exchange as far as Mawatta and Tureture. Sago was the principal item exchanged by the people of Kiwai Is. MacGregor (Annual Report on British New Guinea 1895/96, Appendix L:45) noted that the Iasa people from Kiwai Is. exchanged sago as far S as Tureture and Saibai, Mer and Erub in Torres Strait.

Contacts between Kiwai Islanders and people of the eastern Torres Strait islands were apparently first made as a result of accidental voyaging from Kiwai Is. to Mer. A story told by Moses

Somogi of Kadawa village (Appendix E, story 35) describes how a small boy (or possibly two small boys), while playing on a log in the river, was swept out to sea and eventually all the way to Mer. There, the small boy was discovered by a man and his wife who raised him as their son. Later he married there, and so it is believed the people of Ipisia are related to the Meriam people of the eastern islands of Torres Strait.

INLAND ZONE

The predominantly Kawan- and Gidra-speaking peoples live in villages located along the headwaters of the Pahoturi, Binaturi and Oriomo Rivers.

Wim: Wim village, located on the highlands between the sources of the Pahoturi, Oriomo and Binaturi Rivers is well placed as a nexus village having three linguistic groups as neighbours. The Kawan-speaking people of Wim also call their language Pasuam (Watanabe, 1975:76). Pasuam is also spoken in the villages of Biambod, Sogare and Nanu, at the headwaters of the Pahoturi River. As a consequence of this proximity to other groups the Kawan people are also partial speakers of Agob, Gizra and Bine languages. However, in former times, they were restricted to their own lands by constant intergroup warfare. According to oral accounts (Appendix E, story 36), in former times, the men went naked and only the women wore coverings of fibre and bark. The men did not even wear shell coverings. The people lived in small separate groups and were constantly at war with each other and, as a result of these conflicts the population declined. The Kawan people then made peace and combined to form the one village of Wim. With the coming of the Europeans the tribal wars stopped altogether and the people began to move out of the village. The Wim people would carry goods for two or three days to the coastal villages near the Binaturi and Pahoturi River mouths to exchange drums, bows and arrows, cassowary feather headdresses, yams, sago, mats and wild animal meat for clothing, axes and European goods.

The following story tells of how the people of Wim obtained their first European clothing '*Before, in the old days, our great-grandparents did not wear* lap-laps [cotton fibre wrap]. *It was during the lifetime of our grandfathers that the people saw their first* lap-lap. Lap-laps *were first used in Old Mawatta (Binaturi River), and slowly they moved by trade to Masingara, to Glulu, to Sogare, and to Podare. Our parents would go to Podare and get clothing there. At first, the people did not know what the* lap-lap *was used for. In those days, they did not get many clothes. Once they received the first* lap-lap, *they tore it into bits and used it to cover their private parts. At first they did not even know that clothing was to be worn. When we were children we started wearing European clothes all the time. In those days people did not go to far away places. Clothing now comes from shops and from friends. They cannot make this type of clothing themselves. It has to come from other countries like Australia.*' (Appendix E, story 36).

Wim people exchange with the villages of Giringaidare, Masingara, Kunini, Tureture and Mawatta down the Binaturi River as well as with the Glubi, Kibuli, Kurunti, Sebe, Guao and Mabudawan villages down the Pahoturi River. From the coastal villages European tradestore goods and foods were brought from the Torres Strait. They did not exchange overland with the Fly estuary people themselves, although the Fly estuary people came up the Bituri River to exchange goods with the Kawan.

Wipim and Iamega: In former times, however, the Gidra-speaking people of Wipim and Iamega also fought each other and, like the Kawan people, lived in isolated bush settlements. The following story describes the difficulties of life in these isolated villages: '*When the old people lived they did not have clothes or anything. The men were naked, the women had grass skirts to cover themselves. Before they had European tools, they used sharpened bamboo sticks, about three to four feet long, to dig gardens, remove the grass and make drains. Before they had coconut scrapers, they used shells. They also used these shells to make gardens by cutting the small sticks and grass to clear the land. Shells were also used to scrape taro and vegetables. They were used also to make bows and arrows. Shells were the main objects used. For cutting sago palm they used stone axes. Shells came from the Pahoturi and were traded with sago. They did not know where the stone axes came from; perhaps the stones were just found and someone made them. Axe handles were made from a hardwood tree. A hole was made in the wood with fire, then they used cane to fit the stone blade to the wood. It would take all one day to cut down one sago palm. There were few axes, sometimes only one in the whole village. The axes were not sharp, and sometimes the force of the blunt axe on the sago could throw a man backward. This all happened before the trade in metal axes. This is how the old people lived.*' (Appendix E, story 37).

Initial contact with Europeans was made during the time of the London Missionary Society, when Pacific Islander missionaries were sent into the interior. The people of Wipim and Iamega first made contact with whites in the Podare area when missionaries from Mawatta on the Binaturi were sent inland. The first missionaries brought not only the Bible but also clothing, rice, sugar, saucepans and tobacco.

The Bine-speaking people of Glulu and Podare area were also brought together by the missionaries and given clothing to wear. Some village men were then selected to become police constables (*mamoose*), headmen (*mopiam*), and deacons of the church (*dekuna*). Following initial contact the missions encouraged the amalgamation of the villages so that churches and schools could be built and maintained and the mission enforce attendance at church and community work. '*When they came together they decided to go out trading with other people. To trade with the coastal people, they took cassowary headdresses,* kundu *drums, bows and arrows, bird of paradise feathers, and gamoda, called* urk *in Gidra language, and also cassowary bones from the leg, used to husk coconuts, and to make holes in coconuts for drinking. They can also be used as awls for making holes for tying and sewing. In exchange we got clothes, knives, axes, matches, soap and smokes, especially black tobacco. When they went to trade they went to Kunini. Tureture, Masingara. They went down the Binaturi.*'(Appendix E, story 38).

'*For trading they took a walk from here (Wipim) to the villages near the coast. They traded with grass skirts, headdresses made from cassowary feathers, bows and arrows, drums, and native tobacco. The two villages they traded with, first was Kadawa (at Binaturi), then with Masingara. For these things they gave them matches, clothes, knives, axes, and hoes to make the gardens. Nowadays, they still trade this way, but also go down to Daru, now.*'(Appendix E, story 37).

From that time the men were recruited to work in the plantations and they obtained European tradestore goods with their wages and brought them back to the village. It was after the establishment of plantations and the beginning of wage labour, particularly for the Australian Petroleum Company at Kuru, that the Wipim people began to travel to the N rather than just down the Binaturi. When the recruited men began working at Dirimu plantation on the lower Binaturi, they learnt that they could travel N to Madiri plantation and, using tradestore goods such as knives, clothes and cooking pots, they began to extend their own exchange networks N into the Fly estuary.

The European administration also encouraged the Iamega people to build a new village along the lines of the coastal villages and adopt a new form of local administration based on the authority of the village headmen and constables, administered from Daru and supervised by European patrol officers.

Oral testimony of customary exchange across the Torres Strait emphasises a long and continuous history of contact, beginning with the legendary travels of culture heroes and ending with the regular sustained contacts of relatives and exchange partners. To a large extent, the movements of the legendary heroes mirror those daily patterns of intercourse between related village groups and individuals.

Sustained contacts were maintained between peoples of close geographical proximity, such as the Agob-speaking people and the Boigu Islanders, and the Gizra-speaking people and the Saibai Islanders. Contact between the central and eastern Islanders and coastal groups, prior to the coming of the Kiwai to the SW coast, were, at first, the result of accidental voyaging of people swept out to sea on bamboo rafts. This led to the growth of regular contacts among relatives. After these riverine dwelling people gained knowledge of more sophisticated technology, first the solid log canoe, then the dugout canoe, regular contact was more easily facilitated.

Until the coming of colonial administration, exchange relations between Papuans and Islanders were irregular, hazardous and tentative, though valuable. During inter-ethnic warfare, exchange was suspended completely.

The Kiwai in their westerly movement from the estuary along the SW coast, brought with them not only improved knowledge of canoe making but direct access to regular sources of large long-lasting canoe timbers. These timbers were obtained from sources along the N banks of the Fly estuary extending into the Bamu River.

Torres Strait Islanders adapted and improved the technology of canoes for their own purposes, and they were therefore able to exploit and manipulate the exchange of shells for canoes. Oral traditions from the Torres Strait emphasise the broad characteristics of customary exchange retained by the Islanders in the face of commercial, administrative and religious intervention over the past century. The key to the indigenous

Islander perspective is an appreciation of the kinship and exchange partnership ties which bound Papuans and Islanders together.

In contrast to this broad perspective the indigenous Papuan perception of customary exchange is specific and, to a large extent, analytical. Papuan perceptions are concerned with the material culture of exchange, the context of those exchanges and the historical dimensions of contact between Papuans and Islanders. From the Papuan perspective, it is possible to understand the relationships which bind people together. The indigenous oral evidence presented in this chapter focuses attention on specific exchange patterns and details the variety of exchange transactions contracted between different ethnic groups inhabiting the various ecological zones of this diverse region. Using this regional variety as a basis for a model, it is possible to construct a theoretical interpretation for the analysis of interaction patterns across the Torres Strait.

CONTEXTS OF EXCHANGE

The theoretical concepts presented here do not attempt to prove the credibility of either the historical documentary evidence or the oral testimony. It is important however to bring these two sets of observations together within the framework of the theory of the role of exchange in Melanisian societies.

In the context of most Melanesian 'exchange' practices, goods passed from hand to hand over short distances. Kaplan (1976:80), describing exchange patterns in the North Solomons, commented: 'The ethno-historical literature indicates that trade goods were handed along from trader to trader in the native trading systems of this part of Melanesia without their original owners or producers accompanying them very far, if at all. There is no mention in the literature consulted that a single individual or organization directed the flow of goods from producer to final purchaser. Rather trade in this part of Melanesia involved direct reciprocal exchanges.'

These many individual exchange transactions became the essential structural framework of the long distance movement of goods linked through what has been generally termed 'trading networks' (Brookfield & Hart,1971:314). The term 'network' is taken to mean a series of elements or socio-economic linkages between individuals, groups or societies, linked by specific exchange of goods, or services (Plog 1977:128; Irwin-Williams,1977:142). Exchange is therefore the form of interaction that creates and reflects these socio-economic linkages. Exchange patterns in Melanesia can be examined in various social contexts, particularly movements of exchange items or classification of items as valuable or utilitarian objects. Emphasis can also be placed on the social, economic or political constraints surrounding the exchange processes themselves or on an examination of the varying subsistence requirements facilitating exchange. It must be understood, however, that the fundamental nature of exchange patterns varies in terms of organization and distance (Allen,1982:193,195).

Exchange may be defined as a transaction in which goods and services move from one group to another and is balanced by a counterflow of goods and services. Exchange must be seen as a two-way transaction. However, Brookfield & Hart (1971:315) preferred to examine exchange from a uni-directional flow stating that if the ultimate originator and receiver were mutually known this transaction could be termed a 'transfer' of goods. Pryor (1977:3), who noted only two types of exchange transactions, market exchange and reciprocal exchange, defined 'transfer' as a transaction involving the unbalanced movement of goods and services. Such a one-way transaction involved no counterflow of goods or services. He cited the two principal types of transfer as 'centric', determined by political or religious institutions, or 'non-centric.' The term 'trade' could be applied to transactions involving the passage of goods outside any one contact field involving multiple 'transfers' where the originator and receiver were only the beginning and the end of a series of multiple interpersonal links (Brookfield & Hart,1971:314,315). Distinction between 'trade' and 'transfer' could be made irrespective of the mode of transaction. Thus, the distinction between 'trade' and 'transfer' emphasised social distance, rather than geographical distance, such that 'trade' was a mode of exchange between persons with no social or kinship affiliations.

Pryor (1977:4) stated that what was generally, but inaccurately, termed primitive or underdeveloped economic systems were characterized by a dominance of reciprocal exchange, while being non-centric. Patterns of socio-economic activity, in a Melanesian context emphasised the reciprocal exchange of goods and services which operated independently of any external political or religious institutional control.

Reciprocal exchange, however, should be seen as only one mode of distribution of goods and services. Reciprocal exchange served to move goods and services from those who produced them to be used or consumed by those who did not. Underlying reciprocal exchange were social relationships that formed the structure of economic relationships in small scale societies. In such societies, the myriad small transactions involving the movement of goods and services through multiple connecting links created the appearance of widespread exchange systems. In the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region, a clear illustration of the articulation of transfers into a widespread regional 'trading system' was provided by communities on the SW coast of PNG. Brookfield & Hart (1971:321-325) described this 'system' in the following simplistic terms: '*These communities had local 'exchange' transfer of fish with inland banana- and taro-growing villages, and obtained sago from the Fly delta, a little further north. Some of this transfer was by barter, but the coastal people also bought food for shell tools, ornaments and weapons and later pieces of iron obtained from the Torres Strait Islanders. These Islanders in turn obtained drums, arrows, feathers, boars' tusks and sago from the coastal people, who obtained these goods from the inland. Canoes for the Torres Strait Islanders were obtained from much further inland, well up the Fly River, the coastal villagers selling these to the Islanders for shells (Beaver,1920:74-77). The system extended much further than this. From the lower Fly it seems that a major trade route followed the river right up the central cordillera, with branches westward into the Digul system of West New Guinea. A stone pestle found just inland of the south coast is believed to have reached its resting place by trade from the central mountains down the river (Pretty,1965). In the opposite direction, the Torres Strait Islanders carried on some trade with the Aborigines of northern Cape York Peninsula, Australia.*'

This web of 'transfer' and 'trading systems' had a role not only in the distribution of goods and valuables but in a wider distribution of population. Exchange, therefore, was considered to be all types of mutual transfer of goods and services (Brookfield & Hart,1971:332, 316 footnote). In an examination of the social contexts for prehistoric exchange Earle (1982:2) defined exchange as: '*... the spatial distribution of materials from hand to hand and from social group to social group. Exchange is a transfer with strong individual and social aspects. Individuals are the hands in exchange, and they strive within the constraints of their society, ideology and environment to survive and prosper.*' This is still the essential character of the patterns of exchange across Torres Strait.

In an ethnohistorical examination of Australian Aboriginal exchange patterns in southeastern Australia, McBryde favoured a similarly 'open' definition of exchange taken, in part, from Renfrew's definition of trade (Renfrew, 1969: 152). McBryde (1984:134) stated that exchange '*encompasses a diversity of activities and processes. ... the term is used in an entirely open sense as "reciprocal traffic, exchange, movement of materials or goods through peaceful human agency"...*' The social controls of exchange, according to McBryde (1984:134), include group relationships, marriage rules, ceremonial and ritual associations and external alliances. McBryde also argued that '*goods also must be defined loosely for they include both the tangible and the intangible services, knowledge, even rituals as well as material items, consumable and durable*'.

In Melanesian economic exchange, the importance of reciprocity as an integrating social and economic mechanism should be understood. Mauss (1969:10-11) described gift exchange in terms of obligatory reciprocity which maintained both the individual and the group relationships in social economic systems. Artefacts had social and moral value and were exchanged in the same social way as courtesies and rituals, women, dances and feasts. Gift exchange was, therefore, part of the system of total prestations (Mauss,1969:3).

The concept of marriage being part of exchange is most important in Melanesia. Marriage, as a form of exchange, is essentially an arrangement concerning the transfer of goods and gift giving between families. In such a transfer bride wealth, or bride price, usually formed part of ceremonial exchange, for customary exchange encompassed the change of ownership of women, services, songs, dances and rituals (McBryde,1984:150). This was true also of the Torres Strait region for the exchange of rituals, myths and legends can be seen in the movement of hero cults from PNG and Australia, into the Torres Strait.

Although 'trade', 'exchange', 'barter', 'transfer', and 'reciprocal transfer', have often been used synonymously (Allen,1977a:410), it is necessary to distinguish between 'trade' and 'exchange'. If exchange refers to processes through which social obligations are met, then

trade can be defined as a repeated sequence of exchanges of goods. Trade can be used as a term to cover multi-dimensional exchanges over a wide area outside the immediate social system. Harding (1981:142) defined trade as 'non-partner exchange of utilities', whereas ceremonial exchange was defined as 'partnership exchange of valuables', where partnership referred to established social relationships for exchange and non-partnership referred to the absence of established or enduring relationships for exchange purposes. 'Valuables' were defined as goods which by their nature or by convention do not serve human biophysical needs in any direct way, that is, they are status or positional goods. 'Utilities' were defined as goods which do serve human biophysical needs.

Firm distinctions between the concepts of 'trade' and 'exchange' cannot be made in reference to the objects transferred, nor to the relationships or social distances between parties or partners involved in such a transaction for 'such terms represent idea-typical poles in a continuum of exchange institutions' (McIntyre & Young, 1982:207). However, McIntyre & Young (1982: 207, 208) used 'exchange system' and 'trade system' synonymously. It would be more appropriate to speak of exchange transactions operating on two levels; internal, that is, within the kinship system; and external, operating between exchange partners and other groups.

'Exchange' is used here as a general term for the spatial distribution of goods and services from person to person, and social group to social group through a series of transactions, the nexus being social relationships. 'Exchange', 'exchange networks' and 'exchange systems' have been preferred to 'trade' and 'trading.' Where defined, the term 'trading system' will be used.

EXCHANGE IN SMALL-SCALE SOCIETIES

In small scale societies, such as those in the Torres Strait and Fly estuary regions, the customary economic system was embedded in the social order. In such a social structure, kin groups and age grades were the units of production, kinship networks and exchange friendship links determined distribution, and ritual and ceremony served to regulate consumption. Thus, the Torres Strait and Fly estuary 'canoe traffic' was typical of most pre-European economic systems in Melanesia.

It is important, within the context of exchange, to define the nature of small scale societies and the structure of their alliance networks. Small scale, stateless or acephalous societies can be defined as small groups of hunter-gatherers, subsistence fishermen and/or swidden horticulturists organized by lineages, or clusters of clans of varying size. Such small clan groupings, being politically vulnerable, needed allies for defence against attack and for raiding as retaliation, as well as allies giving refuge in case of defeat. Clan segments, economically vulnerable due to their small size, also needed allies for economic exchange, for access to resources locally unavailable and for assistance in times of natural disaster.

The uncertain and fluctuating nature of alliances among Melanesian groups was noted by Dalton (1977:195) who stated: '*... in Papua New Guinea, external relations with major and minor allies and enemies, therefore, were horizontal; that is, fluctuating coalitions and enmities between cultural homogeneous groups all organized in similar stateless fashion ... culturally homogeneous clan segments were not equal in size, property, or power, but were socially stratified as dominant and subordinate lineage.*'

Sporadic hunger, sporadic warfare and external trade were very common in pre-colonial times (Dalton,1977:193). Alliances through marriage, kinship or exchange partnerships served to tie the bonds of friendship.

Corporate descent groups in stateless societies or societies with the absence of a centralized political state have been described in terms of exogamy and rules of preferential marriage and residence, unilineal descent, lineages, clans and subclans. Dependence on lineage and clan was comprehensive because there was no alternative means of livelihood or protection (Dalton,1977:194). The corporate descent group defined religious affiliations in terms of common clan ancestors, clan founders, supernatural beings and spirits, while external relations with allies, minor and even major enemies were horizontal.

In Melanesian small scale societies the corporate descent group controlled the tangible property, such as garden land and fishing areas, as well as intangible property such as ritual, dances, legends and stories. The corporate descent group, within which non-lethal fighting and dispute settlement was permissible, also controlled alliances and marriage. Linkages to common ancestors, mythical clan heroes and supernatural beings also bound people to their corporate descent group. Corporate descent groups operated within networks and interaction spheres with other lineage clusters. '*Warfare, trade, and mar-*

riage meant external relationships of hostility and alliance, relations of antagonism and dependence, the opposite of isolation and self-sufficiency' (Dalton, 1977: 200).

Warfare, raiding and feuding were major preoccupations during the pre-colonial period in PNG and the Torres Strait Islands although networks of alliance established an uneasy peace between some corporate descent groups.

Four types of alliance networks existed (Dalton,1977:202). Firstly, those created through warfare, raiding, revenge, feud, peacemaking and death compensation; secondly, alliances maintained by marriage, bride wealth and lifelong reciprocal transactions created by affinal relationships; thirdly, alliances created through ceremonial or delayed reciprocal exchanges of 'primitive' valuables; and fourthly, those alliance networks established by non-ceremonial 'trade' and visiting allies who sought the use of common resources by mutual agreement. In all networks exchange of material objects was emphasised and, in marriage alliances, exchange of women as a 'commodity' was noted. Allied descent groups often maintained not only two or more sets of alliance relationships at once but also relationships with numerous other descent groups, hence the use of the term 'networks'. The common mode of transaction used in all forms of alliance networks was reciprocal transactions of goods and/or women. In all such relations the political, economic and social nature of transactions were interwoven and thus, to some extent, were integrated. Established patterns of crisscrossing networks or interaction spheres were created through political, economic and social bonds (Dalton,1977:204).

It has been suggested that exchange also acted as a form of social storage where local variations and uncertainties in subsistence production occurred, and that the use of valuable, durable tokens provided a mechanism for the necessary exchange of food, maintained by direct reciprocal relationships, amongst a far wider network of communities (Hodder,1982:205). Thus valuable objects exchanged were not arbitrarily chosen but were appropriate within a cultural, ideological and historical context. The artefact supported and provided the basis of power for interest groups in small scale societies where status depended upon access to material wealth. The acquisition and movement of material symbols formed the principles of social stratification. The appearance and rapid turnover of new valued goods to reinstate the status lost by the downward movement of earlier high status artefacts represented a way of legitimizing power. Ritual, associated with artefacts, legitimized authority and permitted privileged members of the society access to other valued goods.

Exchange not only formed social obligations, as well as status and power, but also legitimated them (Hodder,1982:209). Marriage systems served to maintain ties through common ritual and gift giving. The exchange of women generated new alliances with strangers as part of a large and possibly deliberate strategy of developing extensive and dense marriage alliance networks which, in turn, created networks of reciprocal obligations on which wealth and power of a household (or village) depended.

Within a regional economic system, such as that across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region, the various sectors of production depended upon internal and external economic exchange for self-maintenance. This region was not governed by a single political system nor did it have a common culture; it consisted of various units linked by their distinct modes of production and exchange. Within such a regional economy inequalities in exchange and differential access to resources may be noted. Differing access to resources meant that variations in the growth and development of individual units were common. For example, growth of specific island communities and consolidation of mainland villages occurred. While exchange connections between Islander and Papuan coastal communities continue to the present day, economic underdevelopment of mainland Papuan communities is also evident. Noticeable patterns of inequality across the region are important considerations for they result from external pressures against which the equalizing abilities of customary exchange cannot compete.

In former times, the exchange of valued artefacts formed a politico-ritual system of circulation. It also stimulated production and circulation of food and subsistence surpluses. Therefore, within small-scale Melanesian societies the accumulation of objects of ritual and the accumulation of objects of utility, which must be seen to include foodstuffs, paralleled each other. Alliances, established through exchange of material goods, women and symbolic knowledge, were only successful if the flow of resources was maintained. Warfare, exchange and marriage were the determinants of external relationships of hostility or alliance. These relations of antagonism or dependence showed that small scale societies did

not exist in a form of self-sufficient isolation. In Melanesian societies, survival was dependent upon external alliances based on trust and mutual benefit.

Since exchange had political, ritual and economic functions, it formed social networks rather than purely economic linkages.

In economic systems based on a familial or domestic role of production, objects were produced for domestic consumption and, only after satisfaction of this, were these objects offered for exchange. However, the ability to maintain this self-interest was beset by the pressure of kinship requirements. Thus, the ever widening kinship network was the stimulus to exchange and trade. It was spatial distance measured in terms of kinship distance that determined the level on which exchange operated (Sahlins,1968:84-85).

CONTRASTING NATURE OF HIGHLAND AND LOWLAND EXCHANGE PATTERNS

One cannot discuss exchange within a Melanesian context without understanding the contrast between highland and coastal lowland exchange. In the highland areas of central PNG the large scale ceremonial prestations, which involved the accumulation and distribution of pigs and staple vegetables, were primarily socio-political occasions which served to cement clan and kinship ties and facilitate the movement of valuables and foodstuffs across ecological and political boundaries. The complexity of Highland exchange patterns has been described elsewhere (Strathern,1971,1978, 1981,1982; Feil,1982, 1984; Hughes,1973, 1977a; Healey,1990). The exchange networks in the densely populated highlands consisted of complex webs of exchange of single transfer operations between small groups or individuals forming exchange partnerships. Exchange activities were one component of multi-purpose journeys, though it was the formality of the exchange pattern that facilitated these other activities.

While coastal and inland exchange networks interlock and may even cross at points, the long distance coastal maritime exchange networks differed substantially from the inland ones. Along coastal networks the increased proportion of subsistence items exchanged was apparent. Coastal exchange networks, while not strictly closed systems due to the overlapping nature of exchange networks and to interaction between various groups from outside such networks, can more easily be seen as 'closed' (Allen,1982:197; Malinowski,1922; Harding,1967,1970; Barton, 1910). While such systems remained acephalous, horizontal networks of linked communities which were maintained by enduring exchange partnerships based on inherited, usually putative, kinship relationships were associated with codes of hospitality and behaviour that transcended normal intergroup relationships (Harding,1970:97).

Such partnerships also existed across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region and, despite recent political and social dislocation, these still survive with somewhat tenuous linkages across the Torres Strait region today. One reason for this areal integration of exchange networks may be the lack of uniformity of the subsistence base in coastal Melanesia. Certainly, ceremonial exchanges in coastal Melanesia are not as intense as in the highlands where the subsistence base is more equitably distributed. In the coastal networks the majority of exchanged items can be categorized as belonging to a subsistence base. This is particularly true of the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region.

Specialized manufacturing activities in the highlands, could not be maintained in coastal areas without a high degree of artificiality (Allen,1982:197). Under such circumstances a degree of 'brittleness' underlies each system, for no individual or group could maintain any degree of overall control over such a dispersed system. Allen's opinion (1982:202) that the customary exchange systems of the Vitiaz Strait, Trobriand Islands, Massim and Manus areas have no great antiquity, can be supported through the ethnographic literature. This is also true for the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region. Historical and oral evidence suggests that the period of intense economic activity across the Torres Strait may be little more than 500 years old.

Allen (1982:202) stated that '*the patterns of trade along the southern Papuan coast can, in my opinion, best be modelled in a cyclic fashion with the peaks growing higher and more closely spaced through time*'. Such an interpretation can most certainly be made for the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region as well. Allen further summarized his findings by stating that maritime exchange networks, until disrupted by the European economic presence in the latter half of the 19th century, were a series of systems which, while effectively 'closed' in a formal sense, were held together by the exchange of a small series of objects classified as valuables, such as armshells. If seen as closed systems, then the principal ob-

jects of exchange were food and utilitarian subsistence items such as baskets, mats, axes and canoes. Long distance exchange of valuables, such as armshells and pearl-shell ornaments, most likely facilitated internal exchanges within and between small social groups.

Coastal and inland exchange networks also differ substantially in the technology of transportation. In inland Melanesia, due to geographical factors, exchange items were physically carried by men and women. It is logical that the use of canoes in maritime exchange systems enabled the bulk carrying of exchange items over long distances. Valuables and subsistence items could be quickly transported by groups of people over long distances and politically hostile groups could be avoided.

The importance and resilience of exchange cannot be overstated for 'the survival of exchange systems into the present in more or less modified form, is at once indicative of their fundamental importance to the maintenance of Melanesian societies and of their resilience in the face of colonial intervention' (MacIntyre & Young, 1982:207). The survival of customary exchange patterns demonstrates, in part, the inability of an imposed cash economy to mitigate against regional economic imbalance.

In Melanesia, exchange integrated, or at least created a dense pattern of integration, between various ethnic groups. In the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region these various ethnic groups were divided from each other by language and traditions (particularly oral traditions of myths, legends, and history of origin), as well as social customs, food habits and land ownership. Nevertheless they maintained continuous contacts with each other despite endemic warfare prior to the establishment of colonial administration.

The village, regardless of its size, was the largest political unit. Although this unit, composed of a number of clan groups, was subject to change due to separation or segmentation, each ethnic group was able to trace its common ancestry back to an ancestral village. Segmentation, the process by which separate lineages come to be recognised, created semi-autonomous groups which were recognised lineages but not separate parts of a clan. Separation, the formal division of a clan or lineage into separate clans, could also occur, as could re-amalgamation. Lineages became separate clans through separation, not through segmentation (Schwartz,1963:64). Kinship and fictive kinship ties formed the most enduring bases for exchange relations. The key to exchange was production which depended to a large extent on ecological specialization. Primary specialization corresponded to ecological type, thus coastal fishing groups exchanged their fish (protein) for the vegetable foods (carbohydrates) produced by inland gardening groups. Schwartz (1963:76) in his study of Manus Islanders, stated that cross-ecological exchange was primarily cross-ethnic for primary specialization depended upon ecological parameters. This was not peculiar to the Admiralties, and other such economic relations, most typically coastal to inland and island to coastal, may be noted in other ethnographic accounts.

By contrast, secondary specialization, which differentiated local groups within a single primary ecological type may have been of three main subtypes: micro-ecological variation, which indicated some minor internal ecological variations; secondary specialization of production, such that a few villages with access to special raw materials maintained control, through clans or lineages, of specialized production of artefacts as well as ceremonies and, specialization of access whereby, having the advantage of proximity to other centres, one village or group retained favourable advantage as the centre of 'trade' or as mediator in 'trade' between other villages (Schwartz,1963:76).

The crux of this analysis of specialization in the villages of the Admiralty Islands was, as Schwartz (1963:77) indicated: '*The kinds of primary and secondary specialization that we have indicated provided the basis for a complex and all pervading transactional nexus integrating, although not uniting, the archipelago and all of its subdivisions. These differentiations of resources, products, techniques, and access were founded on but went beyond, the distribution of groups across resource zones.*'

The transactional nexus consisted not of relations between groups as such, but rather the 'superimposed networks of particular individuals' the forms of which he further subdivided into five types descibed as :ceremonial, non-ceremonial ; among kin, among non-kin ; intra-ecological, cross-ecological ; immediate, delayed ; symmetrical, asymmetrical, both in terms of persons as well as goods exchanged (Schwartz,1963:78).

In the Melanesian context, exchange partnerships were formal or ceremonial reciprocative, paired relationships which may have been inherited. The complex form of this relationship involved many such partnerships, whereby status was achieved through the establishment and

maintenance of a complex of trading rituals and networks. This was typical of the 'big man' exchange networks particularly evident in the PNG highlands.

Ordinary market exchange, which by definition was typically non-ceremonial, cross-ecological, between non-kin and asymmetrical in terms of goods exchanged, may have followed the formal ritualized 'trade partnership' or affinal exchanges.

Coastal Melanesian exchange networks which, apart from the Kula system in the Massim region, did not support the massive post-colonial ceremonial exchange partnership exchanges noted in the highlands, were typically affinal exchange networks. As oral testimony noted, kinship remains the strongest motive for exchange in the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region. However, the impact of colonial administration and the cash economy has tended to favour the development of market exchange even among relatives.

The dispersed network (Schwartz,1963:89) most clearly defines that which operated across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region.

The Torres Strait and Fly estuary exchange network was characteristic of the particularistic, entrepreneur-centred dispersed network in which inter-ecological exchange and market relations co-existed with intra-ecological, intra-ethnic, formal exchange. Such characteristics as noted by Schwartz (1963:89) were also noted by Lipset (1985) and Barlow (1985) in their studies of inter-ethnic exchange among the people of the Murik Lakes region of the N coast of PNG.

THE PATHS OF EXCHANGE

Across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region a number of ethnic groups occupy 5 ecological zones, namely: the Inland, Riverine, Littoral, Insular, and Peninsula Zones (Fig. 34).

The Papuan people inhabiting the Inland Zone, which includes the savanna bushlands and the higher hill country of the Oriomo Plateau, include the Magayam- and Pasuam-speaking ethnic groups who generally live in close proximity to the headwaters of the Pahoturi, Binaturi, Oriomo and Bituri Rivers, as well as some Agob- and Gidra-speaking people who live at the headwaters of the Pahoturi and Oriomo Rivers.

The people of the Riverine Zone inhabit the coastal swamp lands, river valleys and lowland savanna country along the banks of the Pahoturi, Binaturi and Oriomo Rivers, and include the inhabitants of the islands and river banks of the Fly estuary as far as Sumogi Is. The ethnic groups in this region include the Bine and Gizra, as well as most of the Gidra- and Agob-speaking peoples, together with the river dwelling Kiwai- and Coastal Kiwai-speaking people. These people have access to the SW coast of PNG and the waters of Torres Strait through the creeks, swamps and rivers of the Littoral Zone.

The Kiwai-speaking peoples of the south coast, from Parama Is. to Mabudawan, inhabit the Littoral Zone of low sandy foreshore backed by mangrove swamps located between the waters of Torres Strait and the Riverine Zone. The Papuan groups inhabiting this zone have only limited access to gardening land but unrestricted access to the offshore islands, reefs and productive coastal fishing grounds of Torres Strait.

Torres Strait Islanders of the eastern, central, western and 'top' western islands inhabit the Insular Zone. The well developed maritime technology of Torres Strait Islanders enabled them to exploit the rich marine resources around their islands and they maintained contact with the inhabitants of the Riverine and Littoral Zones, as well as with the Aboriginal people inhabiting the Peninsula Zone.

The Aboriginal inhabitants of the coastal and inland Peninsula Zone of Cape York maintained contact with the Torres Strait Islanders, particularly those of the nearby western islands, prior to dislocation by European settlement on Cape York (Moore,1979).

Prior to sustained colonial intrusion, each ethnic group maintained internal exchanges of goods and services not only within the immediate clan or village but also between other sections of the wider ethnic group. External exchanges between ethnic groups were well established. Thus, along the SW coast of PNG, inland groups exchanged externally with riverine groups who further extended this line of communication to littoral and insular groups. Insular groups maintained external exchange contacts with littoral, riverine and peninsula groups.

The Littoral Zone was only permanently settled by the Kiwai, west of Daru, following mission and colonial administrative control between 1870 and 1890. The littoral dwelling Agob-speaking people also established their first permanent coastal settlement at Buji following the pacification of the Tugeri after 1890-1895. Contact and exchange patterns prior to 1870-1890 emphasise the importance of customary exchange contacts between riverine dwelling groups and Torres

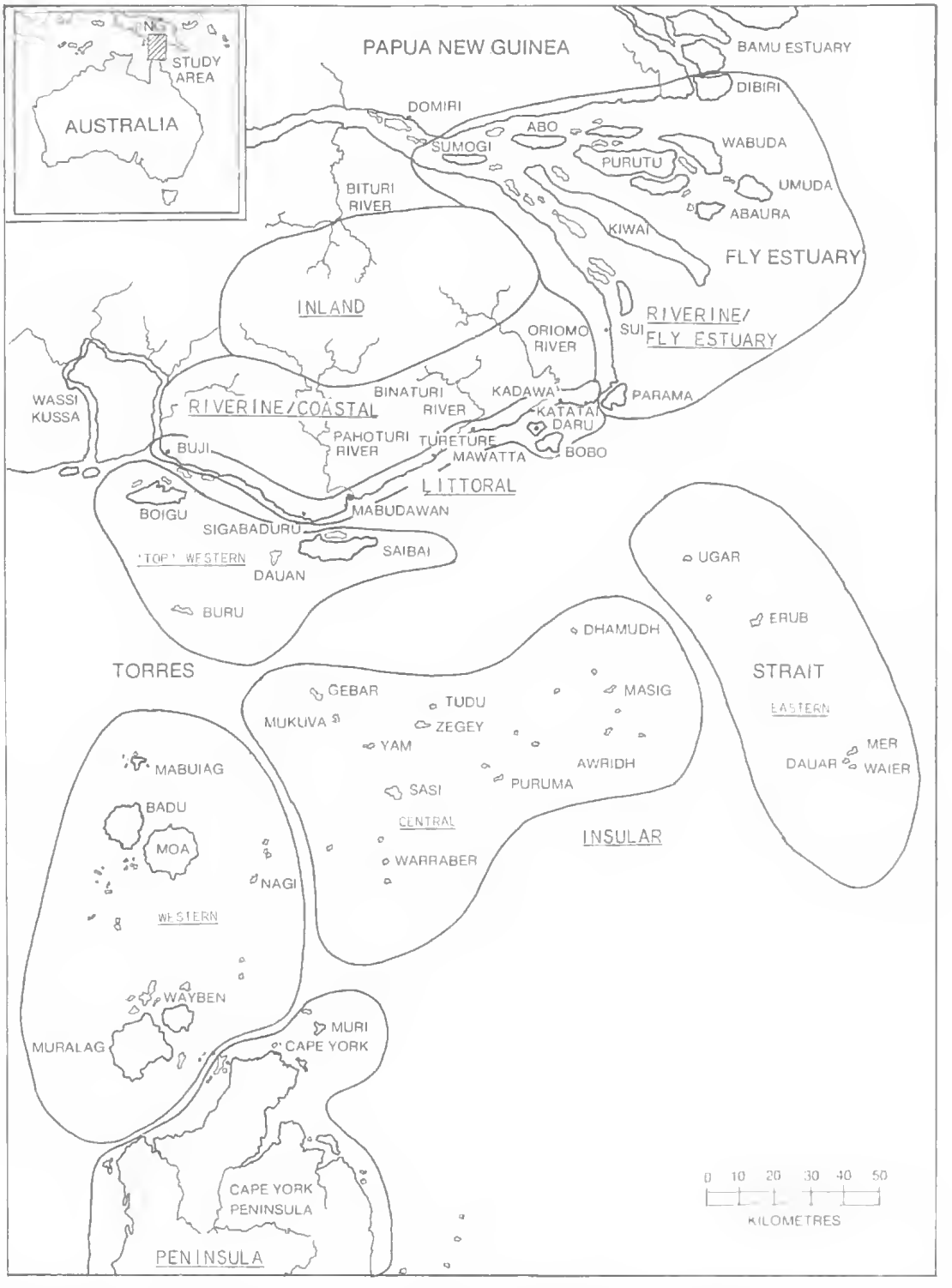


FIG. 34. Five ecological areas of Torres Strait and PNG (underlined). Insular area includes the 4 Torres Strait Island Groups.

Strait Islanders. Prior to the occupation of the SW coast there were no Kiwai intermediaries in customary exchange across Torres Strait.

The Riverine Zone should be divided into the Riverine/Coastal Zone, inhabited by the Agob-, Gizra-, Bine- and Gidra-speaking peoples, and the Riverine/Fly estuary Zone, occupied by the Kiwai-speaking peoples.

Ethnographic evidence indicates that population groups inhabiting the Riverine/Coastal Zone did not participate in the shell-for-canoe exchange until after the arrival of the Kiwai on the SW coast. Following coastal Kiwai occupation of the Littoral Zone the riverine groups participated in the garden food-for-fish and shellfish exchange with these Kiwai and, following sustained contact with them, adopted Kiwai and Islander sailing techniques. Although use of small outrigger canoes and bamboo rafts was, of course, well established before this.

However, prior to the coming of the Kiwai to the SW coast the shell-for-canoes exchange was, at first, principally conducted between groups inhabiting the Riverine/Fly estuary Zone and Torres Strait Islanders living in the eastern islands. Exchange between the inhabitants of the Riverine/Coastal Zone and the Torres Strait Islanders were maintained through 'top' western and central islands. Only occasional contacts were maintained between inhabitants of the Riverine/Coastal Zone and eastern Islanders. Inhabitants of the Riverine/Coastal and Riverine/-Fly estuary Zones maintained direct and extensive exchange relations with inland ethnic groups. However, Riverine/Coastal groups did not maintain direct exchange contacts with Fly estuary groups; the contact being through warfare until permanent settlement of the littoral dwelling Kiwai people. Oral testimony supports the statement that peoples of the Riverine/Coastal Zone only gained access to the Fly estuary 'canoe traffic' through Kiwai intermediaries.

Contacts between the Riverine/Fly estuary Zone and eastern Islanders were strongly established. Exchange relations between Torres Strait Islanders and Aboriginals of the Peninsula Zone were also maintained during this period. However, the strongest links were between the western Islanders and mainland Aboriginal groups. The final structure of paths of exchange across Torres Strait and Fly estuary, prior to the arrival of the coastal Kiwai (Fig. 35) may be assumed to be representative of paths of exchange during the immediate pre-contact period and in 1840-1870 period.

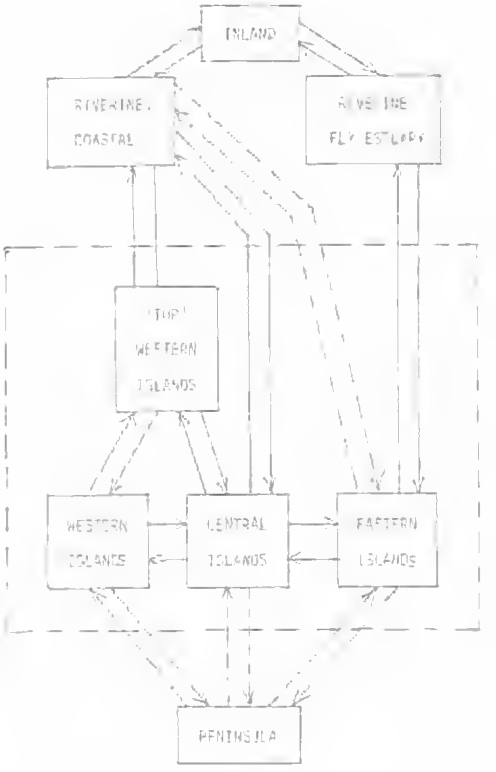


FIG. 35. Paths of customary exchange across Torres Strait prior to Kiwai occupation of the littoral zone.

Direct contacts between peoples of the Riverine/Coastal Zone and the 'top' western and central Islanders were effectively upheld, for the Islanders had a sophisticated maritime technology employing large double outrigger canoes. Similarly, according to oral testimony, contact between Fly estuary and eastern islands groups was more effectively maintained using large ocean going outrigger canoes. Oral evidence suggests that even in earlier times groups inhabiting the Riverine Zone, with limited maritime technology, were able to maintain relations across the narrow northern waters of Torres Strait between the mainland and Saibai, Boigu and Dauan in particular. Relations between the eastern Islanders and these riverine/coastal groups were only tenuous, but oral evidence suggests that they were significant for linguistic similarities between the Bine and Meriam languages have been noted.

Ethnographic evidence supports the notion that exchange between eastern Islanders and peninsula dwelling Aboriginal groups was less regular

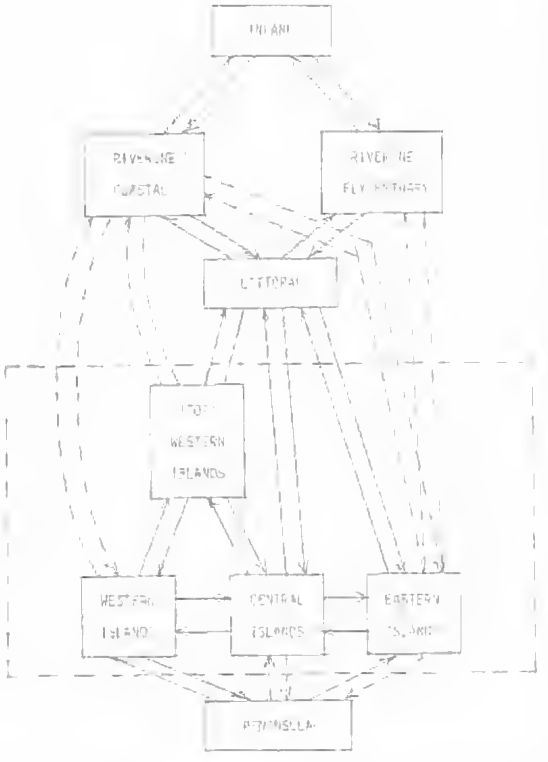


FIG. 36. Paths of customary exchange across Torres Strait after Kiwai occupation of the littoral zone.

and even rather tenuous. However, historical literature stated that the western Islanders maintained regular and sustained contact with Cape York ethnic groups in the late pre-contact and early post-contact period. The western Islanders, due to proximity, as well as to social, cultural and linguistic ties, were the main 'path' through which insular-peninsula exchange operated.

In the pre-colonial period, exchange contacts between Islander groups and between Islanders and Aboriginal groups were also maintained through with double outrigger canoes, adapted and developed by Torres Strait Islanders.

Kiwai-speaking littoral dwelling people capitalized on exchange connections between riverine and insular groups, by exploiting their more advanced maritime technology, and most particularly by manipulating the supply of canoe hulls from the Fly estuary; they dominated exchange networks in the early post-contact period and their close association with colonial administration was also used to their economic and political advantage. Kiwai incursions had the effect of reducing, but not eliminating, contact between riverine and insular groups. Riverine groups, who previously had not developed a sophisticated maritime technology, were forced to learn techniques of canoe making and sailing in order to re-establish old communication and exchange linkages.

The position of riverine coastal and insular groups following the Kiwai occupation of the Littoral Zone (Fig. 36) may may be taken as the paths of exchange during the early contact period, 1860-1900.

Coastal Kiwai, moving down from the western bank of the Fly estuary, occupied a position of importance on the eastern end of the Littoral Zone particularly near the entrance to the Fly estuary close to Parama Is. From there, through raiding and warfare, and later through European colonial administration, they established large permanent villages on the beaches along the SW coast. From this position, and by establishing villages at the mouths of the only rivers opening into northern Torres Strait, they were able to dominate the established exchange movements between Islanders and riverine/coastal peoples. Oral testimony indicates that it became expedient for these riverine/coastal dwelling peoples to move close to the mouths of the rivers where access to the Kiwai villages could be maintained easily. Thus, Masingara and Mawatta are virtually within sight of each other, Kulalae is a short canoe trip from Mabudawan and Dorogori and Kadawa are within walking distance of each other.

Coastal Kiwai manipulated exchange by their dominance of maritime and fishing technology and controlled the their fish-for-garden-foods exchange with riverine neighbours. In this their position was similar to that of the Murik (Lipset, 1985). Thus exchange ties between the riverine dwelling groups and insular dwelling groups were seriously affected.

European settlement on Cape York after 1864 and on Thursday Island after 1877 profoundly affected the social life and economy of Aboriginal people on Cape York Peninsula. The peninsular and insular exchange systems were undermined, not only by the European entrepôt but also by dislocation of Aboriginal life.

Contact between Aboriginal people and western Islanders was regular prior to establishment of the colonial government station at Somerset in 1864 (Moore,1979; Gregory & Gregory,1968:101; Moseley,1892.302-311; Byerley, 1867:68, 82-85). Moseley (1892:311)

noted the change caused by the introduction of European tradestore goods and a cash economy when he remarked that Somerset had become a virtual 'emporium of savage weapons and ornaments'. The decline in Aboriginal populations, as well as the enforced re-settlement and missionization of Aborigines by colonial governments on far northern Cape York Peninsula, assisted the decline in exchange activity between Islanders and Aborigines.

Similarly, on the SW coast of PNG, establishment of colonial outposts and small European-owned tradestores also led to rapid introduction of European tradestore goods into the customary exchange system. The first tradestores along the SW coast were established at Mabudawan and Mawatta. The first administrative post established near Mabudawan in 1893 was quickly replaced by the settlement at Daru in 1895. European goods entered immediately into the established littoral and riverine exchange system although at first this did not eliminate the demand for indigenous exchange goods (Jiear, 1904/05; Haddon,1904, V:296, 1908, VI:185). Colonial administration and cessation of intra- and inter-ethnic warfare did not result in dislocation nor removal of the indigenous population from village areas along the SW coast of PNG, in fact the villages became larger and more consolidated. Migrations of Papuan labour away from village areas were seen by villagers as only temporary. Wage labour on boats and plantations was incorporated into the general exchange process as a means whereby labour was exchanged for cash rather than commodities. Early mission activity on the coast did not impact so intensely upon the customary practices of the people as it had on isolated islands of Torres Strait where people felt the impact of European commercial and marine extractive industries during the early colonial period. Centralization of administrative control at Thursday Is. focused economic activity in the Torres Strait. Pearling and other commercial activities became established there and European trade store goods, tools and foods entered the customary exchange system through Thursday Is. commercial activity. Torres Strait Islanders, regrouped into island based villages by the missions, quickly adapted to European maritime technology, store bought foodstuffs and clothing.

Ties between all but the most easily accessible island and mainland villages weakened following establishment of the colonial outpost at Daru after 1895. Daru assumed prominence as commercial

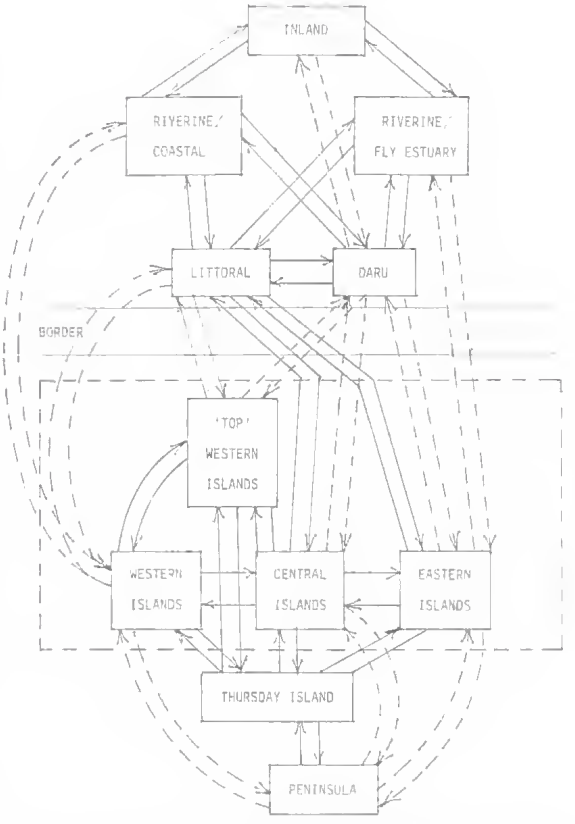


FIG. 37. Paths of customary exchange across Torres Strait following establishment of colonial administrative posts on Daru and Thursday Islands.

and administrative centre of the SW coast and Fly estuary area. Access between the Torres Strait islands, particularly the eastern, central and 'top' western islands, and the littoral dwelling Kiwai groups in coastal Papua, which had been maintained through the contact period, was still regular. However, exchange connections between insular and riverine groups were seriously altered. Regular and sustained contact between riverine coastal peoples and the eastern Islanders was severed.

The coastal Kiwai became the mediators of exchange between coastal Papuans and Islanders after the 1890s. They also became filters for movement of exchange items from Inland and Riverine Zones. They therefore occupied a middleman position which had not previously existed and they effectively manipulated and directed patterns of exchange through northern, central and eastern islands. The spread of European tradestore goods, tools and foods was facilitated by this position of the Kiwai.

Prior to establishment of the independent state of PNG in 1975, dominance of European technology, introduction of wage labour, exchange of goods and services for cash and introduction of European administration and law were all instrumental in effecting permanent changes to the fabric of intersocietal exchange in the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region (Fig. 37).

Establishment of the Australia/British New Guinea (Papua after 1907) border in the late 19th century and clarification of a formal border between PNG and Australia in 1975, weakened still further the tenuous exchange ties maintained between the coastal Kiwai and Torres Strait Islanders.

Ratification of the Torres Strait Treaty in 1985, which recognized 'traditional' rights of both Islanders and Papuans to exchange and free movement within the Torres Strait Protected Zone, recognized the importance of the customary exchange system across Torres Strait. The Treaty codified regulations concerning the purpose and nature of exchange and detailed accepted items of exchange which may be carried, sold or freely given between Islanders and Papuans. However, this occurred after the customary exchange system had ceased as a mechanism for distribution of scarce subsistence items across a region of different ecological zones.

PATTERNS OF EXCHANGE

In an exchange system that emphasised shell-for-canoe-hull exchange, a variety of shells from Torres Strait were considered as valued objects of exchange. Shells were used as ornaments and as utensils as follows:

Ornamentation and Dress:

Armlets	*Conus*
Necklaces	*Pinctada, Oliva*
Breast ornaments	*Pinctada, Conus*
Pubic shells	*Melo, Fusus*
Sound producing instruments	*Fusus, Charona*
Nose ornaments	*Tridacna*
Subsistence	
hoes/axes/adzes	*Melo, Tridacna*
Cutting/scraping implements	*Tellina, Cyrena*
Cooking/ storage vessels	*Melo, Fusus, Tridacna,* and occasionally *Cassis*

Canoes, canoe hulls, bows, arrows, dugong harpoons, masks, bamboo tobacco pipes, bamboo water containers, bamboo knives, cane loops for carrying human heads, spears, spear throwers, armguards, plaitwork bands and belts, threaded seed necklaces (*Coix*) were also exchanged along with stone heads for axes, adzes and clubs, raw materials (such as unfinished stone, ochres, fibres for skirts, bands and belts, *wongai* timber, nipa and sago palm leaves for house building) feathers from cassowaries, birds of paradise, parrots and pigeons in bundles and as plumes, drums, brooms, cassowary bone daggers, and human skulls and heads.

Other exchange items noted included turtle shell used in the construction of masks, mats of coconut and pandanus leaf, baskets, coconut fibre fishing line, coconut oil, teeth and bone (both unworked such as dugong and cassowary bones, and worked as part of ornaments in necklaces, belts and bands, such as dogs' teeth, boar's tusks and wallaby teeth) as well as European tradestore clothing (calico), tools and goods introduced following contact with traders and missionaries.

Shells, particularly *Conus*, for canoes and canoe hulls, were the most important exchange items across the whole Torres Strait and Fly estuary region during the pre-contact and immediate post-contact periods. Patterns of exchange indicate the flexibility of the exchange process and the ability of the system to adapt to new technology, European watercraft, European clothing, and a wide variety of tradestore goods and foods. The Torres Strait and Fly estuary exchange system, like most coastal Melanesian systems, distributed subsistence items across a region of diverse resource allocation.

Raw materials, foodstuffs and animals in the exchange system were: dogs, 'native' tobacco, cuscus (*Phalanger*), *gamoda* (*Piper methysticum* [*Kava*]), sago, shellfish, wild animal meats including cassowary, pig, wallaby and deer meats, plant foods such as taro, yams, coconuts, bananas and mangrove fruits, and fish as well as dugong and turtle meats.

Apparently most historical documentation failed to recognize the regional cultural and, therefore, 'production' divisions. Exchange was perceived as between Torres Strait Islanders, as a single entity, and Papuans, as a single entity, regardless of geographical region or ethnic group. Historical literature, and even anthropological writings such as Landtman (1927,1933), failed to comprehend fully the importance to the exchange process of ethnic differences.

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

This source reveals that general, rather than specific, geographical origins for material culture items were assumed. Terms 'from New Guinea' 'from the Torres Strait' or 'from Cape York',

were used to describe the origins of many exchanged material culture items. As a result, a generalized grouping of exchange items noted in historical literature may be extracted from these sources and presented under broad geographical headings (Fig.38).

The following items, which originated on the PNG mainland, includes items exchanged externally as well as internally: canoes, canoe hulls, bows and arrows, drums, mats, bird of paradise plumes, cassowary bones, baskets, fibre and plaitwork (skirts, belts, and bands), ornaments made from teeth and seeds, (such as dogs' teeth, boar's tusks, wallaby teeth, and threaded seeds), cassowary, bird of paradise, and parrot feathers, *wongai* timber, bamboo tobacco pipes, bamboo water containers, bamboo knives, stone-headed clubs, headdresses, cane loops for holding heads, ornaments made from shells.

The following list records items which, it was noted in historical scurces, were exchanged between Torres Strait Islands and amongst Islander communities: dugong harpoons, raw materials, (such as ochres, feathers and unworked shells and

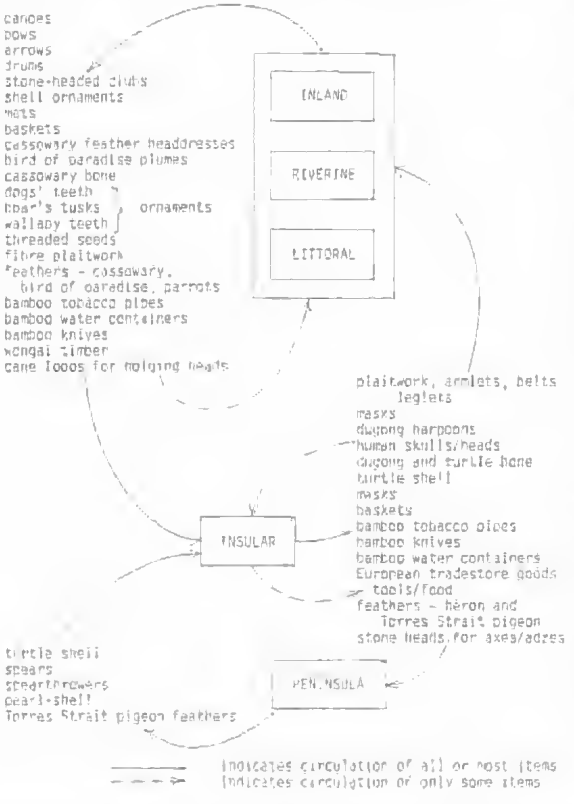


FIG. 38. Patterns of customary exchange of material cultural items as noted in the historical evidence.

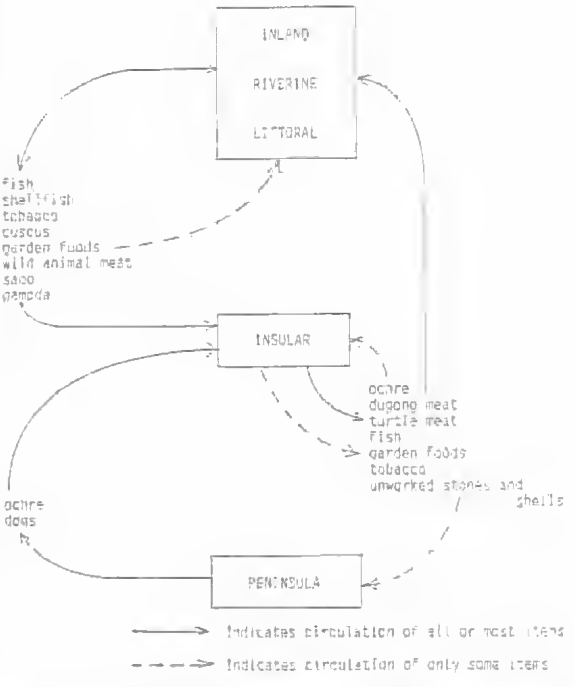


FIG. 39. Patterns of customary exchange of raw material, foodstuff and animals as noted in the historical documentary evidence.

stones), human skulls and heads, heron and Torres Strait pigeon feathers, dugong and turtle bone, turtle shell, masks, bamboo tobacco pipes, stone heads for axes and adzes, mats, European clothing, European tradestore goods and tools. The following items may have been made either in PNG or by Islanders themselves: bamboo tobacco pipes, bamboo knives, bamboo water containers and plaitwork, including armlets, belts, leglets, bands, mats and baskets. Islanders also exchanged some of these items with Australian Aboriginal groups on Cape York.

The list of items obtained by Torres Strait Islanders from Aboriginal people of the Cape York area included: spears, turtle shell, spear throwers, pearl-shell, raw materials such as ochres and feathers, especially Torres Strait pigeon feathers.

Other items, such as fish, dugong and turtle meat for garden foods, constituted a most important part of the exchange system (Fig.39), particularly following the exchange of valuables and commodities. Exchange of foodstuffs between kin groups was particularly important.

ORAL EVIDENCE

Oral testimony records in detail specific internal and external exchange contacts between eth-

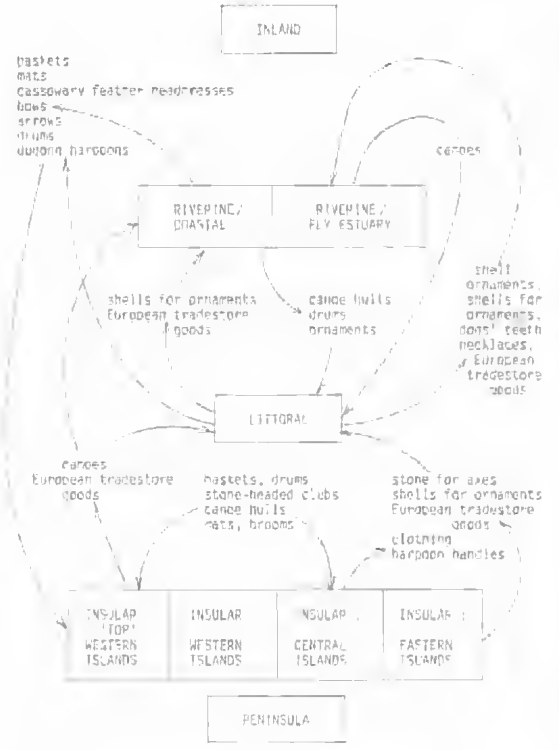


FIG. 40. Patterns of customary exchange of material culture items from the perspective of littoral dwelling people.

nic groups and places across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region. Despite the superficiality of Islander and Papuan contacts with Europeans during the early contact period, oral testimony does not contradict the historical documentary evidence which suggests that the exchange system was dominated by a movement of subsistence, rather than ceremonial items.

Torres Strait Islanders

Oral testimony notes that a variety of material culture items was significant in exchange relations between Islander communities and between Islander, Papuan and Aboriginal groups. Exchange items mentioned in oral testimony collected from the 'top' western islands included: bows, arrows, drums, mats, dance and dress ornaments, canoes, *wongai* timber (for dugong hunting harpoons and fishing spears), shells worked and unworked esp. *Conus* sp., as well as European tradestore goods. Exchange items mentioned in oral testimony from the central islands included: bows, arrows, drums, skins for drums, canoes, worked and unworked shells, brooms, mats, European clothing, while in oral testimony collected from the eastern islands the following exchange items were noted: baskets, mats, canoes, drums, brooms, coconut oil, bows, arrows, European tradestore goods, and European clothing.

Agob-Speaking People

Littoral Agob-speaking people related a variety of exchange items including: baskets, bows, arrows, raw materials notably sago and nipa palm leaf for house construction, as well as dance and dress ornaments, cassowary feather headdresses, drums, mats, worked and unworked shells, canoes and canoe hulls, *wongai* timber, and skins for drums.

Kiwai-Speaking People

Littoral Kiwai-speaking people mentioned exchange items: canoes, brooms, worked and unworked shells, drums, mats, cassowary feather headdresses, skins for drums, European clothing, European tradestore goods and tools, baskets and stone clubs. The riverine dwelling Fly estuary Kiwai-speaking people made specific mention of only a limited number of exchange items. These were: canoes, worked and unworked shells, European clothing and European tradestore goods. In contrast to the Fly estuary people, the oral testimony of the riverine dwelling Kiwai-speaking people at the mouth of the Fly River noted the following items of exchange: canoes, worked and unworked shells, bows, arrows,

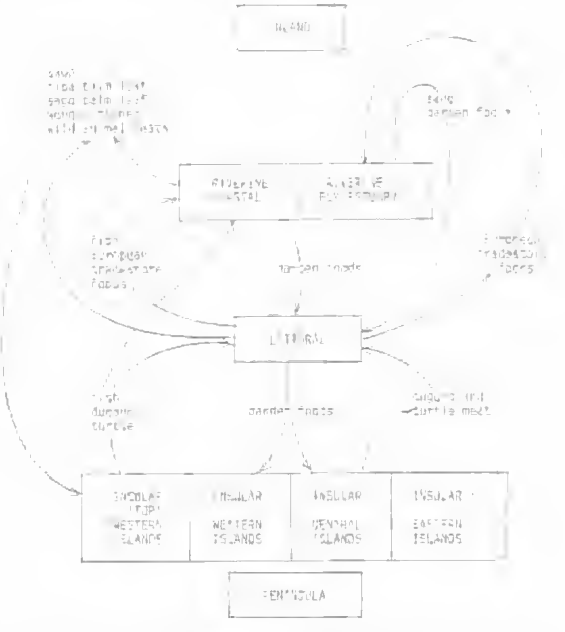


FIG. 41. Patterns of customary exchange of raw material from the perspective of littoral dwelling people.

drums, bird of paradise plumes, European tradestore goods and tools, stone axes and adzes, and European clothing.

Bine- and Gizra Speaking People

Oral testimony from coastal riverine Bine-speaking people noted the following exchange items: worked and unworked shells, canoes, mats, and European tradestore goods. The coastal riverine dwelling Gizra-speaking people mentioned the following exchange items in oral testimony: canoes and canoe hulls, drums, bows, arrows, fibre skirts, cassowary feather headdresses, bird of paradise plumes, worked and unworked shells, and European tradestore goods.

Gidra-Speaking People

Oral testimony from the inland people of the Wipim region, and the coastal village of Dorogori, noted the following in exchange: drums, bows, arrows, cassowary feather headdresses, mats, fibre skirts, cassowary bone knives, European clothing, European tradestore goods and tools.

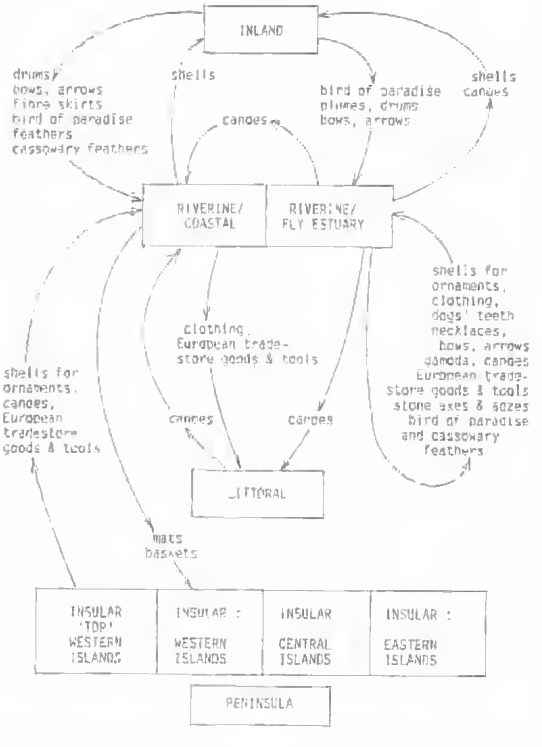


FIG. 42. Patterns of customary exchange of material culture items from the perspective of riverine dwelling people.

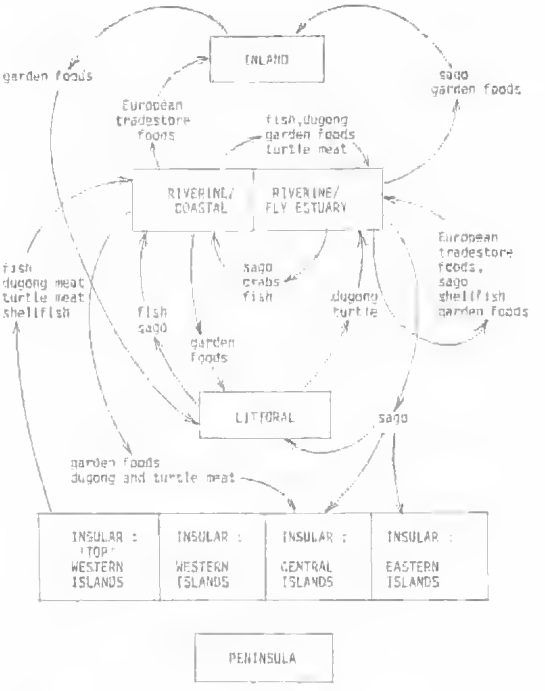


FIG. 43. Patterns of customary exchange of raw materials and foodstuffs from the perspective of riverine dwelling people.

Specific mention was also made of the importance of the exchange of raw materials and foodstuffs, such as fish, dugong and turtle meat, sago, tobacco and the narcotic plant *gamoda*. Fish-for-garden-food exchange continues to be of particular importance to the Bine-speaking peoples and riverine dwelling and littoral dwelling coastal Kiwai-speaking peoples.

THE PATHS OF EXCHANGE

From oral testimony details of more specific patterns of exchange emerge and show that ethnic groups had differing perceptions of the patterns of exchange across the region.

Littoral Zone

The Littoral Kiwai-speaking peoples have acted as intermediaries between Papuans and Islanders. Kiwai manipulation of exchange paths is a result of their positioning of villages at the mouths of rivers linking Torres Strait to riverine peoples and their double outrigger canoes capable of carrying large loads, and many people, over long distances across difficult waters. Their

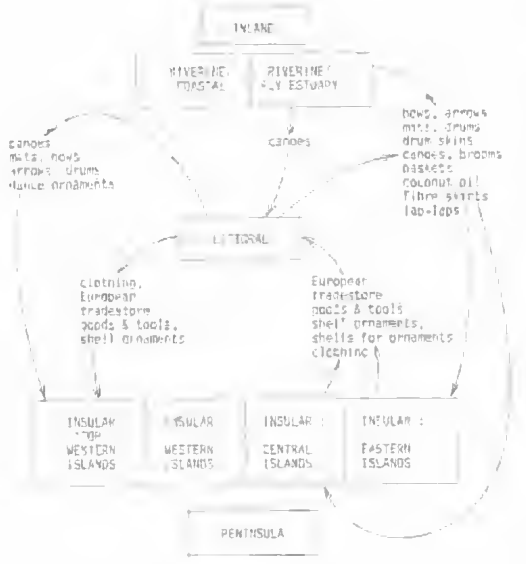


FIG. 44. Patterns of customary exchange of material culture items from the perspective of insular dwelling people.

success has been in spite of their poor subsistence base. They also dominated the fish-for-garden-food exchange which still operates on the SW coast of PNG. Most present day exchange in the Torres Strait is conducted by Kiwai-speaking peoples (Figs 40, 41).

Riverine Zone

Riverine peoples maintained extensive exchange links with inland, littoral and insular dwelling peoples (Figs 42,43). One factor, emphasised in oral history and historical documentary evidence, has been the relative stability of the life styles of the riverine dwelling peoples and their hold on productive lands, thus maintaining a stable subsistence base. Access, via sophisticated maritime technology, further enhanced their position and, although the occupation of the Littoral Zone by the coastal Kiwai removed direct contact with insular peoples, some contacts were still maintained through 'top' western and central islands. Oral testimony from Torres Strait Islanders detailed movement from place to place across ecological zones, of specific exchange items. Littoral Kiwai people have effectively eliminated direct exchange relations between coastal riverine and most insular dwelling peoples. This has been a subject of bitterness among the coastal riverine and Kiwai peoples, as was often emphasised in oral testimony.

Insular Zone

Oral testimony from insular dwelling groups indicated that the major paths of exchange of material culture items, as well as raw materials and foodstuffs, extend from the islands of Torres Strait to the littoral dwelling Kiwai groups, and to the Fly estuary riverine Kiwai peoples. Oral evidence demonstrated that the littoral dwelling peoples occupied a most important place in the paths of exchange regulating and to some extent manipulating Papuan-Islander exchange transactions in the post-contact period. The patterns of exchange of material culture items, from the perspective of oral evidence obtained from insular dwelling peoples, are illustrated in Fig. 44. Patterns of exchange for raw materials and foodstuffs from an insular perspective are illustrated in Fig. 45.

Inland Zone

Inland people had their major exchange linkages with riverine coastal and littoral Kiwai

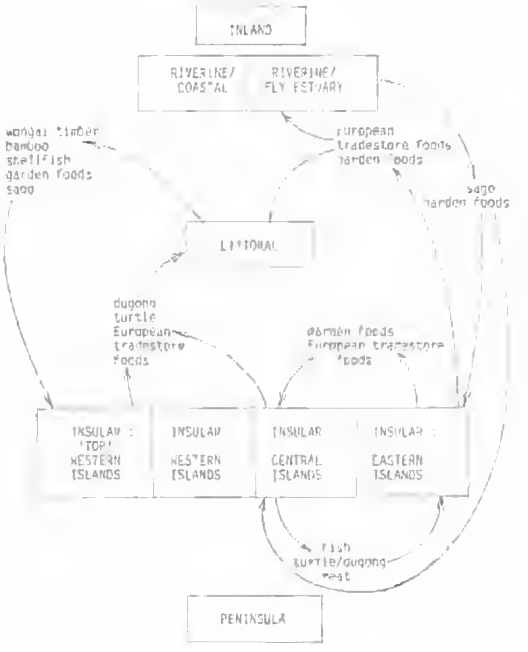


FIG. 45. Patterns of customary exchange of raw materials and foodstuffs from the perspective of insular dwelling people.

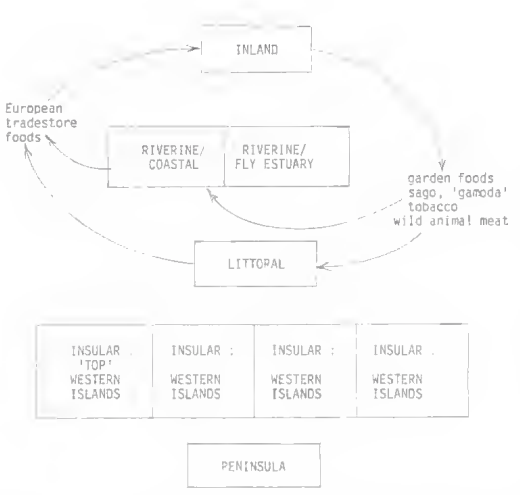


FIG. 46. Patterns of customary exchange of material culture items from the perspective of inland dwelling people.

peoples (Figs.46,47). Exchange paths did not extend to the Fly estuary directly from the inland. While many of the exchange artefacts, such as drums, cassowary feathers, bird of paradise plumes, and bows and arrows, originated from inland villages their movements into Torres Strait were conducted by riverine coastal and littoral groups. Inland peoples remained, to a large extent, isolated in villages dotted across the Oriomo plateau.

Exchange relationships generally developed during times of peace. Thus exchange networks expanded following establishment of European colonial administration and pacification of the Western Province after 1900. Pacification permitted permanant occupation of the Littoral Zone by coastal Kiwai-speaking people. Exchange relationships required constant social and economic impetus for their long term viability, and therefore the imposition of regulations and restrictions, particularly those created by political borders, quarantine regulation and customs restrictions, acted as artificial barriers to thc exchange system.

Diagrammatic representations of exchange movements (McCarthy,1939; Moore, 1979; Baldwin,1976) which were generally based on information extracted from Haddon (1904, V:293-297, 1908, VI:185-188, 1935, I:350), have tended to distort the patterns of exchange across Torres Strait. Simplistic interpretations of 'trade routes' in the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region are, however, still to be found in contemporary academic literature (Swadling,1983:112-113; Wilson,1988:xvi). Such interpretations fail to account for change in the exchange relationships or for change over time. The paths of exchange are not linear point to point 'trade routes', they are tenuous connections between groups of people which at any one historical period may be subject to alteration.

No path of exchange is fixed or rigid for there are numerous alternative paths which may be taken depending upon changing social obligations, opportunistic economic and social advantage or even seasonal factors. It is evident, from the oral history of exchange relations across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region, that those people dwelling in the ecologically distinct Insular, Littoral, Riverine and Inland Zones have differing perspectives of the complex inter-related patterns of exchange across the region as a whole. This, however, does not mean that these perspectives contradict each other, nor that any one point of view is more valid than another. Rather, it emphasises the diversity in the paths of exchange and further illustrates the complexity of the patterns of exchange across this unusual region. The common denominator in these patterns of exchange was an emphasis on the importance of the exchange of subsistence items. Both oral testimony and the historical documentary literature support the concept that exchange in the Torres Strait and Fly estuary served essentially as an adaptive mechanism, compensating for ecological inequalities.

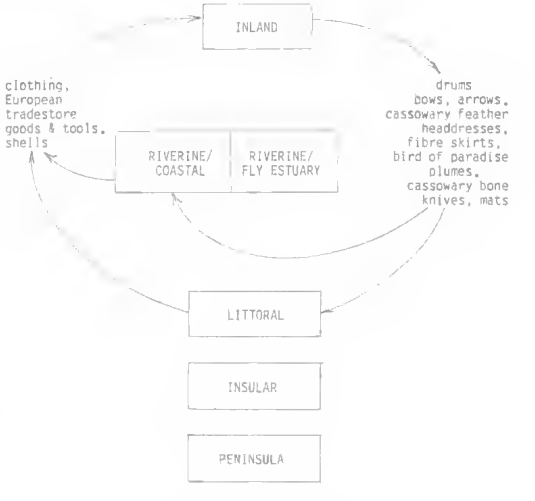


FIG. 47. Patterns of customary exchange of raw materials and foodstuffs from the perspective of inland dwelling people.

MATERIAL CULTURE RESEARCH

The complex relationship between people and their material culture was described by Evans-Pritchard (1940:89):'*Technology from one point of view is an oecological process:an adaptation of human behaviour to natural circumstances. From another point of view material culture may be regarded as part of social relations, for material objects are chains along which social relationships run ... A single artifact may be a nexus between persons, e.g. a spear which passes from father to son by gift or inheritance is a symbol of their relationship and one of the bonds by which it is maintained. Thus people not only create their material culture and attach themselves to it but also build up their relationships through it and see them in terms of it.*'

No item of material culture exists in isolation from other material phenomena of that society, nor does it exist apart from the beliefs and behaviours of the members of that society. The interaction between objects, the human members of society and the societal institutions, is a network or a system of interaction. This system of interaction can perhaps more correctly be called a 'material system' (Reynolds,1984a:64). The focus of material culture studies is, therefore, not the study of artefacts in isolation but the relationship between the material phenomena and Man within a cultural context, that is, within the material system.

Artifactual evidence, together with oral evidence, forms one of the primary sources of material for the study of the culture of preliterate peoples.

Material culture research, combining as it should a critical study of historical evidence, together with an examination of material and oral evidence, provides an alternative to the linear and narrative methodologies of traditional historical studies. Material culture researchers, however, have been slow to recognize the importance of establishing, as their theoretical base, the need to study the artefact within a cultural context. To emphasize the value of cultural context, ideally within an indigenous classificatory system, it is necessary to understand the function of an object.

The study of material culture based on function stresses the need for and purpose of an artefact. The purpose of each object may be classed into one of the following four groups:

SUBSISTENCE

Objects used to support human life, including those used in food getting, cultivation of the ground, cooking and hunting. Also included are watercraft. In the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region artefacts of subsistence which were exchanged included:canoes and canoe hulls; unworked shells, stone and timber; dugong harpoons, bamboo water containers; mats; baskets; *wongai* timber (for harpoons); shell tools and utensils; stone-headed axes and adzes; coconut fibre fishing lines; brooms; European clothing (calico), European tradestore goods and tools. Other items such as bows, arrows, bamboo knives, spears and spearthrowers may also have been artefacts of warfare as well as subsistence.

ORNAMENTATION AND DRESS

Objects used as personal adornment for the head, arms, body, legs and feet, as well as items used as daily clothing, such as fibre skirts, plaited belts and bands, are included in this category. Those artefacts of ornamentation and dress exchanged across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region included:various types of shell ornaments; dogs' teeth and boars' tusks; plaited and feather headdresses; feather plumes; fibre skirts; frontlets; plaitwork, especially used as armguards and leglets; feathers from cassowaries, birds of paradise, Torres Strait pigeons, herons, and parrots; ochres; threaded seeds, and teeth and bone ornaments.

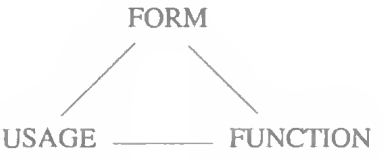
RECREATION, CEREMONY AND DANCE

Objects exchanged across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region were:drums, masks, bamboo tobacco pipes, turtle shell (for masks), seed pod rattles, and shell trumpets.

WARFARE

Artefacts of warfare included in the exchange system were: bows, arrows, bamboo knives, cassowary bone daggers, human skulls and heads, cane loops for holding human heads, spears, spearthrowers, and stone-headed clubs.

Usage, that is, the application of the artefact for a purpose, is closely related to function. However, the usage of the artefact may be altered by the intention of the user. Form and function are related but so are function and usage. This three cornered relationship may be represented as:



DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF CUSTOMARY EXCHANGE IN THE TORRES STRAIT AND FLY ESTUARY REGION

ARTEFACTS OF SUBSISTENCE

A variety of subsistence strategies operated across the Torres Strait. The eastern islands of the Torres Strait were the most fertile and, parts of the low northern islands close to the SW coast of PNG were cultivated seasonally. The western Islanders, whose islands were not very fertile and subject to considerable seasonal variation, were mostly hunters and gatherers who cultivated some wild yams and other seasonal foods. The central Islanders, inhabiting the low sandy cays, were able to grow only coconuts and some bananas. They were, however, predominantly fishermen and obtained vegetable foods for fish from the eastern islands.

The material culture of customary exchange reflects the importance of the distribution of material items of subsistence prior to European colonial intervention. Specific items of material culture are described with reference to significant museum collections.

Shell Implements and Shell Utensils

Coastal Papuans, in former times, used shell hoes (Appendix F, 1-3; Fig.48) for clearing gardens and digging in preparation for planting (Landtman,1933:23). Although Haddon (1912, IV:144) stated that, in his opinion, it did not appear that the Torres Strait Islanders had adopted the use of the shell 'axe' he collected examples from the eastern islands (Moore,1984:63,99). One shell hoe collected by Haddon has been provenanced to Mer, while the other which Moore attributed to the Torres Strait in general has been termed a 'Miriam' [i.e. eastern island] shell axe by Haddon (1912, IV:126, fig.159). Haddon also noted a number of 'shell axe blades' from Mer (Haddon,1912, IV:126, fig.160). It would appear therefore, that among the Torres Strait Islanders who practised regular horticulture the use of shell hoes or 'axes' was common.

Shells obtained by the coastal Kiwai, from the Torres Strait Islanders, were used by both Papuans and Islanders for a variety of domestic utensils, for pottery was unknown in this region. The principal use of bailer shells (*Melo* sp) was as a pot for boiling food. One such shell (Appendix F, 4; Fig. 49), shows evidence of use as a cooking pot. Old shells were also used as canoe bailers. Other shells such as *Fusus* sp.. *Cassis* sp. and *Tridacna* sp. were used as water vessels (Haddon,1912:122; Moore,1984:64) particulary in the central islands.

Stone Tools

Landtman stated (1927:33) that the common implement was the stone axe, or adze, and was emphatic that the origin of all stone used by all coastal Papuan peoples was the Torres Strait Islands. While the only naturally occurring stone along the SW coast is the granitic outcrop of Mabudawan it was his assumption that stone tools were obtained by exchange with the Torres Strait Islanders. '*According to what I was told at Mawata, the Torres Strait Islanders obtained the stones out of which axes (or adzes) and club-heads were made principally from the bottom of the sea, by diving. The diver had a long rope attached underneath one shoulder, by which his companions in the canoe helped him up to the surface when loaded with a heavy stone ... The shaping of the stone was effected by a hammer stone ... and the grinding by means of a somewhat softer stone.*' (Landtman,1933:45).

Mabudawan, according to Landtman (1927: 45), was the principal centre where grinding stones were obtained by the Kiwai-speaking people of Mawatta, and exchanged with peoples further east, and into the Fly estuary. The rocky hill at Mabudawan was also an important place in the Sido legend of the Kiwai. The true origin of stone axe and adze heads remains obscure, although considering their number in museum collections, they constituted significant items of subsistence material culture.

Haddon, on a visit to Yam Island in 1914, was shown an isolated place in the bush which he stated was called Konakan, where large stone slabs with deep depressions, were used as grinding stones for the manufacture of stone implements (Haddon,1935,I, pl. 1, figs 1,2; pl.2, fig.1). The stone slabs at Konakan may still be seen today (Teske [1987?]:39; Fig.50). According to Teske ([1987?]:36) these grooves were caused by the Yam Islanders as they ground the heads of stone axes (*gabagaba*) and are called 'table

FIG. 48. Shell hoe (NMF VK 4902:563).

stones' by present day Islanders. Haddon (1935, I:88) noted that eastern Islanders brought armshells to Awridh and exchanged these for stone for clubs and other items and that stone for making club-heads, presumably stone axe and adze heads, was obtained from the rocky Sir Charles Hardy and Forbes Islands off the coast of north Queensland.

It would appear, however, that Torres Strait Islanders journeyed even further south than the Forbes Islands in search of stone: '*The Koko Ya'o* [Kuuku-Ya'u speaking people] *of Lloyd Bay, which is the greatest stronghold on the* [Cape York] *Peninsula of hero cults of Papuan type* [Thomson,1933], *stated that the people from Torres Strait came frequently in big canoes to Mitirindji (Quoin Island) off the mouth of the Pascoe River, to obtain supplies of stone for their axes* ...' (Thomson,1939a:82).

Thomson believed that this was further evidence of the contact and exchange between Islanders and Aborigines of Cape York Peninsula. The green turtle nesting sites of Eel Reef lie between Quoin Island and the mainland. It is most likely, therefore, that Torres Strait Islanders journeyed south on hunting and fishing expeditions long before European contact with Aboriginal groups along the eastern peninsula. The extent of this intermittent contact has been well documented (Moore,1979).

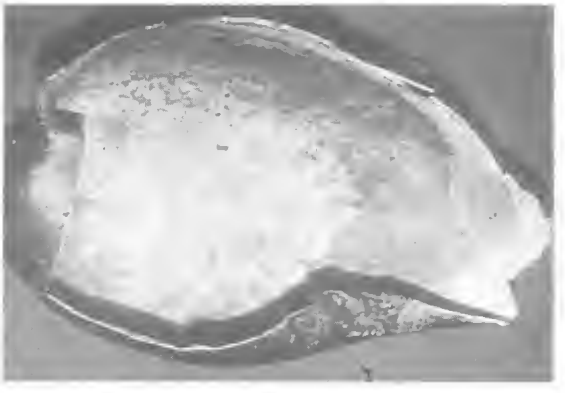


FIG. 49 Shell cooking and boiling utensil (NMF VK 4902:418).

There are, therefore, a number of possibilities for the origin of stone used in weapons and tools. Eastern Islanders may have obtained stone from islands off the eastern Cape York region near Cape Grenville or by exchange from the central and western Islanders. Stone was then further exchanged from the eastern Islanders to the Fly estuary region and from the western and central Islanders to the coastal and riverine dwelling peoples west of the Fly estuary. The exchange in stone is certainly one area which requires extensive research but regrettably the use of stone declined over a century ago and the oldest inhabitants of the region, who often worked away from the home villages in their youth, have little accurate recollection of the origin and exchange of pre-European tools.

The possibility that stone was also transported down the Fly River was mentioned by Haddon

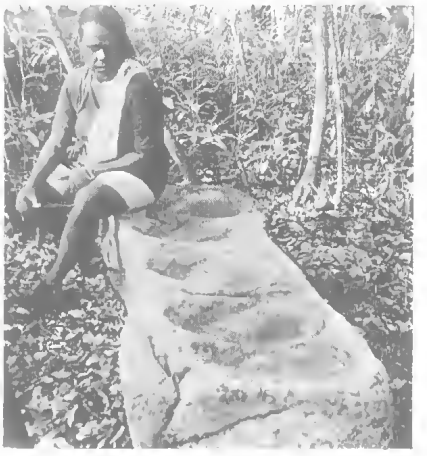


FIG. 50. 'Table' stones, used for grinding stone axe heads, located at Konakan on Yam. Reproduced with permission from Teske (1987?:39).

FIG. 51. Stone axe heads (QM E4593, E10767).

(1898:221): '*In this district* [Iasa on Kiwai Island] *there are a number of very large stone implements (the largest I saw in Chalmers house [at Saguane] was 18 inches long). They are now placed round the graves but their significance is now entirely lost. The large implements are so cumbersome and heavy that it is difficult to see how many of them could ever have been used and I suspect that they were merely articles of barter - money in fact. As no stone occurs for many miles and none (of this kind) is known in the district - the implements have in all probability come down from the Fly River, and it is also probable that stone inplements have been out of use for perhaps a century owing to the natives getting iron from passing ships and wrecks and then bartering it to their neighbours, thus in two or three generations the knowledge of stone implements could readily die out.*'

The shape of all the larger axes or adze heads in museum collections is the same and quite distinctive. All are fine grained closely textured igneous rocks which appear to be holocrystalline. They are generally basalt or basaltic andesite, or andesite todacite but in general would appear to be volcanic or shallow intrusive rocks (Stephenson [1986]). As Landtman (1927:34) remarked: '*As regards the shape of the stone axes, the Marindanim* [the Tugeri] *on the Dutch side of the boundary* [now Indonesia] *have a tradition according to which, the first axe of this kind was obtained from one of the very large teeth of a certain being or man named Monubi* [or Monuhi (Landtman,1933:46)], *who had come from far away. The shape of an axe is in fact, very like that of a human front tooth.*'

Knowledge of their hafting and use was still strong as Landtman noted (1933:46) during his fieldwork in 1910-1912, and this skill can still be demonstrated in some Fly estuary villages. Among the Kiwai, the stone axe heads were hafted with the cutting edge parallel to the handle between two blocks of timber, which were then strongly bound on to an elbow or shoulder of timber. An adze head was hafted in a similar fashion, but with the cutting edge horizontal to the vertical wooden handle. The size of the blade varies considerably. The largest examined in this research was housed in the Landtman collection in Helsinki, it measured 540mm in length. It would have required enormous strength, or two men, to lift it, when hafted. Documentation re-

FIG. 52. Stone headed axe (NMF VK 4902:528).

FIG. 53. Shaping and cleaning the outside of a canoe hull using a metal axe, Madame village, Fly estuary.

lated to a similar stone blade, 420mm long (AM E57076), stated that it was the axe used to kill Rev. Chalmers at Goaribari Island. While this statement may be questioned it demonstrates the wide distribution of these particular distinctively shaped stone tools (Appendix F, 5-9; Figs 51,52).

The word *turik* (Kala Langaw Ya), *tulik* (Meriam), or *turika* (Kiwai), meaning metal knife, was common among Torres Strait Islanders during the early contact period. Swadling (1983:91) cited as the origin of the term the word *turika* used for metal knife by some people on Seram in Indonesia and commented that '*It is quite likely that Seramese traders once journeyed to the Torres Strait islands and Trans Fly coast. This trade probably ceased during the Napoleonic War*'. However, there is no reference to this source of information. Speculation on the Malay language origin of the word *turika* was originally made by Hughes (1977a:25). Haddon (1912, IV:129) remarked that Islanders knew of iron prior to Flinders' voyage through the Strait in 1792 although he was unable to determine the origin of the terms *turik*, *tulik* or *turika*. Oral testimony does not supply any answers, nor does the historical documentary evidence. Shifts in the meaning of loan words are common in human history and, as McBryde (1986:87) noted, the use of a loan word may be a reasonable assumption that the object too was borrowed from another culture. In the case of the introduction of iron into the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region it will continue to be, however, a matter of speculation.

Because of earlier contacts with Europeans, the introduction of iron tools in the Torres Strait predated introduction of iron into coastal Papua. Stone tools were observed in Fly estuary villages during the course of this research, so knowledge of the manufacture and hafting of stone tools has been retained in the Fly estuary region.

It is evident, however, that prior to European intrusion into the region the exchange of stone tools was an integral part of the customary exchange system across Torres Strait, and, with the arrival of European iron and trade store tools, the replacement of iron for stone into the customary exchange system was a logical, that is efficient, and rapid functional substitution.

CANOES

Formerly canoes were hollowed out using stone tools. It follows, therefore, that the introduction of iron tools permitted easier and more sophisticated manufacture of canoes. The maritime technology of the Torres Strait Islanders and the Kiwai Papuans was of the highest order: '*the canoes* [of the Islanders of Mer] *are very long and narrow, swimmingly light, which renders the aid of outriggers necessary to prevent their upsetting. These outriggers consist of two long bamboo spars laid and fastened with grass ropes across the centre of the canoe, distant from each other about six feet* [two metres], *and on the outer ends of these two spars, on either side, another spar is tied parallel to the canoe itself, about seven feet [two and a half metres] from it, that is, beyond the gunwale or edge, and resting on the surface of the water, which, of course, must considerably impede the velocity of the vehicle, but which-effectively prevents the risk of upsetting. The space between the cross spars on the canoe, and to the distance of about two feet* [two thirds of a metre] *beyond its gunwale or edge on each side is fitted or filled up with a bamboo hurdle, covered with a grass mat.*' (Rutherford, 1834:195).

Many descriptions of early canoes of the Torres Strait Islanders mention the fine construction and able seamanship of the Islanders. Outrigger canoes were first noted by Torres in 1606 (Stevens & Barwick,1930:159; Hilder,1980:76), although the most accurate early descriptions were made by Flinders (1814, I:xxiii; II:iii). MacGillivray (1852, II:16-17) noted construction of canoes near Cape York using *Bombax* sp. and *Erythrina* sp. timbers.

While canoes may have been constructed out of *Bombax* sp., particularly *B. ceiba*, the wild kapok tree, which is a light soft timber, *Erythrina* sp. timbers would generally have been suitable only for outriggers as the wood is very soft and spongy. According to Maiden (1975:386, 426-427) such timbers have been commonly used by Australian Aboriginal people as watercraft. Haddon (1912, IV:207,214, fig.209) stated that decorated vertical boards were inserted in the bows and sterns of the canoes in former times. According to Landtman (1933:77) it was also common practice for the people of the Fly estuary to place these oblong shield-like boards in the bows of canoes supported by stays and decorated with leaves. The carved and ochred design was placed facing into the canoe (Landtman,1933:21, fig.22). *Gope*, as Landtman termed these boards, were also hung outside longhouses as protection against illness. Attached to the top of the wooden splash board of Torres Strait canoes was a carved wooden figurehead decorated with cassowary feather plumes obtained from PNG. These decorations were confined to the Torres Strait and, according to Haddon (1912, IV:207) this figurehead or *dogai* was fitted to canoes on Saibai on the journey from the place of origin in the Fly estuary to the eventual owner in the Torres Strait. Examples of figureheads were also collected by Haddon (Moore,1984:50,59, pls 10,23; Haddon, 1912, IV:214, fig.209) from Saibai, possibly Dauan, and Mabuiag.

The early description by Sweatman explains, more fully, the construction of the most important subsistence artefact of the Erub Islanders: '*Their canoes are very large, up to 70 feet long, and capable of carrying 25-30 people with ease; they are cut from a single tree, broad and full in the bow, but narrower and rising out of the water abaft, with topgallant bulwarks of bark neatly sewed on and rising about a foot above the bow. Two outriggers extend about 6 feet on each side of the canoe amidships, to the ends of which is fastened a long canoe-shaped piece of light wood which prevents the narrow vessel from capsizing and also adds a good deal to buoyancy. The amidships part of these is decked over so as to form a kind of platform, on part of which some earth is usually laid by way of a fireplace. At the end of each side of the platform is built a sort of netting in which to keep provisions, fishing tackle &c ... They sometimes carry a large mat sail of an oblong shape which is stuck up in the bow of the canoe, there being two masts in one step but wide apart at the top, and the sail being trimmed by hauling of the masts aft, or vice versa ...*' (Sweatman,1842-47:70-72; Allen & Corris, 1977:35).

The variety of canoes used in the Torres Strait and Fly estuary can be attributed to the functional needs of the Islanders and coastal Papuans for: '*The main utility of the canoe ... was in moving small communities from one island to another and in hunting turtle and dugong. While a small canoe might be adequate for fishing, a large canoe was clearly advantageous in hunting ... With more people on board, there was also greater security in the event of a hostile encounter.*' (Beckett,1972:313).

At present the coastal Papuan peoples, especially the Kiwai-speaking peoples of the SW coast and coastal dwelling Agob, Gizra, Bine and Gidra-speaking peoples retain, mainly due to the high cost of fuel and other economic reasons, a

FIG. 54. *Tataku* loaded with tradestore goods leaving Daru for the Fly estuary.

variety of sailing canoes (*pe*) based on the original dugout principle (Figs 53, 54). The main coastal and riverine watercraft is the *tataku* (*pe*), a small single outrigger canoe. It is long and narrow, and therefore used for fishing, travelling to garden places along the rivers and in the fish-for-garden foods exchange between riverine dwelling peoples and the littoral dwelling Kiwai. Generally, a *tataku* takes three or four people comfortably and can be either paddled or sailed, using a single cloth sail. Along the SW coast, the Kiwai, particularly in Katatai and Kadawa area near Daru, use a square cloth sail. The Fly estuary people, and particularly the Kiwai Islanders, use an inverted triangular sail (Fig. 54). Thus people along the coast and estuary can easily distinguish one group of canoes from another. One example is known of a single outrigger canoe from the SW coast in a museum collection (Appendix F, 10; Fig.55).

The second type of dugout log canoe is the *puputo* (*pe*) used principally by the Kiwai people near Daru, but also by some Oriomo and Binaturi River people who obtained their canoes from their eastern neighbours. The *puputo* has two outriggers, built up washstrakes and a large platform deck built over raised planked sides (Figs 56-59); the main sail is square. The *puputo* is used by littoral Kiwai as an all- purpose fishing vessel and for carrying groups of people to and from Torres Strait and Fly estuary villages. The *puputo* is similar to the larger *motomoto* (*pe*) but is lighter and carries only one mast and two sails. It is useful in coastal waters and can be handled by a smaller crew.

The *motomoto* is the largest double outrigger canoe used in Torres Strait; it has two masts and three sails, gaff rigged in lugger style (Figs 60-62). The *motomoto* is heavy and slow and requires a large crew but is excellent on long trips, especially to the middle of the Torres Strait or the Warrior Reef, as it can safely transport a large group of people, together with considerable cargo. Turtles can be carried under the platform erected over the outrigger booms although dugong are usually carried on top of this platform due to their bulk and weight. *Motomoto* are now almost exclusively used by the Mabudawan and Masingara people who must, by necessity, travel long distances over difficult waters to reach Daru

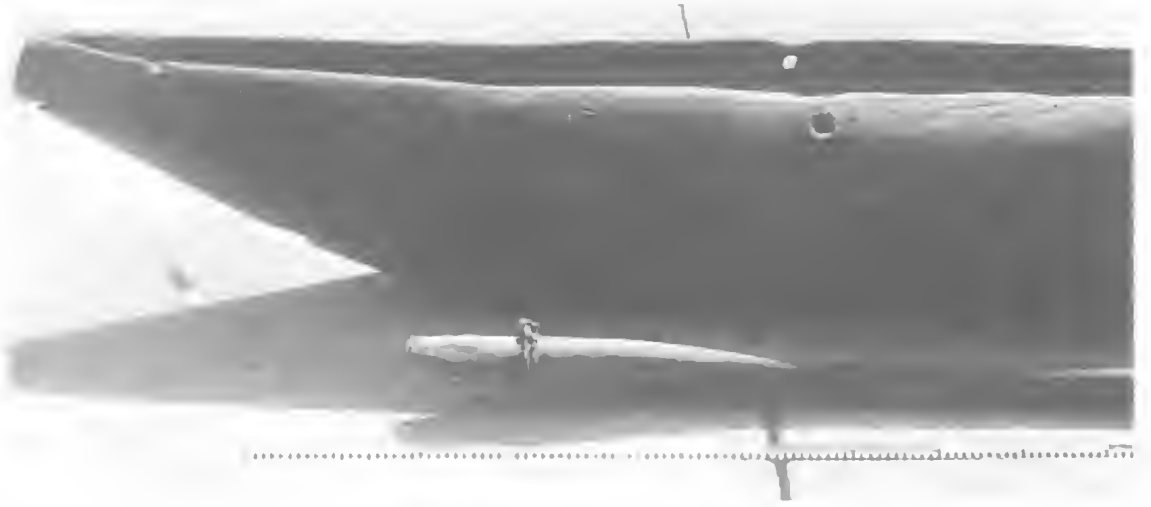


FIG. 55. Portion of *tataku* showing attachment holes for booms (QM E10048).

FIG. 56. Adding a platform deck and planked sides to a canoe hull using adze fitted with a metal blade, Kadawa village, SW coast.

FIG. 57. Double outrigger, single masted *pupto* canoe 'Delasa' and single outrigger, single masted *tataku* canoe at Daru.

FIG. 58. 'Delasa' loaded and being made ready for sail, Fly estuary.

FIG. 59 'Delasa' fully loaded and sail set, pandanus mats and tradestore goods on platform deck, leaving Kadawa for Kiwai Is.

FIG. 60. Villagers from Masingara manhandling *motomoto* across beach at Binaturi River.

or the Torres Strait islands. They are ideally suited for carrying large cargoes of artefacts, people, foodstuffs and raw materials.

People in the upper reaches of the Pahoturi River and at Waidoro, which has very restricted access to the open sea, use another form of canoe called a *gorowae*. It has only one outrigger and a small platform but is used in conjunction with an outboard motor and no sail. *Gorowae* canoes are uncomfortable and dangerous as passengers are completely exposed. However, they are fast and can be used in swampy areas or in the narrow rivers around Daru Island and the nearby coastal fishing areas but cannot be used on long open sea voyages. While used to carry supplies to and from Daru the principal function of the *gorowae* is as a transport for small groups of people.

The canoe was the most important item of material culture for both Torres Strait Islanders and coastal and riverine people of the SW coast of PNG prior to the introduction of European maritime technology. Occupation of island, inter-ethnic contact and the maintenance of some form of equilibrium in the subsistence pattern across Torres Strait would not have been possible without a sufficiently sophisticated maritime technology.

Haddon (1908, VI:186) and Landtman (1927: 214-215) described formal or ceremonial practices associated with the exchange of valued items. Although Landtman stated '*... in the canoe traffic, as in any other form of barter, there is no clearly marked difference between actual com-*

FIG. 61. Double outrigger, double masted *motomoto* canoe owned by the Masingara village leaving the Binaturi River mouth carrying garden foods for sale in Daru market.

FIG. 62. *Motomoto* with sails set, leaving the mouth of the Binaturi River for fishing trip to Warrior Reef.

merce and the exchange of friendly presents', he recorded precisely the formality of such an 'exchange of friendly presents' in the westerly movement of canoes from the Fly estuary and into the Torres Strait and the easterly movement of a variety of artefacts in 'payment' or exchange. Canoes were paid for in instalments for as long as the life of the canoe. Various middlemen along the route taken by the canoe, accepted gifts or armshells in payment. When the canoe was broken up a portion of the canoe and an armshell or a dog's teeth necklace were sent back to the maker as final payment. Transactions were performed in an atmosphere of strict honesty and the seller of the canoe was obliged to provide food for the long journey from the maker's village to the purchaser's village. The middlemen who regulated movement of the canoe along the path from village to village and who received various presents and counter gifts, were also required to provide gifts of food and shelter for men making the journey.

FIG. 63. *Tiro* mat made from strips of padanus leaf sewn together. In former times used as mat sail on canoes, now used as as a sleeping mat or water proof cover. (JCU 86.4.7).

In the eastern islands, particularly on Mer, external exchange with Papua passed through the hands of the Komet group of people. A man requiring a canoe from the Fly estuary gave an armshell to a man of the Komet clan who then passed it, with other gifts, through intermediaries to a maker of canoes in the Fly estuary. As a symbol of the contract the canoe vendor (who was most likely the maker) returned a long bam-

boo pole, called *seker lu* (Meriam), to which counter gifts, such as cassowary feathers, dance ornaments, bird of paradise plumes, dogs' teeth necklaces, mats, bows and arrows and fibre skirts were attached. This passed through the hands of various intermediaries from village to village, and island to island, along the route taken by the canoe from the Fly estuary back to Mer. Middlemen extracted gifts and added gifts and eventually the *seker lu* ended up in the hands of the Komet man who had sponsored the exchange. The sponsor and the purchaser symbolically cut a cord, signifying the 'severing of the lien' (Haddon, 1908, VI:186) and presents were exchanged.

While this system complements that described by Landtman, there appears to be little contemporary knowledge of such a system. Sam Passi (pers.comm., 1984) stated that the exchange system was based on exchange friendships. Men knew each others *wauri tebud* (literally armshell friend) and Passi stated that the Komet clan had *wauri tebud* right through the eastern islands and into PNG as well as into the western islands from whom they obtained ochres and feathers.

The formality of exchange partnerships, principally based on the exchange of ornaments for canoes, the main artefact of subsistence for the Islanders, stimulated and activated the flow of other material culture items, notably artefacts of ornamentation and dress, but also other objects used in daily life, recreation and warfare.

The importance of a canoe to communities involved in exchange relationships was emphasised by Ambrose (1978) who, in his study of the archaeology of the obsidian 'trade' in the Admiralty Islands, stated (1978:328-29):'The key to the success of the Manus traders was the mobility and carrying capacity of their sailing canoes and the special products and specialization of the other groups they traded between'. This point was further reinforced by Allen's statement:'*canoes* [in PNG] *provided the means by which the economic systems of the coasts and islands took on a different form from inland ones*' (Allen,1982:203). The motivation to maintain exchange relations, often over long distances of open sea, was social as well as economic. Ambrose (1978:329) noted that the desire to achieve status in the socially important internal distributions of wealth was the driving force for the maximization of external exchange advantages.

The canoe was the means by which inter-ethnic, as well as intra-ethnic exchange was facilitated. Thus the utilization of large canoes for long distance voyaging provided Islanders and Papuans with an expansion of a limited subsistence base and a means for the distribution of surpluses during the good seasons and the acquisition of food during the poor seasons. The maintenance of inter- ethnic kinship ties based on clan associations, of intercommunity marriage relations, and even of the conduct of local and inter-regional warfare would not have been possible for isolated insular and coastal groups without the use of large canoes.

The use of sailing canoes continues among the coastal Papuans. Economic reasons, such as the

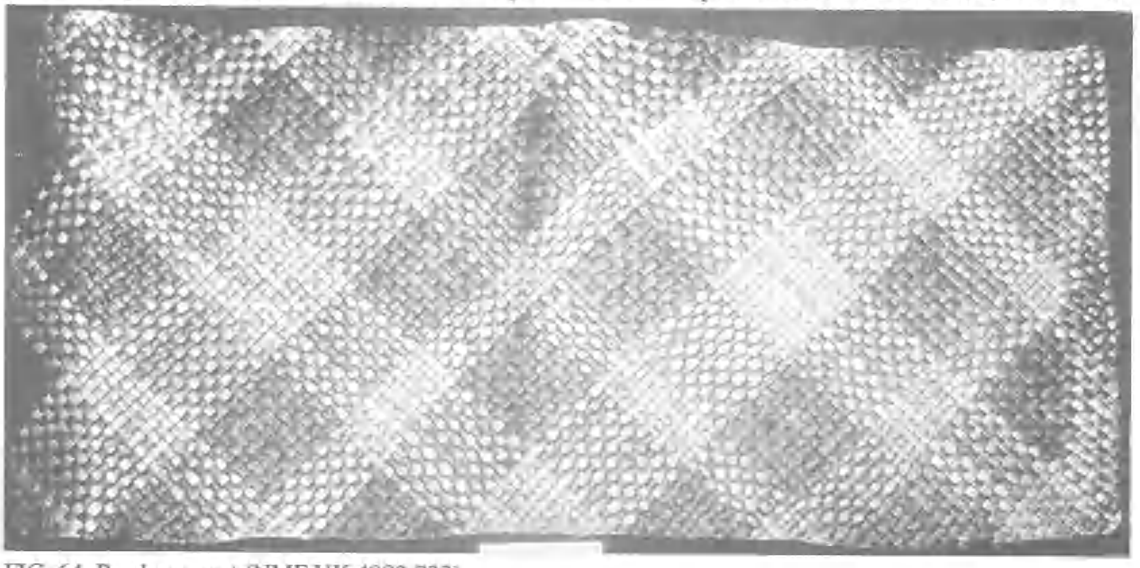


FIG. 64. Pandanus mat (NMF VK 4902:733).

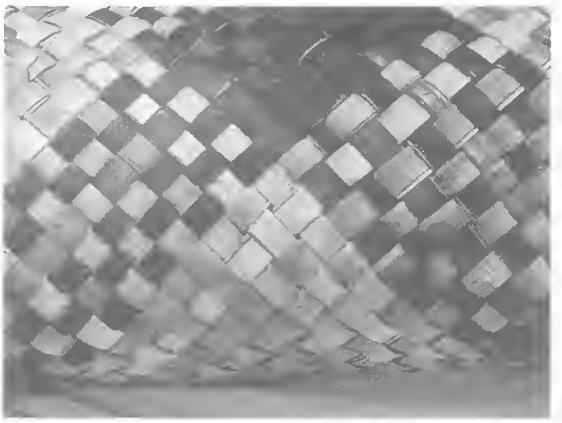


FIG. 65. Pandanus mat, rolled, showing plaiting technique (JCU 85.14.3).

high cost of outboard motors and the irregular supply of motor fuel, prevent widespread use of European watercraft. Torres Strait Islanders no longer use sailing or motorized canoes. European watercraft completely superseded canoes, possibly around the 1930s, when the use of luggers became widespread. The adoption of European watercraft profoundly affected the customary exchange system. As Islanders no longer required canoes obtained from PNG, they no longer needed to obtain shells for exchange. Papuans working on the pearling boats during this period were also in a more favoured position for obtaining their own shells and so customary exchange between Islanders and Papuans declined. Tradestore goods and a cash economy, especially in the Torres Strait islands, further assisted the decline in customary exchange across the region.

Mats and Baskets

Mats, baskets and other plaited articles, such as belts and bands, were important exchange items between Islanders and Papuans. The variety of forms and manufacture was noted by Quiggin (1912:63) who also remarked: '*Basketry and plaitwork are the most important of the native arts of the Torres Strait Islanders, though here also, as is found to be the case with so many other artefacts now in use, importations from New Guinea are met ...*'

While manufacture of basketry and mats is still an important skill among Islander women, the

FIG. 66. Woman weaving fine pandanus leaf mat, Kadawa village. Coils of dyed and undyed pandanus on mat in foreground.

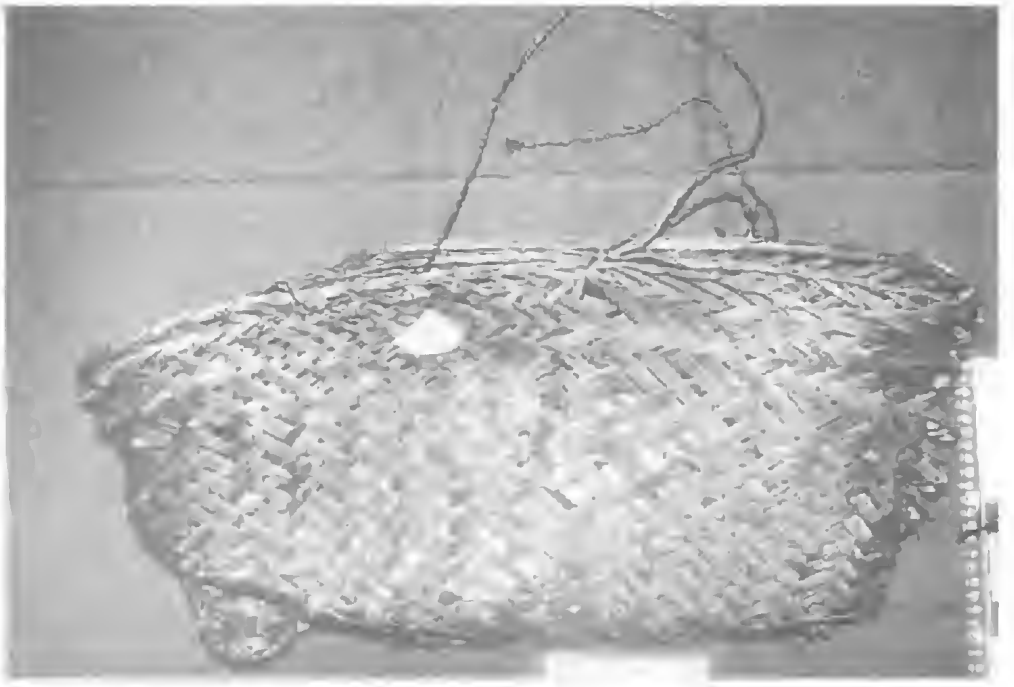


FIG. 67. Coconut leaf carrying basket (NMF VK 4902:3940).

'importation' of mats and baskets by the coastal Papuan people has a very significant place in the customary exchange system and continues to be one of the most visible aspects of its continuing existence. Plaited mats, from both coconut or pandanus leaf, are still items of daily use in Islander and Papuan homes. This applies even in mainland Australian cities. The spreading of mats has social as well as practical meaning. Guests are welcomed in Islander and Papuan homes by placing clean, often new, mats on floors or outside seating platforms. As Landtman (1933:64) stated in former times a man, conducted into a mens' house, would have been filled with foreboding if no mats had been spread for him for it signified that blood could be shed without fear of soiling valued mats. Mats are also cool and soft to sleep on and, particularly in hot and rainy times, are still preferred to European-style beds and mattresses which cannot be aired nor dried easily.

In former times, plaited mats were used as sails on canoes both in Torres Strait and the Fly estuary (Haddon,1912, IV:65,67, pl.26, figs 1,2). These mat sails were generally made from pandanus leaf (Haddon,1912, IV:209) although it is probable that coconut leaf mats were used as well.

The common form of pandanus mat was made from slips of pandanus leaf sewn, not plaited, together. This mat could also be folded lengthwise and then rolled up for storage (Landtman, 1933:21, fig.22). Such mats are no longer made nor used in Torres Strait but are still used in coastal Papua where they are principally used as 'sleeping bags' because they are warm and waterproof if used outside or on the deck of a canoe. According to Landtman (1927:41) they were also used as rain hoods. Quiggin (1912:67-68) described this old form of mat and the technique of manufacture. In Kiwai it is usually referred to as a *tiro* and Landtman (1927:41) stated that this form of mat came originally from Kiwai Island (Appendix F, 11,12; Fig. 63).

The now commonly used pandanus leaf mat, called in Kiwai *hawa* (Appendix F, 13,14; figs 64, 65), was introduced to Kiwai Island from Mawatta. It is therefore possible that the *tiro* was introduced into the Torres Strait from the Fly estuary along with canoe hulls and other exchange items. Conversely, the coconut leaf mat commonly made in the eastern and central islands may have been introduced to the coastal Papuan region from the Torres Strait for it is generally considered to be more recent in origin than the *tiro* mat.

FIG. 68. 'Suki' basket showing fine patterning (NMF VK4902:402).

Coconut leaf baskets have been made in the Torres Strait islands and in Papua; they are used principally for carrying garden foods and personal belongings. One form of basket, made from the green coconut leaf, is also used as a disposable rubbish basket. However, the supermarket carry-bag is replacing this form of basket and, along with the disposable plastics, cans and containers, is adding to environmental problems around village areas.

Quiggin (1912:72-86) detailed the form, type, function and manufacture of Torres Strait basketry, and stated that all basketry was plaited (with the exception of one basket, of unknown origin, used to hold a stone top seen on Mer). Landtman noted (1927:40) that, in the coastal Papuan region adjacent to Torres Strait, basketry was made by exactly the same method as described by Quiggin (Fig.67). This still appears to be the case.

Another type of fine grass or tuberous root basket is readily available on Daru. These soft and beautifully decorated baskets (Landtman, 1927:41; Appendix F, 15; Fig.68) were, and still are, used largely by men for personal articles and by some older men as 'magic' bags. These bags are brought through the Agob and Bine areas from the Suki region of the middle Fly and for this reason are generally referred to as 'Suki bags'. Soft plaited bags (Appendix F, 16; Fig.69; Moore,1984:42, pl.l) are said to come from the area inland from Buji to the north of Saibai. A similar bag called by Quiggin in Haddon (1912, IV:84, pl.17, fig.2) a 'check basket of Flagellaria' was obtained on Mer. It is apparent that 'Suki bags' were important exchange items and continue to be popular accessories. Handles of baskets may be made from strips of fibre simply attached by knots, or may be elaborate plaited bands, usually of pandanus as it is softer than coconut leaf.

FIG. 69. Dugong harpoon showing shaft and butt ends and harpoon dart (NMF VK4902: 586, 587, & 588).

FIG. 70. Dugong rope from plaited bush fibre (NMF VK4902:527).

DUGONG HARPOONS

Along the SW coast canoes were used for fishing and for hunting dugong and turtle. In former times, dugong were also hunted from stationary harpooning platforms (*narato*). The technique of using a dugong harpoon was taught to the coastal Papuans by the Torres Strait Islanders along with rituals and magic used in association with hunting (see Landtman,1933:26-29). The principal artefact used by both Islanders and coastal Papuans in hunting dugong was the harpoon, *wap* (Torres Strait) or *wapo* (Kiwai). The harpoon consisted of a small barbed head, often made from a piece of broken harpoon shaft, inserted into a terminal hole in the butt end of the harpoon itself (Haddon,1912, IV:166, pl.23, fig.1-4; Landtman, 1933:27,28). The harpoon dart was attached to a long buoyant rope which was tied, either to the canoe, or in former times, to the dugong platform. The harpoon, especially the butt end, was often made from *wongai* wood brought from the Papuan mainland, for although *wongai* grows on many Torres Strait islands its timber is not considered as suitable as that from the mainland. Fine dugong harpoons were still being made on Boigu Island by Charlie Gibuma, who obtained his *wongai* timber from the Buji people on the PNG mainland. Haddon (1912, IV:169) stated that originally fine harpoons came from Muralag and Mabuiag Islands. The shaft ends of the harpoons, in former times, were often decorated with cassowary feathers and the butt end finely carved or incised (Haddon,1912, IV, pl.23). Landtman collected a similar harpoon from Mawatta (Appendix F, 17-19; Fig.69). As items of exchange the dugong harpoon was highly regarded. This was noted by Haddon: '*The Miriam* [eastern Islanders] *valued them* [harpoons] *more as ornaments or works of art, and like the imported spears they indicated the wealth of the owner; they were exchanged or given as presents at marriages. The wooden shafts of fishing spears, likewise, constituted important items of exchange.*' (Haddon, 1912, IV:169). Thus the harpoon, like many other artefacts, could have both subsistence as well as ceremonial functions.

ROPES

Ropes made from lawyer cane (*Calamus* sp.) or possibly coconut root fibres as well as eight-ply dugong ropes (Appendix F, 20, Fig.70) made from the tough climbing *Apocynacea* plant were also brought from Papua into the Torres Strait. This buoyant rope was an essential part of the dugong harpoon equipment.

BROOMS

Brooms made from coconut leaf midribs have been exchange items since former times. Brooms continue to be significant items of exchange between Papuans and Islanders although they are rarely collected by museums. It is still common

for both Islander and Papuan women, both in the Torres Strait region and on the Australian mainland, to use coconut leaf brooms both indoors and outdoors in preference to European style brooms.

Bamboo Water Containers

Bamboo water containers (Landtman,1933:61) were used on canoes and by people travelling to gardens and fishing places (Appendix F, 21; Fig. 71).

Other subsistence items, noted in both oral testimony and historical documentary literature, such as stone heads for clubs, bows and arrows, spears and spearthrowers, cassowary bone daggers and bamboo knives will be examined under the heading - artefacts used in warfare - for these objects, despite alternative uses, were principally used as weapons by their makers.

European Tradestore Goods

The introduction of European tradestore goods such as metal axes, knives, metal spikes, ropes, sails and textiles, saw the decline in the use of many of the items noted above. European tradestore goods were functional substitutes for material culture items used and made by both Islanders and Papuans prior to European contact. John Cowling who had run a pearling station and store on Mabuiag in 1898 (Haddon,1898:225), commented on the distances over which tradestore goods passed from hand to hand across the Torres Strait when he wrote:'... *when I first went to the Bamu in* [18] *98 I was surprised to see the prints the natives were wearing that I had sold in Mabuiag. I know they were mine as I bought them from patterns sent from Manchester and imported direct, no other store had them, but this is only one instance of the distance trade-goods travel and change hands, to give you another instance, I visited a village in the Bamu that I had difficulty in making friends, I found there a necklace of scented bark, they told me they had got it from another distant village.*'

Some indication of the long-term impact of European tradestore goods and the effect of European watercraft on customary exchange was given in a letter from Cowling, then at Mibu plantation, to Gunnar Landtman dated June 2, 1911 (Landtman n.d.): '*When I first came to the Straits* [in] *1896 Mawatta was a great trading centre in canoes they used to sail dozens over to the Straits in the Nor*[th] *West and sell them, now they own boats; also the Strait native and this trade has now dwindled away, but at the fountain head where the canoes were made,* [they] *can't understand this decline, this is in the Bamu River. They* [the Bamu River people] *sold to the Wabada people, who resold to the Kiwai people and then on to Mawatta and the Straits ...*'

ARTEFACTS OF ORNAMENTATION AND DRESS

Pubic Shells

In former times Torres Strait Islander and coastal Papuan men generally went naked. However, as Landtman (1933:33) and Haddon (1935, I:297) noted, a common item of men's dress along the SW coast, in the Fly estuary and in the Torres Strait, in former times was the pubic shell (Appendix F, 22). The pubic shell was not worn at all times and, according to oral testimony, the inland riverine dwelling peoples did not wear pubic shells at all. Pubic shells were generally made from bailer (*Melo* sp.) shells and were often incised with designs. In most cases the pubic shell covered the genitals. However, Landtman (1933:34, fig.40) showed the pubic shell worn as a cover only over the penis. For warfare or for ceremonial occasions and dances, coconut leaf skirts and belts were worn with a variety of other, often elaborate, ornamentation, such as arm, leg, nose and ear decorations, masks, headdresses, necklaces and breast ornaments.

Haddon collected a shell pubic cover in 1898 on Mer similar to those provenanced to Kiwai Island and the Fly River (Moore,1984:97, pl.76). Other examples in the Landtman collection are not decorated with incised designs and show the usual variety in size. A shell pubic cover from Mer (Appendix F, 23; Fig.72) is described as dance ornaments worn on the hips. Shell pubic covers may be decorated with buttons and calico attachments (Appendix F, 24). An example (Appendix F, 25), collected in 1886 from the Fly River, indicates their wide geographical distribution. The museum register states that since the introduction of the 'grass petticoat' shell pubic covers have not been worn. However, this is inaccurate for the fibre skirts were worn by women and the public shells by men.

The introduction of European clothing, and mission control led to the demise of both the shell pubic cover worn by men, and the fibre skirt worn by women, on all occasions except when dance dress was acceptable, in which case the shell was worn on men's hips rather than as a pubic cover. It then became common for the fibre skirts to be

worn by women over cotton dresses and for men to wear the pubic shells over *lava-lavas*.

All pubic shells and all shells used as body ornaments, were obtained, by exchange, from Torres Strait Islanders.

Fibre Skirts

Women, from puberty, wore a fibre skirt as a covering below the waist. The fibres were tied into a plaited belt which was then worn wrapped around the waist and tied. In the Torres Strait this 'petticoat' (Haddon,1912, IV:60) was continuous around the body and sometimes more than one fibre skirt was worn. In the 'top' western islands of Dauan and Saibai, Haddon (1912, IV:60) noted that the band of fibre was not continuous and the right thigh was shown.

Women's skirts were made from a variety of fibres, such as *Philydrum* sp., *Ficus* sp., *Hibiscus* sp., or even banana (*Musa* sp.) and sago basts. The fibres may have been left in their natural colour or dyed with vegetable dyes, the more common being red dye from crushed mangrove roots. These fibres and dyes were obtained from the Papuan mainland. The fibre 'petticoats' of the Kiwai women in former times consisted of two fringes, one longer than the other, joined by a plaited band (Appendix F, 26). The longer fringe worn at the back was brought forward between the legs and tucked into the waist band forming a thick fibre apron.

The connection between Papuan and Islander women's coverings was documented by Landtman (1933:34): '*The same type of petticoat is seen in Waboda, Sageru* [Wabuda Island, Segera village near Dibiri Island] *and Mawata and is said by my Mawata informants to have been worn in ancient times by the women in the Torres Strait islands.*'

A fibre skirt (Appendix F, 27) collected in 1907 consists of a continuous band of sago palm bast plaited into a fibre waist band. Sago bast was obtained from mainland PNG and the women in the eastern Torres Strait islands commonly wore a continuous band of fibre as an apron while the women in the western islands wore a discontinuous band probably the result of 'influence from New Guinea' (Haddon, 1912, IV:60). A contemporary fibre skirt (Appendix F, 28; Fig. 73) made for use as a dance skirt indicates that the methods of manufacture of the old form of women's covering are still understood.

Use of the leaves of the 'water wort or flag' plant, known as *tagar* (western islands) or *teger* (eastern islands), and possibly of the *Philydrum* sp., was common for fibre skirts in both the Torres Strait islands and among the Aboriginal people of nearby Cape York (Haddon,1912, IV: 61).

Hair and Nose Ornaments

The hair of both men and women was adorned with combs, ochres or clays and women generally clipped their hair and wore it short. This was also common in neighbouring coastal Papua. The use of wigs by men in the Torres Strait was a common pre-European fashion. Ochres were obtained from the Aboriginal groups at Cape York. Torres Strait Islanders and coastal Papuans wore a wide variety of ornaments, notably those made from shells and teeth. In early times the septum of the nose was pierced and smooth curved pieces of clam shell (*Tridacna* sp.), *Conus* sp., *Cassis* sp., or even *Melo* sp. pointed at both ends, were inserted or thick stubs of clam or *Cassis* sp. shell were worn. Long nose sticks were worn on ceremonial occasions, while short nose plugs were worn more commonly

FIG. 71. Bamboo water carrier (NMF VK 4902:412).

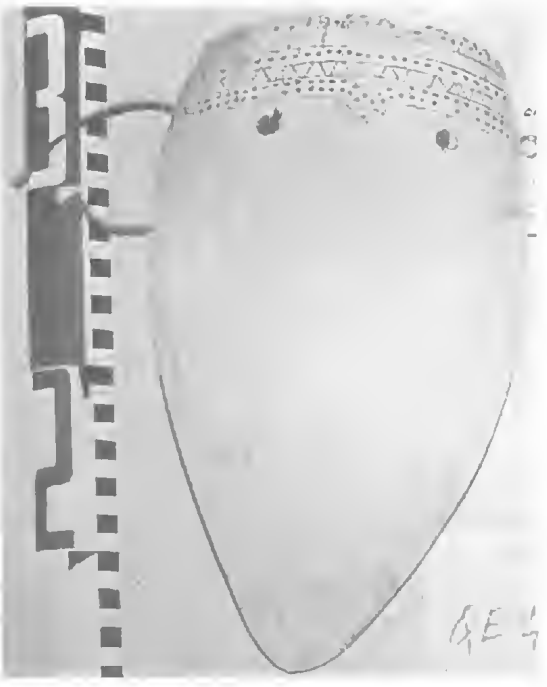


FIG. 72. Shell pubic cover. (QM QE4661/B).

(Haddon,1912, IV:39). Nose sticks and plugs of similar types were worn by Islanders and Papuans (Appendix F, 29-31; Moore,1984:45. 69, pls 5, 33).

Necklaces and Breast Ornaments

Necklaces and chest pendants or breast ornaments of many types were worn. A distinction is made between necklaces, which were worn close to the throat, and breast ornaments, which were usually attached to a cord and hung to the middle of the chest. Necklaces were usually fashioned from shell, teeth or seeds. Along with breast ornaments made from the *Conus* sp. some of the most valued items of exchange were necklaces made from dogs' teeth attached to fibre cords. They were valuable because only the four canine teeth were taken from one dog. Dogs' teeth necklaces were only worn by women and girls (Haddon,1912, IV:41). Other forms of necklaces made from many types of reef shells were also worn. One form of necklace, made from 'olive' shells (*Oliva* sp.) was of considerable value and, according to Haddon (1912, IV:41,44), could be used as part of exchange for canoes. Shells were common ornaments worn by eastern Islanders. Seed necklaces, usually made from *Coix* sp. seeds, were also worn although they were more common in the western islands, where the plant was more plentiful.

Landtman (1933:41) noted that dogs' teeth necklaces (Appendix F, 33; Fig.74) were among the most valued ornaments of the Kiwai people. He stated that the base of each tooth was perforated and the tooth then attached by fibre, between two fibre bands. Landtman further

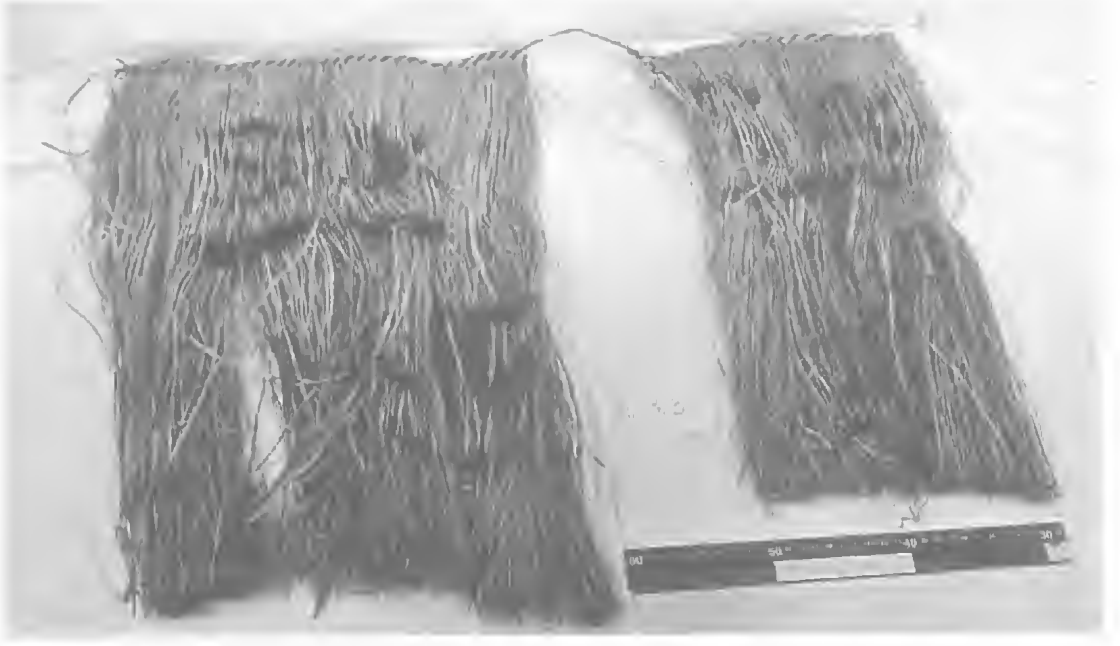


FIG. 73. Fibre Skirt (JCU 86.13.3).

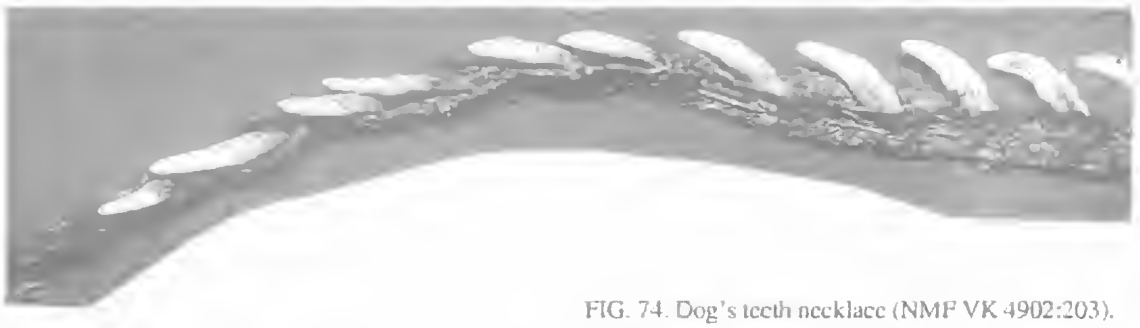


FIG. 74. Dog's teeth necklace (NMF VK 4902:203).

commented that the high value placed on dogs' teeth necklaces was such that strings of teeth formed a 'considerable part of the price of a canoe or of the gifts given in exchange for a bride'. They were also worn for display on ceremonial occasions. Necklaces of dogs' teeth were commonly found along the whole SW coast as far as Irian Jaya, and were, no doubt, valuable exchange items.

Crescent-shaped breast ornaments of pearl-shell were common in all Torres Strait islands and constituted important exchange items right across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region. It is generally understood that pearl-shell from the Torres Strait was exchanged as far inland as the central highlands of PNG (Hughes,1977:25). Usually, most of the shell was left undecorated and only the outer edge incised or lightly decorated. A small hole, for attachment of a cord or fibre, was bored through the base. The shape of the pearl-shell itself was generally retained (Appendix F, 34).

One of the most valued items of ornamentation was the circular polished base of the cone shell (Moore,1984:70, pl.36; Fig.75; Appendix F, 36-38) Termed *bidibidi* (Kiwai) and *dibidibi* (Meriam) or *dibidib* (Kala Lagaw Ya) it was the most valuable breast ornament worn by Islanders, and of singular value in the exchange of shells for canoe hulls, particularly between Islanders and Papuans. The whole of the flattened spine of the shell was removed and ground down to make a thin white disk with the upper surface generally convex. Occasionally the edge was nicked and a hole was bored into the side. Fibre or cloth was attached as a cord. Haddon (1912, IV:44) stated, regarding the estimated value of these shells: '*The* dibidibi, *even more than most ornaments, except the* waiwi *or* wauri [armshells] ... *served also as a kind of currency. They varied much in size and finish and had a corresponding value, thus no table of equable exchange can be drawn up. I* [Haddon] *gathered that ten or twelve* dibidibi *of fair size would be equal in value to a large shell armlet ... , to a canoe, to a dugong harpoon, or to a wife. Three or four* dibidibi *would constitute an annual instalment for a canoe ...*'

Erub Islanders obtained cone shells from Mer and exchanged them with the Meuram-le who lived at Keivari on the NE side of Erub (Teske [1986 ?]:2, 60). The cone shells then passed to the Peidu-le, who lived between Bikar and Karedog on the NW side of Erub, then to Ugar Islanders, Tudu Islanders and finally to the coastal Papuan peoples of the SW coast and Fly estuary.

The unmodified cone shell was perhaps the single most important item of exchange possessed by the Torres Strait Islanders and was in demand by the coastal Papuan, particularly the Kiwai-speaking people, in former times. One example, consisting of six cone shell bases strung together on a plaited base forms part of the Landtman collection (Appendix F, 35). However, strings of *bidibidi* were not as common as the single *bidibidi* breast pendant found through the Torres Strait and Fly estuary in former times.

Other breast ornaments of shell, European tradestore cloth and even boars' tusks were also worn as ornaments. Boars' tusk breast ornaments were obtained from PNG and, according to Haddon (1912, IV:50), were worn on Mer at initiation ceremonies by the important men who controlled the Malo-Bomai cult ceremonies (Moore, 1984: 78, pl. 47). Boars' tusks were also worn as armlets.

Haddon (1912, IV:51) observed that imitation boars' tusk pendants could be made from the shell of the giant clam (*Tridacna* sp.) or, in the Torres Strait, from the shell of the large *Trochus* sp. The tusks of wild boars were obtained from the coastal Papuans who hunted in the open savanna lands between the inland riverine swamps.

FIG. 75. Shell breast pendant *dibidibi* or *bidibidi* made from the base of *Conus* sp. (QM QE4310).

BELTS

Attached to belts were varieties of shell and seed ornaments, the more usual being of cowrie shells (*Cypraea* sp.) or *Coix* sp. seeds. Many of the shells which hung from belts served as rattles especially in dance. In coastal Papua various seeds and shells, most commonly small cowries, were attached to belts and armlets as decoration (Landtman,1933:44).

ARMLETS AND LEGLETS

Pigs' tusks were worn as armlets on the upper arm. Haddon (1912, IV:55, fig.75) collected examples from Mer where he stated they were called *gir put*. Two of these consisted of two tusks bound together with calico. Such armlets were often decorated with *Coix* sp. seed and seed tassels (Moore,1984:77, pl.46). A similar object (Appendix F, 39) consists of two boars' tusks bound with fibre; hanging from a cord attached through a hole in one tusk is a variety of decorative items including a European button, a crustacean claw and a *goa* seed (*Panguim edule*). Plaited armlets and leglets were often worn by Islanders and Papuans for dances and warfare. Armlets could also be made from plaited rattan or coconut leaf. At dances crotons or other coloured leaves were inserted in these arm and leg bands which, like belts, could be plain or decorated. Forearm guards, usually worn as protection against the recoil of bow strings, and made from sago palm spathe or plaited rattan, were worn by men. Plaited armlets were often ornamented with shells, seeds or calico (Appendix F, 40; Fig.76).

The Haddon collection also contains numerous examples of armlets called *put* (eastern islands) or *musur* (western islands) (Moore,1984:46, 47, 58,72, pls 5,6,21,37). Armlets plaited from cane, coconut midrib or fibre were commonly worn across the whole Torres Strait and Fly estuary region (Appendix F, 41). Haddon also noted, basing his comments on information from John Bruce of Mer, that the fibre of the *tereg* plant (*Philydrum* sp.) used in the manufacture of armlets in the western islands and on Mer was obtained from 'New Guinea' (Haddon,1912, IV: 55). The forearm bracer was an integral part of costume during warfare and is still a part of contemporary dance accoutrements. It was usually decorated with an armguard branch or plumes of cassowary feathers. The armguard described by Haddon (1912, IV:57-58) was a loop or series of loops of cane, often decorated with cloth or cassowary and pigeon feathers. This, cane loop was representative of one or more spare bowstrings worn by coastal Papuans on the lower arm, and had become a 'functionless dance ornament' in the Torres Strait islands, called *kadig tam* or *kadig tang* (western islands) or *tage lu* (eastern islands).

Landtman (1933:43) noted that this ornament, called *koima* (Kiwai), was commonly worn by all those Papuan peoples who habitually carried bows and arrows for hunting and fighting (Moore, 1984:78, pl.47; Appendix F, 42, 43). Landtman (1933:43) agreed with Haddon's interpretation that the *koima* represented a spare bowstring modified to become an ornament.

Undoubtedly, the most prized armlets, and the most important artefacts in the pre-European exchange of shells for canoe hulls, were the armshells made from *Conus* sp. and called *wawri* (western islands), *wauri* (eastern islands) and *mabuo* (Kiwai) (Appendix F, 44-46; Fig.77). Both Haddon (1912, IV:56) and Landtman (1933:43) attested to the prized value of these arm

FIG. 76. Plaited upper armband decorated with shells and a single seed pod (NMF VK 4902:327).

ornaments. Bases of cone shells were made into breast ornaments; the middle parts of the shells were cut off and the circlets of shell, with faint black spots, were used as ornaments for the upper arm. Even more prized, especially if the shells were large, were the top portions of the cone after the removal of the bases.

Few examples of these valued armlets have been collected by museums. The Landtman collection has no examples of *mabuo* armlets although they were seen in the field (Landtman,1933, fig.52). It is perhaps indicative of the high value placed on such objects that Landtman was not able to obtain examples for those photographed are fine specimens. The shell armlets collected by the author were obtained from the official provincial government artefact outlet on Daru.

Both Haddon (1912, IV:56) and Landtman (1933:43) stated that the most highly prized cone shells were *Conus litteratus*. There can be little doubt that this finely spotted species was highly valued for ornaments. However, it appears that armshells made from the large but not so finely spotted *C. leopardus* were more commonly used by Islanders and Papuans. The difference in species may be slight however, for Kay (1979:374) stated that *C. litteratus mille punctatus* [sic] is often used incorrectly as a synonym for *C. leopardus* although Cernohorsky (1978:129) stated that *C. litteratus* is smaller and has definite markings, particularly large squarish blackish-brown spots and a violet brown stained base, which are not found in *C. leopardus*. Haddon (1904, V:294) stated the finest shells, usually obtained from Tudu Island or the Warrior Reef and reefs to the east, were the principal items exchanged for canoe hulls.

Armshells are no longer highly prized among the Kiwai although some elders, especially men with a sense of history, still treasure old armshells and are proud to display them.

HEADDRESSES

These were made from plaited fibres, rattan and feathers. Even the fur of the cuscus (*Phalanger* sp.) was worn as a decorative fillet. Haddon (1912, IV:35) collected a cuscus fur head decoration at Tudu in 1888 which he stated had come 'from New Guinea' and Landtman (1933:39) collected from Kiwai Island a similar head decoration, with shells and rattles made from *goa* seeds (Appendix F, 47). It appears that these fur headdresses were only worn during certain ceremonies.

The most commonly worn men's headdress was made of black cassowary feathers and was called *samera* or *dagui* (western islands) and *sam*

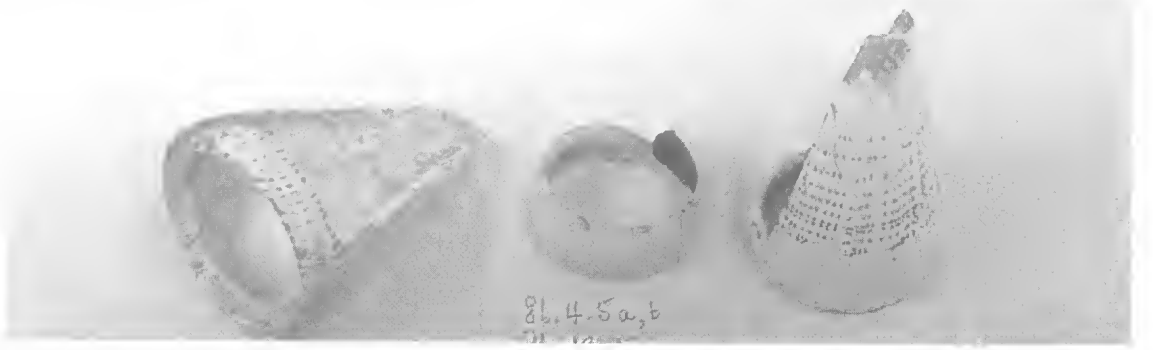


FIG. 77. Armlets made from cone shells worn, in former times, as decoration for the upper arms (JCU 86.4.5 a,b & 86.13.12).

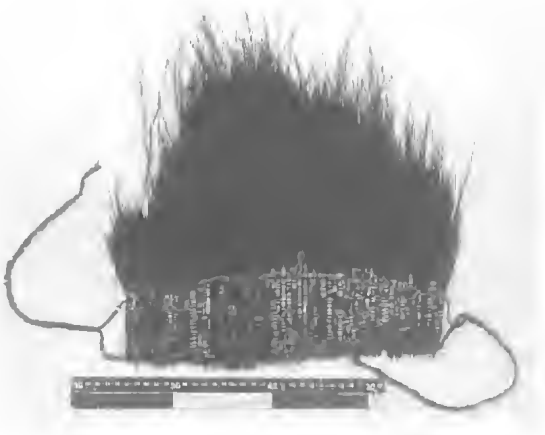


FIG. 78. Cassowary feather headdress (JCU 86.4.2).

or *dagui* (eastern islands) (Haddon,1912, IV:36). This was the headdress, *daguri* (Kiwai), most commonly worn by men of the SW coast of Papua and the Fly estuary (Landtman,1933:37).

The *daguri* headdress in Papua was worn by mature men at dances or ceremonies or, in former times, into fights and raids. According to Landtman (1933:37) young boys first put on the headdress at initiation. The basic form of the headdress remained the same. Small bunches of plain, undecorated cassowary feathers were bound together tightly and then, inserted into a plaited headband which usually had a stiffening of rattan. The shape of the headband varied only slightly but the usual ceremonial or dance band was a lozenge with curved sides. Two thin cords attached at the sharpened edges tied it to the head. The cassowary feathers were tightly plaited into the woven fibres at the back, and the front was often decorated with over plaiting and then ochred.

Such headdresses (Appendix F, 48,49; Fig.78) are still made in the inland villages, notably near Wipim, and are exchanged with riverine dwelling peoples. They are worn, nowadays, only at dances and are in much demand at Independence Day dance competitions.

Haddon (1912, IV:36) stated that the cassowary feather headdress was the most common headdress worn by male Torres Strait Islanders in former times and collected a number of examples (Moore,1984:48,76,77,102, pls 7,45,78). According to Landtman (1933:37) it was also the 'most usual' head ornament of the coastal Papuans (Appendix F, 50-53).

Variety was added to these headdresses by the addition of bird of paradise plumes (Appendix F, 54-56; Fig.79), pigeon or cockatoo feathers, or pieces of European tradestore cloth (*rami*). In some cases the whole bird of paradise was used, its beak being used as a 'pin'. All bird of paradise plumes were obtained by exchange from PNG.

The *daguri* was an important item of male headdress in warfare and dance and the exchange of such headdresses, or portions of them such as bundles of cassowary feathers or bird of paradise plumes, were important items of exchange between coastal Papuans and Torres Strait Islanders.

FIG. 79. Bundle of paradise feathers for use as attachments to cassowary feather headdresses QM QE 11179).

However, the finest headdress worn by Torres Strait Islanders and coastal Kiwai-speaking peoples was the *deri* (western islands), *dari* (eastern islands) or *dori* (Kiwai) (Appendix F, 57,58; Moore, 1984:76, pl. 44). Its importance as a cultural item is such that it is a most visible symbol of Torres Strait Islander culture, particularly for the eastern Islanders. The headress consists of a woven rattan frame in either an n or an m shape.

Cords at the feet of the frame were tied around the forehead so that the rattan frame stood high above the head. The feathers of the white reef heron (*Demiegretta sacra*) were inserted into the frame to form a fan shape. Often one long frigate bird feather, preferably black, was inserted in the top so as to extend vertically. At the base of the feather a red bean (*Mucuna* sp.) was also placed. The white feather tips were also clipped into various stylised shapes for effect and two long feathers projected from the base almost at the level of the wearer's cheeks. The *dari* were often quite large and elaborate and, when worn in night dances, particularly those imitating the actions of the reef heron, could be most spectacular and effective. The *dari* in 'Island dance' served to frame the face and special dance effects were achieved by turning the head suddenly so that the headdress seemed to appear and disappear. A variety of *dari* are worn in contemporary dance, many made from modern European materials.

The most complete details of headdress construction (Haddon,1912, IV:37-39) stated that all such headdresses were imported from New Guinea. However, as only the coastal Kiwai-speaking people perform dances with *dori*, and generally they also refer to this style of dance as Islander-style dancing, it would appear that the dance and the headdress were borrowed from the Torres Strait, most likely from the eastern Islanders, and incorporated into coastal Kiwai dance culture. The mutual exchange of songs and dances has also been an integral part of the exchange system. The exchange of rituals and ceremonies was as much a part of this system as that of the exchange of material objects.

Frontlets

A large variety of stiff frontlets made from rattan or fibre plaited on to a bamboo frame are worn across the forehead and tied at the back of the head. The frontlet may be triangular, semi-ovoid or even lozenge shaped (Appendix F, 59,60; Fig.80). These frontlets were used with and without cassowary feather decorations. According to Haddon (1912, IV:38-39) they formed the framework of *dari* headdresses and he noted that ' *... all these head-dresses are imported from New Guinea, and I am under the impression that they are definitely* [or perhaps originally were] *war accoutrements in the districts where they were made*'.

ARTEFACTS OF RECREATION, CEREMONY AND DANCE

The exchange of rituals, ceremonies and dances constituted important symbols of inter-group bonding. Lipset (1985:84) stated: '*...the trade of dances and insignia was an attempt to make the overseas sphere into the village writ large, which they* [the Murik of the Sepik estuary] *tried to do by trading upon the very features by which they identified themselves as jural persons and ethnic groups.*'

The artefacts of recreation, ceremonies and dance likewise constituted important exchange items for indeed, without such artefacts, dances and ceremonies could not have been performed. Among the many artefacts of dance performance the drum was the most important.

Drums

Torres Strait Islanders obtained their waisted drums from coastal Papua (Haddon,1912, IV:278). The common Torres Strait drum used on all present day dancing and music occasions is still obtained from PNG.

According to Haddon (1912, IV:278) there were two different types of waisted drums. The first, the older form, was generally referred to in the Torres Strait Islands as *warup* (western islands), or in coastal Papua as *warupa* (Kiwai). The *warup* consisted of a hollowed out single piece of wood, with a definite waisted central portion and a 'bowl-like' tympanum end. According to Landtman (1933:68) the *warup* originated in Saibai and the word *warupa* was also of Saibai origin.

Landtman (1933:68) believed that the *warup* (*warupa)* constituted the older form of drum: '*According to tradition, the first drum in Mawata was a warupa, and it came from Saibai, which is said to be the original home of all drums in that part of the country, the inhabitants of that island*

FIG. 80. Woven frontlet with cassowary and bird of paradise decorations (NMF VK4902:109).

not having learnt the art of making drums from any other people.'

Such drums are still referred to as 'Saibai drums', even though they are no longer manufactured. A fine *warup* (Edge-Partington, 1969, I, pl.332-1), which was made for Rev. Samuel Macfarlane on Saibai and is now located in the British Museum, conforms to the description noted by both Haddon and Landtman. Such drums were exchanged across Torres Strait. The tympanum could be covered with snake, lizard or wallaby skin, although lizard skin was the most common. Wallaby skin, if used, gave a deeper sound. Beeswax added to the tympanum was heated over a fire in front of the drummer and the small pieces acted both as a tightener to the skin and to give the skin and the hand a sticky surface which made drumming with the flat of the hand more effective. The outer surface of the old *warup* was heavily ornamented and often cassowary feathers and shells decorated the open end.

Warup were distinctive for their open 'shark' or 'crocodile' mouth ends. Few *warup* remain, even in museum collections. One *warup* (Appendix F, 61; Fig.81) was exchanged to Nagi via Tudu from Mawatta. Although these paths of exchange were noted by Haddon (1912, IV:footnote 278), it should not be assumed that this drum was originally made in Mawatta. Fine old drums often had individual names and, like famous canoes, were often mentioned in stories.

Haddon noted that the average length of the *warup* was about 1m with a diameter at the tympanum end of about 20cm.

A similar *warup* (Appendix F, 63; Fig.82), from Erub, conforms to the style and measurements noted by Haddon. Haddon also collected one *warup* from Tudu in 1888 (Moore,1984:55, pl. 18).

Open-mouthed drums, representative perhaps of crocodile or shark jaws, were described by Jukes (1847, I:176) and Haddon (1912, IV:280) and most certainly represent an older form of drum commonly used in ceremony and dance in the Torres Strait. Other open-mouthed drums, simpler in form and provenanced to Mer (Appendix F, 64,65) were obtained from Kiwai Island (Haddon,1912, IV:280).

Therefore, drums were exchanged widely across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region, and constituted an important item of exchange. It is probable that songs and dances were exchanged with such sound-producing instruments.

The sacred Malo drum of the people of Mer, named *Wasikor* (Fig.83), is still kept on Mer under the protection of the Noah family of Kewaid village. It belongs to the Zagareb-le and was used in the last re-enactment of the Malo/Bomai dances performed by Murray Island people in 1977 for the St. James Church building fund. Originally part of a pair of drums the companion, *Nemau*, was burnt by the crew of the bêche-de-mer boat the *Woodlark* about 1860 (Haddon,1908, VI:43, 190, 296; Fisher,1856/57).

According to Haddon (1912, IV:279) *Wasikor* is intermediate in form between the *warup* and the second form of drum, the *buruburu* (western islands), *boroboro* (eastern islands) or *gamu* (Kiwai) (Appendix F, 66). The *buruburu* form (Appendix F, 67-71; Fig.84) was more cylindrical in shape, with a waist generally central across the drum. The open circular end was not cut into a 'shark' mouth. Landtman (1933:68,70)also noted that at Mawatta, a similar drum, made out of a remodelled drum obtained through Buji was named after a district in Port Moresby where its owner had been. The common form of *buruburu* used in Torres Strait today has been used in the

FIG. 81. Old styled, shark mouth *warup*, or *warupa* drum, decorated with cassowary feathers and white shell (Auckland Museum 15809). Photo by H.R. Lawrence.

islands and along the coast of PNG for at least 100 years.

Oral testimony states that drums of this type, now used throughout the Torres Strait and by Islander dance groups on the mainland, originated from the villages located in the inland hill region at the headwaters of the Pahoturi, Binaturi and Oriomo rivers.

Buruburu from the inland region near Wipim all have handles carved from the same piece of timber as the drum. Present day drums are about 1m length with an even symmetrical shape, decorated at the base with carved diamond and triangular patterns. These carvings are usually repeated around the handle boss. The drums are exchanged between the Fly River estuary and the Torres Strait. Originally the drums are unpainted although the outer surface is usually blackened with charcoal before carving. At the present time these drums are used by most Torres Strait Islander dance groups on the Australian mainland and in the islands. They are often recarved and overpainted with bright acrylic paint which adds to their visual impact and the drum-head or tympanum is usually covered with the skin of the common file or water snake (*Acrochordus* sp.) or large lizard (*Varanus* sp.) (Appendix F, 72, 73; Fig.85).

Drums were, and are, important artefacts of exchange in the region. Perhaps the reason for this is that no readily transportable functional substitute has been found that could reproduce the quality of sound and visual impact of the wooden hand drum.

Shell Trumpets

Shell trumpets, *bu* (Kala lagawya) or *tuture* (Kiwai) (Appendix F, 74,75; Fig.86), were made by boring a lateral mouth hole in the whorl of a *Fusus* sp., *Syrinx* sp., or Triton (*Charonia tritonis*) shell. They were used by men in canoes for signalling success in hunting and warfare. They were also used to decorate burial places or placed on the central poles of the old style round houses of the eastern Islanders (Haddon,1912, IV:283; Landtman,1933:73). Trumpet shells were obtained in the Torres Strait and exchanged into the Fly estuary.

Rattles

Various objects were held in the hand during dances and the variety of dance ornaments was extensive. Hand held rattles made from the shells of seeds of the *goa* (*Pangium edule*) tree were used in both action and 'sit down' dances by the Torres Strait Islanders (Appendix F, 76,77;

FIG. 82. Old styled, shark mouth *warup*, or *warupa* drum, decorated with cassowary feathers and white shell (QM E13/162).

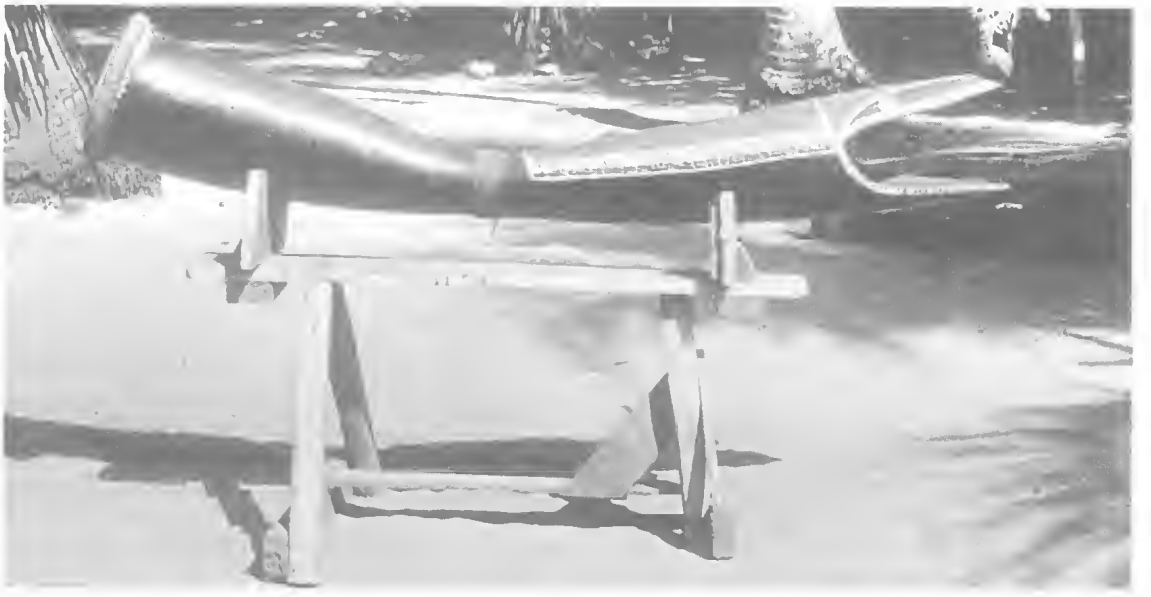


FIG. 83. 'Wasikor', the last Malo/Bomai ceremonial drum on Mer.

Fig.87). They are still employed by Islanders and Papuans, and are often made by Papuans for exchange across the Torres Strait.

MASKS

Masks, either of wood or turtle-shell, were also characteristic of Torres Strait art. One beautiful mask (Appendix F, 78) made of turtle-shell on a wooden base, with a fillet of cassowary feathers and other adornments, was acquired on the SW coast of Papua late last century. A similar mask comes from Erub (Appendix F, No. 79). Adornments to masks such as *goa* shell rattles and cassowary feathers were objects of exchange. A well made wooden mask with pearl-shell buttons for eyes (Appendix F, 80) provenanced to Mawatta, is similar to masks from Mer and Saibai (Appendix F, 81,82). A heavily decorated piece of turtle-shell, most likely part of a turtle-shell mask, was also obtained at Mawatta by Landtman (Appendix F, 83).

Haddon noted (1912, IV:296) that two varieties of mask existed in the Torres Strait. Masks were either made from a single block of wood or constructed of pieces of turtle shell stitched together. In 1888, Haddon (1888:5,6), obtained turtle-shell masks, drums, armlets and breast ornaments, as well as tobacco pipes, bows and arrow on Nagi. He noted that all these objects originated on the Papuan mainland and that their principal use was in ceremonies and dances.

Haddon collected a number of fine turtle-shell masks from the central, western and eastern islands (Moore,1984:48,59,75, pl.7, fig.73; pl.22, fig.186; pl.41, figs 363,364; pl.42, fig.365). Thus the exchange of masks, with rituals and dances, was an important part of exchange relations across Torres Strait. Fraser (1959,1978) produced interesting theories concerning culture

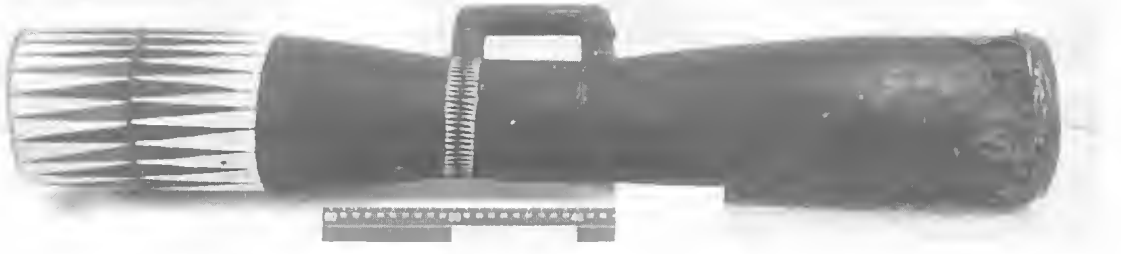


FIG. 84. Common form of waisted drum used in both the Torres Strait and the SW coast of PNG (JCU 85.14.12).

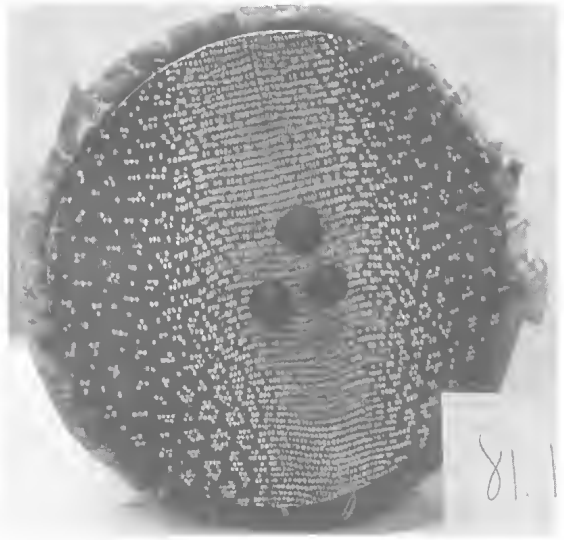


FIG. 85. Goanna skin tympanum attached to waisted drum. Skin held in place by rattan coil bound in coloured cotton. Three bees wax drops have been applied as an aid to drumming and for added resonance (JCU 81.1.78).

areas and their relationships to mask production. However, his study of masks as fine art placed little emphasis on linguistic or cultural groupings in the Torres Strait region. Since then no detailed study of Torres Strait masks has been undertaken.

While material, such as cassowary feathers and *goa* shells, were probably obtained from Papua, it is also likely that masks used on the mainland were constructed of materials, such as turtle shell and ochres, obtained through the Torres Strait.

Bamboo Tobacco Pipes

Tobacco was, according to Haddon (1912, IV:141) the only narcotic used by the Torres Strait Islanders. However, in the coastal Papuan and Fly estuary region the use of *Kava,* known as *gamoda* (*Piper methysticum*) was widespread. Tobacco pipes of the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region consisted of a length of stout bamboo containing two or more nodes (Appendix F, 84-87; Fig.89). In the node at one end a hole was bored, and near the other end on the side, a hole was cut in the surface. A thin wooden tube, with a slightly curved-in base, was filled with tobacco which was then lit and inserted into the hole on the side. Smoke was either sucked into the bamboo pipe or blown into the pipe through the small tobacco bowl and the pipe then passed to another who inhaled the smoke. 'Native' tobacco was probably introduced into the Torres Strait from the mainland north of the Fly and was generally known as *sukuba* (Kiwai) or minor variations of that name (Haddon,1912, IV:143). *Sukuba* is still the general name for tobacco or cigarettes among coastal Kiwai-speaking people. The exterior of the pipe, but not the small bowl, was most often heavily decorated with pecked or incised designs representing animals, or geometric and stylized patterns. Such pipes were observed in use among Aboriginals on Cape York by Moseley (1892:356) who stated that they were obtained by the Gudang at Cape York from eastern Islanders through 'barter'. Macgillivray (Haddon,1912, IV:142) also noted that the Aboriginal people of Cape York used tobacco pipes. Introduction of European tradestore tobacco in the form of 'black stick' tobacco had an immediate impact. By 1910-1912, stick tobacco had become a virtual 'currency' and had quickly entered the customary exchange system. Landtman (1933:65-66) remarked: '*Nowadays trade-tobacco, manufac-*

FIG. 86. Shell trumpet. (QM QE 9779).

FIG. 87. *Goa* seed rattles used in dances (JCU 86.13.9 a,b)

tured in Australia under Government control, is almost exclusively used among the natives. It is much in demand among them and constitutes one of the principal articles of barter with them.' Some older Kiwai men still use black stick tobacco in preference to commercially produced cigarettes.

Another fine pipe (Appendix F, 88; Fig.90) was obtained by Captain V. Lovett-Cameron, in or before 1876 from the western islands of the Torres Strait. It belonged to an Islander of the Baidam (shark) clan. Baidam clans were represented on Mabuiag, Moa, Muralag, Nagi, Tudu, Yam and Saibai as well as among the Kadawarubi (Kiwai-speaking people) of Mawatta and Tureture (Haddon,1904, V:151-157). Among the Miriam-speaking eastern Islanders the *baizam boai* (shark men) were the most important members of the Malo/Bomai cult (Haddon,1908, VI:285-286). This type of pipe was to be found throughout the Kiwai district and neighbouring districts, and both Haddon (1912, IV:141) and Landtman (1933:66) referred to them as 'Papuan pipes.'

Tobacco and tobacco pipes were important exchange items between the western Islanders and the Cape York Aboriginals. Thomson (1939a:82) commented that Torres Strait or Papuan tobacco pipes and tobacco were found among the Aboriginal people of eastern Cape York Peninsula and were probably introduced by Torres Strait Islanders. The full extent of Papuan cultural influences on the east coast Aboriginal peoples has still not been fully described. Thomson was aware that the material culture, as well as the social and ceremonial life of the people of the eastern Cape York region '*bears the strongest evidence of a dominant Papuan influence, coming through Torres Strait*' (Thomson,1939a:82).

ARTEFACTS OF WARFARE

Inter- and intra-ethnic warfare was endemic in Torres Strait and coastal Papua prior to European administration and mission control after the 1870s. Warfare consisted of sporadic surprise raids on isolated groups or villages and is described in oral testimony, as well as in songs and in dances. The memory of specific raids, particularly those of the Tugeri people (Marind-amin) from the then Dutch territory to the west is still keen among coastal Papuans near Buji and

FIG. 88. Wooden mask used in dances and ceremonies (QM E5930).

FIG. 89. Bamboo tobacco-smoking pipe (QM QE4288).

the Pahoturi River, and on nearby Saibai and Boigu. These raids were usually made by groups of armed men in canoes accompanied by their women carrying digging sticks or cassowary bone knives (Landtman,1933:31). The object of these quick sporadic attacks was to kill as many people as possible and obtain a number of human heads before retreating in their fast war canoes. The taking of human heads was common practice among the Kiwai, Tugeri and some Islander groups, particularly the central and western Islanders in former times. It appears that the eastern Islanders were less war-like.

Skulls

A number of human skulls are housed in the Queensland Museum collection. As these are held under restricted access only catalogue details were available. No photographs were available. These skulls were collected, in the main, by Captain C.E. de F. Pennefather and acquired by the Museum in January 1883. A number were also acquired by H.C. Everill during the 1885 expedition to the Fly River and donated by the Royal Geographical Society in 1886. All were provenanced to the Fly River, or Kiwai Island. Other examples were acquired in 1914 from E.B. Connolly and provenanced to Masig, while two items were provenanced to Moa and Badu respectively.

Cassowary Bone Daggers

According to Landtman (1933:57), cassowary bone daggers were used by both men and women to disable prisoners taken during raids but it appears that they were also used as coconut huskers. Some were decorated with crabs-eye seeds (*Abrus precatorius*) (Appendix F, 89; Fig.91). One example in the Haddon collection (Moore,1984:64, pl.29, fig.243) is recorded as 'imported from New Guinea' and having been used as a coconut husker on Mer.

FIG. 90. Bamboo tobacco-smoking pipe (JCU 80.4.1).

Bows and Arrows

In former times, the principal weapons of the Torres Strait Islanders were the bow and arrow and the stone-headed club. Split bamboo bows, often up to 2m long, were in common use as weapons prior to the 1880s (Haddon,1912,

IV:174). They were obtained from coastal Papua. The principal manufacturers of high quality bows were, and still are, the Agob, Gizra and Bine people of coastal areas N of Boigu and Saibai and in the riverine regions of the Pahoturi and Bineturi Rivers (Figs 92, 93). Papuan bows can still be obtained through Buji and Boigu, though some are now obtained from the Morehead River people to the west. Bows are today used only as dance accessories or for hunting. The bowstring was made from a thin (c. 125mm wide) strip of green bamboo, which was then knotted into two loops at either end and pulled over the points of the bow stave. These bows are, contrary to Haddon's (1912, IV:174) poor opinion, very accurate and powerful. At close range they can drive a steel tipped arrow completely through a small wallaby. The form of bow did not vary throughout the coastal region and, although the Kiwai-speaking people had words for bow and arrow, they did not use these weapons for hunting or warfare, preferring the stone-headed club.

Landtman collected bows from Kiwai Island (Appendix F, 90) which are of a form common throughout coastal Papua W of the Fly estuary. Similar bows were collected on Mer (Appendix F, 91,92), Kuru, a village formerly located in the middle Oriomo River area (Appendix F, 93) or Boigu and recorded as 'traded from [the] Mai Kussa'. The wide distribution of bows is evidence of their importance as hunting and fighting implements and of their use as items of exchange. The bows and arrows observed by Cook in 1770 at Possession Island near Cape York (Haddon,1935, I:4; Flinders,1814, I:xv) were most likely in the hands of western Islanders rather than Cape York Aboriginals. Bows and arrows used today as dance ornaments by Islanders are all obtained from coastal Papuans, because not all bamboo is suitable for bow construction. The best bamboo in its green flexible state comes from the riverine regions of coastal Papua.

Haddon (1912, IV:174) remarked that by 1888 the Torres Strait Islanders had long since given up the use of the bow as a hunting weapon. However, among the riverine and inland dwelling people of the SW coast of PNG the bow remains the most practical, economical and popular hunting implement. With a variety of arrows, it is used by men to hunt birds, wallabies, deer, cassowaries and wild pig.

All arrows used by Torres Strait Islanders came from Papua (Haddon,1912, IV:175). There were two reasons for this. Firstly, the thin reed used for making arrow shafts grows in the riverine swamps and marshes of coastal PNG, not on the islands of Torres Strait and, secondly, in former times, arrow-heads were made from cassowary or wallaby legbones, which were only hunted in the riverine and inland bush lands of coastal Papua. Arrows of this region were all constructed from a reed shaft and a separate arrowhead. The variety of arrow was, however, very wide for the type of arrowhead was directly related to its function. Among the inland and riverine dwelling people, this functional classification of arrows still applies. The various types and uses for arrows were examined in detail by Haddon (1912, IV:175-190) and Landtman (1933:50-55).

FIG. 91. Cassowary bone daggers (NMF VK4902:493,494). Item 493 has a handle decorated with *Abrus precatorius* seeds.

The most attractive and highly prized arrows came through Buji and were made by the Agob-speaking people who lived between the Mai Kussa and the Pahoturi River. The Agob continue to make fine arrows and they are still used by neighbouring groups who refer to them as 'Buji arrows.' These arrows are decorated with an in-

FIG. 92. Man from Waidoro village making a bow from green bamboo.

finite variety of designs using the three colours: red, black and white. The red dye is made from mangrove root, black from charcoal mixed with juice, and white from lime made by baking and crushing shells. Buji arrows may still be obtained through Boigu Island.

Landtman (1933:52) noted that Buji arrows could be obtained in Tirio at the mouth of the Fly River and therefore concluded that there was direct contact between the middle Fly and Agob peoples of the SW coast. Exchange between central and lower Fly River peoples and the coastal Papuans through the peoples dwelling in the central inland regions was regular and has been noted in oral testimony.

MAN-ARROWS

This, the most distinctive arrow of the region (Haddon, 1912, IV:184-186; Landtman, 1933:50) is constructed from two different materials with the lower portion of the arrow-head finely carved to represent a man. Although not strictly used in warfare man-arrows retain the ceremonial role of a weapon. According to oral evidence, these arrows were used in ritual woundings and killings, particularly in cases of adultury. Man-arrows, which are specifically objects of ritual and ceremony for the Gizra, and Bine peoples, originate among the clan groups of Waidoro and Kulalae (Togo) (Fig. 94) area and are directly associated with the legend of Geadap and Muiam (Appendix E, stories 22-25).

The man-arrow was carved to represent Muiam who was heavily tatooed. Man-arrows therefore belonged to clan groups and, contrary to the statement in Moore (1984:103), they were never used in warfare or hunting. The arrows were used in secret ceremonies and by the clan to wound people found breaking custom. Their full practice and use is still guarded. As Dirimu and Masingara villages have kinship ties with the Gizra, clan arrows were distributed through these groups. This would therefore account for their distribution amongst the Bine-speaking peoples and into the Torres Strait islands.

Landtman stated that man-arrows were commonly found in the Drimu [Dirimu], Misingle [Masingara] and Mawatta districts. Haddon (1912, IV:184-186) described the general characteristics of man-arrows in considerable detail but made no comment on their origins, meanings or uses. One example in the Haddon collection (Moore, 1984:103, pl.79, fig.700), attributed to the Torres Strait in general, was collected in 1888. Haddon (1894:51) remarked that man-arrows were known in both the western and eastern islands of Torres Strait as *parulaig* (Kala Lagaw Ya) or *opop* (Meriam) meaning, 'that it had a face.' Yam and Mer have close kin links with the Gizra-and Bine-speaking coastal Papuans, and one can assume that clan ties permitted the exchange of material symbols of kinship linkages (Appendix F, 95,96; Fig.95).

A unprovenanced man-arrow (Appendix F, 97) may have been collected by Lawrence Hargrave, who had travelled with Macleay and Stone in 1875 and with D'Albertis to the Fly River in 1876. Hargrave deposited man-arrows in the Australian Museum collection in 1915, stating their origin as the Katau (Binaturi) River which

FIG. 93. Making bow string from the outer rind of green bamboo, Waidoro village.

he had visited in May and September 1876 (Grainger,1978:86,90).

STONE-HEADED CLUBS

The most common weapon of the Kiwai in former times was the stone-headed club or *gabagaba*. The stone was obtained from Torres Strait Islanders. Stone heads were usually flat or biconvex stones with a hole in the centre through which a stout rattan stick was inserted. Clubs were often carried in the hand, or over the shoulder on a cord loop.

Stone-headed clubs were also used as a weapon by Torres Strait Islanders and their use was noted by Jukes (1847, II:19). The most common form used (Haddon,1912, IV:191-192) was biconvex and disc-shaped with a central hole. This common form was collected by Haddon from Muralag (Moore,1984:52, pl.13, fig.121) and Yam in 1888 (Moore,1984:57, pl.20, fig.171), and from Mer in 1898 (Moore,1984:96, pl.75, fig.614).

The second form collected by Haddon was the star-shaped stone-headed club. Such examples (Moore,1984:52, pl.13, fig.122, pl.75, fig.617) may have been used in ceremonies, particularly the Malo/Bomai cult in the eastern islands, or in dances (Haddon,1912, IV:192).

FIG. 94. 'Man arrows' at Kulalae village, PNG.

FIG. 95. Bundle of arrows containing hunting, fishing, and ceremonial arrows. A 'man' arrow is shown at the top (QM E4632-2)

Biconvex stone-headed clubs were collected from among Kiwai-speaking coastal Papuans (Appendix F, 98,99), the eastern islands (Appendix F, 100,101; Fig.96)and Yam (Appendix F, 102). According to Teske ([1987?]:26) the club of Kebisu, the warleader of the Tudu people, is still retained by his descendants on Yam Island.

Haddon (1912, IV:191) also recorded information collected by Wilkin in Mabuiag which stated that stone-headed clubs came from Dauan, Saibai and Mer. Haddon (1912, IV:191) doubted this information but noted that '*a disc or star stone-headed club cost one* wap [dugong harpoon] or *one* wauri [armshell] ...' The high value of exchange no doubt related to its importance as a defensive as well as an offensive weapon.

Unusual clubs from the mouth of the Fly River (Appendix F, 103,104) incorporated metal heads in place of stone heads. One example, possibly a brass plate from a ship, had a metal head, attached by three iron nails, with three large screw and bolt holes and a small piece of angled metal attached by two screws to the plate. A transitional phase in the move from stone head to metal head occurred around the turn of the century in the Fly estuary region, no doubt during the early pacification period after the 1890s.

Bamboo Headcarriers

A distinctive artefact of warfare found in museum collections and definitely Kiwai in origin is the bamboo headcarrier. As noted by Haddon (1912, IV:199-200), the headcarrier consisted of a loop of rattan with the ends tightly lashed to a cross-piece which was sometimes made from the dart of an old dugong harpoon (Haddon,1912,1V:199). Supplementary bindings made of coconut fibre held the rattan and cross-bracing together. This simple but distinctive artefact was used during former times to carry severed heads. The loop of rattan was passed either through the mouth of the severed head and the cut neck, or through the floor of the mouth, so that the cross-piece rested against the lower jaw (Landtman,1933:57; Haddon,1912, 1V:200).

Headcarriers were valued by families and clans as reminders of past glories of ancestors and were even included in ceremonies and dances. Three examples from Kiwai Island (Appendix F, 105) incorporate old dugong harpoon darts as cross-pieces. One (Appendix F, 106; Fig.97) from Murray Island, is attached to a bamboo knife and has been decorated with three *goa* shells indicating that it was possibly used as a dance object. A number of contemporary Islander dances have incorporated bows, arrows, arrow strings and dance objects representing stone clubs.

Bamboo Knives

A second distinctive artefact of warfare from coastal Papua was the bamboo 'headhunting' knife. Haddon collected one at Mabuiag (Moore, 1984:52, pl.13) and a 'model' of a beheading knife and headcarrier at Mer (Moore, 1984:84, pl.55). He also collected another bamboo knife at Tudu in 1888 (Haddon,1912, 1V:199). It is apparent therefore that, in former times, the bamboo knife and headcarrier were used not just by coastal Kiwai-speaking peoples on the Papuan mainland but throughout the Torres Strait islands.

The bamboo knife consisted of a split piece of stout bamboo c.30-50cm long. Into one concave end a piece of wood or pith was placed and this was bound with fine cord or string into a handle. The binding was often patterned. The edge of the knife was sharpened by cutting a notch near the handle and removing a sliver of bamboo Haddon (1912, 1V:200). This left the blade with a sharp clean-cutting edge. Bamboo knives could also be used for cutting other flesh, for example, dugong

or fish, though Haddon (1912, IV:199) stated that the number of notches in the handle indicated the number of heads cut. According to Landtman (1933:55-56), the Kiwai of Iasa village previously employed shells as knives but learnt the art of making bamboo knives from the people of Kubira village. Landtman (1933:56) also described with some colour the various methods used in severing heads.

An old bamboo knife (Appendix F, 107) with a finely plaited cord handle was collected on Kiwai Island. Another (Appendix F, 108) was collected on Mer, and is attached to a headcarrier (Fig.97).

Beheading knives, like headcarriers, were valued objects and were possibly exchanged between close kin for they were closely associated with respected ancestors among both Islanders and Papuans. Many of the items worn as dress in warfare, such as cassowary feather headdresses, boar's tusk ornaments, fibre skirts and pubic shells have been discussed previously.

FIG. 96. Stone headed club gabagaba (QM E13/152).

Ceremonial dress and decoration were carefully made and were of high value, for a man's renown and style was tested by his skill as a warrior and a warrior wore only his finest ceremonial dress and accoutrements into battle.

Material culture of customary exchange in the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region was varied and complex. This is demonstrated with reference to the collections of A.C. Haddon, Gunnar Landtman and Australian museum collections. This reflects the vitality of the exchange system and its long and varied history. The disproportionate number of artefacts from subsistence, warfare, ornamentation and dress, and dance reflected the primary importance of these items. The customary exchange system survives in an altered form to this day, despite the imposition of quarantine and immigration regulations and border treaties between Australia and PNG.

The ceremonial life of the peoples of the Torres Strait and Fly estuary was rich and complex. However, few ceremonial objects survive in museum collections apart from finely crafted masks. These have been the subject of only one detailed study from the perspective of fine art (Fraser, 1978). A recent study by Wilson (1988) primarily aimed at school audiences contains excellent illustrations with commentary extracted from Haddon (1901-1935). The Torres Strait and Fly estuary region is still an area in which considerable scope for continuing material culture research exists.

CUSTOMARY EXCHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVE

'*The survival of exchange systems into the present, in more or less modified form, is at once indicative of their fundamental importance to the maintenance of Melanesian societies and of their resilience in the face of colonial intervention.*' (MacIntyre & Young, 1982:207).

Considering the long term impact of colonial administration, missionization and legal and governmental policies in the Torres Strait region, the survival of elements of customary exchange is certainly evidence of its resilience. The social component of commodity exchange, irrespective of the origin of goods, accounted for this persistence.

The economic, social and cultural responsibilities associated with kinship, marriage relations, mortuary obligations, feasting and religious observances determined the fundamental patterns of exchange across Torres Strait.

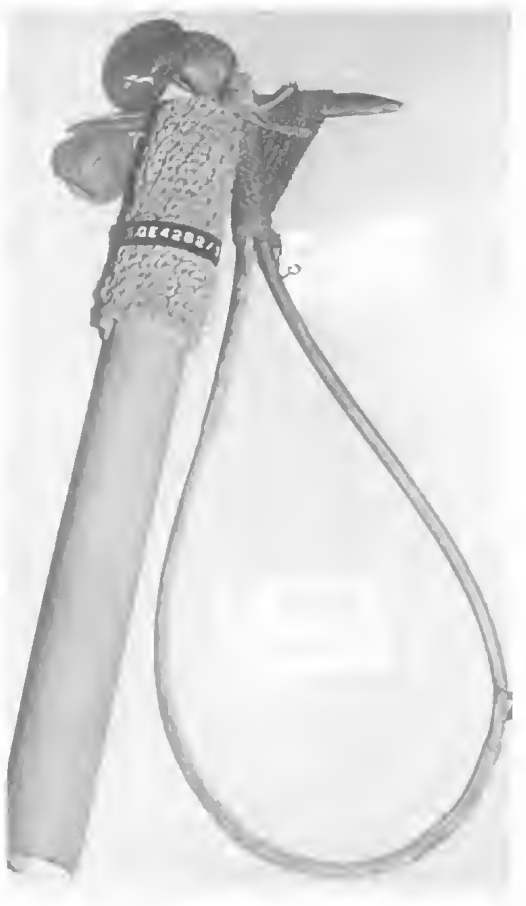


FIG. 97. Headcarrier and bamboo knife (QM E4282/1 & 4282/2).

Peterson & Peterson (1977:558) argued that exchange of commodities across hunter-gatherer and horticulturist boundaries permitted a broadening of the 'food web', for exchange provides greater resource variety across ethnic boundaries. Such exchange systems were the means of survival for people inhabiting ecological zones with limited or insufficient resource allocations.

Formerly, this was particularly true for the Papuan peoples inhabiting the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region. The present situation for both Papuans and Islanders is more complex.

Peoples of the region had the ability to come to terms with externally imposed limitations and restrictions on both free movement and free association, as well as with severe restrictions on the circulation of some foodstuffs and exchange items. In terms of fishing and exchange the impact of the Torres Strait Treaty between Australia and Papua New Guinea, is of particular concern to Papuans and Islanders.

The border issue between Australia and PNG has only recently been resolved. The recommendations of a Parliamentary Joint Committee (Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defence 1976) supported Australian sovereignty over the Torres Strait, including the northern islands of Saibai, Dauan and Boigu, as well as the extensive reef fishing grounds of Warrior Reef (Wapa) and Bramble Cay. This recommendation largely confirmed the border line determined by Queensland in 1879. An important recommendation of the Committee proposed a Protected Zone in the Torres Strait, within which freedom of passage for both Islanders and Papuans would be recognized. The Committee sought to ensure the continuation of existing rights of free access for Islanders and Papuans within the bounds of recognized agreements concerning illegal activities, quarantine regulations, immigration restrictions and other such concerns, such as air space, vessel movement, etc. These proposals were aimed at protecting the indigenous cultures of Islanders and Papuans.

With ratification of the Torres Strait Treaty on 15 February 1985, the border between PNG and Australia was formally established to the satisfaction of both governments. The Treaty, initially noted by both governments in 1978, recognized not only the need for conservation, protection, management, exploration and exploitation of the marine resources of the Torres Strait but also: '... *the importance of protecting the traditional way of life and livelihood of Australians who are Torres Strait Islanders and of Papua New Guineans who live in the coastal area of Papua New Guinea in and adjacent to the Torres Strait.*' (Australia. Treaties, 1978:1).

The Treaty specifically recognizes the customary rights of Islanders and Papuans. 'Traditional activities', as noted in the Treaty (Australia. Treaties 1978:3-5), were defined as:

'*(k)... activities performed by the traditional inhabitants in accordance with local tradition, and includes, when performed- (i) activities on land, including gardening, collection of food and hunting; (ii) activities on water, including traditional fishing; (iii) religious and secular ceremonies or gatherings for social purposes, for example, marriage celebrations and settlement of disputes; and (iv) barter and market trade.*

In the application of this definition, except in relation to activities of a commercial nature,

traditional shall be interpreted liberally and in the light of prevailing custom;

(l) traditional fishing means the taking, by traditional inhabitants for their own or their dependents consumption or for use in the course of traditional activities, of the living natural resources of the sea, seabed, estuaries and coastal tidal areas, including dugong and turtle ;

(m) traditional inhabitants means, in relation to Papua New Guinea, persons who-(i) live in the Protected Zone or adjacent coastal area of Papua New Guinea, (ii) are citizens of Papua New Guinea, and (iii) maintain traditional customary associations with areas or features in or in the vicinity of the Protected Zone in relation to their subsistence or livelihood or social, cultural, or religious activities

in relation to Australia, persons who (i) are Torres Strait Islanders who live in the Protected Zone or the adjacent coastal area of Australia, (ii) are citizens of Australia, and (iii) maintain traditional customary associations with areas or features in or in the vicinity of the Protected Zone in relation to their subsistence or livelihood or social, cultural, or religious activities.' (Australia. Treaties, 1978: Article i (k), (l) and (m))

The concept of 'traditional', as applied in the Torres Strait Treaty was left deliberately broad. This complex issue of definition was one point examined by Nietschmann (1983:127-154): '*Traditional people live in small-scale societies with a common territory whose subsistence livelihood is based on kinship and customary rights and obligations ... They practise varying types and mixtures of ecologically-integrated, sustained-yield subsistence activities that often produce surplus for local and regional trade with neighbouring groups. They make their living in large part from internal production and circulation of local resources, rather than earning one from market exchange of labour and resources for cash and goods produced by distant economies. Resource use, circulation and management are socially regulated by local authorities and kinship ties.*' (Nietschmann, 1983:130).

So called 'traditional' societies, like all societies, are not culturally frozen in time. Within the parameters of their spatial and cultural autonomy and internally directed economy, they evolve *with* tradition (Nietschmann,1983:130).

Islanders and Papuans operated within a range of multiple enterprise subsistence economies (See Anderson, 1980 for a discussion of similar situations within a SE Cape York Aboriginal society). A variety of economic strategies, such as wage labour on plantations, pearling and fishing boats, as well as assistance from missions and governments, was employed. Tradestore purchases and credits were supplemented with fishing, hunting and gathering of wild and semi-domesticated plants. The extent to which resources were exploited was dependent upon local access to natural resources, distance to and from regional market centres, and differing levels of mission and government contacts.

Customary exchange continued to serve as a linkage between subsistence levels among people united by kinship and fictive kin ties.

It is evident that concepts of traditionality and non-traditionality as commonly applied to Islander, Papuan or Aboriginal economic strategies fail to comprehend the continuing dynamics of economic decision-making. Concerning the Gugu-Yalanji-speaking people of the Bloomfield River area Anderson (1980:77) stated: '*original decision making with respect to involvement in specific kinds of economic strategies has ... nothing to do with nebulous concepts of traditionality or non-traditionality ... it is the result, rather, of rational and culturally defined exploitation of available resources in accord with desire and external circumstance.*'

It is therefore inappropriate to regard an exchange system, such as that which operated across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region, as in decay. This interpretation fails to allow that change and adaptation are essential characteristics of such a system. However, oral testimony as presented here illustrates the manner in which the people themselves perceive the continuing processes of customary exchange in the light of external and internal influences. The complexity of customary laws (Australian Law Reform Commission,1986) is recognized in guidelines recommended for adoption in Federal, State and Territory legislation; for administrative purposes, definition of 'traditional' should focus on the activity being undertaken rather than on the method. Therefore the incorporation of new materials especially European manufactured goods, into activities such as hunting and fishing may still be recognized as 'traditional' under law (Australian Law Reform Commission, 1986:79).

The Law Reform Commission further recommended the adoption of a broader definition of subsistence that incorporates ceremonial exchange and the satisfaction of kinship obligations. Thus, consumption of goods which occurs

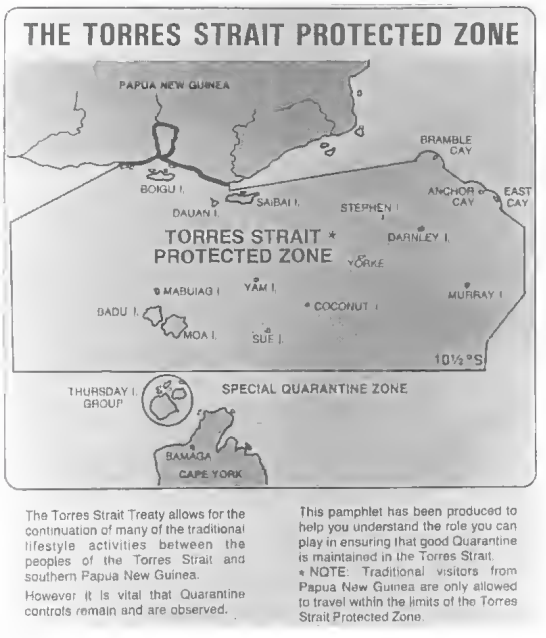


FIG. 98. Map of protected zone recognized under the Torress Strait Treaty. Reproduced from pamphlet issued by Dept. of Primary Industries detailing quarantine regulations in force.

within the local family or kinship groups should be regarded as 'traditional' even if elements of barter or exchange take place.

However, trade, exchange or sale outside the local community (and this presumably means outside the kinship system) should be regarded as a commercial transaction (Australian Law Reform Commission 1986:79).

The Torres Strait Treaty sought to protect customary practices of Islanders and Papuans within the confining parameters of international law. Papuan and Islander rights to 'barter and market trade', as customary exchange was termed in the Treaty, were to be formally recognized in the Treaty, within the area designated as the Torres Strait Protected Zone (Fig.98).

The Treaty made provision for the free movement and 'traditional' fishing rights of access for Islanders and Papuans subject to the proviso that Australian and PNG quarantine, customs, health and immigration restrictions be adhered to. A formal advisory and consultative body, the Torres Strait Joint Advisory Council, was also formed to consider and review any matters arising from the implementation of the Treaty. Currently a number of other committees report to the Joint Advisory Committee. These include the Torres Strait Fisheries Management Committee, the Torres Strait Fisheries Scientific Advisory Committee, the Torres Strait Fishing Industry and Islander Consultative Committee and the Torres Strait Environment Management Committee.

Precise geographical and political boundaries of the Protected Zone was one matter of concern in the establishment of the Treaty. As Burmester (1982:330) stated, the rigidity of map delineation of the zone meant that an area termed 'in the vicinity of' the zone was also declared. This flexible definition of the precise limits of the boundary meant that although it may vary according to context, and be imprecise according to law, its flexibility ensured adequate protection of the rights of people of the Fly estuary to maintain customary use of Torres Strait marine resources. An agreed note of discussion of 21 May 1984, Section B, with respect to the purpose of assisting in the determination of the meaning of the term 'traditional inhabitant', under Article 1 (paras. 11, 12, 16 and 28) of the Treaty, the area 'in the vicinity of the Protected Zone' was further described, in relation to Australia as: '*the area of Australian jurisdiction outside the Protected Zone between the meridians of longitude 141°00' and 145°00' E, and north of the parallel of latitude 10°30'S. In relation to PNG the 'vicinity' would be the area of PNG jurisdiction outside the Protected Zone and south of the parallel of latitude 9°00'S and west of the meridian of longitude 144°00'E, together with the whole of the remainder of Parama Island and the villages of Sui and Sewerinabu* [Severimabu], *subject to the possibility of further areas being included*'.

The agreed note of discussion recognized that the term 'vicinity' was broader than the Treaty provisions. Therefore, subject to agreement between PNG and Australia, further inclusions in respect of PNG, for example, Samari [Samare] on Kiwai Island, were to be considered. Areas outside the declared Protected Zone whose inhabitants have specific interests in respect of access to the resources of Torres Strait was a specific point of consideration by Australian and PNG authorities. In effect this extension of the permitted zone of free movement for 'traditional' purposes means that Torres Strait Islanders are permitted to travel as far as 9°00'S and to visit the villages of Parama, Sui and Severimabu. In return, Papuan people may travel as far as 10° 30'S. However, specific commercial transactions involving business dealings, employment for money and commercial fishing are prohibited. The complexities of the delimitation agreement between Australia and PNG are beyond the scope

of this research. The details of the international legal implications, and the structure of the seabed and fisheries jurisdiction lines and their full and proper description, can be found in reference to the Treaty itself (Australia. Treaties,1978) or to Burmester (1982) which contains an appraisal of the Treaty and the negotiation and agreement process.

Protection of the customary practices and livelihood of Islanders and Papuans has to a large extent been achieved by the establishment of the Torres Strait Protected Zone despite the fact that the zone, which essentially comprises the whole of the central Torres Strait and includes the islands and reefs at the eastern and western entrances of the Torres Strait, excludes the administrative areas of Thursday Island and Daru.

In small scale societies, resource management practices, such as complex exchange networks, developed over long periods of time. As part of the foundations of the social and economic stability of the societies of this region, resource strategies and management plans, such as those instituted by the Torres Strait Treaty, widen the gap between the '*traditional diverse resource utilization strategies and what becomes sectoral development designed to increase the economic well-being of a depressed region*' (Burbridge, 1982:377). The difficulty has been maintenance of the functional integrity of the customary economic base while managing for broad-scale economic and social development. In the light of these complex issues the Treaty also sought to establish guidelines for the conservation and management of commercial fisheries in the Protected Zone while still maintaining the viability of the 'traditional fisheries' base. Maintenance of the 'traditional fisheries' base is highly significant to the customary exchange system. Exchange of fish and other seafoods for garden foods and sago constituted an important part of exchange across the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region. It is still an important feature of exchange along the SW coast of PNG.

Research projects into the traditional fisheries activities of Papuans and Islanders have being undertaken by separate instrumentalities of the PNG and Australian governments. The objectives of the PNG traditional fisheries study were '*to record all present and historical fishing trade, and other movements through the Treaty area, to delineate the extent of the traditional fishing grounds, record traditional fishing rights and to record changes in fishing and craft technology*' (Tenakanai,1986:38). The ten coastal villages, predominantly Kiwai-speaking, investigated were Buji, Ber, Sigabaduru, Mabudawan, Mawatta, Tureture, Kadawa, Katatai, Parama and Sui.

Tenakanai (1986:40) stated that 'trading expeditions' in the recent past were combined with fishing expeditions and ventured as far south into the Torres Strait as Badu and Moa, and as far east as Mer, Erub, Ugar and Masig. Reciprocal visits by Islanders, from Mer, Erub, Ugar and Masig, as well as Islanders from Saibai and Boigu, were made to Daru. Tenakanai (1986:40) also noted the close relationship between the Agob-speaking Papuans and Saibai and Dauan peoples and the close relationship between the Kiwai-speaking people of Mabudawan and Saibai Islanders. Use of reefs and fishing areas of Torres Strait was confined to Papuan villages where ocean-going canoes were still being constructed such as Buji, Sigabaduru, Mabudawan, Mawatta, Tureture, Katatai (and Kadawa) and Parama (Tenakanai,1986:41). It was from these villages that the majority of Papuan pearling and fishing boat crews were also drawn. Access to the resources of Torres Strait has always been of paramount importance to the economic well-being of villagers along the SW coast of PNG. However, Papuan need for access to Torres Strait resources is more critical than Islander needs for access to the SW coast. Economic changes in the 19th century, resulting from commercial exploitation of pearl-shell and bêche-de-mer, altered Islander perspectives on customary exchange. Mission and administrative control over Islander social and economic life further changed Islander perceptions.

The Torres Strait Protected Zone Joint Authority is charged with monitoring the joint Australian and Queensland fisheries and, according to the annual report (Torres Strait Protected Zone Authority,1988:1,2), the formulation of policy concerning management of commercial and traditional fisheries in the Zone. The Authority consists of two members, the Commonwealth Minister for Primary Industry and the Queensland State Minister for Primary Industry. The Authority implemented a study of traditional fishing activities in Torres Strait, which set out to: '*... document the use of fish and fisheries products by traditional inhabitants, and identify existing and potential problems relating to the impact of commercial fishing on traditional fishing.*'(Torres Strait Protected Zone Joint Authority, 1987:7.

It was also noted that the potentially destructive competition among traditional fishermen from different areas in Torres Strait, and by implication from PNG, as well as other socio-economic and biological problems faced by traditional fishermen were problems under examination. However, the preliminary results indicate that, with the exception of dugong, marine resources on which traditional fisheries were based are not fully utilized (Torres Strait Protected Zone Joint Authority,1988:9).

Early reports of the study (Johannes & Macfarlane, 1986:31-32; 1984:256-261) categorized 'traditional fishing rights' into 'Home Reef Fishing Rights' which included access to fringing reefs surrounding inhabited islands and 'Extended Fishing Rights' which referred to access rights to waters and reefs beyond the immediate home reefs. 'Extended Fishing Rights' were no longer being observed in the Torres Strait today (Johannes & Macfarlane,1986:34). Reduction of fishing grounds had important implications. Dugong and turtle meat were, and still are, preferred foods for Torres Strait Islanders and contribute important foodstuffs in the customary exchange system, particularly amongst kin. Access to home reefs is still largely confined to inhabitants of the Torres Strait Islands or with permission, to outsiders. For example, Mabuduawan people regularly fish on reefs to the east of Saibai. In the past, Saibai Islanders hunted on the mainland of PNG on Sigabaduru land. Such reciprocal rights were protected by the need to seek approval for access. Kinship and fictive ties strengthened the close relationships between Islanders and Papuans.

Johnannes & MacFarlane (1991) found rates of seafood consumption that were among the highest in the world with an estimated average annual catch of about one green turtle (*Chelonia mydas*) per capita produced an average consumption rate of about 125gm of turtle meat per day. Dugong consumption was also high in the Protected Zone. However, consumption patterns varied according to resource access. Dugong consumption was high in the western islands, particularly Mabuiag, while turtle consumption was high in the 'top' western island of Boigu and the central island of Yorke (Johnannes & MacFarlane, 1991:195-197, table 16). Data from these islands do not reflect consumption patterns across all Torres Strait islander communities. However, what is important is that turtle and dugong meat remains significant in the Islander diet and it continues to form part of the internal exchange system, particularly between kin and fictive kin. Subsistence fishing remains important both socially and economically. The low level of community exploitation of fisheries has assisted in the preservation of marine resources in the Torres Strait region and the '*Islanders greatest economic asset is Torres Strait's productive and relatively unspoiled marine environment*' (Johannes & MacFarlane, 1991:201).

However, the retreat of Torres Strait Islander control over access to extended reefs has resulted in abuse of certain areas under customary control. For example, Kadawa villagers still regularly hunt dugong and turtle on the rich Wapa and Warrior Reefs, usually during exchange trips en route to Masig, Yam or Erub. Johannes & Macfarlane (1984:263) noted that in the 1950s Papuan boat crews were reported to have killed large numbers of nesting turtles on Bramble Cay. Such activities severely tested the customary relationships maintained across the Torres Strait.

In former times, control of extended reef and island resources by Islanders may have been directly responsible for regulating the flow of valuable exchange items such as cone shells and pearl-shell from the Torres Strait. Johannes & Macfarlane (1984:262) noted that cone shells and bailer shells were mainly obtained from the Warrior Reef and the reefs to the east, including Bramble Cay.

The Torres Strait Islanders were, in former times, in a more favoured position economically than the coastal Papuans. Loss of control over extended reef rights because of government and mission control over Islander resources and the uncontrolled commercial exploitation of reefs by Europeans would have seriously weakened the position of Torres Strait Islanders in the customary exchange system had not European maritime technology and European tradestore goods became available. Thus the substitution of dinghies for canoes, calico for fibre skirts, trousers for pubic shells and store goods for sago and other garden foods did not seriously weaken the favoured position of Islanders in customary exchange. In fact these items entered the exchange system and became items of exchange in much demand by coastal Papuans.

The coastal Papuans, on the other hand, found themselves once more in a position of disadvantage. Physical isolation in a difficult environment, poor garden lands, limited access to education, inadequate medical care and the lack of government assisted welfare support have continued to keep the standard of living of the coastal

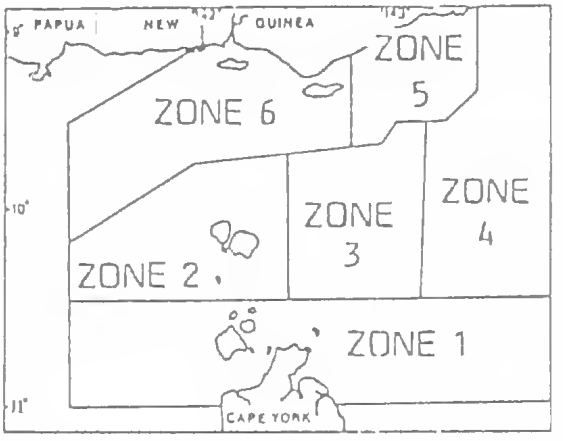


FIG. 99. Division of Torress Strait into six zones on the basis of boundaries defined by the Torres Strait Treaty and meridians of longitude (Hudson & Marsh 1986: 318, 328 to 333).

Papuans below that of Islanders. In recent years some Papuans have resettled on Torres Strait islands but, despite some economic advantages and better access to medical and educational facilities, their social and cultural status remains that of second class citizens or aliens despite their claims to kinship ties with Islanders.

Economic advantage, and possibly a relief from the boredom of village life, was the primary reason why young Papuans left the village and sought work in the Torres Strait fishing and pearling industries. To some extent the indentured work experience served as a new initiation process for young Papuans and, like initiation, the enforced separation from women and the village, the struggle for status and the return laden with valuables appears to have been incorporated into another cultural experience. This experience is still recounted by older men in coastal Papuan villages who continue to encourage their young men to venture into the Torres Strait in search of status and valuables.

Hudson & Marsh (1986) supported the conclusion that Papuan use of Torres Strait is confined to the northern and parts of central Torres Strait. They examined data from daily observational surveillance flights over Torres Strait, during 1980, 1982 and 1983 (Hudson & Marsh, 1986:322, 323, 325, 328) and noted that in zones 5, 3, 6 and 2 (Fig. 99), significant sightings of canoes (84 sightings in 1982 and 43 sightings in 1983) with turtle or dugong catches on board were in vessels labelled 'traditional canoes'. No figures are given for the number of canoes sighted with no turtles or dugong but these figures are still an indication of the proportion of use of the Torres Strait by Papuans.

These figures are of considerable importance for, with the exception of zone 4 which covers the region of the eastern islands of the Torres Strait, zones 5, 6, 2 and 3 cover the whole of the remaining portion of the Torres Strait Protected Zone. As both Hudson and Marsh (1986:323 and 324) reported on difficulties encountered using the surveillance data and the varying quality of the available data, it may be assumed that, to some considerable extent, Papuan canoes still travel over the entire Protected Zone for both fishing and visiting purposes.

The fishing reefs of the Wapa Reef area, the Dagagota/ Kumaderi/Parakari Reefs in Zone 5, and the Moon Passage and Tudu area in Zone 3, which are in easy reach of the Papuan coast by motorized canoes (*gorowae*) (Fig.100) are the most important. Statistics of the locations of sightings of 'traditional canoes' with sails (*tataku, puputo* or *motomoto*) indicate that sailing canoes use the rich fishing grounds around Kokope, Kumaderi, Wapa, and Parakari Reefs and Moon Passage (Fig.101). Torres Strait islands which are inhabited and most commonly visited by sailing canoe include Yam and Boigu, while visits to uninhabited islands include Tudu, Turu Cay and Gebar. Sightings of sailing canoes (Hudson & Marsh,1986:328) indicate that zones 5 (Daru), zone 6 (Saibai, Dauan, Boigu) and zone 3 (central islands of the Torres Strait) were areas of heavy concentration. This confirms statements made by local informants that the most regular canoe voyages made by coastal Papuans were along the SW coast, the Warrior Reef area and also the central islands, particularly Yam Island. Monthly sighting figures for zone 5 reported a total of 43 sightings of canoes in 1980 (Hudson & Marsh,1986:325). The highest number, 23, was sighted in December 1980. The favourable NW winds at this time and the opportunity afforded by holidays and Christmas enabled coastal Papuans to make community visits to the eastern and central islands or to take extended fishing trips to the Wapa and Warrior Reef complex. The fact that no sightings were reported in June and July suggests that, as has been customary for many decades, the prevailing winds from the SE make long distance travelling difficult.

Further refinement of statistics such as those presented by Hudson & Marsh could be of considerable use in studies on patterns of exchange movements. As would be expected, concentrations of canoe sightings for 1980, 1982 and 1983

FIG. 100. Location and sightings of motorized canoes (*Motomoto*) Torres St. 1980, 1982, and 1983.

confirm the importance of the reef and fishing waters of zone 5 and the islands and reefs of zone 6, particularly Boigu, Saibai and Dauan, all of which are directly accessible from coastal Papuan villages. Thus Papuan use of Torres Strait is concentrated in the northern portion of the Protected Zone.

Hudson & Marsh (1986:327) noted that upgraded information of this type would be particularly useful for obtaining information on the geographical range of canoes, areas of high usage in the Torres Strait, seasonal changes in usage, changes in technology (especially the use of outboard motors) and changes in average crew size. Some of these questions have been provided in the historical evidence and oral testimony presented above. However, continuing changes in technology and usage of the Torres Strait could certainly be obtained from more refined surveillance data.

The Senate Standing Committee (Australia. Parliament. Senate Standing Committee on National Resources 1986), reporting on the adequacy of quarantine regulations in the Torres Strait in 1986, noted that the application of quarantine, immigration, customs and health procedures was, under the conditions of the Torres Strait Treaty, designed not to prevent the movement of people nor the performance of traditional rights. However, the Torres Strait was considered an area of high risk for the introduction of exotic pests and diseases into Australia and adequate safeguards needed to be kept. Australia and PNG retain rights, under the Torres Strait Treaty, to implement national controls concerning illegal entry, evasion of justice, and prejudicial practices contrary to effective immigration, customs, health and quarantine protection.

The Torres Strait had, prior to the ratification of the Treaty, been an ineffective quarantine barrier. In the matter of customary movement, regulations required that people obtain permits to cross the border between Australia and PNG. Permits were issued in Daru and Thursday Island, or alternatively, permission was given by island councils, but this had been largely ineffective for purely practical reasons.

The Torres Strait Treaty has created two quarantine divisions in the Torres Strait. These are the Torres Strait Protected Zone, the area north of 10°28'S to the PNG coastline, and the Special Quarantine Zone, the area comprising Wayben, Narupay and adjacent territorial seas. Under this system and for the purposes of 'traditional trading', the movement of specified goods within the Protected Zone is exempt from quarantine restrictions. The aim of these regulations has been to stop uncontrolled movement of people and goods across what has been in many ways an open door.

The report on the adequacy of quarantine regulations (Australia. Parliament. Senate Standing Committee on National Resources,1986:89-90 [Appendix 7]) contains the extract from the Australian Government Gazette of 1985 detailing

FIG. 101. Location and sightings of sail canoes (*Tataku/ Puputo* or *Motomoto*) Torres St. 1980, 1982, and 1983.

FIG. 102. Portion of pamphlet issued by DPI listing 'trade' items and foods permitted in exchange transactions across Torres Strait.

the nature and extent of those items of material culture permitted to be exchanged across the common border between PNG and Australia.

Included is a list of garden foods, fish and shellfish permitted to be carried for the purposes of 'traditional trading' in non-commercial quantities. This list of permitted items was incorporated in a pamphlet (Fig.102) which stated that visits by Papuans were only permitted within the Torres Strait Protected Zone. The permitted exchange items included: drums made of softwood with skin tympanums (incorrectly termed *kundu* in the pamphlet); pandanus mats and skirts; coconut palm and pandanus leaf baskets; bamboo and black palm bows; bamboo, mangrove and *wongai* spears (presumably arrows and harpoon timbers) with metal, not bone, tips; beads made of seeds; wooden carvings; woven and pandanus armbands; woven fibre belts; shells; as well as fish, crabmeat, dugong and turtle meat, coconuts, yams and sago. Thus the Treaty protects the movement of some items of subsistence and a number of types of artefacts which have been part of the customary exchange for generations (Fig.103).

However, Papuans and Torres Strait Islanders are prohibited from carrying live plant material, fresh fruit or vegetables, soil, animals, uncanned meat, uncanned milk, eggs, hides, skins or feathers to and from the Protected Zone or from the Special Quarantine Zone to any part of Australia. Many of these prohibited items were included as part of customary exchange of both foodstuffs and artefacts.

The Treaty and the quarantine regulations which permit free access to and from the Protected Zone, within the regulations prescribed under the laws of Australia and Papuan New Guinea certainly make considerable allowanees for the continuation of the customary exchange system. It is to be regretted that press reports such as Cribb (1988:16), which are based on an incorrect assessment of the facts, do much to present the Torres Strait region as the 'unguarded' door of Australia. From a defence and broad security viewpoint the Torres Strait is unlikely, 'in the event of future defence contingencies' to 'attract an opponent's priority attention'. Apart from shipping routes the area is economically underdeveloped, has poor infrastructure and little strategic importance compared with other northern and off-shore areas (Babbage,1990).

The customs and quarantine assessment is notably different and the belief that the Torres Strait constitutes the area of greatest quarantine risk in northern Australia appears to be a reflection of official government policy (Australia. Department of Primary Industry and Energy, Quarantine Review Committee, 1988:190).

Swain & Trapnell (1985) stated that the enormous difficulty in controlling free movement across Torres Strait is compounded by size of the region and low population, as well as the fact that

FIG. 103. Child on Boigu with display of foods and atrefacts exchanged from Agob speaking villages of Buji, Ber, Thoez [Torze]. Reproduced from Teske (1986a:35).

an estimation of population movement in the Torres Strait indicates that as much as 50-60% of the population, (3000-4000 people) of the island communities 'travel between the islands each year in traditional visits'.

Among the coastal villages along the SW coast, exchange still takes place on a regular basis. For example, Kulalae and Mabudawan people exchange vegetable foods for fish, as do Masingara and Mawatta people. This exchange is not only cross-ecological but cross-cultural. Exchange in these situations occurs without cash transactions between regular exchange participants. The exchange of produce and some artefacts for cash now occurs at Daru in the government established market. Despite severe transportation and communication problems Daru remains the central administrative, legal and medical centre for the coastal and Fly estuary Papuan peoples. The principal barramundi freezer plant as well as tradestores at Daru also draw Fly estuary and Kiwai Island fishermen to Daru during the barramundi season.

Coastal Papuan people from as far as Buji regularly bring other fish, turtle meat and some shellfish, as well as baskets, mats and brooms, for sale at Daru market. However, the sale of dugong at the market is strictly prohibited. The riverine dwelling people from the Pahoturi and Bineturi Rivers bring vegetable foods, especially bananas, sweet potato, taro, coconuts and some sago to the market, together with meat, particularly wallaby or deer. Baskets, cassowary feather headdresses, and bows and arrows can be obtained from riverine dwelling peoples on request. Drums, cassowary feather headdresses and plumes can be obtained from Gidra-speaking peoples. This usually occurs before special occasions, such as dance festivals and Independence Day. Drums can also be obtained through the Bine-speaking people from Masingara who make more regular trips to Daru than the people from the upper Oriomo river. Canoes can be obtained through Fly estuary Kiwai people or from the Bamu River people who now reside permanently either on Daru or in one of the small villages which have relocated along the Oriomo River.

The procedure by which coastal Papuans obtain canoes from the Fly estuary has changed with the common use of community radio. Generally, a 'service message' is made over the radio from Daru stating that a canoe can be purchased from the market. The price is stated and coastal people may then make the journey to Daru to negotiate the purchase.

The best sago still comes from Kiwai Island and is therefore more readily available during the barramundi season when Fly estuary people, particularly from Sui village, come to Daru daily. During the barramundi season, therefore, a common food in the villages is barramundi grilled in sago.

Seasonality of supply, the irregular nature of transportation, lack of storage and uncertain weather conditions continue to hinder the full development of the Daru market. The islands of the Torres Strait, particularly Boigu and Saibai, are often easier to reach than the Daru markets. The market is also poor in quality compared with those on other major regional centres of PNG. For this reason people from the SW coast of Papua still see the Torres Strait as a source for purchasing daily commodities as well as luxury items. Taste also is an important factor in determining choice of market. Australian rice and sugar are 'sweeter' and 'whiter' than the local Ramu brands which are disparagingly called 'blue' rice and 'blue' sugar. Petrol is also cheaper in the Torres Strait. The high cost of petrol, even if obtained from the Torres Strait islands, is largely responsible for the continued use of canoes along the SW coast. The majority of canoes coming to Daru during the barramundi season are sailing canoes. *Gorowae*, and now 'banana' boats (fibreglass dinghies with outboard motors), are used for short distance runs near Daru.

Customary exchange continues to be an integral part of inter-community relations across

the Torres Strait and Fly estuary region. However, the Torres Strait Treaty has largely formalized these patterns of exchange by imposing a set of legal restrictions. The exchange system is now enclosed within a set of parameters which have been decided, with some due respect for customary tradition, by the dictates of international law.

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APPENDIX A

Names of Torres Strait islands in contemporary use and some alternative names used in documentary sources. Island names in italics are those in contemporary use (source Fuary,1986).

'TOP' WESTERN ISLANDS	
BOIGU	TALBOT
BURU	TURNAGAIN
DAUAN	Mt. CORNWALLIS
SAIBAI	SAYBAY
WESTERN ISLANDS	
BADU	MULGRAVE, BADHU
KIRIRI	*HAMMOND*
MABUIAG	JERVIS, MABUYAG
MOA	BANKS, MUA
MURALAG	*PRINCE OF WALES*
MURI	*Mt. ADOLPHUS*
NARUPAY	*HORN*
PABAJU	*ALBANY*
WAYBEN	*THURSDAY*, WAIBEN
CENTRAL ISLANDS	
AWRIDH	AUREED, AURID
DHAMUDH	DALRYMPLE, DAMOOD, DAMUD, DAMUT
GEBAR	TWO BROTHERS, GABBA, GABA
MASIG	YORKE, MASSIG, MASSID
MUKAR	CAP
NAGI	Mt. ERNEST, NAGHIR, NAGHEER
PURUMA	COCONUT, PAREMAR, PURAMA
SASI	LONG, SASSIE
TUDU	WARRIOR, TOOD, TUD, TUTU
WARRABER	SUE, WARABER, WARABIR
YAM	TURTLE BACKED, YAMA, IAMA
ZEGEY	DUNGENESS
EASTERN ISLANDS	
DAUAR	DAWAR, DOWAR
ERUB	*DARNLEY*, EROOB, ERROB, ERROOB
MAIZABKAUR	*BRAMBLE CAY*
MER	*MURRAY*, MAER
UGAR	*STEPHEN, OOGAR, AUGAR*
ZABKER	*CAMPBELL*, ZAPKER

APPENDIX B

Estimated population statistics for the Torres Strait islands and southwest coast and Fly estuary villages of PNG.

ISLAND	DATE	POP.	SOURCE
MER	1846	700	Hunt (1899:5) quoting Jukes but Haddon (1935,1: 95)states Flinders
	1874	753	Gill (1874a,b)
	1888	3-400	McFarlane (1888)
	1889	400	Hunt (1899:5)
	1900	481	Douglas (1900)
	1911	458	Macgregor (1911:22)
	1917	450	White (1917:51)
MER/DAUAR /WAIER	1872/3	800-1000	Beckett (1972:312)
ERUB	pre 1871	500	Beckett (1972:312)
	1874	179	Gill (1874a,b)
	1898	217	Myers [1899 ?]
	1900	250	Douglas (1900)
	1911	315	Macgregor (I911:22)
UGAR	1911	42	Macgregor (1911)
SAIBAI	1873	600	Moresby (1876:133)
	I884	130	Strachan (1888:24)
	1911	265	Macgregor (1911:22)
BOIGU	pre 1885	350	Strachan (1888:131)
	1888	17 families	Mcfarlane (1888:106)
DAUAN	1881	100 6 fams.	Moresby (1876:133)
MASIG	1873	80-90	Beckett (1972:312)
TUDU	1870	18 canoes, approx. 43 men	Chester (1870:1,3)
	1872	250	Gill (1874a,b)
YAM/TUDU	1873	200+	Beckett: (1972:312)
	1911	84	Macgregor (1911:22)
NAGI	1849	300	Macgillivray (1852,II:16)
	1849	100	Macgillivray (1852,II:42)
	1849-52	200	Haddon (1901/03, II)
	1888	15	Haddon (1888)

ISLAND	DATE	POP.	SOURCE
MOA	1911	90	Macgregor (1911:22)
MURALAG	1849	50	Brierly MSS (Moore 1974)
MABUIAG	1871	114	Chester (1871: 5)
	1872	300+	Beckett (1972:312)
	1874	300	Gill (1874)
	1875/6	250	Macfarlane (1888)
	1911	253	Macgregor (1911:22)
VILLAGE	DATE	POP.	SOURCE
MASINGARA	1891	400-500	Macgregor,1892
	1894	400	Annual Reports on BNG 1893/93
BUJI	1898	250	Annual Reports on BNG 1987/98
PARAMA	1874	500	Gill (1874 a,b)
TURETURE	1874	500	Gill (1874 a: 126)
Kiwai IS.	1889	5000	Macgregor (1890 b)
	1903	4000	Chalmers (1903b)
SAGUANE	1889	250	Macgregor (1890 b)
SAMARI		400	
IASA		500+	
KUBIRA		300	
SUMAI		500	
WIORUBI		700-800	
IPISIA (AREA)		1000	
KATAU/ MAWATTA	1874	400	Gill (1874 a: 126)

APPENDIX C

Story to account for [the] close relationship between [the] people of Warrior Island (Tutu) [Tudu] and New Guinea in trading etc.

Collected by Rev W. Macfarlane (Macfarlane 1928/29, see also Haddon 1935, I: 81-83)

In N [ew] G [uinea], at Deeramo, inside Kadau River (where P [rimary] I [ndustries] station now is), plenty of wild pig used to roam - one in particular was noted for its great size - it had 'all same cane growing all over body' (long bristles), and used to 'kai-kai people all time'.

Living there was a man named Amubalee: when his wife was preg [nant] he said to her, 'when you born boy, bye and bye, put name for him Ui-balee'.

A [Mubalee] makes bamboo canoe, and paddles along with tide to Mauat. He wonders what he is going to do ? 'better I take canoe belong alligator'. He catches alligator, tells it to open mouth so he can go inside: but after entering, decides to come out again as he might be mistaken for the animal and killed, so he decides to take his bamboo canoe again.

Pulls into Kamoos reef: makes fire on canoe, cooks kai-kai. It is big low water, and canoe is on top of reef. He sees Wappa reef when tide falls, follows it to Wappa reef, then to Moon Passage, where he sleeps for the night. At daylight, sees another reef, close to Warrior: pulls to sandbank Ta-bai-an (which he names after his own village in N.G.). Sees Warrior [Island] close by now: pulls again all night , catches Warrior at daylight. Finds no one there: everybody on other side.

On S[outh].E[ast] side are two brothers, named Waiu and Kereba. They wonder where A [Mubalee] comes from, and question him. Tells them he has run away from N.G. because of the big pig: but has left his wife who has family. Shows them his canoe and gives them bananas.

W[aiu] and K[ebera] invite A [Mubalee] to join them. the two brothers have children: A [Mubalee] takes child of one, and makes her his wife. When she 'got picaninny', K [ebera] and W [aiu] take same, and the family keep on exchanging to make 'plenty people'.

Meanwhile, wife of A [Mubalee], at home, has her child. Names him Uibalu. When almost 8 years old, asks 'where my papa ?' (They live in a high tree house, because of the wild pig). Mother tells him - 'I speak you one time, why we stop on top: he got sometime underneath: your father been run away, frightened, he take bamboo canoe. He put your name, Uibalu'. Boy asks why they can't remove from there, as something may come and kill them: he wants to go down, and will not listen to mother.

Seeing his determination, mother makes him bow, and shows him how his father used a bow: tells him to try it. He shoots five cuckoos, which mother cooks. Then he goes out and shoots a wallaby: 'he got tail which name that thing': mother tells him beu-sar (wallaby). He goes again and shoots a big kangaroo: mother kisses ? him and praises him. They Kop-maori the kangaroo on ground, take cooked meat on top about sundown. After dark, pig comes out, making big noise: they see him moving about in bush.

'bye and bye I shoot him.....'. Mother tells him

'you can't: your father run away from him, boy'. Mother gives him big bow belonging to his father: the two of them fit a string and make it taut. Mother gets arrows. Boy bends the big bow 'all same man'. Mother is excited: he strong all same his father.

Boy takes bow and arrow to ground: sleeps, but only to be awakened at sundown. Mother awakens him: he tells her to sleep. She says, 'S'pose pig kai-kai you, bye and bye I kill myself'.

Boy secrets himself: moves .. .. ? Pig 'long way'. Boy hear him coming and prepares: takes big arrow (girowa), fires, hits pig in rib: fires again and kills him. Leaves bow and arrow and goes on top to sleep, but does not tell mother what he has done. She goes down to cook: sees pig: retreats in fright: sees arrows in side, and finds pig is dead. Boy still sleeps: mother kisses him - 'Father run away but you got proper strong heart'.

Mother takes out 'cane' bristles from pig, and throws towards villages round about that have lost their people through the pig: towards Pe-wadai, Ku-kuriam, Jibiam, Mageroobee, Goorooroo, Massingara, Boorau. (She does this so that people of villages can 'come up again'). She continues turning towards Badurubee, Urupiam, Jibar, Togo. Twisting she throws one 'close to', to Kuini, then near ? village, and another to Iramissi.

After this they cut up the pig. The boy wants legs and arms - 'you kopmaori body and head for kai-kai'. They go to garden place, cut 4 bunches bananas and 4 bunches taro. Leave kaikai close to river. Basket with legs, etc., is placed alongside: mother wonders why boy does this.

They take kopmaori: smash meat with stone axe: mother and son kaikai. Son asks where father went - in which direction ? Mother tells him: and he decides to seek father. She tells him father's name.

Boy Uibalu leaves mother and goes off. Makes canoe of grass, like alligator: goes inside. Grass floats with U [ibalu] inside: he is satisfied, and prepares food to take with him. Tells mother that if he dies, pigeons will make noise at tree where she lives. Bids her farewell and goes off.

U [ibalu] reaches sandbank: comes out and looks round. Then goes on to Kamoos, thence to Wappa, and at daylight gets place at Moon Passage where father had slept. Gets on top of sandbank: thinks it is like his own home. Looks round: goes off again, and lands at Warrior. Puts canoe ashore: walks about: hears people making dance: hears his father's voice singing, and recognises it. Goes 'close to', and sees his father's house. Hears father speaking to wife: listens: woman calls her son Newia. All sleep now. A [Mubalee] goes to his house to sleep: N [ewia] goes to same house with his wife. U [ibalu] goes in, and sleeps between father and son. Has rubbed himself with coconut oil: A [Mubalee] smells him, 'ah, he all same belong New Guinea ! Who belong there ?' U [ibalu] tells him what he has done: shows father 4 bananas and legs of pig. Cuts leg: throws pieces all over Warrior Island, and now people 'come up all over', 'That why Warrior Island got plenty people'.

U [ibalu] decides to return. Cuts 5 sticks [Koopee] and gives to father and tells him to come in 5 days time. Goes back in same grass canoe: travels all night: sundown at sandbank. Gets inside river, and so home. Tells mother he has found father at place called Tudee or Tud ('can't call name Tutu proper'): Mother kisses him. 'No boy like you: you make people everywhere'.

He waits 4 days, then goes to big tree .. .. day plenty canoes come. All canoes come along Sauree (outside river). Man takes boo shell and sticks in circle in mud. Take[s] Baib (made of turtle shell, worn on head) and puts alongside boo. They say to these objects, 'when some people come from Warrior (Tutu) Island, you got open your eye, and N.G. people will say all Warrior (Tutu) people come'. All go to tree in New Guinea. A [Mubalee] sees his wife and son: very happy. Some people go to different villages. Remain for 2 days, make .. .. friends: then all return to Warrior. Find N [ewia] has taken a woman, and she has family. Son named Maida. Maida in turn has daughter, Sigee: she marries Yasabab (of Yam): they have two sons, Kutusaga and Kututai.

(Yasabab is very big man: big ... ...: some large bones found on Yam some ... ... back high up in stones, said to belong to him. These were sent to Sydney to Dr. Vernon, T [hursday] I [sland]).

Maida came to Yam Island: and grew up family there. Yasabab belongs to Yam. Maida was a great fighter. 'fight all over'. When he died, Y[asabab] took his place as fighting leader. Used to fight against Waraber, Long Island, Cap Island, Two Brothers and other places. (At one time, Long Island had population on west side.

There is also a story of the doings of Maida and Yasabab.

APPENDIX D

Story Of Sido

Told by Mageramo Mareke, Daru Town, Iasa village corner, Kiwai language.

This man Sido was not created at U'uwo on Kiwai Island. He was created at Dibiri, but the Dibiri people chased him away from there because he was making magic. From there he went to U'uwo . At U'uwo there were two women. They were joined together at the waist. One could bend down to the front, the other could bend down to the back. When they walked one would follow behind the other backwards. They went together everywhere. They would go to make sago together and they would return together.

When Sido went to U'uwo he did not know that these two women were living there. One day when they returned from making sago Sido saw them. He hid in a staghorn fern on a tree when he saw them coming. One woman told the other to pull a leaf off the fern as they passed and the other woman did this and put the leaf in her basket. Sido was hidden inside this leaf. They both went off to catch fish. When they went to the shore they had their wash. When they finished their wash one woman took the leaf and wrapped it in a nipa palm leaf. She then put this on the fire. When she had finished cooking the leaf she put it to one side. While the other woman was looking the other way the cook started to eat the leaf, but when she opened her mouth , and breathed in she swallowed the whole leaf. After it had gone down her throat she said: 'Something has happened to me'. The other woman who had finished eating her sago asked her what had happened to the leaf. The first woman answered that the leaf had been so small that she had eaten it all. The other woman replied: 'Maski', that is, 'It does not matter.'

The woman who ate the leaf then became pregnant. The other woman noticed that she was having a baby and said this to her. Together they continued to go out and make sago, until she was ready to give birth. She gave birth to Sido. This was Sido's rebirth. Both of them looked after Sido. Because of his magic he grew very quickly. He quickly learnt to turn around, sit and eat and soon he could recognise his two mothers. He very quickly became fully grown.

He told his two mothers to make him a bow and arrows. They made some for him and gave them to him. First he went to the shore and shot a 'good morning' fish (puffer fish). He took this fish to his two mothers and asked if he could eat it. They replied: 'No - that is not an eating fish'. Then he shot a bush fowl and again he asked his two mothers if he could eat this. They replied: 'Yes'. In this way he shot all types of animals, and his mothers separated the eating ones from the other ones. In this way he fed his mothers with fish and food from the bush.

He saw his two mothers joined together and thought to himself that they could not work properly this way. One day, when his two mothers went into the bush he waited where he knew they would pass on their way home. He ran to the road and sat near the path where they would come. He made a hard ball of sago and waited . When they both came past he stood up and hit them hard with the ball of sago. It split them into two separate people. One ran to the shore, the other ran to the bush. He started running after the one who ran to the bush. He grabbed her by the neck, turned her around and made her run to the beach. She followed the other who told her companion that Sido had been the one who had hit them and caused them to become separated. Sido caught up to them and told them to go into the water and wash. The two mothers told Sido that he had hit them badly but he said that he had only done it in order to straighten their backs. Sido then told them to go and cook food. The women went and prepared food that Sido brought them.

One old man, Sobse by name, was working in his gardens nearby. Sido did not know this man. Sido was shooting birds for his mothers when his arrow landed near this man in his garden. He was walking around near the river looking for his arrow, tapping the water and talking to himself. The old man working nearby heard these sounds and when he saw Sido he said to himself: 'What a fine boy. What a nice light- skinned boy'. He put down his digging spade and went to Sido. He told Sido to come with him to his house and sat him down and cut bananas for him. He gave Sido coconut water to drink. He then told Sido to stay at the house while he went to his gardens. Sido was left in the house eating but he was also spying on the old man. The old man cut two bundles of bananas, and two bundles of coconuts. Sido saw the old man working and went up behind him. While he was not looking Sido jumped over him, grabbed the bundles of bananas and coconuts and ran away. The old man followed Sido to the river, and searched the

banks for Sido's footprints. He was looking for Sido because he was worried about him.

Sido took the bananas and coconuts to his two mothers. They asked him where this food came from, and Sido told them. He then told them to cook the food and later the three ate it. Later he went back to the old man and tricked him into giving Sido his magic. The old man soon realized that Sido was tricking him. Later, Sido took the old man to his mother's house where they began living together in one longhouse. He made the old man his father. One day Sido heard the sound of drums and asked the old man what was that noise. The old man told Sido who asked him to make a drum. Together, they went and killed a big snake. They took the skin off and dried it and attached it to the timber. The old man put the drum in the sun to dry it. Later Sido asked him if the drum was ready as it had been in the sun for a long time. The old man told him that it was not ready yet. Sido went and got a ball of beeswax. The old man stuck the wax on the skin. Sido was in a hurry to play the drum so he took it and struck it. The drum called out: 'Sagaru-Sagaru', when Sido struck it. The old man put four spots of wax on the drum but still it called out: 'Sagaru-Sagaru'. The old man told Sido not to play the drum but to take it to Iasa and take it inside the longhouse there.

Sido asked the old man for the use of a canoe. The old man showed him a small canoe that he used to go to his garden place, but Sido said that it was too small. Sido wanted to use a large fruit tree with magic power and went near the longhouse where the tree grew. The old man said that Sido could not use that tree as it was used by the U'uwo village for decoration of the village. Sido got angry when his father said that he must go by small canoe. Sido took the drum and ran to the canoe. He jumped into the canoe but he did not get into the canoe the correct way and it sank. Sido was wet, he ran to his father and told him he had sunk the canoe. The old man did not believe him because he had no trouble using the canoe. When the old man went away from the longhouse to look for the canoe Sido got the drum and climbed the tree. The tree then swung him across Kiwai Island to Iasa. When the tree swung back the old man heard the noise and said: 'Uuu-oh- that is Sido going up. The tree took Sido to Iasa Point. There was an old man with leprosy and Sido went to his house. The old man asked Sido where he was from, then he got food and gave it to Sido and Sido ate. The young men of the village, called Sogeburo - Demagoburo (Flying fox - catfish), because they hung around the young women and caused trouble, were after one young woman, the daughter of the old man. Her name was Sagaru. Sido heard of her by name, and told the old man he wanted to see her. When the young men saw Sido with Sagaru they took fright and ran away.

Two men, Kadea and Mopea, decided to cut the top of the magic tree that brought Sido to Iasa. After Sido had seen Sagaru he thought of how to get back to U'uwo . When the old man hit Sido's drum the beeswax fell off and the tree flew back to U'uwo without Sido because the string that tied it to the house had been cut. The string of this tree is still kept at U'uwo in the care of the Samuki family. When the tree flew back to U'uwo , it shook the house and Sagaru's father said: 'Uuu-oh- Sido's transport is going back'. Sido later came out of the house and found that his magic tree had gone. He then realized that he had no means of transport.

While Sagaru was working near the house, Sido came up behind her. He grabbed her hand and while holding her, she asked him: 'Who are you?' Both of them entered the house and began having sexual relations. Sido covered Sagaru and himself with a pandanus mat. From there they started their journeys around the coast of Kiwai Island. One day, Sagaru ran away from Sido, because she said that he did not satisfy her sexually. Sido had argued with her about having sexual relations in the house for he said that there were too many people in the room.

From there Sido travelled alone around the coast past Iasa until he came to Iwoituri (a river near Sepe). He still could not find Sagaru even following her footprints. While looking for her he stepped on a snake (Sagaru, using her magic, had placed these obstacles in his way). He saw some people and they told him that she had just passed this way. They told him to follow the river. When he saw something coming towards him he jumped into the river, but he fell and hit his nose on a rock (This is why people have an indentation on the bridge of their noses). When he came out of the water he saw that his nose was no longer straight.

Sido sent his children in the form of birds to search for Sagaru. They were sent to tell her to come back to him. The bird children saw Sagaru and they told her that Sido had sent them. She told them that they were too small to carry her back to Sido and sent them to tell Sido to send a canoe for her. When they went back they told Sido that they had seen their mother, Sagaru, and

that she had fed them. Sido also prepared food for them. Then Sido began making a canoe. Firstly he cut a nipa palm but the tree when it went into the water sank to the bottom. Sido cut all types of tree but they were not good for making canoes. Finally, he cut a large straight tree called Erario. He dug the canoe properly, not a dugout, it was only a log with holes cut in the timber. He made room for food, bows and arrows, and places to cook and sleep. He pushed the canoe to the water and it floated. Sido put his bird children in the canoe and from there he sailed to Mibu but the water stopped him at the edge of the sea. He was left at low tide far from a longhouse. Sido used magic to call on the water to take him to the longhouse, and the water came and took him closer.

Sido was asleep and the canoe bumped the longhouse. The bird children told him to wake up. When Sido went into the longhouse to change his garments, the canoe bumped the longhouse again and the longhouse fell down. The canoe then went under the longhouse. The water went back and left the canoe on the land under the longhouse. Sido set to rebuilding the longhouse. Sagaru was out looking for food. When she came back from the garden, she started to strip the bark of the canoe hull while Sido was rebuilding the house. Sido looked out of the house when he heard her working and came out of the house. When he saw her cutting the canoe. Sagaru asked: 'Is that you Sido?' Sido asked her to prepare food for him. She cooked plenty of food. and she served them the food but there was no sago. Sido asked her if there was any sago. She looked and said: 'Is this the food you were talking about?' She Pointed towards what she thought was a sago tree but was really an ant hill. Sido went up and climbed the ant hill. While Sido was climbing, Sagaru called all the bird children and they began to eat all the food that she had prepared. They finished all the food and then she sent the 'sons' away. After that Sagaru also ran away because when Sido came back to her he still could not satisfy her sexual needs.

When she was walking in the bush, she met some people and told them that if anyone asks them if they have seen her they must answer 'No'. Sido saw that Sagaru had gone. He followed her until he came to Mabudawan. He climbed the big hill there. From the hill he jumped down, and his footprints made a dent in the rocks on the beach. The dents can still be seen. From Mabudawan, Sido followed Sagaru by canoe to Boigu Island. They were followed by one man called Meuri, who wanted Sagaru for himself. Meuri and Sido began to fight over Sagaru at Boigu. Meuri cut off Sido's head. After he killed Sido, Sagaru asked Meuri for a drink of water, because she was thirsty, and Meuri gave her water in Sido's head to drink. Sagaru drank the water from Sido's head but then she threw the head away and where it landed it turned into a deep well, which can still be seen on Boigu. Sagaru wanted to get away from Meuri, so she climbed a tree, but Meuri cut down the tree. When Sagaru fell she was killed because the tree fell on her. The spirits of Sido and Sagaru returned to U'uwo on Kiwai Island. Sido's spirit is still there and his grave can be seen at U'uwo . Where the spirit is sleeping, that place is always kept clean of leaves by the wind and the plants are always green and fresh. No-one knows where Sagaru's spirit lives now.

APPENDIX E

Story No. 1, Origin of Buji People

Told by Bapu Mose, Buji village, Agob language

One day there was only a father named Ubrikubri, and his daughter, Girbut, living at Buji. There was no one else. The daughter asked her father: 'Can you find me a piglet that I can feed?' The daughter gave this task of finding the piglet to her father because she was caring for their gardens. The father went into the bush to search for a wild piglet. He found one and brought it home but the daughter rejected it. He asked her: 'Isn't this the one that you like?', and she replied: 'No - I don't like that one'. So he returned to the bush and came back with a cassowary chick. Again she refused it.

He brought a wallaby.
She refused it.
He brought a black wallaby.
She refused it.
He brought a bandicoot.
She refused it
He brought a bird.
She refused it.

She became very cross, saying that he did not bring her anything that she liked, so he began searching the creeks and rivers. She told him to dive into the river to look for her 'piglet.' At low tide he found a baby crocodile. When he gave her this, she was very happy. 'Yes,' she said,

'that's the 'piglet' that I like'. When she took the crocodile she sent the old man away, and built a shelter for herself and a fence for the crocodile. The crocodile grew very large. One day she went into the garden to get food for the crocodile. She made an earth oven and cooked all the Yams and taros. She took a container to her father and broke up the food with a stick. She said to her father that because she was going into the garden tomorrow that he must feed her 'pig.' She left a coconut shell for water and instructed him to feed the 'pig.'

She went into the gardens and when the crocodile went: 'Urrr', the old man took the food and water to the crocodile. However the crocodile refused the food and water, three times. The old man then took food in his hands and reached through the fence. The crocodile grabbed him and dragged him down to the beach. The old man left excreta all over the beach which became rocks. The crocodile took the old man's body over to Boigu and put it in the channel between Boigu and Buji. He then decided to bring him back and placed him on the rocks at the end of the beach at a place now called Ubrikubri. The dragging of the old man's body created the channel between the Island and the mainland. In the afternoon the daughter returned from the gardens but she saw that her 'pig' was gone and the fence broken, and her father nowhere to be.seen. She started to cut bamboos to make a raft to look for her father. She left off her grass skirts except for one and as she went she kept singing out her father's name, 'Ubrikubri e wa ya, Ubrikubri ba wa ya'. She poked the bamboo pole into the water and found the body near the rocks. She sang out: 'Where is Ubrikubri?' (She also called her crocodile this name). The crocodile showed her the old man's body. She told him to leave it here and she moved off to Onom, further down the coast. The bamboo raft broke open and the bamboos drifted to the shore, and began to grow there. The crocodile swam away and after stopping at Buru reef it went to Badu, and can still be seen there swimming in the channel between Badu and Moa.

Story No. 2, The Akron clan

Told by Pai Done, SigaBaduru village, Agob language

This is the story of how the Akron clan was created. There were once Two Brothers who had a tame pig. One day they killed it and made a feast. After the feast they decided that they would separate from each other. The elder brother said: 'I will go into the water'. The younger brother said: 'I will live on the land'. The elder brother changed into a crocodile, and the younger brother became a human being. This happened at a place called Akor. The crocodile was called Sawi. The man was called Doburag. Doburag had children. The males were Done, Yakoe, Waba, Giwe, and Zawai. The females were Bairboi, Duez, and Monang. A girl named Tena got married at Akor and she named her child Done. Tena brought Done to Sigabaduru, when he was a child. Kada brought Done and Monang (Doburag's children) to Sigabaduru, and they grew up there. Monang was later given to Warapa, in exchange to another clan, for another woman named Naisa. He [the man who was sitting next to the storyteller] is a descendent of Naisa, and he and his sister live here. Their brothers and sisters are Daia (sister); Tarci (sister); Pai (brother); and Nai (brother). It is now forbidden for them to eat crocodile. They can catch it but not eat it. The crocodile also knows the magic words and can identify a man of this clan.

Story No. 3, Connections between Saibai and SigaBaduru

Told by Pina Darua, SigaBaduru village, Agob language

There were Two Brothers named Sagaribada and Girimabua. their mother was Burburkut (a large clam shell). Girimabua was the eldest. Girimabua said that he was going to live on the mainland at Sigabaduru, but Sagaribada said that he would live on Saibai. Girimabua made a raft out of bamboos and a mat sail from the reeds growing in the swamps, and using this journeyed back and forth visiting his brother.

Some other people lived in the swamps on Saibai and Sagaribada married one woman from there named Geiga. Girimabua went into an inland place and married a girl from there (Weab?), her name was Ait. Sagaribada had children on Saibai, their names were Yalu, Nowya, Isna, Sonai, Aken, Bupaburum (born on Sigabaduru and called 'Wild Pig').

Girimabua's children were born on Sigabaduru and they were: Wake, Kaudi, Samare, Salika, Paidu, Gipai, Dangais, Maigi and Imari. Because of this relationship Saibai and Sigabaduru people look after each other. There are no disputes and fishing grounds are open to all. From the grandparents time to now

they have been exchanging gifts. Saibai people also know this story.

Story No. 4, The Samoguad clan

Told by Rubu Ag, SigaBaduru village, Agob language

A man called Wagebau came from Saibai to Guiar near the village between Sigabaduru and Buji. There he met Pala, and Pala asked him: 'Why did you come here?' Wagebau said: 'I have come to visit friends'. Pala pulled a lump of grass and said if Wagabau killed the Guiar people, Pala would pay him with the woman Mogai from Guiar. There was a patch of jungle at Guiar and some of the young girls were living there. Their names were Basau, Abar, Podenen and Dauar. Wagebau went back to Saibai without a woman. He later heard that Pala had died. He returned to the coast on the canoe. When he got to the village called Mogai, between Buji and Sigabaduru, he began to kill people. One man, Kua, the younger brother of Pala, survived and said to Wagebau: 'You have killed enough already - leave the rest alone'. As soon as he heard this Wagebau decided to make friends. Wagebau took some coconut leaf sticks and gave them to Kua, and told him that he should throw one out every day. 'When there are two left, you will know I am returning from Saibai', he said. Wagebau returned to Saibai, and later came back to the mainland. This time he brought a gun with him and fired it into the air to frighten the bush people of Mogai. The villagers covered themselves with mud, and took their bows and arrows to meet Wagebau. Wagebau fired a second time into the air, Kua said to make friends and have a feast, so he took Wagebau to the place where they slept. Kua then got all the girls mentioned and dressed them all the same in grass skirts, and sat them before Wagebau, and told him that the girl in the middle will be his wife. Wagebau took the girl and sat next to her during the feast and told Kua: 'I will be going back to Saibai tomorrow'. Wagebau sang this song;

'Big cassowary (the girl) is going the big place (Saibai). When this man shook the Uzu tree, the seeds fell down. He got his prize and now he is going back".

Wagebau then slept, he got Mogai and took the grass skirt off her, and hung it on a tree near the shore at Gulaggulag Creek. As soon as he left this creek, he and Mogai sailed to Saibai. The people did not know where she was going as they did not know Saibai. When Wagebau and Mogai settled on Saibai, they had children and some of their descendents are: Bamaga who died (the town in Cape York is named after him), Wagea who is alive, and Kala who is also alive. There are now many grandchildren.

Story No. 5, The Tabatat people

Told by Kadiba Gog, Tabatat village, Agob language

There was a man living at Tabatat, Sirnai was his name, during the past, when there were tribal fights, he used to come and fight the enemies. He was a man who was well respected by his people. There were good times and bad times. Sometimes he would not help his people and many would be killed. Sirnai and his people lived inland but came to the sea to fish. The people tired of Sirnai after a time and some decided to kill him. They came and told him of their idea to kill him, so that he could go away, but he told them he had no idea of where to go or what to do. They warned him for a second time, and then a third time. Some people sided with Sarnai and protected him. His enemies came one day and killed him. He left behind an object (it is forbidden to name this object), but when those who had killed Sirnai returned to their homes they began dying, one by one, until only one man was left. This man moved to Widegmanan (another name for Tabatat) with his children, but they turned into flying foxes. Some of these flying foxes went to Pizazanen, others went to the other side of the creek, to Tenatane, near the mangroves, where they lived as men again. They stayed there until the spirit of Sirnai told them to move out. These people moved to Sigabaduru. The spirit of Sirnai still remains on the land.

Story No. 6, The Bibra clan

Told by Pina Darua, SigaBaduru village, Agob language

Our great grandfathers used to live at Mabudawan. They planted coconuts, and mangoes and they used the name, Mabunardi. When the Kiwai arrived they could not pronounce this name, and changed it to Mabudawan. When the Kiwai first came they landed on the Island called Zengel (Paho Island at the mouth of the Pahoturi River). When they landed there they thought that no-one lived there, but they found people on the mainland who made friends with them, and gave them the land to live on. The years passed. Then

the Kiwai started stealing the garden foods, taro, Yams, cassava, and sweet potatoes, they stole women, and took coconuts and mangoes without permission. They then began quarrelling. They did this because they had nothing of their own. Even though they were given food freely, the Kiwai stole. so the Sigabaduru people moved away from Mabudawan. They said that the Kiwai population had grown and that they spoke a different language, so they would leave. They packed up and moved to Simabod, about 500 metres from Mabudawan. Again, after they had planted gardens, the food was stolen. From Simabod, they moved to Darbud, (half way between Mabudawan and Sigabaduru). Once again their garden food was stolen. They moved to Pad. Again the same problem. They then moved to Kublailo (about 1 km. from Sigabaduru). There was no water there so they found a well near the present village called Old Mapokan. They stayed. They then saw that the land near the shore was good, and moved closer to the beach. This is the present village. This land is now ours.

Story No. 7, How the Kiwai came to Mabudawan

Told by Pina Darua, SigaBaduru village, Agob language

A [Kiwai] man named Kesave came to Mabudawan with the government patrol officers. He was from Kadawa (Mawatta), and he went back and told the people that Mabudawan was a good place. When he returned the Sigabaduru people gave him a woman called Makar, who was the widow of Kowdi. Her children were: Maiku, Isau, Bamaga, Gaso, Saibu, Daroa, Pinu, Maigi, Imari and Paidu. Kesawe did not have children. He also had a wife at Kadawa (Mawatta) called Kutai. At times he stayed at Mabudawan, at other times at Kadawa. That's how the Kiwai came to Mabudawan.

Note: Kesave (also spelt Kesawe) is mentioned in Beaver (1920: 79-80) and in Annual Report on British New Guinea (1892: 48).

Story No. 8, How the Kiwai settled along the coast (Part 1)

Told by Jawagi Maru, Mabudawan village, Kiwai language

1. In the olden days, there were no people. They lived inside a fig tree, in a hole, with a vine wrapped around. One old man named Bidedu did not know that there were people inside the tree. He was living in the bush at Kuru, and one day, when he was in his gardens, he saw an eagle carrying a turtle bone. The eagle dropped this bone in the bush next to Bidedu. The old man picked it up and looked at it, and said: 'The fish we are eating here is not this type of bone'. He thought that there must be other people at the shore over in the direction that the eagle had come. He said: 'I have to go and see whether the people are there'. From his gardens he took one of each type of foods. He also took his bow and arrow, and a cassowary-bone knife. When he came to the shore. he heard people talking but he did not know where the sound of voices was coming from. When he heard these sounds, he thought at first that it was bees flying, or the sound of the trees touching. He passed the fig tree, but when he jumped over a log the voices ceased. He turned back and heard them again. He went to the shore, and saw the ocean, waves, and Daru Island in the distance. He saw smoke rising from Daru Island, but could not see any people. He returned to near the fig tree, and once again jumped over the fallen log. Once again the people stopped talking. Bidedu thought that there must be people inside the fig tree behind the vine. He returned to the shore every day for four days. On the fourth day , he took his cassowary-bone dagger and said to the people inside: 'If you move a bit I will break the vine'. When he cut the tree, the first man out was Biza, the next was Asiba. Bidedu told Biza to stand behind him and that he would be his brother. He told Asiba to stand to one side and he would be his cousin. The next man, called Purkipurki, he sent to stand with Asiba. They are all from the one family. After Gamea came Bunai and a woman Woida. These people were also sent to stand with Asiba.

Bidedu asked them: 'What have you been eating, and where is your water?' He also asked them: 'Where is your fire?' Bidedu took a fire making cane. and made a fire showing them how to do it. He said:"This is fire". When they saw the fire and smoke they fell down unconscious. From there he got one tree and burnt it on the fire, and he put the stick on their eyes and noses and they woke up. He took them to the shore, and washed them in salt water. They ran away from the waves, saying: 'What are these things crashing on the ground?' Bidedu said: 'Don't be scared - those are waves - the wind is making the waves'. From there, after washing, he took them back to the fire. Once again they fell down, and

once again he revived them. He asked them again to show him their food. He asked them for bananas, but they showed him mangrove fruit. Bidedu told them: 'This is not the right banana - throw it away'. He asked them for sago, and they showed him sand. He told them that it was not sago, and showed them the real sago. He took all the garden foods that he had brought from Kuru, and showed them to the people. He took the foods from Kuru to this place Dudupartu. He carried them in a bag for seeds and magic which stretches when full. He took food and cooked it for them. He gave them half and he ate half. He showed them the way to plant and the way to cook. After that they planted all their foods, and when harvest came they cooked their food and said: 'These are good foods to eat'. He asked them for coconuts, but they showed him nipa palm fruits. He told them that this was not coconut. From there he took a real coconut, opened it and scraped the meat. He took young coconuts and opened them and showed them how to drink the milk. He drank half and gave them half. They were staying at Dudupartu, but moved to the other side of the mouth of the Oriomo River. There he told Biza to make his gardens. Biza planted his garden foods and soon saw that they were growing well. Bidedu said: 'I want Biza to dream of the garden', so the old man cut the bark of a special tree and gave it to Biza to eat. Biza ate the bark and went to sleep but dreamt of a kangaroo. Bidedu told Biza when he was sleeping that when he woke he would make a bow and arrow. The first dream that Biza had showed him that when he next went on the way to the beach something would cross the road. Here he should turn to the side and find a special taro called Arahardo. When Biza saw this taro he was to take it and plant it in the garden. After he planted the taro he was to go out and find the beach. This was part of the subject of the first dream. Early in the morning, Biza woke up and started to make his bow and arrow. When he finished he went out and saw the taro, he then went to the shore and saw a nice beach. Biza thought that this would be a nice place for people to stay. He named the beach Mawatto, which means to take someone and cross to the other side of the river. To cross the river he made a log raft. Others had made rafts of mangrove but these had sunk. They had no canoes, but used rafts. At the beach Biza speared a puffer fish called 'Good Morning' fish. In the dream Biza was told that the first fish he would spear would swell its stomach and he was to throw it away. He threw the fish to the shore. The second time he speared a saw-toothed shark. This was one that he could eat. Next he speared a stingray. In the dream Bidedu told Biza to cook fish and give it to the dogs. If the dogs did not die then he could eat the fish. This is how he found out which fish to eat. He ate the fish and then went and speared more. His dogs names were Bigema and Wauri. He took the fish to Doridori. When he got there other people asked him where he had been, and he told them that he had found a good place near the beach. He called it Mawatto-Dodomea (Dodomea meaning good beach). Biza took the people along the beach to this place. Bidedu stayed behind in the bush with his people at a place called Morohopu (meaning my lands/ground). The people who came from the bush to the beach were called Kadawarubi.

Bidedu's family, the Osingle clan returned to the bush. From there Bidedu said: 'You may go to the shore, but how will you travel around from place to place? When you find a place to settle I will visit you there'. They first made a place at Mawatto, then they crossed to Daru Island on rafts. From there they caught dugong and turtle and obtained water. They also held ceremonies there. The Daru people, the Darurubi, spoke Daruowera and Hiamoowera, and had canoes. They taught the other people how to make canoes. When the first people had come out of the trees, they had seen dugong and turtle intestines in a mangrove tree. Bidedu had asked them what fish they ate and they showed him these dried intestines. He taught them how to cook the meat properly. When they went to Daru they showed the people how to cook dugong and turtle. While they were at Mawatto, they had heard drums beating, and when they went to Daru they saw the ceremonies used for hunting dugong. The Daru people went to Mawatto and shared their hunt there.

2. Gamea thought that he must build another house/village. So from there Gamea started down the coast looking for people. He started collecting people from Kiwai Island, Parama, Sui, etc., and some from this side down to Saibai and Boigu. As he was travelling the coast there was no fighting because he made magic while he was travelling. When he collected the people he took two other men named Kaiku and Parema from Daru and the village started to grow. Today that family is all here at this village called Unumere clan. They stayed a long time (at Mawatto) and then moved to Gireturi (also called Neture), which is the bay at the Point of Katatai,

called Koipomuba. Bidedu moved to this side of Mawatto called Wiomuba, that is the Point of the Oriomo River. He would look after the people there and after he would drink otagamoda, and tell stories and listen to people talking to each other. They also started making gardens, but because there was no water, and many mosquitoes, they decided to move to a better place. Also there were many people there. Gamea took some men; Mabul, Gagare, Herepe, Maiope, and his son Wasomo, and journeyed down the coast. Between Dauan and Boigu, near Buru Island, their canoe turned over and Wasomo drowned. Gamea journeyed a second time from Daru, taking Maru as his son from Daru. When they left Mawatto they came to Karapo, a place near Oeabina, where there is a big tree. He found a good place there and cleared the land and camped there. There is no-one there, not even a footprint, only a sandy beach. From Oeabina, he found the Binaturi River. As he travelled the coast he named the rivers and places: Binaturi, Kura, Ramezi Creek, Augaramuba (the Point near Mabudawan), Gugihi Creek, Marukura Island, Paho Island (where the dead are buried), Pahoturi, Minimini Island. Gamea named them all. From Mabudawan he went to Saibai, Dauan and Boigu in the canoe with a pandanus leaf sail. He learnt to make this canoe from the Daru people.

3. On the second trip along the coast, Gamea put the canoe at Mabudawan. There was no fighting or cutting of heads, only peace and friendship. That is why the Islanders were friends. When he went to Boigu other people started visiting the Island then. For the second trip they got a canoe from Kiwai Island, and used a coconut leaf sail. When he went to Saibai and Boigu he found people there. Gamea was taken care of by the people of Boigu and one Saibai man went back to Mawatto. Gamea invited Dagaifrom Saibai to teach the people in Mawatto how to make dugong harpoons, and how to hunt the dugong. Dagai started making spears to go fishing and dugong platforms. Dagaisaid he would tell his brother Wusuru from Boigu to come and help him make spears. Wusuru came from Boigu, straight to Daru, and he and Gegera and Iwoimo made a house at Mawatto. They later moved to Binaturi, when Mawatto grew. There they married and the village grew. There was no Tureture village, all the people were Kadawarubi. From Binaturi, they went to Oeabina. They had a small house there, but moved to Old Mawatto (real name Kadawa). Where the houses are now was the garden before. They stayed at the shore, but made good gardens. There were plenty of women at Kadawa and they married there. Each man had two wives, because there were few men. The first wife helped with fishing and gardening, the second wife only had the children. This was how they lived in the old times.

4. One day a woman had a baby which she abandoned at the shore, and the sea ants ate the baby's eyes, nose, mouth and ears. The child was called Pogomere (fatherless child). This caused many differences. Another woman, Bubuna, was told by her husband, Hariba, to go and make a new skirt from banana leaves. Together they found the baby lying near the bushes close to the beach and took it to a place between the two longhouses. Hariba asked the people to make a small house for the baby, called a Hageiboamoto. Bubuna went into the house. Hariba made a mark down the longhouse and said: "This side will go with Gamea", they were the Kadawarubi. The other side went with Hariba, and became the Tureturerubi. The Tureturerubi stayed with Kuke, the headman. longhouses were built at Mesebiaro, Giriea and Barumuba.

5. One Tureture man speared a Kadawarubi man with an arrow. The man who was killed was called Garibu. This caused fighting between the people. The big men, Gamea and Kuke, tried to stop the fighting, but the young people wanted to separate. Now the Kadawarubi and the Tureturerubi live apart. First the Tureturerubi went to Yomuso, then to Kuokawa. Then they went to Doika. They wondered how they could make friends again. One woman was given by the Tureturerubi to the Kadawarubi to stop the fighting. They put their fighting equipment around her, and on a stick called a Nunaota. She was dressed at Doika and taken to Binaturi. They planted the stick in the ground, and left the woman there. Women were exchanged in this way with other places such as Boigu, etc., in order to stop tribal fighting. This woman was given to the Mabudawan (section) of the village to make peace. Her name was Erema.

6. Bidedu had taken the seeds of plants to Tureture and he had spoilt the other gardens with his magic. Biza was not aware of this. The Kadawarubi did not harvest food for about three years. Samuki Gamea said that he would cross to Tureture and bring Bidedu back. Bidedu refused three times to return. He sent for one of his three sons. This son, Sobi, brought his magic basket, and Bidedu shared his magic. Bidedu

told Samuki Gamea that he was to stay with him and be taught the garden magic. Bidedu asked where the gardens were placed and he was told at a place called Poponatatio. Bidedu's second son had burnt a garden place at Anaipodo. Bidedu had taught his sons the garden magic. Early in the morning Bidedu shouted to Biza that Samuki Gamea would now look after the gardens. He also told Biza that Bidedu (the second son) Gagari, Herepe, Maburu and Maiope must also stay with Biza. The people took Bidedu's son to the village and made otagamoda for him. Bidedu's son stayed and they planted the gardens the next day. First they burnt the garden place, then they filled a bowl with seeds and covered them with water and then they scattered the seeds on the ground. The man making this magic was decorated with flowers. They are still using this garden place at Old Mawatto. Bidedu was left at Tureture.

Story No. 9, How the Kiwai settled along the coast (Part 2)

Told by Amabi, Mabudawan village, Kiwai language

1. There was no government or missionaries. Our people lived in longhouses at Neture (also called Gireture, the bay to the Point of Old Katatai). Gamea's clan was called Unumere. Ulusum's family, staying at Ganalimouro, belonged to Gaidai clan. The man from Boigu named Baidamo was from the Wusuru family. The old man's family was staying at Harobobo near the Binaturi. These people were his great grandparents. ANai made a garden at Kadawa, and was told not to go back to Doika. The Kadawarubi gave Anai a wife and the old man is descendent of this union. The Tureture people moved closer to the Kadawa people. Anai was from Marawadai clan and he was very small when his father Bidedu died. The wife of Anai was from the Darubi (Darurubi) people of the Dagarubi clan. The wife's name was Genai. They had a son called Iana. When ANai died the wife was caring for the child, but the uncles decided that this was not correct, so began to look after the boy. Ana and Gagoro adopted Iana, because the wife, Genai, was from their clan and so the child was adopted out of his natural father's clan. The people rested at Mabudawan when making gardens, because no people lived there. After a time, the father's clan wanted the boy back, because they said he will grow up not knowing his own people. At the longhouse they told Gagoro that they wished to have the child and so Iana returned to his clan.

2. The Kadawarubi people used to go out to the reefs and also to the Fly River to the Hagedai and Gemeadai people on Kiwai Island and bought their canoes there. 'Oromo-oromo (coast people) are coming', said the Kiwai Islanders. 'Gemeadai (Island people) are coming', said the Mabudawan people. People came from Hubo between Katatai and Gewi to Mabudawan, and some of these people still live here. From the Kiwai people we learnt how to make canoes (tataku), so as to have access to the reef, how to use paddles and how to fish on the reefs. In the old days, they paddled from Kiwai Island. Then they began to sail down on motomoto, and now they use puputo. They bought canoes with bailer shells, eggs and knives, chest ornaments and armband shells. These they took to Kiwai Island. The people who taught them how to fish came from Saibai and Boigu. Their family is here in this village as well as on Saibai and Boigu.

3. Mabudawan was friends with Kunini and Masingara people. Gamea made these friendships. He brought them out of the bush to the shore. Masingara people came from right inside the bush. They are staying at Sare. The Kadawa people brought them from Sare to Masingle. Mabudawan people sent the Masingara a pastor from Darnley Island. Darnley Island was the centre of the mission, and teachers and pastors returned to Mawatta from training there. Missionaries came to Old Mawatta. The man who led the Masingara was Marotopa. Marotopa climbed a tree on the Masingara road to spy, to see if the people were coming to fight. Old Mawatta was then made into a village. The church came to Western Province. Mr. Macfarlane came from Darnley to Old Mawatta because he saw smoke from the reef. When he went to the coast there was still tribal fighting and people were prepared to kill him because he was a stranger but others were peaceful towards the missionaries, and did not want to kill him. So he preached to them and they stopped fighting. He let them know that he had come from Darnley, and he later returned and took some people to Darnley. Their names were Mamoosa, Abai, Gebuma, Gagu and Adagi. All these were Kadawarubi (Mabudawan) men. They went to learn missionary work, and he taught the 'Good News.' When they returned they brought Bible story books. They taught the people how to preach and showed them the stories and later built a small hut. The days of work were Monday

to Saturday, and Sunday was a Holy Day, when no work was done. They taught the village how to read the stories and sing songs about God.

It was after that that they started to go to the Torres Strait Islands - paddling and sailing. This was the first time that they had contact with the Eastern Island people. They went on canoes to Darnley, Yorke, Murray, Yam, Mabuiag and Badu. They found that the Eastern language was [like] Papua Kiwai. The Eastern language was a Daudai language, the same as Hiamo-hiamo. From these villages they spread Christianity through the Islands and the Western Province. These five people (the original men who went to the mission) are known and respected in the Torres Strait Islands.

5. The next missionary, Lui, built a church at Old Mawatta. The missionaries were mostly Samoan missionaries. The second church was at Mabudawan. The L.M.S. church building came from Cairns, Cooktown and Townsville. The memorial stone is from Thursday Island. In the old days , on the canoes, they carried water in bamboo tubes, and when it was finished they planted the bamboo. The bamboo growing near the Customs House on Thursday Island is from these containers. They worked for the white men and the Japanese and they (built?) the lighthouse near Bella's Creek on the Australian Mainland. Seven men who died in the cyclone in May 1932 were from Mawatta. The Australian Government paid their families pensions until World War II. Some T.I. people are buried at Mabudawan. The mission went from here to Parama, Sui and Katatai to spread Christianity.

6. The first transport used was bamboo rafts, and were used to go to Yam Island. Some people were swept as far as Cape York, some to Muri (murray) and some to T.I. The canoes were first:

mono – raft
tataku – 1 outrigger, no sail
motomoto – no jib sail
motomoto – with jib sail
puputo – small with 1 sail and 2 outriggers

Sail settings came from the luggers. The canoes on the beach were built in the 1950s. The first motomoto was dug at the bank by Kebe Dabu and called 'Surprise.' Canoes were made at Saibai, and people copied them from there. They had no front sail. Name of the first canoe (from there) was 'Kobututui.' These new motomotos could go right down to Cape York, Mapoon, Redpoint, Bamaga and to Escape River to catch crocodiles. They could carry 40 - 60 people on board and go to the Eastern and Western Islands. 1974 was the last trip to Darnley. Now they are mostly going to Yam, Badu and Mabuiag every year.

Story No. 10, Death of Para

Told by Kanai Tura, Mawatta village, Kiwai language

It was Gamea who first brought the people to Mawatta. Here they started building canoes and dugong hunting platforms, and started going to the reefs in the Torres Strait. One day when some people were going out to the reefs, the men of Mari and Jarai came. During the daylight they hid in Kura Creek, but when the sun was setting they began to move up the coast, some by canoe and some on land. They came to the Binaturi River, and waited for sunrise. The one who led them was Para, their leader and great chief. In the morning they met the men from this village and began fighting on the beach. There was one white man, * Mr. Barton ?, living in the village, running the trade store. He also fought against the attackers, but while he was fighting his boots became stuck in the mud and Para killed him. Para then cut off the European man's head. The fight leader of this village was Kaire. When he saw the European die he shot Para with an arrow and killed him. He then cut off Para's head. The people who had gone to the reef also saw the fighting and returned to help the men from their village. When Para was killed the fighting stopped. Para had two wives, and they came and took Para's body and carried it down to the beach. They sang a song about the death of Para which people still sing. The Mawatta people carried the body of the European back to the village. This was the last fight between the people of Morehead and this village. They never came here again, and Para's hair is still kept by the descendants of Kaire at Mabudawan.

*Note: According to the Annual Report on British New Guinea 1888/89, Appendix H:68: 'Last season [1888?] they [the Tugeri] went as far as Kadawa and killed there a European named Martin.'

Story No. 11, Kadawa village

Told by Moses Somogi, Kadawa village, Kiwai language

The people of Kiwai Island lived at Iasa. There were no people on the coast then. When the Iasa

people began moving some went to Manowete, the North Bank of the Fly River. One old man named Sewota crossed from Iasa to the mainland on his single outrigger canoe. He took his son with him but on the journey the fire went out. At that time there was no Mibu Island. He came to past Sui on the coast. His son began to cry because he was hungry so Sewota stopped and went lookng for fire but was unable to find it. He finally came to Gibu. a small creek-north of Gewi. Here he left the canoe and went up this creek. He shouted but found nobody. He came out from the creek, found Gewi Creek and came to Hubo near Toro Passage and Huboturi River on the mainland opposite Gaziro. His son was fainting from hunger. He left the canoe at Hubo, made a shelter and left his small son there. He told the boy to stay there while he went looking for fire. He came all the way from Hubo to the river named Urugowoturi near Old Katatai Point. He saw one man here who asked him: 'Who are you?' He replied: 'My name is Sewota and I am looking for fire.' The man told him to stay where he was and that he would go and get fire for him and bring it back. This man's name was Bagari. Bagari got the fire stick, he threw it to Sewota from the other side of the river. Sewota ran after the fire stick and in doing so made a creek called Mugumuba. Sewota got the fire, and made a fire for his son at his camp at Hubo. He fell asleep. Later, he wondered why Bagari did not want him to cross the river, so decided to look for his footprints and follow him into the bush. While looking for Bagari's footprints he met a man named Biza at Wiomuba, the western side of Dorogori, and he made friends with Biza. He stayed at Biza's longhouse, He was told that there was one man on Daru Island named Damabe. While this Damabe was staying at Daru a man named Bani came from Boigu Island. Damabe told Bani that he could not stay on Daru, but that there was a man on Hubo and he could stay with him. This man was Sewota. Sewota told Bani that he was to go to a place called Doridori, which is also called Gibu, on the north side of Gewi, and to look after that place. He said to Bani: 'Here is my small son - Take him with you and teach him how to fight as I am getting too old.' So Bani took the boy and settled at Gibu but named it Daridari (dori in Kiwai is dari in Saibai language = Men's headdress).

People from different villages came to form two long-houses called Kudin and Wasigena at Arimaturi, near Gewi. While they were staying there they found a large sandbank but they thought that it was a sea monster. When they sailed near there they stayed close to the mainland. Whenever they went close to the sandbank, the crashing waves frightened them and they would return to Wasigena. They decided to find out if it was a real monster so they went and planted a stick in the sand, they saw that it was land and called it Oweaparama (Owea = found). They planted trees at Arimaturi. Some people left this old village and settled on Oweaparama. While they were living there conflict arose over relationships between men and women and the village decided to separate. They split in the middle and some people stayed at Parama, they were the Gebarubi, others went to Gaziro but there was no water there so they crossed over to the mainland and settled at Komako, also called Katatai, they were the Katatairubi. They made their camp at Komako. One man named Bidedu came from Kuru and cut the vine tree. The Apuapu (vine) people came out. The Apuapu people went to Dawarima, then moved to Neturi and then came to Kadawa. Gamea and Kuke, Two Brothers, were from the Apuapu people. Kuke was the elder, Gamea the younger brother. Their mother, at one time, left Gamea on the beach and their father said: I have plenty of boy children." So he gave his son Gamea to the Mabudawan people, Kadawa-rubi. Gamea and Kuke later moved west and Kuke later moved to Tureture.

One fellow named Sebea and his wife, Siwori came from Iasa. Sebea left his wife in the canoe. The village men said to him to come to the men's house. They gave him otagamoda to drink and he went to sleep. While Sebea was sleeping all the village men went and took his wife and assaulted her. They started at night and continued until early morning. When Sebea woke in the morning he went to his wife and she told him of her ordeal. He took her and started back to Iasa. Sebea put a black palm container under Siwori and when the container was full of fluids poured it over the side. When he came to Wadaewi he cut cane there for bow strings and later took them to the people at Wasigena. He told them how the men had spoilt his wife. Sebea and his wife later arrived at Iasa, and told their story to the people. They all prepared their fighting gear. They came down from Iasa to Wasigena, and then to Kudin where they decided amongst themselves that Bani should lead the fight. Bani's magic was powerful and before leading the group he made magic and then they sailed down in their canoes. They came to Hubo

and left their canoes there. The men told the boys to stay behind with the canoes while they moved to the village. They were told to move the canoes to the village when they saw the first birds flying in the morning. They were told that when they paddled past Gubea headland they were to burn coconut husks to create smoke that would attract attention. The men circled the village longhouse - some from the beach, and others from the bush. The men slept waiting for the daylight. At morning, the boys came along the coast. They lit their fires and one woman who was washing at the beach saw them and shouted to the KadaWarubi that the Iasa people were coming. When the men from the longhouse ran out to see the canoes, the men from Iasa encircled them. Fighting started. The Iasa men killed some KadaWarubi, but others ran away. Those who ran were the ancestors of the people who now live at Tureture and Mabudawan. After this fight Kuke and Gamea fled to the west. Gamea later returned to the village to see if it was empty. He later went back and settled there.

When the Apuapu people came out of the vine tree, there were people living at Komako, now called Katatai. To form Katatai the old man's great-grandfather came from Iasa and then to Hubo. The present village of Katatai was formed by peoples from all parts - some Apuapu, some from Fly River Islands, some from Torres Strait Islands, such as Yam Island (Gaidiri, his son Damabe, his son Ausa, his son Daida Ausa) others from Boigu (Boigudai Clan), one man from Murray Island (Naimani), and one from Yorke Island (Warisi). They settled at Katatai, but some moved to Kadawa when water disturbed the village.

Story No. 12, Old Katatai village

Told by Awadau Simona, Katatai village, Kiwai language

There was an old village of Doridori. Near there were two long-houses called Kudin and Wasigena. Kadawa people lived in Kudin. The Parama people lived at Wasigena. From there people went to the Torres Strait. They would go there and come back to the village. They also went to the Fly River. They travelled up the bank of the Fly River and across to Iasa (Kiwai Island). They could go right up to Kikori District and back to the village. From Doridori they moved to Parama Island. In those days there were no trees on Parama, only a sandbank. They saw Parama coming up. They separated because there were a lot of people. Big brother that is, the elder clan, stayed at Parama, small brother, that is, the younger clan, went to Katatai. On the mainland the younger brother stayed. The Katatai and Parama people are one people.

When they went to the Fly River, they went to Koabu, Madame, Severimabu, Sepe, Iasa, Samari, Madiri, Oromosapua, Ipisia, Agobaro, U'uwo , Wabada Island, Wapa'ura, Gesoa, Tirere (Dibiri Island), Maipani, Bina, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, Gamaramo. They also went to Wasua and Teapopo and Sagera. They took dugong, fish, to sell for sago. They used to bring the sago back to the village. They bought their canoes at Madame, Koabu, Severimabu.

When they went to the Torres Strait, they took mats brooms and baskets. The Islanders used to give them clothes, dresses, shirts, trousers, and other things, but not with money. Some of the Island people lived here and some Katatai people lived there, mostly at Murray Island. They used to take trochus shells, bailer shells and some other shells especially one called buamo (cowrie shells) from the reefs. They also took these shells to the Torres Strait and they gave them plenty of clothes in exchange.

The Island is now called Murray Island. A dugong went from here and he loaded all types of things such as taro, Yams, and bananas on his back. He also took all the bush materials such as cane, bamboo, fruit, etc., and sugar cane. The dugong travelled right out to sea, but then started to sink. First, he turned towards the nigori winds (southeast winds), then he turned towards the hurama winds (northwest winds), but both times he said: 'No'. He then turned back towards the hiea winds (southwest winds), and started to sink down on the reef. He settled there and now you can see Murray Island in the shape of a dugong, all the mainland crops and foods are there.

When the people went to Wamero Reef, they went on tataku (single outrigger) canoes and they built dugong hunting platforms there. They used to put the rope in a coil and stand here waiting for the dugong. One day a man called Ebage climbed on the platform. When he saw the dugong coming he harpooned the dugong, but the rope coiled around Ebage's hand and he was pulled off the platform. The dugong took him to Komako, near Katatai, and they found both the man and the dugong dead at that place.

There was fighting still going on when the first missionary came to Katatai. The people were then living at Gaziro. This pastor's name was Wuniwuni, and his wife was Aba. He came here

from Murray Island, and so to open this new church they invited the Murray Island people. The descendents of the Wuniwuni family were invited to be the ones to open the church.

The first white man to come here was Tamate (Chalmers). When he came here he also went to Tureture. There is a memorial stone at Old Mawatta. There is also a memorial stone at Daru in the Mabudawan corner. From Katatai he followed the Fly River and went to Samari. From there he went to the Kikori District to a village named Dopima, where they broke his boat and killed him there.

The village people went to Madiri and Mibu plantations to work on copra. At Madiri they made copra and rubber.

My great grandfather came from Yam Island. His name was Gowai. Gowai came to Gaziro to a creek named Warione (Eagle's excreta). When Gowai was staying there he married a woman from Sui, her name was Awea. They had a child named Maipi. Maipi married and had a son, Siwi. Siwi's son was Awadau. Awadau married and had a son Simona. This man was my father.

Story No. 13, Origins of Kadawa

Told by Kamaira Mauga, Kadawa village, Kiwai language

There was one man named Sebea from Iasa. His wife's name was Siwori. They came down from Kiwai Island, and stopped at Gewi. From Gewi they went through Toro Passage to Hubo in Gaziro where they witnessed the men of Tureture and Mabudawan performing the Moguru ceremony. During the ceremony all gardening, hunting and fishing is prohibited. The tide was low. The two were met by people from a longhouse. They asked them why they had come. Sebea answered that they were just following the coast. The people then asked them their names. The man was told to leave his wife in the canoe, and he went up to the longhouse. He became so engaged in conversation that he forgot his wife. The wife stayed in the canoe until the afternoon when a woman from the longhouse came down and asked her why she was sitting all alone in the canoe. She replied that she was waiting for her husband. The woman invited her up to the village with her belongings. When she entered the longhouse some men looked at her admiringly, and they took her away and raped her all day. Her pelvic bone was broken. In the morning her husband asked after her and he was told that she had gone into a longhouse. When he opened the door, she told him that he had left her for such a long time and then told him what had happened to her. He left and went to his canoe and made it ready. He then went and cut some bark and made a container called a Wakaru. He carried his wife on his back and placed her over this container in the canoe. When the fluid in her body dripped out it filled the container and the man emptied it over the side. They sailed all night to Iasa and arrived late in the evening. At Iasa, he laid his wife on a mat in a hut. The villagers were not about and no one knew what had happened. In the morning, the man went out and made gamoda. He then summoned the elders, and when they came they drank the gamoda, and then they made more.

Sebea was the village's leading Warrior. He threw weapons to the people and, because of what had happened to his wife, he told them to prepare for battle. He urged them to hurry down the coast as the Moguru was still being performed and they would surprise the others. They prepared their weapons and canoes, the next day they left for battle at Gaziro. They stopped at Kudin and Wasigena, near Doridori. They met one man there, and told him what had happened. He prepared his weapons, and went with them. They anchored at Hubo Creek, where they blackened their bodies with charcoal. There were many canoes each manned by two men. They left their canoes at Katatai, and walked along from there and at night surrounded the Gebia village where the Tureture and Mabudawan men were living on the mainland.

Early in the morning, a woman from Gebia was doing her washing and noticed the invaders. She raised the alarm and the villagers all ran to the shore but some of the invading canoes were already there. The Gebia men were taken by surprise and had no time to get their weapons. Many were killed but a few managed to esCape. Heads were collected and the men waited in their canoes for the other survivors to appear. Pregnant women were also killed and their heads taken. Three men from Gebia appeared and abused the Iasa men because they were wearing masks. They were chased into the bush. 'Your faces look like kararo (Hawkesbill Turtle)', the Iasa shouted back. When the conch shell was blown three times the Iasa men returned taking their head trophies with them. On their way back the Iasa men told the men of Katatai and Parama to look after Gewi Creek but to stay beyond the headPoint at Parama. When this fighting ended the Katatai people then owned the lands from

Gewi to Kadawa. This is how the Tureture and Mabudawan people were chased away from here by the Iasa Kiwai. After this, the Katatai and Parama men continually visited that place.

For many years they visited there, until one day they noticed smoke coming from the bush. The Pewedai, the bush people, were using the area, but when they saw the Parama and Katatai people they ran away. One man, named Daru, covered with sores was left behind in a hut. He was left covered with bark. He was the only man that the Parama and Katatai people found. One man, named Namaru who wore the Government uniform at Mabudawan, when the Government was stationed there, was told to take Daru to Gaziro. He was told not to let the man be killed. Mamusa and Namaru were both policemen at Mabudawan. But two men, Sarau and Basu, both brothers from Katatai, followed Namaru and wanted to kill Daru. They wanted heads of the Pewedai people. The two men walked to the end of the longhouse and fired their arrows. One killed Daru and Basu cut off the old man's head and gave it to Sarau. The head was put on a head carrier. At this time Kamaira Mauga and Daida Ausa were both young. They saw how their fathers used to kill people and cut off their heads.

Note: I am grateful to Charles Tenakenai and Nano Moses for their assistance in collecting and translating this story.

Story No. 14, How the bush people settled at Dorogori

Told by Kamaira Mauga, Kadawa village, Kiwai language

The Katatai and Parama people, after they had chased away the Tureture and Mabudawan people, camped at Dorogori which they called Mawatta. In the storytellers time, (60 - 70 years) the bush people came down to the beach and named it Dorogori, but its real name was Hawi. Inland from there was called Hawi-Gamera (Hawi, bush lands/gardens, and Hawi-go (Hawi Creek). One old man named Kaigasi came out and met Mamusa and Awadau, the son of Siwi, while they were walking and fishing along the beach. They asked him why he had come down from the bush, and he said that there were too many mosquitoes there. Kaigasi asked Awadau to build him a house so that he could call his people down. Yasua killed a pig. They ate it at Dorogori, and they built Kaigasi a house. When the house was finished, other inside people began moving out. Some came from Kuru, some from Woroi, and some from Abam. They settled at Dorogori.

Story No. 15, Daru (Yaru)

Told by Moses Somogi, Kadawa village, Kiwai language

At first on Daru Island, there were no mangrove trees. It was only a sandbank. There were Hiamo-hiamo people on Daru, and Gaidiri from Yam Island married a Hiamo-hiamo woman, called Bobo. The people at Daru – the Hiamo-hiamo – originally came from Yam Island. They were called Hiamo-hiamo by the Kiwai speaking people. Kiwai Island people and people from Katatai went from the mainland planning to kill the Hiamo-hiamo people. Gaidiri and Bobo had died by this time, but their son was Damabe. When the fighting started Damabe was making his dugong harpoon. As there were no trees, the Hiamo-hiamo could not hide and so they were killed. Damabe esCaped by covering himself with a turtle shell. People jumped over the shell while he was hiding under it. When the fighting finished they searched the Island for other people. They then returned to their canoes, sounded the conch shell and returned to the mainland. Damabe came out from under the shell and swam to Goli (a Creek on Bobo Island) where he lit a fire. The Katatai people saw the smoke coming from the bush. The Katatai people came to Goli, but told Damabe not to be frightened as they only came to get him not to kill him. When they took Damabe back to Katatai they told Bani, a Boigu man, that they would give Damabe Bani's sister Mereke in marriage. Damabe had children. The first was Ausa, the second Daida. Ausa's son is Daida Ausa. (This old man still lives at Kadawa village).

Story No. 16, Trading from Kadawa

Told by Daida Ausa, Kadawa village, Kiwai language

In the olden days, the old people did not have motomoto. They used small canoes called tataku. These small canoes used to go to Murray Island, Darnley Island, Masig (Yorke Island), and around the Torres Strait. The people only went to those Islands to sell their goods and come back. It was after this time that they started making motomoto. When the Europeans came they started to work for them and they used to go to Imuba (a Point on the reef) and to Jegei (Zagai

Island) and to Long Island for trochus. They also went to Masig and Coconut Islands. After they had been around these Islands they would return to Kadawa and do their own work here. When they came back they had canoes but with no jib sail. One European named Lenny Luff made the motomoto and put on the jib sail and platform. It was from then that the villagers started putting on the jib and jib sail. From the motomoto they started making puputo.

Note: Lenny Luff ran a tradestore on Daru for many years during the 1950s and 1960s.

Story No. 17, The Masingle people (Part I)

Told by Sisa Muwe Soriame, Masingara village, Bine language

1.In the olden days, the people of Masa'ingle lived together at Glulu. One day water destroyed the village, and the people of the different clans started to look for a new settlement. My grandfather, Soriame, took a long journey from Glulu, and going east came to Kuru, where he found Bidedu, one of the Masingle men. Bidedu told him that he had discovered that place so Soriame went to the south-west until he came to Wobo on the other side of the Bullawe River. There he found Woboiame, who told Soriame that he had discovered that place, so again Soriame continued his journey until he came to the banks of the Bullawe. He crossed the river and tasted the water but found that it was salty. The place where he crossed was called Batamutri. On the other side, there was no sign of any people, and no broken branches, so he started naming the places as he came. He named all the places as we are calling them now. He came to Mumu, then to the beach which he named Salaiegome at the mouth of the Binaturi. Then he came to Totepwale and Sargo and when it was sunset he slept at a place called Soriame - opo, which means 'the place which looks like my face'. In the morning, he met another Masingle man called Inu, who told him that he had discovered that land, and so after talking with him Soriame departed, and journeyed to the southeast, naming places as he travelled, until he met a dwarf who lived inside a tree. The dwarf's name was Sasue. Soriame continued his journey until he came to Soriasare, meaning 'this is the place of Soriame'. When he came to Bademope, he saw another dwarf who had no anus, no mouth, and was unable to talk. Soriame asked him if anyone had come this way, but as he was unable to talk, he raised one finger, indicating that one man had come and gone back. He made a sign for Soriame to go to the south, so Soriame followed the Creek, and came to Kura on the beach, and found the high land there which he called Siblemete. He thought of bringing the Walliame clan to this place, and so after resting at Siblemete he journeyed back to Glulu and after resting a few days, brought his clan to the coast, and they stayed there.

2. While at Siblemete, a Masingle man from Edamle came. The reason was that during the dancing, the women of Masingle told the men that they had sores on their private parts, and the single men were ashamed, because according to custom, the women should not have said such things in public. The leader of the Edamle, AI, led the Masingle men from Edamle to Siblemete. When they arrived the people wanted to know the reason for their journey, so they told them. The chief of Siblemete was Waidubu, and they spread mats on the ground and the men sat and they brought a drug [Gamoda] and chewed it. The Siblemete men did not drink as they had a plan to kill the Edamle men with their chief, AI. When the Edamle were drunk, the Siblemete men got their cassowary bone daggers and speared them on their thighs so that they could not escape. They killed them and threw their bodies into a pit which they had dug. One Edamle man escaped and went back to tell the people that the Edamle men were all killed by the Siblemete men. The people all mourned the dead. The young men grew up and married the girls and the widows. AI's wife was pregnant at that time and she gave birth to a baby boy, whom she named AI after his dead father. When he became a man, he asked his mother where had his father been killed. She told him at Siblemete, and so AI prepared to fight the Siblemete men. So AI led his people to Siblemete. When they arrived there, Waidubu, the chief of Siblemete was in his gardens at Wobe with his wife. AI asked the people in the Siblemete village about Waidubu. When they told him that he was not here, he sent some to tell him that AI had come. Waidubu sent a message: 'Tell him to sit down'. AI said he would not until Waidubu arrived. Waidubu sent the same message a second time.

Meanwhile, Waidubu had taken his bow and arrow and he started to run for Siblemete. His wife followed him. When he arrived Waidubu pulled on his bow string as a gesture pretending to fire his arrow. AI pulled his bow string and Waidubu thought he was pretending but AI shot Waidubu through the chest and he fell to the

ground. The Edamle men then speared the Siblemete men with arrows. Men, women and children, all except those still in the gardens, were killed. When they returned in the evening, they saw the dead lying in the village. This is how AI led the Edamle people to fight the Siblemete people.

3. Those who were not dead stayed at Siblemete. The Siblemete people were friendly with the Iasa Kiwai people, who brought fish and sago in exchange for garden foods. This happened for many days and many years. One day when the men were hunting the Iasa people came and went up to Siblemete. The place where they used to go to was called Emeregabe. The Iasa people came to the village, and in the village was a woman who had just given birth. The Iasa people came and went to their friend's houses. One Iasa man came to this woman's house and she said that she was sorry that she could not cook food but there was a coconut tree nearby and he could climb it himself and get some coconuts. He said: 'No - you climb up the tree for me'. The woman said: 'I am not strong enough yet. My body is still weak'. They began arguing. Finally, the woman agreed to climb the tree and got a string to put round her feet. As she was climbing the man looked up and saw her private parts. The woman threw down the coconut but when she climbed down the man grabbed her and raped her. These Iasa people returned to Iasa. Later the Waleome men finished hunting and came back to the village. When the woman's husband entered the house the woman threw her grass underskirt to her husband. He understood this message. He could not talk from shame and putting down his bow and arrow, he took his small basket containing gamoda and went to the men's house. Here, he told the Siblemete men, and their headman, Waidubu, what had happened.

4. So the good friendship between the Iasa people and the Masingle people broke down. When the Iasa people returned they were surprised to find that their former friends were now enemies. And so, the Iasa people and the Masingle people fought each other at Siblemete until the time came when the Siblemete people found that the population was declining because of warfare, and began moving away from the coast. They came to Dolemisumisu, that is on the Binaturi river bank. They stayed there for some years, there the hunting and collecting of shellfish was not very good, because they were frightened being so close to the coast. so they moved to Mumu, which was further along the river. They settled there for some time, until a man from Noawale came for hunting and heard people talking. He asked them who they were and they told him that they were Waleame people. The man led them to Noawale and they stayed there.

5. One day the people of Noawale came to the beach, at the mouth of the Binaturi, to wait for Saika. My uncle Siwago was working in his garden at Totapwale, when Malehope of Masingle was waiting for Saika. This was the time when Gamea and Kuke were leading the people west. They had been to Dauan and to Mabudawan and on their way back Gamea stopped at the mouth of the Binaturi because his small son Malwa was crying for food. Gamea saw Maletope and got ready his fighting weapons. Gamea's wife called him to stop and to ask Maletope for food for the boy. Gamea left his weapons and jumped off the canoe and approached Maletope. He made a sign with his hands that he was hungry, and he tied a string around their hands which meant that he was a friend. Maletope was Siwago's nephew and he knew that his uncle was at Totepwale, and so he ran to his uncle's garden nearby. He told his uncle that his friend Gamea was wanting food. At first Siwago wanted to go and kill Gamea but Maletope convinced him that he had come as a friend, so they got taro and bananas and went to the beach at the river mouth. Saika of Yam Island arrived and saw Gamea. He too wanted to kill Gamea, but Maletope stood firmly. They left their fighting weapons and gave Gamea's people food. Later they took them to Noawale. This is the end of how Soriame took the people of Waleome clan to settle at Siblemete.

Story No. 18, The Molobo Badepiame clan

Told by Pomame Buje, Masingara village, Bine language

Our father's name was Dagi from Glulu. His first son was Nugu. From Glulu, Dagi and his family moved to Waiargobagide. Nugu, the son, had a wife and children. His eldest son was called Woboiame, his second son Debe, his third son Rawale. From Gobagide, Nugu, his wife and three sons moved to Irupe. He made a village there but left the other Masingle people behind and settled with only his own family. While at Irupe, Nugu heard that the other Masingle people had also moved and established a village at Ugri. Nugu, who held the customary laws, sent his son

Woboiame to teach these people the feasting laws called Abeletre and Dagaitre and others which are very important in the traditional life. The customary knowledge of these rites belongs to Molobo Badepiame clan, and Nugu was worried that they would not be performed correctly.

Woboiame took one wife with him but left another wife behind at Ugri. This wife had a daughter which she called Mulke. Later, the father and the two women argued and so Mulke packed her belongings and took food and water and started her journey from Ugri. When she rested she planted wild Yams and bamboos, first at Dariegide, and then at Nogoparte. These can still be seen. She crossed the river and walked to Dumegide where again she rested and planted her wild Yams and bamboos. From Dumegide she came to the swamp called Bademope and as she crossed the swamp she saw a dwarf called Iriegide. This dwarf signalled to her not to be frightened, and later he adopted her as his daughter. Every morning the dwarf, who had a bow and arrow, would go to the edge of the swamp, and shoot barramundi or mullet as they swam close to the bank. He would then cook this food over hot stones. He could not eat, and Mulke was given all this food. She felt that this was not right, so one day she made a bark container, and took a sharpened bamboo, swamp grass and some yellow mud. She made magic to make heavy rain, and soon Iriegide fell asleep.

In the middle of the night she came close to her father and called his name. When he did not wake, she put the grass on his mouth and took the sharp bamboo. She carefully measured her own mouth and then slit open her father's mouth. She then rubbed the opening with the yellow mud. She did the same thing with his anus. She then pretended to go to sleep. Early in the morning, the wind started to blow and the father felt, for the first time, the pressure of the wind on his mouth and his anus. He woke up and felt the openings, Mulke was secretly watching him. He came out and walked to the swamp and called out 'Gluluame, Kukapuiame, Siblemeteame (i.e. people of Glulu, Kukapui, and Siblemete) - I am now a person - before, I had no mouth or anus, and now I have - my daughter Mulke has opened them for me - now I am calling with my own voice'. He returned and thanked Mulke. He gave her some land on the edge of the swamp called Abaple.

Mulke's natural father, Woboiame, started looking for his daughter. Following her journey he found the sleeping places where she had planted Yams and bamboos. He eventually found her living with Iriegide, and told Iriegide that she was his natural daughter but Iriegide denied this. Iriegide and Mulke had made a false grave so that they could pretend that Mulke's 'mother' was buried there. Woboiame could see from Mulke's face that she was his natural daughter but he returned to Ugri without her.

At Ugri, a wild pig started killing people, so the people began to move out of the village - some eventually went to Yam Island on rafts. Woboiame knew that his uncle, his father's brother, lived on the other side of the Bullawe, at a place called Budapupurangu, so he took his family there. The uncle told Woboiame to build a man's house at Wobogigi, and they stayed there for a long time. Woboiame had a son Mugi, while living there and later Mugi had two sons Gume and Yarbu. This family later moved to Damuwale and from there to Bullawe, and from there to Gugumete. Another group joined them there, and this is behind the old village site. From Gugumete they moved to the old village. This was the last place in which they built a man's house. From there they later moved to the present village now called Masingara.

Story No. 19, The Masingle people (Part 2)

Told by Side Saiade Ben (Dariame clan, Udidariem Ubriam subclan), Masingara village, Bine language

1.In the beginning, when we were living together, war broke out and we scattered, and looked for places to settle the clan. Udidariem clan settled and named the places, Ugri and Bullawe, but from there water disturbed them and they moved. Tiburi, our grand- father, when they were about to leave, left a pregnant wife there. They built a house in a big tree. There were bamboos near that tree. He told her to stay there. 'If you give birth to a girl, name her Kie, if it is a boy, name him Omebwale. When he gets big send him to see us', he told her.

From there, they made bamboo rafts, and they came to a Creek they called Omebwale-Mope-Gome down to the Binaturi River. As they came they named the place Ablepupu, Gurewal, Casanbale, Eagibade, Sair, Gulpupu, Tabem, Uliwainglesai, Kuremomo, Topitaromi, Dipemaura, and Gaigome. Near the Creek junction called Wome, some rafts sank and the people drowned. They continued past the Creeks called Ugenarame and Trimaarame. From there they came to Iairue and settled there. Later they

moved to Wobede, Merinea, Siturangu, Binaturi and Busepuli.

When they went towards the coast from the river they came to the east to Bulagabe on the coast, Jomigape, near 2 big trees on the coast, Guriwale and to Magibade and Casambade. They used the same names that they had used along the river. Magibade is where the present village of Tureture is situated on the beach. Between the coast and the inside, the places are Tuageu, Masingle-gabe, and Gluiasamiware. They were moving, trying to find a place to settle. They had to move to Iairue again because at Jomigape the water was salty. At Iairue they made a raft, and followed the river down to the sea.

They journeyed by raft to the reefs, and Islands. To Guriwal, Casambade, Magibade, Tudamomo, Tabeani, and Garubui (Moon Passage), also to Iame (Yam Island), and Tudomo (Tudu Island). When they returned from Tudomo they left behind a woman with a pig. From Tudomo, they went to Iame (Yam Island) and settled there, and named the places with names from the mainland. Such as, Sugisugi, a water well, APala and Bullawe, the name of the river. The people settled there and those names are there.

Tiburi's wife gave birth to a boy whom she called Omebwale. When he grew up his mother told him that his grandparents and his father had gone out from here and he should go and try to find them. When he was small his mother had fed him a special kind of taro called Oge which made him sleepy and he had a vision. In the vision the sea spirit woman told him that he should find a canoe, and go in search of his people. A pig tried to kill people near his home so he killed it and cut it up and divided it. He got into his canoe and set off down the river. When he reached the ocean, near the reef, he threw the pig's head into the sea and it turned into a dugong. He threw the pig's leg into the sea and it became a turtle, the skin on the side became a stingray. The other parts of the pig changed into fish. The sea spirit woman had given him a harpoon, which he used to spear those animals which he had caught. Secretly, he went to his father's house, and fell asleep between his father and his eldest brother. His father awoke in the middle of the night, and wondered who this young man was, so he woke his eldest son and asked him but he did not know. The young man smiled secretly to himself, then woke and said to his father: 'I am the son of the pregnant woman left behind. I have come to find my family'. They gave him a young girl without brothers as his wife, and he brought her back to Ugri where his mother lived. He showed his wife to his mother and she was proud. They had children and their names were: Maza, Dese, Yange, Gine and Tiburi. He lived there, and when he died, was buried at Bullawe near the men's ceremonial ground. The sons scattered among the Masingle peoples.

2. The story of Tiburi (grandfather), Omebwale (son) and the people of Yam Island, Nibea and Saika (eldest son of Nibea).

The people on Yam Island thought of their relatives on the mainland. Saika was told that if he wanted to, he could travel back to the mainland. He came back to visit people and to travel around the land. When he came he brought fish from the reef, dugong, turtle, coneshells, bailer shells, shellfish, and trumpet shells. The villagers met him and he gave them these things from the reef. They brought him to the village, and he slept there. At that time they used counting sticks to tell the number of days. They gave him seven sticks, and told him to come back when the last one was thrown out. They held hands and took him to the canoe and gave him foods. They then said farewell. We now have relatives on Yam, Masig (Yorke), Coconut, Boigu and now on other Islands as well. This can be proved. The bones of the dugong, turtle and fish can be seen opposite the village near the Creek.

Story No. 20, First contact with the men from Somerset

Told by Pomame Buje, Ibaji and Gadua, Masingara village, Bine language

The name of the old village was Masingle. The people brought this name with them on their journey. There were four men's houses at the old village. They were: Magamaer (Mother of the men's houses); Palemete (Red skinned tree men's house); Dibepupu (Resting place men's house); and Noawale (Red flower men's house). A man, Yange from Damleame subclan, got married to a woman called Gibua. As he had no land nearby in which to plant banana suckers, Gibua brought him to her clan's land to plant his garden. During the day they would work there at a place called Palegide. One day he decided to go fishing at the junction of the Bullawe and Binaturi Rivers. In those days, when they went fishing, they used fishing line made from

coconut husk fibres, hooks made from cane thorns, and the sinker made from a ball of strong clay. Yange caught some fish including one eel. While fishing Yange fell asleep against a tree leaning over the river. Suddenly he heard a noise and saw a European boat in the river. He tried to escape but could not, so he tried to hide. The boat came close to him and he heard one man call out: 'I see you. Don't hide'. The men on the boat caught him. Yange was frightened and shivering because he thought they were going to kill him. The European man also took the fish, the eel and Yange's bow and arrow. The boat continued up the river in search of other people but at Iremisiu a tree had fallen across the river blocking it. While the boat crew were trying to clear the tree, the people of Iremisiu attacked the boat. The men on the boat fired their guns at the villagers who ran away. The boat then turned around and sailed back down the river. They sailed to Somerset. Yange's wife, brother-in-law and father-in-law searched for him and believing that he must have been taken by a crocodile sent a message from Bullawe village to Masingle village. Yange's wife dressed in widow's mourning clothes. Because they had no body to bury they dug a grave and placed a trunk of a banana tree called Edetane-doba in the hole and covered this with dirt. They then held a funeral feast for him.

Meanwhile, Yange was living at Somerset. The Europeans taught him how to cook rice, how to make damper, tea, boil hot water, eat sugar, etc. He was also taught how to wash calico (clothes), use soap, and how to use towels. They taught how to use razor blades, glass mirrors, combs, knives, etc. He remained there for a while. Later they brought him back by boat. They anchored at the mouth of the Binaturi, there was no village at Mawatta, and they unloaded all his things, put them on the beach and covered them. In those days, the river was only a Creek. They gave Yange a set of counting sticks and told him that they would come back at a future date. Yange walked up the road to Masingle and the boat returned to Somerset. The road to Masingle was called Masingle-gabe and went through the present village site. At Ugular Creek, Yange was seen by some village people and they thought it was Yange's spirit returning because he was dressed in shirt, trousers, and hat. For this reason. European clothes were called Ableuglu, meaning spirit's skin, i.e. the clothing is hiding the spirit. Frightened, the people ran away. Yange started calling out. 'I am not a spirit, I am not dead. I am still alive.' The people heard him and turned around and started walking towards him. They then shook hands with him. He told them that he came to tell them what had happened to him. They went with him to the Noawale men's house. The relatives of Yange gave him food to eat. They then went to Yange's men's house, Dibepupu. When the message went about that Yange had returned the people spread mats on the black palm floors, and Yange started to tell his story. He told them that the Europeans who brought him back were Turibiname (friendly people). After telling his story. he said that all the goods brought were still at the mouth of the Binaturi so they went to collect the stores and brought them back to the men's house, where the people gathered around. Yange showed them how to cook using saucepans. He served rice to the people on plates which he had brought. He also served rice in coconut shells, called Wate. He opened tinned fish and mixed the rice and fish. He then showed them how to eat using spoons. Some used spoons made from shells called hinerore and geserore. The people tasted the food and saw that it was good. Yange explained all the European foods such as flour, baking powder, tea, etc. He showed them how to mix tea, wash clothes and bodies, how to use knives, axes, matches, and black tobacco, because they used to smoke iasuguba, native tobacco. Some women thought that soap was for eating but Yange told them it was only for washing. He showed them how to dress in European clothes. He shared everything among the village people but some people missed out. Yange told them not to worry as the boat was returning and they would be given stores then. He showed them the counting sticks and on the appointed time the boat returned from Somerset. This was the second trip.

Yange showed the people the boat. On the boat were also some fowls. Yange explained these birds to them and the children learnt to make the noise. 'Oh - ga - oh - i - we - a - i - we - a'. The Europeans told Yange to unload the boat. The sailors went with the people to Masingle village where they shook hands with the village people. They shared stores with the people who had missed out in the first place. The boat then left Masingle and returned to Somerset. Yange remained behind. The Europeans then told the mission at Somerset of this place and the missionaries made a trip with the pastor from Murray Island called Enoka. This man's European name was Enoch. The missionary made a settlement near Noawale men's house. This place is

called Aipupu [Wongai] because the pastor planted a tree called Oni in front of his house. The pastor worked there for some years. Masingle people and Irupe People were still fighting wars but the pastor called the government to come and make a stop to the wars. William Macgregor took some police and came. He brought trade goods and went up to Irupe with some Masingle people. While he was trying to make peace the Irupe shot one Kiwai man named Dabu (his family are now in Mabudawan). They speared him. The police shot some men, the European shot one man.

Masingle and Irupe people became friends after this. The pastor remained in the village and some people went to Somerset where they worked as labourers. They then went to work for the government at Malukuwa (also Marukara) Island off Mabudawan. These workers planted coconuts and mangoes at Malukuwa. These trees are still there. After this the Kiwai people travelled along the coast and settled at Mawatta after the missionaries. This was when Gamea and Kuke came to Mawatta. There was no Kiwai village at Mawatta before the missionaries.

Because there was not enough land and no sea passage at Malukuwa and Mabudawan, the government went to Yaru (Daru). There the government settled for good. When the pastor left, some people moved to Bullawe with Muge, others went to Sair*, others to Gugumete and to Biabu. From there the government came again and told the people that they were one people and should make one village, so they moved to the old village site near the graveyard. The Europeans changed the name from Masingle to Masingara. At this village the government brought the Union Jack and George ? Murray came from Port Moresby and gave the people the King's head (photograph). From there the governments and pastors continued to come until now. I see you: the family of Yange still use this name, now spelt Seeyou, formerly Siu.

Note: * Spelt Sareere in Landtman (1917: 80)

Note: Somerset was officially established by the Queensland and British Governments in 1864. It was located on Cape York Peninsula opposite Albany Island. The settlement was closed in 1877 following the establishment of Port Kennedy on Thursday Island.

Story No. 21, Kunini village

Told by Umua Jubi, Kunini village, Bine language

In the old days, the people lived at the beach near the canoe hut (about 1 km. east of Tureture). He was a small boy then*, and they went to school at Tureture. They were staying at the beach but water spoiled the village, so they moved to Tureture village. From Tureture they started to go working for the Japanese at Thursday Island. They used to get a 'field break' and return to the village for 2/3 months. They were working on the trochus and pearling boats in the Torres Strait, and they stayed at sea collecting shells until the boat was filled and then returned to Thursday Island. They lived like this until the old people died. It was when they were working on the luggers that they got ideas for making canoes and canoe sails. They started making canoes and went to the Torres Strait Islands. They used to take mats, and food to the Islands for sale. The Islands that they went to were: Badu, St. Paul (Moa), Nagi (when there were people there), Dauan, Saibai, Darnley, Murray Island, Stephen Island, Coconut Island, Warraber, and Yam Island. They took the women with them when they went, and later they would return to the village. The Islanders would tell them the date to return. They are still going to the Islands to visit their friends. They would also take dugongs and turtles to Daru - some for sale, and others to eat. To catch dugong and turtles, they would start at TudO Island and Potomaza (Keseperege) Otamabu, Kimusu, Baidamtaik, Silverreef. Bago, Parakiwo, right down to Tabaiane, and from there to Dugong Stick. This is when they fished for these things. There are other small places and on the Daru side there is Ibumuba. They brought turtles and dugong from all these reefs. Sometimes they took turtles and dugongs to the Torres Strait Islands. They only took turtle and dugong, crayfish and other fish for sale in Daru.

They moved from Turcture to the present Kunini site in 1962. When old Tureture was flooded, their councillor, Tatie Olewale, formerly Premier of Western Province, said that they had to find a new place to live and so they went to the Kunini site, cleared the trees and built their houses. From there they used to take turtles to Kiwai (Island) in exchange for canoes and sago. They are still going now. Some canoes still come from Kiwai Island but there are some trees near the village and they make their own canoes from them. The price of canoes (from Kiwai Island) is determined by the owner of the canoe hull. A canoe is a big thing for them. Everytime they went to the reef they took the women with them

and the women used sadi (fish poison root) to kill fish.

Note: * About 70 years ago

Story No. 22, Geadap and Muiam (Part I)

Told by Bamaga Imari, Waidoro village, Gizra language

There were Two Brothers - Geadap (the eldest) and Muiam (the youngest). Geadap had two wives named Endar and Sirip. Because Geadap was so jealous of his two wives, the brothers quarrelled, and so Muiam left without saying a word to his older brother. There was no sea at that time but as Muiam went along he burnt a fire and the ashes created the ocean. He went in a small canoe with one outrigger and no sail. While paddling from west to east, he created the people of the coast from the words of his mouth. The first group was at Kulalae, these are Geadap's people. The next were the people of Waidoro, the Jibram people, and likewise the Bine and Gidra people. Eventually, Muiam came to Iasa (Kiwai Island) and he stopped there. He planted all the coconuts and sago palms there, and then decided to return to his home. He left the canoe at Iasa, and as he walked he checked up on the people that he had created to see if they were alive or dead. He told the people when he met them that: 'This is your land'. Here he killed one wallaby, he decided not to cook it there but to carry it with him all the way. Muiam then came to the Bine area called Irupe. He decided to singe the wallaby's skin there. He had one dog with him called Jibargab. He eventually came to the Gizra area called Getragiz, the Creek near Waidoro. Here he decided to rest and cook the wallaby. As he was not sure if he could eat the meat he gave a piece of it to the dog. When he saw that the dog did not die he ate some and found that it tasted good. This is why the Gidra and Bine speaking peoples did not eat wallaby. Finally, he came to a place called Bazra, and made a shelter there. After that he started making a garden. He then decided to go hunting but while he was hunting his hut got up and walked into the garden and pulled up all the young taro suckers. When Muiam came back from hunting, he saw that the house was full of food. Muiam decided that this could not happen again so he broke the posts of the house and moved on. He thought of his elder brother Geadap. While he was walking from the west. They met not far from Waidoro village at a place called Sakalkupi. His brother saw him. Geadap asked in Saibai language 'Who are you?' Muiam answered in Bine language. They met and the elder brother, Geadap, took Muiam to his home. Muiam asked Geadap if he had any children. Geadap answered that he had none. Muiam then taught him the way to have children. After he taught him the way of sex, Geadap returned to Normador (now called Mabudawan) and had children there. Our name (the Waidoro people) is Gizra or Jibram, and we are Muiam's clan. They (the people of Kulalae) are Geadap's clan.

Story No. 23, Geadap and Muiam (Part 2)

Told by Jate Nog, Sair Buia (Muiam Clan), and Iaga Ngele (Geadap Clan), Kulalae village, Gizra langauge

There was once a woman with magic powers named Kumuz. She lived separately from Geadap and Muiam. They did not know of each others existence. Geadap and Muiam came into being at Basirpuk at the foot of Normandor. They did not live there long because the soil was not good. Kumuz also came into being at that place and there are separate stones there for Geadap, Muiam and Kumuz. Muiam, the youngest brother, was tatooed on his body and because he was handsome Geadap hid him away in a separate house.

One bright morning Geadap arose and saw, for the first time, his shadow, and he thought: 'I am actually two persons - myself and my shadow'. Out of that shadow he decided to create another man in his image. On the dust where the shadow lay he traced the outline. He scraped a dry coconut and with the meat and the juice of a green coconut he formed a shape of a man by mixing these things with the dry dust. With this clay mixture, he modelled a man. He covered this model with tree bark and left it in the sun. While the image was being hardened by the sun, Geadap sat by it and used some bark to fan the mound. As he fanned, he called out the sacred word 'Dik' and breathed life into the clay. As the sun became hotter the clay began to sweat and at midday, when the sun was hottest, it began to move. He called out: 'Buod', and the image came into life at that moment. Geadap went into his gardens and when he returned the image was sitting up. Geadap named him Nizek. Geadap thought that Nizek required a mate so he created a female in a similar manner, only the words of creation were different. He took the last rib of Nizek and put it in the clay of the female image. Again he covered the image with bark and again

he fanned it. He called out her name which was Suorze. He used the word: 'Dul', to create life in her and so he created man and woman. When Geadap had finished these tasks the three of them stood together and Geadap wondered how he could create more people for he thought that they should be together and populate the land.

The Gizra people are descendents of Nizek and Suorze. All this was done at Basirpuk. After he created these two people he sent them away and he cursed that land so that it became large rocks and sand and difficult to garden. It is now the site of the village of Mabudawan. After this he created two wives for himself and named them Endar and Sirip. He told them that there were two paths from his house one was kept clean at all times, the other lead to the gardens. The first path was forbidden to them for it went to Muiam's house in the bush called Gumurt. Muiam was forbidden to move around and Geadap took food to him every day. Muiam was only permitted to sit in his house and make arrows which he gave to Geadap in exchange for food. These arrows were decorated like his body. One day Geadap left his two wives at Basirpuk while he went hunting, and to check the order of his lands and gardens. However, while he was away, the women's fire went out, and Endar, the youngest wife, saw the smoke from Muiam's fire rising straight into the sky. She decided to go and see whose fire it was. Sirip was very dear to Geadap and reminded Endar of their instructions not to use the path, but Endar was adventurous and walked towards the source of the smoke. She had seen the well kept path and thought that there must be something interesting there. Eventually, she arrived at Muiam's house. Muiam, from inside the house, sensed that someone was outside and called out: 'Who is there?' Endar replied that she had no fire, and that she had come to get some. Muiam told her not to come close because of Geadap's instructions, but he threw a firestick out to her. Endar managed to see Muiam through a hole in the walls of the hut, and became attracted to him, because of his appearance and his tatoos. She took the firestick and began to move away but stopped and then returned to Muiam's hut. Endar and Muiam had intercourse there but some of Muiam's tatoos rubbed off. At the same time, Geadap out hunting, saw his arrows snap and he knew then that one of his wives had broken his rules. He returned to Basirpuk. Endar also returned to Basirpuk and when Geadap arrived both women began to cry. He took a piece of grass from Endar's underskirt and tied it to one of Muiam's arrows. He then shot Endar in the thigh (The traditional punishment for infidelity). Geadap also went to Muiam's hut and also shot Muiam in the thigh. Muiam had magic power, like Geadap, and told Geadap that they were both brothers but that he would return in another form and in another manner. Muiam left his house and taking a dry coconut husk and some fire went to Basirpuk and burnt a large fig tree. The tree burnt to the ground, and even the roots were destroyed. The ground nearby was scared and from the ashes and soil the ocean was created.

Muiam had a canoe called 'Munul' made from the outer casing of the coconut fruit and in this he sailed for Iasa on Kiwai Island. The people at Kulalae and Kupere are Geadap's people, but only a portion of Muiam's people, the Waidoro people, live at Kulalae.

Story No. 24, Geadap and Muiam (Part 3): Story of Geadap

Told by Jate Nog, Sair Buia and Iaga Ngele, Kulalae village, Gizra langauage

Kumuz's place was at Wamulkan. She did not know that Geadap had cursed the land and finding that her gardens did not grow, moved to Kumuzbasir, that is, the place of Kumuz. Kumuz had two children, a boy, Imamolom, and a girl Ziziburo. Imamolom, whose real name was Tati, was called Imamolom, which means fatherless/motherless child because of the manner in which he was created. Above the fire was a ball of eatable clay called Marit, which was drying in the heat of the fire. This ball of clay began to sweat, and turn around and it fell down between Kumuz's legs as she was cooking. It turned into a baby boy, and Kumuz believed that she had given birth to it. Its first food was ripe bananas. Ziziburo was the child of her relationship with Geadap.

Kumuz had a bullroarer, from which she derived most of her magic powers. One fine night the air was very clean and dew was on the ground, Kumuz began conducting her rituals. The noise of the bullroarer attracted Geadap, and when he walked towards the sound he saw Kumuz. He asked her if she had a husband, but she told him: 'No', He asked her what the bullroarer was, and Kumuz told him it was called Agur and that it had special powers. Geadap wanted possession of the bullroarer, and he and Kumuz began to argue. Geadap won and took possession of it. He asked Kumuz to come with

him to his home at Numunmert, the place he had moved to after leaving Basirpuk. Kumuz said that she had no knowledge of married life and producing children, but if Geadap wished he could visit her at night, and so they regularly had intercourse together.

One day when her two children had grown, Kumuz was sitting before the fire cooking and her son Imamolom was sitting directly opposite her. He saw his mother's sex and began to cry. At first, Kumuz thought that he was hungry and offered him food, but his crying continued. She realized that he was looking at her and asked him if he was crying for her sex. He said: 'Yes'. Kumuz replied that relations between mother and son were forbidden and she took her bamboo tongs, used for moving the hot stones in the earth oven, and struck and killed her son. The boy's body immediately disappeared, but reappeared at Geadap's place. Geadap asked what had happened to him and he told him that his mother had tried to kill him. When Geadap's family saw Imamolom they decided to make a feast and later they began to dance. Imamolom's sister recognised her brother and saw that he had reappeared and demanded to know the full story from Geadap and her mother. As the dances ended, Kumuz asked Geadap where he had taken the boy. Geadap explained that Imamolom had just appeared to him. Kumuz said that when she had struck Imamolom the tongs had made a mark on his forehead, and she could see that this boy was her son. The people were shocked at the boy's behaviour and authorised that he be killed for a second time. Kumuz struck her son for the second time, and he died. This is why we now die. If Kumuz had not struck her son the second time men would not die.

Story No. 25, Geadap and Muiam (Part 4): Story of Muiam

Told by Bamaga Imari and Wali Menagu, Waidoro village, Gizra langauage

Muiam separated from Geadap because Geadap's wife fell in love with him. Geadap shot Muiam with an arrow called Komtom. Then Muiam burnt his house and taking his canoe loaded with pigs, dogs, birds and garden foods set sail. He used a coconut leaf sail. There was no sea, but as the canoe went it created the sea before it. Because the canoe was so full the dogs and pigs fought in the canoe. He threw a male and female dog, pig and bird on the way to the east. He started at the place now called Mabudawan. At Giza he dropped the Jibram people. He sailed to Iasa, Kiwai Island. At Iasa he met a man named Sido who had two wives. He gave a wife to Muiam. Then Muiam and this wife started creating children and as they travelled back to the west they left children behind. In these places there were no people so Muiam and his wife created the people. He came to Kuru. Here his dog Jibargab caught a wallaby. From Iasa, Sido had given him sago and coconuts for him to plant. So while he was coming he was creating people as well as planting sago and coconut palms. Muiam did not eat the wallaby that his dog caught, but Muiam brought it along with his wife and dog to Ume, Bole, Giringarede, Tati, Kunini, Masingara, Drageli, Irupe. When he came to Irupe, he burnt the hair of the wallaby, and cooked it and cut it up, but he did not eat it there. He came to the place called Getragiz and rested there. He gave the lungs and the skin to the dog. The dog ate and did not die so Muiam saw that the meat was good to eat. This is why the Bine peoples did not eat wallaby, but why the Gizra and Agob peoples do eat wallaby, because Muiam tasted the meat here in the west. While he was having a rest a cold wind blew from the east. Geadap, his brother, felt this wind and took it as a sign that Muiam was returning. Geadap began looking for his brother, and walking, met him at Bazerl. Muiam spoke in Bine language, Geadap spoke in Saibai language, called Sepam language. Geadap was frightened and as he ran away he passed excreta. It turned into stone and can still be seen there. At a place called Bine, he told Geadap to stop running. Muiam brought this name with him from the Bine area. Jibram, the name of Waidoro people, was taken from Muiam's dog. Geadap had two wives but no children. The people of Kulalae are Geadap's people. They are from the elder brother. The Jibram at Waidoro are from Muiam, the younger brother. The whole area is called Gizra.

Story No. 26, Relations with the Eastern Islands of the Torres Strait

Told by Sair Buia, Kulalae village, Gizra langauge

Our people were going to Gida for initiation ceremonies on the land where we learnt our lore. During this time people used rafts to cross rivers and at this time the wind was blowing from the northwest and the current was very strong. On the raft were many people, including a pregnant

woman named Agor. They could not cross the river, and began to be washed down the river. They had fruit and nuts from the bush, because this was the lean time for food, before full fruiting and before the good taro and bananas were ripe. The wind and current took them out into the sea and right over to Murray Island. Their fire went out while they were travelling. There were other people on Murray Island, and they asked the people on the raft: 'Where have you come from?' The people told them that they were Gizra people. The pregnant woman gave birth there, and the raft people mixed and married into the Murray Island people. On Murray Island there were no breadfruit trees, or nuts, etc., but now these Islands are full of fruit trees that the Gizra people took with them.

Story No. 27, Contact with the Torres Strait Islanders

Told by Zate Nog, Kulalae village, Gizra language

Our relationship with the Torres Strait Islanders began a long time ago. when we lived at Basirpuk, now called Mabudawan. The Islanders saw us there. At that time we wore only our traditional clothing, we had no knives, plates and other things. Our only method of transport was bamboo rafts. The Islanders, seeing our way of life, gave us iron, knives, saucepans, etc. At that time our language was Saibalgar Iamulkud, Saibai Island language. Today our language is similar to Miriam, the eastern islands language. From that time, the Islanders returned with gifts and our relationship grew stronger and stronger. At that time, our method of fishing was the use of baskets, and the Islanders taught us how to use fishing spears. The Islanders told us to fish at Ait Reef. This area was free for all to use. From then some young men went to work for the Islanders in order to strengthen our relationship, and this practice still continues. Soon after we made contact with the Islanders there was another migration of Kiwai people from the Fly River, and they pushed us back inland by tribal fighting, and now they live at Mabudawan. Since the Kiwai came we have had trouble maintaining the relationship with the Islanders which was really working. This has had some effect on the language for now we learn the Kiwai language. But it still did not stop our old relationship. Today we trade regularly, and some still know the language well. Intermarriages have taken place, and our men have married Torres Strait Islander girls. Today we have people from the village, living over there, who have become Australian citizens, but they come back for holidays, especially at Christmas. Somewhere between first contact and now, we were living west of here at Togo. An Islander named Tanu Nona* from Badu came in a fleet of luggers to this place, Kulalae, and brought flour, turtles,kerosene, tin drums, rice, clothes, saucepans, etc. In return we gave Yams, mats, bananas, taro, etc. The name Kulalae, is a Torres Strait Islander name. Today because of the restrictions, we do not see each other as much as we want to, but we do go to see them by getting permits from Customs. Now we want to bring back that relationship, which we had before, but we cannot, because we do not understand the laws our P.N.G. Government has imposed. The relationship we had before has been cut off, and now we want to make a move to become part of the Torres Strait Islands. We could go there illegally.

Note: * Tanu Nona's visit occurred about 1953/54 when Kulalae was the canoe landing for Togo (Usakuk) village. The move to the river was made about 7/8 years ago.

Story No. 28, Sui village

Told by Tawai No'ora, Sui village, Kiwai language

My great grandfather came from the Oriomo River (from Aramo near Old Zim). Later he went to Mobi, and then to the coast at Agimobiri, the bush area near the north side of Doridori. Sui people were living there. He asked them: 'Why are you staying here?' and they said: 'There is a thing (monster) in this ocean'. Later they gave him a wife named Uba. He asked them to show him this thing, and they showed him the waves that indicated that the monster was coming. He speared it with his bow and arrow and by using magic words sent the monster to Gibuturame. The monster now lives near the Bamu River, and can be seen coming up with the big waves. After that the people went to live at the place where Sui is now.

Story No. 29, Madame village

Told by Uduru Muru, Madame village, Kiwai language

In the old days the people moved from Madiri to Maoturi. There they built a longhouse. From there they moved to Yowere, on a branch of the

Madameturi. There they built another longhouse. From there they moved down to the other side of the Madameturi. At that time, they were killing the Uwapi people, from the other side of Kiwai Island. They were fighting for one woman named Aisi. From there they moved to the other side of the river near the Creek behind the present village. There, at Namiri, they built a longhouse. They were living there when William Maegregor came here. To that longhouse the Wederehiamo and Koabu people came and formed one village. The Wederehiamo people came from Sepe, because the Sepe people were killing them. The Koabu people came from Mugu on Teapopo side. Badabada's brother brought them to this longhouse. Later Badabada burnt down this longhouse because he was angry that his wife from Wederehiamo tricked him into believing that she was having sexual relations with other men. When the longhouse was burnt, they moved to Madame. From there people went back to Wederehiamo and to Koabu. The Madame people were left there. They moved to the old place now taken by the water. From there they moved back to the present site. They moved again to the old site. and then came back again. They built a longhouse near the mouth of the Madameturi. To form this place some people came from Madiri. Starting from Madiri to Tabio; that is their (land) mark. On the coast there were only three villages: Tirio, Madame and Meai (near Severimabu). The places Severimabu, Koabu and Wederehiamo are new places. I am the owner of the land (village site). My great grandfather Kuripu came from Wiorubi, now Wapa'ura on Kiwai Island near Ibinio.

Story No. 30, The first canoes

Told by Were Waina of Tirio village, Madiri plantation, Bugumo language

Two Brothers started out from here by canoe, and went to Gewi Creek. Their canoe sank there. The youngest brother said: 'Look at the big fish coming up from the water'. The other brother said: 'Can you dive in the water and catch some fish?' So while he was diving for fish he found the canoe and he told his small brother that he had found the canoe. So together they pulled the canoe out of the water. They fixed it properly, and sailed down to Daru. They then started fixing the canoe with two outriggers, like the Kadawa people. They decorated the canoe and painted two barramundis on the sides. The Kadawa people saw this canoe and started decorating their canoes in this style. The two men's names are not known.

Story No. 31, Sepe village (Part 1)

Told by Apai, Sepe village, Kiwai language

They were created at Barasaro. From there they separated and some went to Sumai. Some remained at Sumai and others went to Auti. They were staying at Auti and from there some went to the new village at Sepe. Today they are living at Sepe.

Story No. 32, Sepe village (Part 2)

Told by Surumo Oburo, Sepe village, Kiwai language

They were created at Barasaro, a place inland from Iasa. From there they went to Mibu Island. There was not enough space there, so they separated. From Mibu they went to Emioro near Sui. They were staying there but there was not enough land for all, so again they separated and went Imari.

They followed the coast with the old men, and came to Severimabu. When they reached Severimabu, they said: 'We have found good land to stay'. Later they crossed to Sumai in their canoes and went to look over the place. They said: 'There is not enough land here for all of us'. So some separated.

One woman went fishing alone while they were staying at Sumai. Other women went out following her. One old woman saw a large Creek called Ewoituri, the river near Auti. From there she went back and told the others that she had seen a big river and that the banks were very high and the water was fast flowing and that it was a good place to stay. From there she returned to Sumai, and gathered all the people. If one woman had 4 children, then 2 went to one side and 2 went to the other side. The eldest males and females went to Auti near the corner of Sepe headland on the Madame side. The youngest children stayed at Sumai. This is how they separated. With the old woman, the eldest brothers went to the river. They are all one village, Severimabu and Sepe. Big brother is Severimabu, and smaller brother is Sepe.

Story No. 33, The first canoe

Told by Ausi Bira, Sepe village, Kiwai language

They first made a canoe called 'Burai' at Wawoi near Bamu River. The man who cut the canoe hull was named Iyapa. When it was time to pull the canoe hull they called some Busere-busere (young girls) to come and help, because they could not move it. They took off all their clothes and pushed the canoe hull naked. They helped to push it to the water at Wawoi River, but the canoe hull did not float. It sank straight away. Later, the canoe hull came up out of the water, by magic, and Iyapa took the canoe hull to where he was living and made it into the canoe 'Burai.' From Burai others learnt how to make dugouts and they brought that canoe here to Iasa and some of our great grandparents came on that canoe. They went to Barasaro. Their great grandparents did not visit each other because at that time there was still fighting. Their grandfathers used to take canoes and fill them with sago and bananas. They also took new canoes to Parama, Tureture, Mabudawan and Old Mawatta. They used to sell garden foods for bailer shells, bidi-bidi and nese. These things they took to wear on their chests for dancing and fighting. They used to go fighting around the Kiwai Islands.

In their great grandparents time, if they had friends or relatives in other villages, they only went to travel in the night not the day time. For them to make peace with other villages they used to sell their wives to their friends. The wife and the friend would sleep together apart from the husband. This was how they made friends before the missionaries came. The friend would then tell when to come again and he would wait for them. The friend would also do this for the husband and his other friends. This was how peace was made all around the villages. Then their fighting stopped.

Story No. 34, Canoes

Told by Mapo Nopia and Ugia Wamai, Severimabu village, Kiwai language

1. How they found the idea to make canoes.

The first canoe was made at Bamu River. The two men who made the canoe were Domogo and Gorea. The name of the canoe was 'Burai'. When they finished the canoe they pushed it to the shore. They put it near the longhouse, and there they burnt the sides and made designs on the side body. It originally had no outriggers. The next day it was ready to paddle. When they made ready to push the canoe into the water, they asked some Busere-busere girls to help. They told the girls that they would be needed to help the next day. While they were sleeping, one old man came and pushed the canoe into the water using his penis. The canoe went straight into the water but it sank to the bottom. When the owner woke up in the early morning he saw bubbles coming out of the water. They tried to find ways in which to take the canoe out of the water, but could not do so. They went to Emeti village and got an old man to come and sing a magic song. The mother of the two men who made the canoe was sleeping naked on the sticks used to make the canoe. When the canoe rose on the water it saw the naked woman's private parts, and said to itself: 'That is the way to the shore'. It passed right through her vagina and that is how it rose from the water and returned to the shore. The old man cleaned the canoe with the leaves of the Duumu, Wabere, Parama-busere and Nibonibo trees, because it had become covered with mud and dirt in the water. When they finished they took the old man and married him to the mother of the two men who made the canoe. They started to make canoes from there. Their great grandparents saw this canoe with their own eyes, and got the idea for making canoes from there. They got this idea from the two men from Bamu.

2. How the first outriggers came. Told by Ugia Wamai

When they cut down the tree the seed fell down. One woman named Buria told her first son, a cassowary to come. She told him to eat the seed but the bird did not want to do so. She told the cassowary three times. She then told him to climb up and sit in the branch of a tree. But the bird fell down. The mother sent the cassowary into the bush and told him to eat all the seeds on the ground in the bush. That is how it is until today. She then told her last son, a bird of Paradise, to come to her. She told him to swallow the seed, but he did not want to do so either. She told the bird of Paradise to climb up the tree and sit on the branch. When the bird was sitting on the branch the mother ate the seed. The mother became pregnant. While she was pregnant she sat on the edge of the water. When she sat there she gave birth to the canoe 'Burai'. The front and back were shaped just like today's canoes. From there she went and told the Busere-busere girls to come. She told the girls that they had to make the outriggers just like that canoe. When the Busere-busere finished the canoe the mother told a man, Soromi, to look after the fire. They were taught how to paddle. First one stroke, then rest,

and call out 'Ahai-e'. They only had to stroke once, and they would go all the way from one village to the next. From Bamu they travelled to Domori, the Island near Sumogi Island, then to Lewada, to Tirio, Balamula, Wederehiamo, Severimabu, Daware, Sui, Parama, Gaziro. They told all these people how to put outriggers on canoes. From Gaziro to Doridori at the time when the longhouses reached the water. From Doridori to Daru. From Daru to Aberemuba, they told them how to make canoes this way. From Aberemuba to Binaturi. There they found a bridge at Wiatoto. From there they went to Kagaro on Saibai, and the canoe stuck on Kagaromuba. The Busere-busere girls had a longhouse at Kagaro, near the big stones there. The longhouse went from Kagaro to Otamabu Reef. 'Burai' went down in the passage between Kagaro and Mabudawan and is still there. It is marked by rocks.

Story No. 35, The small boy who was swept from Kiwai Island to Murray Island.

Told by Moses Somogi, Kadawa village, Kiwai language

While the small children were swimming in the river off Kiwai Island, they saw a big log and started jumping off it. When they saw the tree drifting out from the village they all jumped off but the smallest boy could not swim far and he just stayed sitting on the log. The current took the log out from the village to the sea. The current washed him past Samari and towards Mibu Island. Half way the current took him to Parama Point. Between Kadawa and Daru the current continued to take him. The tide pushed him to Baramaki (Bramble Cay), and then began to wash him right to Murray Island. When the log came there the boy stayed sitting on the log until one man and his wife, going out to their gardens, found him there. The man and his wife asked him what had happened, but he could not talk. He made signs to tell them what had happened. The man and his wife took him to their gardens with them. Then they hid him in their house because they did not want him killed. Both of them went to the headman to tell him about the boy and ask that they could keep him as their son. The headman told them to bring the boy to him. He said that they could keep him in memory of the Fly River. The boy grew up and they gave him a wife and he had children. On Murray Island his big family can still be found.

Story No. 36, the first lap lap (European Clothing)

Told by Abaim Mergor, Wim village, Kawan language

Before, in the old days, our great-grand parents did not wear lap-laps. It was during the lifetime of our grandfathers that the people saw their first lap-lap. Lap- laps were first used at Old Mawatta (Binaturi River), and slowly they moved by trade to Masingara, to Glulu, to Sogare and to Podare. Our parents would go to Podare and get clothing there. At first, the people did not know what the lap-lap was used for. In those days, they did not get many clothes. Once they received the first lap-lap, they tore it into bits and used it to cover their private parts. At first they did not even know that clothing was to be worn. When we were children we started wearing European clothes all the time. In those days people did not go to far away places. Clothing now comes from shops and from friends. They cannot make this type of clothing themselves. It has to come from other countries like Australia.

Story No. 37, Wipim village and trading

Told by Sawara Jugi, Mundar Kaus, Sagere Kaus, Bisai Saru and Birige Kugei, Wipim village, Gidra language

1. When the old people lived they did not have clothes or anything. The men were naked, the women has grass skirts to cover themselves. Before they had European tools, they used sharpened bamboo sticks, about 3 - 4 feet long, to dig gardens, remove the grass, and make drains. Before they had coconut scrapers, they used shells. They also used these shells to make gardens by cutting the small sticks and grass to clear the land. Shells were also used to scrape taro and vegetables. They were used also to make bows and arrows. Shells were the main objects used. For cutting sago palm they used stone axes. Shells came from the Pahoturi and were traded with sago. They did not know where the stone axes came from, perhaps the stones were just found and someone made them. Axe handles were made from a hardwood tree. Before it was fitted they made a hole in the wood with fire, then they used cane to fit it to the wood. It would take all one day to cut down one sago palm. There were few axes, sometimes only one in the whole village. The axes were not sharp, and sometimes the forces of the blunt axe on the sago palm could

force a man backward. This all happened before the trade in metal axes. This is how the old people lived.

2. Clothing was brought by one of the Europeans. He brought clothes and the Bible. His name was Sare *. He came up from the village at Kadawa (Mawatta) on the Binaturi. When he arrived at Kadawa village, because it was the first time that they had seen a European, they were all frightened and ran away. When he found that everyone had run away he went away but later came back. Before he came again he loaded a boat with all European things, like rice, sugar, clothes, tobacco, pots, saucepans. When the time came he started up on the journey from the coast. As he came closer to the village, people saw the boat and thought it was a very wild pig coming on the sea, because they had not seen a boat before. Some felt very frightened and took off again into the bush, but others stayed and watched. The man called Mr. Sare came from the boat and called the men in the village. He told them to unload the boat and take the goods into the village. The men shouted to those who had run away, to come and help them unload the boat. They took all the goods to the village. The first thing he had was tobacco - he got cigarettes and matches and lit it and puffed it first. He told them it was not food. He gave it to the village people. After that he taught them how to cook rice in a pot with water. He got a plate and served out the cooked rice. He opened a tin of meat and put it on the rice and showed the people how to eat it. Afterwards, they ate together. After this he showed them how to cook flour, biscuits, and other things. He showed them the foods for eating, and drinks for drinking, such as tea, lolly water, and other things. He showed them black tobacco. After teaching them these things he got a roll of material and cut it and gave the cloth among the people. He told them that the cloth was for them to use to cover their bodies.

3. Mr. Sare asked if there were other villages inland because he wanted to see them. They went up the river to Glulu village with a man named Musi. Mr Sare told Musi: 'Here is a roll of material. You will take it to the other villages'. Musi went to Podare and gave it to them there. Mr. Sare and the Kadawa men went back to Kadawa. Musi spent some days at the village of Glulu. He sent messages to the men at Podare for all men to visit him. He told them that he was bringing the skin of a dead man. He told them to make a welcome for him at Podare. He said: 'When I arrive, I will bring this skin, and you should hold it and smell it with your nose.' After sending this message he went out and later arrived at Podare village. They made a welcome, and Musi put the cloth down and told them to touch and smell the cloth. He called it Kobargum (skin of a deadman). Next day, Musi cut the material into pieces and gave a piece to every clan. This was the first time to see clothing in the Podare area. He showed them how to wear clothing. Musi returned to Glulu. He told them that Mr. Sare would come and they should select some men to become the Mamoose (police constable), deacons, pastors and other things. The headman was to be called Mopiam. Deacons were called Dekuna. Pastors were called missionaries in those days. When Musi left, Mr. Sare came and he was the first man to bring the Bible. He brought a gun with bullets, and shot the branch off a big tree. Some people felt very frightened but he told them it was used for shooting animals, and showed them how to do it.

After Mr. Sare went back they went to work for the Europeans at Port Moresby (Pos Misi). Some of these men's fathers were the first to go to work for the whites. When they got their jobs they learnt to speak English and how to cook food, cut grass, mix cement and work as Washbois (Domestic servants).

One thing like money was called apogran. This was like a big kina coin and very heavy [perhaps a Crown]. Goods cost one shilling. They could buy from both sides of this coin. They bought things from the boss. They did not have any education.

For trading they took a walk from Wipim to the villages near the coast. They traded with grass skirts, headdresses made from cassowary feathers, bows and arrows, drums, and native tobacco. The two villages they traded with, first was Kadawa (at Binaturi), and then with Masingara. For these things they gave them matches, clothes, knives, axes, and hoes to make the gardens. Nowadays, they still trade this way, but also go down to Daru now.

Note: * Possibly Rev. A.W. Murray of the London Missionary Society

Story No. 38, The Iamega people and trading

Told by Soge Nunde, Sunda Toko and Messer Saru, Iamega village, Gidra language

1. In our ancestors days there was no clothing. People lived naked. Men wore only a plaited belt, with a leaf like a banana leaf covering their

private parts. Women wore a grass skirt, made of sago fibre and tree bark, covering their fronts and backs but open at the sides. It was dyed with tree bark or fruit juices. In those days shells were used as knives. Shells were used to cut small trees and grasses, they were also used to cut up food. We had stone axes, but not nowadays. In those days, we went out hunting with bows and arrows. We hunted cassowaries, pigs, and our enemies. When men went hunting they brought the kill back to the village where it was cut up using bamboo knives. The older people here (about 80 years old) were born at the time when people were still naked. Their parents lived all over the places in their clan lands. The people lived in their old villages. At that time they did not go to Wipim because of tribal fighting. They also fought the Wonje and Kuru people.

2. One man, at that time, came to Buja, and from there he sent messages to all the villages for the people to come to see him. His name was Musi. That man was dressed in European clothes, but he was a black man, probably a missionary. He brought with him one lap-lap which was nice and shiny. With him he brought a Bible. When our ancestors went to see him he gave them pieces of lap-lap - one yard for two men. He told them to wear it - one man to wear it first, then to give it to another man. After that he sent a message for three men to go up to Buja and see him. He named them as headman to be called Mopiam. Their names were Tara, Wooi and Duor. When they went to see him Musi told them that if any man comes to the village on a Sunday then they were to shut that man up in a small house and light a fire under it. Tears will come to his eyes and he will sneeze. This is his punishment for not keeping the Sabbath and he is to stay there all day. This happened throughout the Wipim area. When they saw this punishment they thought that the best way would be for all to live together as one community. So they came together at the old Iamega village, two hours walk to the Northeast. This is the village of the old people's parents.

3. When they came together they decided to go out trading with other peoples. To trade with the coastal people, they took cassowary headdresses, kundu drums, bows and arrows, bird of Paradise feathers, and gamoda, called Urk in Gidra language, and also cassowary bones from the leg, used to husk coconuts, and to make holes in coconuts for drinking. They can also be used as awls for making holes for tying and sewing. In exchange we got clothes, knives, axes, matches, soap and smokes, especially black tobacco. When they went to trade they went to Kunini, Tureture, and Masingara. They went down the Binaturi.

4. Later, they heard the news that a coconut plantation was being made at Dirimu, and they went from here and Wipim to work there for the European owneR. When they went to Dirimu they learnt that it was easier to trade to the Fly River, to Madiri plantation and so they started trading that way. It was their fathers who first went. When they were working there they started buying axes, knives and clothes with their own money. In those days the prices were very low, especially for things like cooking pots, which cost 4 shillings, knives cost 1 shilling, and axes 5 shillings. They bought these with notes like one pound. When they bought goods they paid with one side, and then they turned it over and bought goods with the other side.

5. At this time, they thought of building a new village. They built this village in a line, sometimes 5 families, sometimes 4 families lived in one house. When they finished this village the first European Patrol Officer, Mr. Woodward,

Deeramo	Dirimu
Kadau	Binaturi River
Mauat	Mawatta (at Binaturi River)
Kamoos	Kimusu (at Kokope Reef)
Wappa	Wapa Reef
Ta-Bai-An	Tabaian?
Warrior/Tudee/Tutu	Tudu
Kop-Maori	Earth oven
Pe - Wa - Dai	Peawa people
Ku - Kuriam	Kuru people
Jibiam	Jibu people
Mageroobee	Magerubi?
Goorooroo	Goro
Massingara	Masingara
Boorau	Burau?
Badurubee	Badu people
Urupiam	Irupi
Jibar	Jibar (now Waidoro)
Togo	Togo (now Kulalae)
Kuini	Kunini
Iramissi	Iremisu
Sauree	Sauri (outside the river)?
Waraber	Warraber
Long Island	Sasi (Sassi)
Cap Island	Mukar
Two Brothers	Gebar (Gabba)

came. When Mr. Woodward came he asked the people, after he had seen the houses all in a line, what the building blocking the other end was. It was built like a coastal house. They said: 'Bagbag'. He said that there was another name for it. There were two men from the Oriomo River there, they were village constables (Mamoose). They said the building is called: 'Cross'. Mr. Woodward said that if they had said that before they should receive many good things. So he gave them two hoes to each house plus knives and other things to the village people. where was a man named Ganumi in the village. He was made the village policeman. His son is an old man about 70 - 80 years old now. He was given a uniform, a sulu and jumper. Mr. Woodward took some soil and put it in a parcel. He also took some bush lillies and some tree leaves with him.

6. After that an oil company (A.P.C.: Australian Petroleum Co) came to near Kuru - to a place called Dogo. This company was set up there and village men went to work there. They got clothing there and so they did not need to trade for clothing. The company had a trade store there. Men were not allowed to wear shorts at that time, they could only wear lap-laps. After that they bought all their things from the company, and learnt Motu from other workers from other parts of the country. They also learnt Pidgin English and Broken English. These men also went to work in other places with the A.P.C. They brought goods back from the stores together with suitcases and clothes. Traditional dress was forgotten.

7. Then schools started at the L.M.S. Mission at Sesengand, near Podare. When the mission finished the community school at Wipim opened with government assistance. From there children have been to High School and now work in government departments and business firms. Nowadays we live with clothes, aid posts, businesses, patrol officers, D.P.I., all in our area. Small children now go to school in Wipim.

APPENDIX F. CATALOGUE OF ARTEFACTS OF THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF CUSTOMARY EXCHANGE IN THE TORRES STRAIT AND FLY ESTUARY REGION

Artefacts have been organized according to the descriptive analysis given above and are grouped under 4 functional headings. The artefacts are housed in the collections of the Australian Museum (AM), Queensland Museum QM), National Museum of Finland (NMF), Material Culture Unit, James Cook University (JCU), or the Auckland Museum (AuckM). This catalogue is compiled from catalogue data, examination of the artefacts, reference to published sources and fieldwork. The catalogue is arranged according to the following fields:

1. Registration number, object name, local name; and usage.
2. Provenance.
3. Description.
4. Acquisition details.
5. References in the literature.

Artefacts of subsistence (21 items)

AME15702, shell hoe, *wedere moa* (Kiwai); gardening,digging tool.
Mawatta village, near Daru, Western Province.
Portion of bailer shell (*Melo* sp.), length 200mm, width 105mm (at the blade end) decreasing to 30mm at handle end. Convex blade.
Major W. Cooke-Daniels collection (Regd. Aug 4, 1905)
Landtman,1933:23, col.2.

QMQE4338, shell hoe, *panigob* (Meriam); gardening, digging tool.
Mer (Murray Island).
Shell hoe (or knife) *tulik*, made from clam shell (*Tridacna* sp.). Necrous surface. Bifacial axe/adze. Convex blade. Lenticular. Butt - obtuse point 85mm long, 45mm wide decreasing to 20mm at handle end. On back is printed in black ink "*Pani goo Tulik lat g. Lugese.*" [*Panigob/ Tulik* = shell hoe/axe]
coll. A.O.C. Davies, acquired by QM 13 March, 1964 (A.O.C. Davies was the school teacher on Mer during 1924-1925.)
Moore,1984:63, pl.28; Haddon,1912,IV:125-126, 144.

NMFVK4902:563 (Fig. 48), shell hoe, *wedere moa* (Kiwai); gardening, digging tool.
Mawatta
Convex shell (*Melo* sp.), length 56mm, width 13.5mm across cutting edge. The shell fits but is not attached to a narrow wooden handle, the head of which measures 4.5mm wide.
Landtman, 1910-1912. (Similar objects are NMFVK4902:566, 565 and 564.)
Landtman,1933:23.

NMFVK4902:418 (Fig. 49), shell cooking utensil, *wedere* (Kiwai); boiling pot, also used for holding water.
Mawatta
Bailer shell (*Melo* sp.), length c. 240mm, width 150mm. Part of the shell has been broken off to facilitate use of the central section. Maximum measurement (front to back) along edge is 280mm. Charcoal on base suggests it was placed on or near the fire.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:59,61.

AME65670, hafted adze with stone blade, *emoa* (Kiwai); as an adze for shaving wood and an axe for cutting heavy timber.
Guam (?) country, west of Iamega and south of Baramura [Balamula].
Stone head bound on to an elbow-shaped wooden handle. Stone head measures 160mm long and 40mm wide. Blade is greyish/green basaltic rock. Wooden handle is 555mm long. Tip of handle to head is 195mm long.
coll. C.W. Marshall, 1928. Purchased by AM in 1973. (Marshall was employed as surveyor and assistant to a field geologist in the 1927/1928 Oriomo River oil exploration project).
Landtman,1933:45-47.

QMQE4676; hafted adze with stone blade, *emoa* (Kiwai); as an adze for shaping wood and an axe for cutting heavy timber.
Erub (Darnley Is.).
Large stone blade, 270mm long, 135mm wide, diameter 50mm. Stone blade with lenticular transverse section, with convex blade, polished with overpecking, bifacial and butt bruised.
coll. P.G. Guillemot. Acquired by QM February 4, 1913. (Guillemot was a school teacher on Erub for 3 years until c.1912).
Haddon,1912,IV:126.

QME4593 (Fig. 51), stone axe/adze blade, *emoa* (Kiwai); chopping, cutting implement.
Fly River, SW PNG.
Blade is long, tapered, deep lenticular section, and the butt is tapered to a blunt point. Max. length 350mm, max. width 110mm.
coll. A. Phillips, Purchased by QM June 15, 1908. (Similar objects in the collection include E1076 (Fly estuary) E4591, E6129 (Fly River) and E 4589 (Kiwai).
Landtman,1933:45-47.

NMFVK4902:528 (Fig. 52), stone adze/axe, *emoa* (Kiwai); chopping and cutting implement.
Kiwai Island.

Small stone blade, 130cm long, bound between two pieces of wood and bound to an elbow-shaped handle. The wooden handle is 750mm long with a return of 450mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:45-47.

NMFVK4902:533, stone axe/adze blade, *emou* (Kiwai); chopping and cutting implement
Mouth of the Fly River.
Large stone axe or adze blade, 400mm long. Width varies from c.140mm (100mm from the blade) to 90mm (100mm from the butt).
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Landtman referred to the Fly estuary region as the mouth of the Fly ('mynnigen av Fly') (Landtman,1913). Similar objects are NMFVK4902:529, 561, 549, 559, 555, 554, 551 and 557.)
Landtman,1933:46.

QME10048 (Fig. 55), canoe, *pe* (Kiwai), single outrigger *tataku pe*; watercraft.
Daru,
Simple dugout canoe with single outrigger not attached. 3m long; 250mm deep; width at gunwales 200mm; length between outrigger attachment holes 1470mm.
coll. C. Robinson, 1968. Purchased by QM November 6, 1974 (referred to in register as 'model canoe.')
Landtman,1933:20-21).

NMFVK4902:736, mat, *tiro* (Kiwai); sleeping mat, in former times used as mat sails on canoes.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Pandanus leaves sewn along the length of the leaf. The mat is folded lengthways into two panels. Some areas of repairs are evident where small panels have been inserted across the direction of the older leaves. The centre of the mat has a large dirty area in the middle which may possibly have been made by charcoal or smoke stains. Length 1900mm. Width 1500mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:64-65).

JCU86.4.7(Fig. 63), mat, *tiro* (Kiwai); sleeping mat, in former times used as mat sails on canoes.
Kadawa.
The mat is made from flat pieces of Pandanus leaf sewn together in strips. Folded into two parts, the mat can be used as a waterproof sleeping cover. In former times used as a mat sail on canoes. Width 1600mm. Length 2080mm. Each pandanus strip c.70-80mm wide.
coll. David Lawrence,1986.
Landtman,1933:64-65.

NMFVK4902:733 (Fig. 64), mat, *hawa* (Kiwai); floor covering.
Mawatta.
Described as *hawa* in the *buruhe* (square, check crossing of the wefts) technique. Pandanus leaves. Length 1030mm, width 490mm. Cross decoration of yellowish/brown strips, bleached or perhaps dyed, with 10-12 rows of contrasting dark brown strips. Landtman stated that the *hawa* style mats, sometimes made from coconut leaf, were introduced into the Fly estuary from Mawatta. They were used, after the introduction of the double outrigger canoe, as sails. They therefore post-date the *tiro* mat.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Similar to NMFVK 4902:732).
Landtman,1933:65.

JCU85.14.3 (Fig. 65), mat, *hawa* (Kiwai); floor covering.
Kadawa.
Made from narrow strips of pandanus leaf c.15mm wide. Some are natural colour, others dyed purple, possibly with 'gentian violet' or carbon-paper. Diagonal check weave. Width 1430mm (varies). Length 2500mm.
coll. David Lawrence, 1986.
Landtman,1933:65.

NMFVK4902:394 (Fig. 67), basket, *sito* (Kiwai); for carrying foodstuffs and babies to and from the gardens.
Mouth of the Fly River.
A common form of plaited coconut leaf basket. The basket is slightly compressed with a broken handle. Length c.600mm; width c.300mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Landtman,1933:64 stated that the basket was suspended above the grave of a baby. Similar to NMFVK4902:406).
Landtman,1933:63-64. Refer to Haddon (1912,IV:72) for construction of Torres Strait basketry.

NMFVK4902:402 (Fig. 68), bag, *gatere* (Kiwai); small carrying bag, often used by men.
Buji (but said to come from inland).
Small, soft plaited bag said to be made from 'orchid root' consisting of diagonal patterns of yellow fibre, possibly dyed with vegetable dye, and horizontal patterns of natural and black fibre. Length of basket 300mm; width 220mm. Handle 240mm from rim of basket to loop of handle.
coll. Landtman,1910-1912. (The place of origin of these bags is the Suki lagoon villages, middle Fly River.)
Landtman,1933:64.

NMFVK4902:588 (Fig. 69), harpoon dart, *kuior* (Kiwai); part of the dugong hunting harpoon.
Mawatta.
Made from a broken piece of harpoon shaft or from a small tree. Landtman stated that they were shaped using cutting shells and then polished. Length 150mm. Width 10-20mm. Old harpoon darts are often used as part of a head carrier.

coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:27; Haddon,1912,IV:166-171).

NMFVK4902:586 (Fig. 69), butt end of dugong harpoon, *kumu* (Kiwai); part of dugong hunting harpoon.
Mawatta.
Shaft has been removed. Butt end made of heavy dark timber (possibly *wongai*), well polished and carved in the shape of a marine animal. There is a small harpoon dart hole in the end. Length 745mm. Width of shaft end 25mm, width of butt end 50mm. The name '*SARA*' is inscribed on the side. Belongs to NMFVK4902:587.
coll. Landtman,1910-1912. (Landtman stated that it was said to be modelled on the forearm of a man and was carved to represent a snake head. According to Teske (1986a:38-39) the butt end represents a freshwater eel.)
Landtman,1933:27.

NMFVK4902:587 (Fig. 69), shaft of dugong harpoon, *paike* (Kiwai); part of dugong hunting harpoon.
Mawatta.
Shaft of a dugong harpoon decorated with cassowary feathers. Length (removed from butt end of NMFVK4902:586) 700mm; diameter 25mm; with decorated panel 180mm long. Plume of feathers 500mm max. length, measured from the attachment point to tip of the feathers.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. Landtman,1933:27.

NMFVK4902:527 (Fig. 70), dugong rope, *amo* (Kiwai); part of dugong hunting harpoon.
Mawatta.
According to Landtman this thick 'rope' was made from plaited coconut roots and husks. However, it appears to be lawyer cane (*Calamus* sp.) plaited together into a thick, but buoyant rope. Eight pairs of strands are plaited around a central strand.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:63.

NMFVK4902:412 (Fig. 71), bamboo water container, *obo - marabo* (Kiwai); water carrying utensil
Mawatta.
Two lengths of bamboo with three nodes, two of which have been opened with small central holes. The third closed node acts as a base. A thin rope of natural fibre has been added as a handle. Length 725mm; width 95mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:61.

Artefacts of ornamentation and dress (49 items)

NMFVK4902:233, shell pubic cover, *wedere* (Kiwai); genital cover worn by men.
Kiwai Island.
Section of a bailer shell (*Melo* sp.). Length 130mm; width 110mm. Shell has a broken edge on the base and the surface has been lightly decorated with incised or pecked design. A fibre cord is attached.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Similar to NMFVK 4902:231 and 232.
Landtman,1933:33.

QMQE4661B,C (Fig. 72), shell pubic cover, *alida* or *ebeneaup* (Meriam); formerly genital covers worn by men. Register states 'dance ornaments' [worn on hips].
Mer (Murray Island).
Sections of bailer shell (*Melo* sp.). QMQE4661B length 180mm; width 100mm, with thin plaited tie. QMQE4661C length 190mm; width 105mm with ten seedpod rattles attached and a thick plaited tie.
coll. Deputy Protector of Aborigines. Acquired August 19, 1913. (During this period (8/1913) the Protector of Aborigines in charge of Torres Strait was Lee Bryce. The Chief Protector was Richard Howard.)
Haddon,1912,IV:210-212.

AME17284, shell pubic cover, *alida* or *ebeneaup* (Meriam); genital cover worn by men.
Mer (Murray Island).
Portion of bailer shell (*Melo* sp.), 290mm long and 155mm wide with incised decoration over the upper half of the shell. Two pearl buttons and two pieces of red calico are attached. Seedpod rattles are also attached to a cord threaded through the buttons and calico. Register states that the seed rattles were obtained from 'New Guinea' and that shells were originally worn as pubic covers but, since the introduction of grass petticoats, they were worn over the posterior or hips [as dance ornaments].
coll. Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch, 1907.
Haddon,1912,IV:210-212; McCulloch (undated a)

AME109, shell pubic cover, *wedere* (Kiwai); genital cover worn by men.
Fly River.
Section of a bailer shell (*Melo* sp.), 160mm long and 115mm wide. Upper portion of the shell is lightly incised. Two holes have been bored into the upper centre of the shell for the attachment of a cord.
Geographical Society of Australasia. Registered August 1886 (Most likely presented to the Museum by John Strachan.
Landtman,1933:33; Strachan 1885/86.

NMFVK4902:275, fibre skirt, local name not known, fibre skirt worn by women.
Djibu [Jibu], near Kuru.

Skirt made from the bast of a tree, possibly sago palm. The skirt is made in two separate pieces joined by a plaited fibre waist band. The waist band contains fibres similar to that used in 'Suki' bags commonly called 'orchid root.' The fibre in the skirt has maximum length of 500mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (The Landtman collection contains a number of skirts. NMFVK4902: 268 and 269 were collected from Masingara and are made from fibres attached continuously to the waist band. NMFVK4902:273, 274 and 276 from Jibu were too fragile to handle.)
Landtman,1933:34.

AME17255, fibre skirt, *nesur* (Meriam); fibre skirt worn by women.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Fibre skirt made from bast of the sago palm attached to a plaited waist band in one continuous piece. Length of fibre 380-400mm. Some pieces of red calico are attached to the band.
coll. Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch, 1907.
Haddon,1912,IV:60-62; McCulloch (undated a).

JCU86.13.3 (Fig. 73), fibre skirt, *wapa* or *eere* (Kiwai); women's skirt worn in former times. Now worn in dances.
Madame, western bank of the Fly River.
Fibre skirt made from shredded sago bast and dyed in parts with brown vegetable dye (or possibly paint). Made into two sections attached to a common plaited waist band. The bast is folded over the fibre and stitched to the band. The front portion is longer than the back. The front measures 350mm wide, and 500-540mm long. The back is 250mm wide and 460-480mm long.
coll. David Lawrence, 1986. (Two-section skirt similar to that collected by Landtman from Jibu NMFVK 4902:275).
Landtman,1933:34.

NMFVK4902:168, nose stick, *ini* (Kiwai); nose ornament,worn by men usually at dances.
Mouth of the Fly River (possibly)
Narrow piece of the edge of a clam (*Tridacna* sp.) worn through the septum of the nose. Length 215mm; width 10mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:40.

NMFVK4902:160, nose plug, *ini* (Kiwai); nose ornament generally worn by women at dances.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Short piece of clam shell (*Tridacna* sp.) worn through the septum of the nose. Length 40mm; width 17.5mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:40.

AME17342, nose stick, *kirkub* (Meriam); nose ornament.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Long, narrow piece cut from the edge of a clam shell (*Tridacna* sp.) worn through the septum of the nose. Length 240mm; width 15mm.
coll. Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch, 1907.
Haddon,1912,IV:9-10,39-40; McCulloch (undated a).

NMFVK4902:203 (Fig. 74), necklace made of dogs' teeth, *genaio* or *gesa* (Kiwai); worn as a neck ornament, often wound in many rows, generally worn at dances or given in exchange for women or valued objects.
Kiwai.
Long necklace of dogs' teeth inserted into a plaited band made from natural fibres. 2700mm long; 15mm wide. The average width of the teeth is 25mm. Each end of the woven band has been tied into a knot.
coll. Landtman,1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:41

QMQE4307, necklace made from dogs' teeth, *susueri* or *seserig* (Meriam); worn as a necklace.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Fifteen canine teeth, strung at intervals into a plaited pandanus band. Each tooth has two holes drilled into the base for attachment to the band. Length of the necklace 600mm. Width (band and teeth) 200mm; length of teeth c.35- 40mm.
coll. A.O.C. Davies. Acquired by QM March 13, 1962. (A.O.C. Davies was the school teacher on Mer during 1924-1925) A similar item, QME13/250 consists of two narrow plaited fibre bands containing 78 canine teeth. Length 1050mm, average length of teeth 30-40mm.
Haddon,1912,IV:41; Davies,1924-1972:34.

NMFVK4902:183, breast ornament, *nese* (Kiwai); worn on a tie around the neck as a breast ornament.
Collected between the Fly and Bamu Rivers. On the back pencilled 'Dibiri.'
Pearl-shell (*Pinctada* sp.) in the shape of a crescent. Max. length 160mm; max. width 70mm; 125mm from tip to tip.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:40-41.

NMFVK4902:194, necklace, *bidibidi* (Kiwai); neck decoration.
Kiwai.
Necklace of six circular shell pieces tied between two plaited bands. The shell pieces, from the bases of cone shells (*Conus* sp.), 45-50mm in diameter. The band is tied between each shell, looped at one end. The other end has two short ties. A hole has been drilled in the side of each shell attached next to the loop in the plaited band.
coll. Landtman,1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:41,87, pl.11.

NMFVK4902:189, breast ornament, *bidibidi* (Kiwai); breast ornament worn by men, women and children.
Kiwai
A single disc made from the base of a cone shell, 65mm in diameter. A plaited cord is attached through a hole in the outer whorl of the shell. Two other broken holes in the outer surface show evidence of earlier cord attachments.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:41.

QMQE4310 (Fig. 75), breast ornament, *dibidibi* (Meriam); worn by men, women and children as a breast ornament.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Shell breast ornament made from the base of the cone shell. The shell is rough on the reverse side and a fibre string is attached through a hole in the outer whorl of the shell. Diameter 85mm.
coll. A.O.C. Davies. Acquired by QM March 13, 1964. (A.O.C. Davies was the school teacher on Mer during 1924-1925).
Haddon,1912,IV:43-44; Davies,1924-1972:38.

AME17346, breast ornament, *dibidibi* (Meriam), worn as a breast ornament.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Made from the base of a cone shell. Diameter c.80mm. A pearl-shell button and fibre cord is attached to the outer whorl of the shell.
coll. Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch,1907. (Similar items are AME17347, 17348 and 17349.)
Haddon,1912,IV:43; McCulloch (undated a).

NMFVK4902:380, armlet, *boromo-kokai* or *boromo-iaru* (Kiwai); arm decoration.
Mouth of the Fly River
Two boar's tusks bound together by fibre, possibly grass, the cord is threaded through two holes inserted in the base of the tusk. A thin cord is attached through holes bored into the tip of the tusks, threaded on thin cord are decorative objects including a European-made button, a crustacean claw and a seed shell (*Pangium edule*). Diameter 100mm
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:43-44.

NMFVK4902:327 (Fig. 76), armlet (for upper arm), *tutahe, susase or tusase* (Kiwai); upper arm decoration.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Plaited armlet, possibly made from coconut fibre, decorated with a strip of navy blue calico, together with two rows of cowrie shells, stitched slightly on an angle. Attached to the base of the calico, hanging from the armlet, are four cowrie shells, one side of a large flat bivalve and a polished seedpod (*goa* or *Pangium edule* seed). Length of armlet 90mm; width 80mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Landtman stated that small personal items were kept in the armlet. The reference in Landtman (1933:43) actually refers to NMFVK5151:27. A small piece of blue calico was also found during research inside the packing box. It may be assumed therefore that the calico extended below and beyond the armlet, and behind the hanging cowries, shell and seed.)
Landtman,1933:43.

NMFVK4902:314, armlet (for lower arm), *adigo* (Kiwai); lower arm protector and decoration, worn to protect the arm from bow string recoil.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Armlet 200mm long. Width 85mm at the elbow to 70mm at the wrist. Made from closely woven rattan in three strand twill constructed on the diagonal.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:42.

NMFVK4902:325, arm decoration, *koima* (Kiwai); inserted into the lower arm guard as decoration, especially in dances.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Arm decoration consisting of three parts: Part 1. Plume of parrot feathers. Length 420mm. Part 2. Loop of bamboo rind with central strip of bamboo decorated with knots of red wood and bound at the base with red calico. Length 360mm. Part 3. Plume of cassowary feathers. Length 370mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:43.

NMFVK4902:326, arm decoration, *koima* (Kiwai); inserted into lower arm guard as arm decoration.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Tuft of cassowary feathers bound along its length with blue calico. Two pieces of beeswax decorate the top, together with one white [heron] feather. The base of the tuft of feathers is bound with red calico, and inserted into this is one loop made from the outer rind of bamboo. A second piece of bamboo rind has been placed into the red calico base and sits under the curve of the loop of bamboo. Length of cassowary bundle 490mm. Length of rattan loop 410mm. Maximum width from outer edge of cassowary feather bundle to rattan loop 105mm.
coll. Landtman,1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:43.

JCU86.4.5,a, b (Fig. 77), armshells, *mabuo* (Kiwai); upper arm decoration.
Wariobodoro village, north bank of the Fly estuary [Manowetti].
Two armshells, both of *Conus* sp., possibly *C. leopardus*. Armshell decoration made by removing the base of the shell (the base was then used as a

breast ornament). Then a vertical wedge section is cut from the side of the shell, to a height of c.20-30mm above the base. The result is a concave triangular wall of shell attached to a narrow base ring. JCU86.4.5a, base 150mm in diameter. Hole measures 70mm wide. Shell wall at base 25mm. Height of shell 275mm. Outer surface of shell is clean but with faint spotted markings. Inside stained. JCU86.4.5b, base 150mm long. Width of hole 85mm. Shell wall at base 25mm. Circumference of shell at base 300mm. Outer surface stained. Markings are very faint. Inner surface stained and with some pencil markings.

coll. David Lawrence, 1986. Purchased from the Provincial Cultural Affairs Office, Daru. (The most important item of exchange in former times.)

Landtman,1933:43-44.

JCU86.13.12, armshell, *mabuo* (Kiwai); upper arm decoration.

Fly estuary.

Base of cone shell has been removed (made into a breast ornament). Edge is ground and rounded. Cone of the shell has been removed leaving a circlet of shell. Height of shell 40mm approx. Height varies slightly. Width at the base 70mm. Width at the top 60-70mm. The shell is stained inside and there is some staining on the outer surface.

coll. David Lawrence,1986. Purchased from the Provincial Cultural Affairs Office, Daru. (The most important item of exchange in former times).

Landtman,1933:43-44.

AME17351, armshell, *wauri* (Meriam); worn as decoration on the upper arm, above the elbow.

Mer (Murray Is.).

Arm decoration made from a cone shell, most likely *C. leopardus*. The base of the shell has been removed leaving a hole of 45mm diameter. The base measures 65mm in diameter. Length of the shell 120mm. Reverse side is covered in a scaly coating. Only a small area of the surface of the shell shows the characteristic black spots common in *C. litteratus* and *leopardus*.

coll. Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch, 1907. (The most important item of exchange in former times.)

Haddon,1912,IV:56; McCulloch (undated a).

NMFVK4902:113, headdress, *mararo* (Kiwai); head decoration worn by men during ceremonies.

Kiwai Island.

Made from cuscus fur (*Phalanger* sp.) cut in a 'T' shape, 310mm long and 330mm wide. Tie cords are attached to each end of the fur, and at the base two *goa* (*Pangium edule*) seeds, and two bivalve shells are attached by string through holes in the fur.

coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Name taken from Haddon (1898:222-223) who stated that this form of headdress was only worn by men during the *Moguru* (or initiation) ceremony formerly conducted at Iasa on Kiwai Island during the NW monsoon season.

Landtman,1933:39.

JCU86.4.2 (Fig. 78), cassowary feather headdress, *daguri* (Kiwai); head decoration used by men in dances.

Wipim village, Oriomo River.

Headdress made from cassowary feathers. Feathers are gathered in bundles bound with fibre. Some fibres are dyed red. Each bundle is bound between two horizontal crisscross bands of fibre, the ends of which are then joined together to make two ties. The feathers have been trimmed into a coronet shape. Length of feathers 160-170mm (min.) and 400-410mm (max.). Length of band 330mm. Width of band 70mm. Length of ties 340-350mm.

coll. David Lawrence,1986. (A gift from the maker, Meuri Gabara. b. Waidoro)

Landtman,1933:37.

JCU86.4.3, cassowary feather headdress, *daguri* (Kiwai); head decoration used by men in dances.

Masingara.

Cassowary feather headdress of bundles of cassowary feathers bound at the base with 'bush' string fibre and tied between two horizontal crisscross bands. The bundles at either end of the band have been inserted in upside down, and hang down between the eyes and ears of the wearer in order to cover the wearer's cheeks. Length of feathers 350-360mm in the centre, width 220mm. Length of sides 200- 210mm long and 40-50mm wide. Length of band 250mm. Width of band 70mm. Length of band ties 1050mm.

coll. David Lawrence, 1986. (A gift from the maker, Sisa Muwe.)

Landtman,1933:37.

NMFVK4902:5, cassowary feather headdress, *daguri* (Kiwai); headdress worn by men as part of daily dress or in warfare and dance.

Mouth of the Fly River.

The lozenge-shaped base has been made from fine twisted two-ply fibre string, woven over a split cane weft. The base frame has been overstitched along the centre in decorative panels. The frame has then been coloured with ochres, clays, or charcoal. Cassowary feathers, tied in small bundles, have been inserted in the back of the frame. A tie has been attached to each point of the base frame such that, when tied around the head, the cassowary feathers cover the hair. Length of woven base 415mm (max.); width of band in centre 95mm. Average length of cassowary feathers 395mm.

coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:37.

NMFVK4902:13, cassowary feather headdress, *daguri* (Kiwai); headdress worn by men as part of daily dress.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Cassowary feather headdress c.220mm long and 430mm high to maximum length of the feathers. Plain fibre frontlet band into which small bundles have been plaited. Small seeds, with pieces of red fabric have been added at the top of the frontlet band as decoration. The cassowary feathers have been shaped into an m shape for effect. The ties on either end of the frontlet have been made from twists of up to 5 strands of two-ply cord.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:37.

QME13/165, cassowary feather headdress, *sam* or *dagui* (Meriam); head decoration worn in dances, and formerly worn as daily dress by men.
Erub (Darnley Is.).
Feathers bound together in small bundles. Proximal ends of headband attached with fibre twine. A length of twine extends from this end for tying to the head. Length of the band 190mm. Average length of cassowary feathers 260mm.
coll. P.G. Guillemot, 1912. Acquired by QM February 4, 1913. (Guillemot was a schoolteacher on Erub for 3 years until c. 1912.)
Haddon,1912,IV:36-37,210.

AME17316, cassowary feather headdress, *sam* or *dagui* (Meriam); worn by men in dance and in former times as daily dress, particularly in warfare.
Mer (Murray Is.).
The narrow plaited band is 300mm long. The cassowary feathers have been shaped with the longest in the centre and decreasing in length to the outer edge. With the band around the forehead the feathers would have sat close to the head.
coll. Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch, 1907. (Entry in the register states that cassowary plumes were worn by the 'chief' and bird of paradise plumes by ordinary people. In fact, both could be worn at the same time by any initiated male. The bird of paradise plumes would have been inserted behind the cassowary feather headdress. Bird of paradise plumes would have been considered more valuable.)
Haddon,1912,IV:36-37,201; McCulloch (undated a).

NMFVK4902:103, bird of paradise plume, *amura* (Kiwai); worn as part of a headdress, inserted into the band and hair above the forehead.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Bird of paradise feathers bound together on a black palm base/centre stick. The palm base has been pointed at the base and bound with cord. Length to the tip of the longest feathers 500mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Similar objects NMFVK 4902:101 and 99.)
Landtman,1933:38.

NMFVK4902:94, bird of paradise plume, *amura* (Kiwai); worn as part of headdress.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Large plume of bird of paradise feathers of soft burnt orange colour attached to a soft timber (possibly coconut) base which has been bound with thin cord. Length of plume 380mm. Length of base 130mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Similar to NMFVK-4902:95.)
Landtman,1933:38.

QMQE11179 (Fig. 79), bird of paradise plume, *degem* (Meriam); headdress worn usually at dances.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Bundle of bird of paradise (possibly *Raggiana* sp.) feathers of brown reddish colour inserted into a coronet. Length of plume 410mm.
coll. A.C. Haddon. Acquired by QM April 25, 1889.
Haddon,1912,IV:36-37.

NMFVK4902:121, headdress, *dori* (Kiwai); worn as head decoration during dances.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Made on a rattan frame, which when completed is decorated with feathers of the reef heron, arranged in a fan shape. The framework consists of thin pieces of rattan bent in an inverted 'U' shape bound together with thin cord. The frame is strengthened by a zigzag-shaped rattan insert bound to the inner and outer frame. The internal part of the headdress consists of bracings bound with coloured calico which have both a decorative and strengthening function. Attached at each end of the frame base are strips of red calico and small knots of calico are attached at various points along the outer frame. The length from the centre top to the base is 250mm and from the top to centre bottom of the horizontal brace is 180mm; width is 160mm.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:39-40.

AME 17263, headdress, *dari* (Meriam); head ornament worn in dances.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Large headdress of a rattan frame in an n shape with an internal frame in an m shape. A band of white heron? or Torres Strait pigeon feathers is inserted around the outer frame to form a fan shape. One long black feather projects from the top centre of the frame. Length of the frame 270mm. Width of the frame 175mm. Central feather rises 360mm from the top of the frame. Maximum width of

frame and feathers at base 360mm; width of side feathers 330mm.
Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch,1907.
Haddon,1912,IV:37-39, 364-365; McCulloch (undated a).

NMFVK4902:108, frontlet or headshield, *nukeso* (Kiwai); forehead decoration used in dance.
Kiwai Island.
Headdress used without cassowary feathers or with feathers attached. Made from rattan or fibre over a bamboo frame. 210mm long, 270mm wide at base. The front is decorated with a star pattern. White clay has been applied to the plaiting on the front and red (possibly ochre) has been applied to the sides. Some broken white feathers on the side indicate that the outer edge may have been covered with feathers similar to that of a *dori*.
coll. Landtman,1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:38.

NMFVK4902:109 (Fig. 80), frontlet or headband, *gesa* (Kiwai); forehead decoration used in dance.
Kiwai Island.
Dance headband consisting of a plaited rattan or fibre frontlet of convex lozenge shape, 330mm long, 120mm wide, with through cord ties attached to each end. The frontlet is decorated with three diamond-shaped patterns on the centre front. These are coloured black. A narrow red (ochred?) band runs along the base of the lozenge and the rest of the surface has been coloured white. The upper surface of the frontlet has been decorated with off-white/brownish (possibly underfeathers) of the cassowary.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:38.

Artefacts of recreation, ceremony and dance (29 items)

AuckM15809 (W1) (Fig. 81), drum *warupa* (Kala lagaw ya); sound producing instrument.
Nagi; register states obtained via Tudu from Mawatta.
Wooden drum waisted at the centre, the upper tympanum end is circular and covered with lizard? skin. The other end is shaped to represent a conventional shark's mouth. Length 1080mm; head 200mm in diameter; waist 240mm in circumference; mouth c.200mm in diameter.
coll. A.C. Haddon. Acquired by the Museum in 1925 from Edge-Partington collection. Acquired by gift from Dr T.W. Leys memorial. (This object was noted and documented by Helen Reeves Lawrence.)
Haddon,1912,IV:278-281.

AMB10094, drum, *warupa* (Kala lagaw ya); sound producing instrument.
Western islands, Torres Strait.
Very fine example of a large wooden drum, waisted, with definite open 'jaws', decorated on top and along the sides with cassowary feathers. Carved ridge has zigzag decoration. Tympanum intact. The tympanum end is well-rounded in a definite ball shape and decorated on the outer surface.
coll. Captain Strachan. Purchased by AM 1886.
Haddon,1912,IV:278-281; Strachan,1885/86.

QME13/162 (Fig. 82), drum, *warup* (Meriam); sound producing instrument.
Erub(Darnley Is.).
Large wooden drum, with typical 'open mouth.' Waisted, with carved and incised designs on the 'jaws.' Decorated with the addition of two white shells (possibly cowries) and cassowary feathers. The carving is, in parts, infilled with cobalt blue coloured dye. The decoration includes 6 *goa* (*Pangium edule*) shell rattles attached to one side. Length 1010mm; mouth opening 250mm; tympanum width 220-240mm.
coll. P.G. Guillemot, Acquired by QM February 4, 1913. (Guillemot was former schoolteacher on Erub.)
Haddon,1912,IV:278-281.

AME17242, drum, *boroboro* (Meriam); sound producing instrument.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Long, narrow, wooden, with open 'jaws' mouth. Length of drum 810mm. Width near open tympanum end 105mm. Length of 'jaws' 300mm. Well carved and decorated at mouth.
coll. Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch,1907. ('From New Guinea', ('probably Kiwai' added in biro)).
Haddon,1912,IV:278-281; McCulloch (undated a).

NMFVK4902:622, drum, *buruburu* (Kiwai); sound producing instrument.
Kiwai Island, obtained from Dibiri Island.
Small, wooden, 830mm long, with two well defined curved 'jaws' at the 'open mouth' end. The surface of the open mouth end and the body of the drum, to a distance of 370mm, is well carved. A thin plaited cord is attached across the mid point of the carved area, which is identified by two lines carved around the body of the drum and marked with V shaped carvings. The tympanum width is 120mm. Between the open points of the 'jaws' is 95mm. There is no handle.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Similar to Dibiri drum noted in Haddon,1912,IV:figs 242D, 360. Landtman (1927:350) stated that these drums were used during the *Moguru* ceremony.
Landtman,1933:68-71.

NMFVK4902:626, drum, *buruburu* (Kiwai); sound producing instrument.
Kiwai Island.

Large wooden drum, with a handle, carved from one piece of wood. The tympanum is intact. Length of drum 1070mm, width at tympanum end 155mm; width at open end 170mm; width at centre point of handle 100mm; length of handle 180mm. At the open end are two rows of diamond shaped carvings. The handle boss is decorated with inverted 'V' carvings. This drum is representative of the common form of drum obtainable at present (1980s) in the region.
coll. Landtman,1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:68-71.

QMQE5029, drum, *buruburu* (Kala lagaw ya); sound producing instrument.
Saibai.
Single-headed skin drum, wooden, long cylindrical in form with handle carved from the same piece of wood. Hollow. Skin head has incised band around the drum with wire inserted. Decorated with geometric, diamond and criss-cross designs. Body black. Word 'Flora' inscribed on distal end. Length 710mm; diameter of head 130mm; distal end 120mm.
coll. R.J. Page. Acquired by QM July 1, 1953.
Haddon,1912,IV:278-281.

QMQE4287, drum, *boroboro* (Meriam); sound producing instrument.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Plain, narrow, long, wooden drum, 1000mm in length and 115mm wide at the tympanum end. The open jaw mouth is 150mm wide. There is no skin nor decoration.
coll. A.O.C. Davies. Acquired by QM March 13, 1964. (A.O.C. Davies was the school teacher on Mer during 1924-1925).
Haddon,1912,IV:278-281; Davies,1924-1972.

AME65673, drum, *waple* (Bine); sound producing instrument.
Kuru region, Oriomo River, possibly Dagwa village or Wonie village.
Large wooden drum, 990mm long and 140mm wide at the tympanum end. The open end is carved with triangular and inverted 'V' designs. The handle is carved from the same piece of timber and is also decorated with 'V' designs. The skin tympanum is not attached to the drum.
coll. C.W. Marshall, 1927. Purchased by the Museum in 1973. (Marshall was employed as surveyor and assistant field geologist on the Oriomo oil exploration project 1927-1933. Similar to AME-65672.)
Landtman,1933:68-71.

JCU86.4.12, drum, *waple* (Bine); *buruburu* (Kiwai); sound producing instrument.
Wipim village, at the headwaters of the Oriomo River.
Small wooden drum, black in colour, hourglass shaped, decorated with incised design. Decorated at the open end with diamond and triangular pattern. Handle boss decorated with a geometric pattern. Name 'KALIES' incised between the segments of the diamond design. Length of drum 700mm; diameter of tympanum 125mm; diameter of open end 130mm; length of handle 140mm. A large split on the underside at the tympanum end has been repaired with glue.
coll. David Lawrence,1986. (Made by Sagere Kaus, purchased from Meuri Gabara.)
Landtman,1933:68-71.

JCU85.14.2 (Fig. 84), drum, *buruburu* (Kiwai) *waple* (Bine); sound producing instrument.
Weam village, Oriomo River.
Small hand drum, plain with attached handle. Outer surface is black, open end is decorated with common diamond pattern, coloured red, black and white. Length 870mm; diameter of open end 140mm; diameter of tympanum 130mm; handle 140mm long.
coll. David Lawrence, 1986. (Purchased at Kadawa village.)
Landtman,1933:68-71.

JCU79.7.1, drum, *buruburu* (Kala lagaw ya); sound producing instrument.
Wayben (Thursday Is.).
Large wooden drum made from single piece of wood, hollowed out in the centre. In poor condition, with no skin tympanum but evidence of glue used for attachment. Large splits in the timber, particularly near the open end, due to age. At the base, near the handle a repair has been made with a square piece of wood, possibly glued in. Length 1190mm; diameter of tympanum 175mm; diameter of open end 180mm. length of handle 160mm. Open end decorated with a triangular incised pattern.
coll. Elsa Fennell, Townsville. (Purchased c.1967 when working in Torres Strait as a teacher.)
Haddon,1912,IV:278-281.

JCU81.1.78 (Fig. 85), drum, *boroboro* (Meriam); sound producing instrument.
Ugar (Stephen Is.).
Small, wooden, waisted, from a single piece of timber. Carved with the common diamond and triangular design. Overpainted in green and yellow with commercial paints. Tympanum, (register states made from 'goanna'), is attached with rattan binding covered with cloth. Skin attached to drum body with banana sucker juice as glue and beeswax (*isao*) is attached to the skin. Length 870mm; diameter of tympanum 140mm; diameter of open end 145mm; handle 130mm long.
coll. Pam Brodie,1981. (Purchased from Arthur Stephen.)
Haddon,1912,IV:278-281.

NMFVK4902:637, shell trumpet, *tuture* (Kiwai); sound producing instrument. Used for conveying signals after hunting or warfare.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Large solid reef shell, possibly *Syrinx* sp., measuring 310mm long, and 130mm wide. A lateral mouth hole has been bored into the inflated body whorl. The hole measures 20mm by 15mm. The shell has an expanded aperture.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Landtman stated that *Fusus* sp. and *Triton* sp. shells were also used as shell trumpets.)
Landtman,1933:73.

QMQE9779 (Fig. 86), shell trumpet, *bu* (Kala lagaw ya); sound producing instrument, used for signalling following hunting or warfare.
Badu, Wakaid Cave.
Large shell, possibly *Syrinx* sp., 440mm long, 200mm wide with a maximum shell diameter of 170mm. An oval-shaped hole has been punched in the shell whorl between sutures, approx. 100mm from the apex.
coll. Ron L. Vanderwal. Acquired October 12, 1973. (QM photographic reference RB3217.)
Haddon,1912,IV:283.

JCU86.13.9a, b (Fig. 87), rattles, *kokare* (Kiwai); sound producing instruments. Held in the hand during dances. Made specifically for sale into the Torres Strait, most likely to Saibai.
Kulalae, Pahoturi River.
Two seed-pod rattles made from broken pods of *goa* (*Pangium edule*) seeds tied into dense bundle by plastic wire. Handles formed from plastic rope with plastic hosepipe covering. One brown handle with orange ties; the second green handle with green ties. Length a=150mm, b=180mm.
coll. David Lawrence,1986.
Landtman,1933:71-72.

AME17301, rattle, *goa sirip* (Meriam); sound producing instrument. Used as a hand rattle to accompany dance.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Circle of cane with two cross-bars of wood joined together to form a framework, from which a bunch of *goa* (*Pangium edule*) seeds are attached by fibre. Diameter of rattle 200mm.
coll. Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch, 1907. (Local name as in Moore (1984:83-84)).
Haddon,1912,IV:272; McCulloch (undated a).

QME4777, mask, *karara* (Kiwai); face covering used by men in ceremony, especially *horiomu* ceremony.
Southwest coast of Papua.
Large mask with circular human face, extended chin forming crocodile jaws made from plates of turtle shell on a wooden base, and then painted. 'Hair' is made from grass, cords and feathers, with *goa* rattle shells attached by wire. Fillet of cassowary feathers. Length c.530mm; width of head 480mm.
Acquired from Isles Love and Co. (Auctioneers, Brisbane); July 23, 1895.
Landtman,1933:74-76.

QMQE4668 (possibly previously QME5929) mask, *le op*, (Meriam); associated with *Daido siriem* ceremony; face covering, used by men in ceremonies of *zogo* cults, possibly turtle fishing ritual.
Erub (Darnley Is.).
Made from turtle shell plates sewn togther. Face 520mm long, 250mm wide. Human hair and beard attached to face c.120mm long. Ringlets of human hair attached to head contain some fibre cords. Face has been ochred in red and ears are incised with a pattern and coloured in white.
Register states QE4668 found in collection 1967. E5929 from the estate of Sir J.R. Dickson, 'Toorak', Hamilton, Brisbane. Acquired by QM March 29, 1901. (Similar to that illustrated in Haddon (1935,I:pl.5, fig.1).
Haddon,1912,IV:298-304; Haddon,1935,I:198-200.

NMFVK4902:135, mask, *mooa* (Kiwai); face covering, worn by men during ceremonies and dances.
Mawatta.
Made from a single piece of timber, in a long oval face shape. The face is decorated in geometric designs around the forehead, cheeks, mouth and chin areas and the one remaining eye is represented by a pearl button. The mask has two fibre ties on either side of the forehead, at the back. Mouth and nostril openings have been made by holes cut through the timber. The mask has been shaped at the back such that the wearer's head fits behind with the eyes at the 'nostril' holes and the mouth at the 'mouth' hole. The head of the mask is domed-so that the forehead and head of the mask rests on the wearer's head. The mask is 570mm long and 210mm wide.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:75.

QME5930 (Fig. 88), mask, *le op* (Meriam); face covering, worn by men in ceremony or dance.
Mer (Murray Is.).
With typical long face, made from a single piece of wood. Hair is of bark fibre tacked on to the mask by copper flatheaded nails. Eyes are made from shells and the facial design is coloured in black and white. Length 480mm; maximum width 250mm; width of mouth 140mm.
coll. Deputy Protector of Aboriginals. Acquired August 19, 1913. (During this period the Protector for the Torres Strait was Lee Bryce. The Chief Protector was Richard Howard.)
Haddon,1912,IV:296-298.

QME5488, mask, *buk* (Kala lagaw ya); face covering, worn by men in ceremony and dance.
Saibai.
Made from a single piece of wood, 650mm long, 210mm wide.
coll. Captain Gregory. Date not known. Register states that Capt. Gregory was engaged in 'the nutmeg trade.' (According to Haddon (1912,IV:297), the three wooden masks from Saibai in the British Museum collection were used in the *mawa* ceremony to ensure a good crop of *ubar* [*wongai*: *Mimusops browniana*] fruit. (*Mawa* ceremony is detailed in Haddon 1912,V:348).)
Haddon,1912,IV:296-298.

NMFVK4902:1318, piece of turtle-shell possibly used as a plate on a mask, *karara* (Kiwai); used by men in ceremony or dance.
Mawatta.
Portion of a plate of turtle-shell, possibly part of a *karara* mask, roughly 'halfmoon' in shape, 80mm in maximum width and 145mm in length point to point. Front side is heavily incised, reverse is undecorated. A series of holes along the upper and lower surfaces indicate attachment points for other turtle-shell plates.
coll. Landtman,1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:76.

AME65682, tobacco pipe, *waduru* (Kiwai); instrument for smoking tobacco, used by men and women.
Durai or Dourai village. Register states 'Doorar or Durray village at the Bituri River, Masham county, west of Iamega village'.
Pipe made from bamboo, 715mm long and 65mm wide. Heavily decorated with incised designs at one end. The bowl hole, on the upper part of the pipe is 25mm in diameter and located 135mm from the closed node.
coll. C.W. Marshall, August 20, 1928. Purchased by QM, 1973. (Marshall was surveyor and assistant field geologist in the 1927/28 Oriomo oil exploration project.)
Landtman,1933:65-66.

QME13/257, tobacco pipe, *zub* (Meriam); register states '*Wano's zub*'; used by men and women.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Decorated length of bamboo with incised designs of animals, possibly frog, turtle and fish motifs, as well as geometric designs. The circular hole for the tobacco bowl is 135mm from the closed node. Pipe 515mm long and 80mm wide.
coll. Deputy Protector of Aboriginals. Acquired August 19, 1913. (During this period (8/1913) the Protector for the Torres Strait was Lee Bryce. The Chief Protector was Richard Howard.).
Haddon,1912,IV:141-143.

QMQE4288 (Fig. 89), tobacco pipe and bowl, *zub* (Meriam) pipe, *tarkok* (Meriam) bowl; used by men and women.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Length of bamboo, with bowl, carved and decorated at the end. Length 890mm. Width 55mm. Bowl hole is 130mm from closed node. Bowl 185mm long and 20mm wide with an end shaped like a cone. The bowl hole is 15mm in diameter.
coll. A.O.C. Davies. Acquired by QM March 13, 1964. (A.O.C. Davies was the school teacher on Mer during 1924-1925).
Haddon,1912,IV:141-143; Davies,1924-1972.

NMFVK4902:665, tobacco pipe, *waduru* (Kiwai); used by men and women.
Ipi *darimo* (Ipi longhouse) formerly located on the western bank of the Fly estuary.
Carved and decorated bamboo pipe, 450mm long. Width 55mm. Two holes in top of pipe but closed nodes at the ends. Pencil mark on the side states: Madiri village.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (pipes numbered NMFVK 4902:666-668 are from Madiri/Ipi *darimo* or Tirio region. Landtman stated that pipes could have one hole and open node or two holes and closed nodes.)
Landtman,1933:65-66.

JCU80.4.1 (Fig. 90), tobacco pipe, *zub* (Kala lagaw ya, possibly Meriam word); used by men and women.
Western islands, Torres Strait.
Length of bamboo 785mm. Node at the end opposite to central bowl hole is open, as is the central node. Circular bowl hole is on the top surface. There is no bowl. The surface is highly and finely decorated with incised designs showing two tiger sharks (*baidam*), 2 small dugongs, an eagle ray and two small fish. Other incised designs include lozenge or diamond shapes commonly found on drums.
coll. Captain V. Lovett Cameron, c.1876. From James Hooper Collection. Acquired by Dover Museum 1948. Acquired by James Cook University 1979. (belonged to a man of *Baidam* (shark) clan. Haddon (1947:77) stated that this is the oldest Torres Strait tobacco pipe.
Haddon,1912,IV:379-380; Haddon,1947:77, fig.64; Phelps,1975:230, pl.125.

Artefacts of warfare (20 items)

NMFVK4902:494 (Fig. 91), cassowary bone dagger, *wagi* or *soke* (Kiwai); used as a dagger, similar to knives used as coconut husker in Torres Strait (Haddon,1912,IV:127).
Mawatta.
Lower leg bone (tibia) of cassowary. Length 350mm. Width of articular end 45mm. Width at blade point 15mm. The upper portion near the articular

end has been bound with a plaited band. Articular end decorated with *Abrus* sp. seeds.
coll. Landtman,1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:57.

NMFVK4902:758, bow, *gagare* (Kiwai); used by men in warfare and in hunting.
Kiwai Island.
Bow length 175mm. Maximum width 40mm tapering to points. Width at points halfway between centre and tips is 20mm. Made from bamboo with bow string of split bamboo.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Landtman stated that the name for bow, among the Kiwai speaking people and the 'Daudai bushmen' in the country west of the mouth of the Fly was *gagare*.)
Landtman,1933:47-48.

QMQE4340, bow, *sarik* (Meriam); used by men in warfare and in hunting.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Bamboo stave and split bamboo bow string attached to stave by fibre twine. On the reverse side there are small incised zigzag patterns running parallel to grooves in the bamboo. 1175mm long, maximum width 45mm.
coll. A.O.C. Davies, 1924/25. Acquired by QM March 13, 1964. (A.O.C. Davies was the school teacher on Mer during 1924-1925).
Haddon,1912,IV:173-174; Davies,1924-1972.

AME17243, bow, register states 'typical Papuan bow', *sarik* (Meriam); used in warfare and hunting.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Bamboo stave, with split bamboo string attached. Attached to one tip of the bow are four goa shells as decoration. Length 630mm. Maximum width approx. 30mm.
coll. Charles Hedley and Allan McCulloch,1907.
Haddon,1912,IV:173-174; McCulloch (undated a).

AME65700, bow, *gagare* (Kiwai); used in warfare and hunting.
Kuru, Oriomo River.
Bamboo stave with split bamboo string. Bamboo is light brown in colour. Length 1830mm and maximum width 45mm.
coll. C.W. Marshall, 1927. Purchased 1973. (Marshall was a surveyor and assistant to the field geologist on the Oriomo oil exploration project 1927/28. A second bow, AME65699, is similar to the above but is 1750mm long and 40mm wide. A bow with a bundle of arrows (AME54644) provenanced to Boigu states in the register that it was 'traded from Mai Kussa.'
Landtman,1933:47-48

NMFVK4902:929, man-arrow, *otamo* (Bine) *otame* (Kiwai); ceremonial missile shot from a bow, used by men in ritual wounding.
Masingara.
Representative example of 'man-arrow', similar to NMFVK4902:933. Wooden arrow, 1500mm long. Wooden tip is 255mm long with 3 barbed prongs. The 'man' or 'face' design is distinctive, 60mm long and 20mm wide. The decorated 'body'is 120mm long. The 'face' is well carved and decorated and represents the tattoo on the body of Muiam.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:48-55.

QMQE4632/3 (Fig. 95), arrows, *taiak*, *taiek* (Kala lagaw ya); used by men in warfare and hunting, missiles shot from a bow.
Yam.
Four metal-tipped cane arrows, one decorated ochred 'Buji' arrow, two man-arrows and two black palm wooden-tipped arrows.
coll. Mrs E. Smallwood, former schoolteacher on Yam, c.1913. Acquired by Museum January 12, 1915.
Haddon,1912,IV:174-175.

QMQE4635-37, arrows, *kep* or *sarik* (Meriam); used by men in warfare, and hunting, missiles shot from a bow.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Bundle of assorted arrows, including three man-arrows, two barbed arrows, three decorated and carved arrows.
coll. Unknown. Acquired from Sir Arthur Palmer before 1900.
Haddon,1912,IV:174-175.

AME18414-25, arrows, *tene* (Kiwai); used by men in warfare and hunting, missiles shot from a bow.
Mawatta.
Bundle of arrows of various types but including one fine quality 'man-arrow' (AME18419).
Registered 1910. Old collection. Donor not stated. (Register states: Lawrence Hargrave gives a definite locality for these arrows as Mawatta, mouth of the Katau River [Bineturi]. In 1915 Hargrave deposited 'man' arrows in the collection sourced at Katau River.)
Landtman,1933:48-55.

NMFVK4902:569, stone-headed club, *gabagaba* (Kiwai); weapon used by men.
Mawatta.
Bamboo shaft 720mm long inserted through a hole in the biconvex stone head, 160mm in diameter and 30mm wide. The stone itself has two distinct areas: one of close grained greenish stone and the other of close grained greenish stone with yellow flecks. A cord for slinging the club over the shoulder is attached above the stone head and below the head near the hand grip. This cord is made from closely plaited strands of fibre, possibly made from dried coconut husk fibre.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:47.

NMFVK4902:570, stone-headed club, *gabagaba* (Kiwai); weapon used by men.
Kiwai Island.
Bamboo shaft 620mm long with stone head. Bamboo shaft passes through hole in the centre of the stone head. Head is biconvex, 110mm in diameter and 15mm wide. Attached to the shaft above the stone head is a piece of red calico, and a piece of European manufactured rope has been attached above the head and below (near the handgrip) as a shoulder sling.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:47.

QMQE4921, stone-headed club, *gabagaba* (Meriam); weapon used by men.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Biconvex stone head, 162mm wide. The bamboo shaft is 560mm long.
coll. A.O.C. Davies. Acquired by QM March 13, 1964 (A.O.C. Davies was the school teacher on Mer during 1924-1925).
Haddon,1912,IV:190-193; Davies,1924-1972.

QME13/152 (Fig. 96), stone-headed club, *gabagaba* (Meriam); weapon, used by men.
Erub (Darnley Is.).
Cane, bamboo shaft measuring 610mm long (and approx. 30mm wide at proximal grip end). Stone-head, biconvex stone, has a diameter of 130mm. The proximal end of the shaft has been incised with a zigzag pattern. The stone head is held in place with resin or gum adhesive and about 20 indents in the gum indicate that *Abrus* sp. seeds were inserted in the resin. There are about 17 similar indentations on the lower surface.
coll. P.G. Guillemot. Acquired by QM February 4, 1913. (QM photographic reference RB 2462. Guillemot was a schoolteacher on Erub for 3 years until c. 1912).
Haddon,1912,IV:190-193.

AME10808, stone-headed club, *gabagaba* (Kala lagaw ya); weapon, used by men.
Yam.
Bamboo shaft measuring approx. 830mm long inserted through biconvex stone head of 110mm diameter and 25mm wide.
coll. Dr. J.C. Cox, 1902. (Register states: 'Traded from Morehead River, trade[d] from Mambare River.' These revised localities given by Hon. Valentine, an authority on stone clubs, January 17, 1906.)
Haddon,1912,IV:190-193.

NMFVK4902:574, club with metal head, *gabagaba* (Kiwai); weapon, used by men.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Bamboo shaft, c.580mm long, inserted through a sub-circular iron ring. The metal ring is 120mm in diameter but less than 500mm wide. The metal head is held in place by resin set above and below the head on the shaft. The resin above the head has been decorated with black seeds. A narrow piece of European calico has been bound around the proximal grip end and was probably used as a sling. The cord is torn. Below the calico binding the handle has been decorated with incised zigzag design.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:55.

NMFVK4902:575, club with metal head, *gabagaba* (Kiwai); weapon, used by men.
Mouth of the Fly River.
Bamboo shaft, 570mm long, inserted through a brass ring 100mm in diameter but less than 50mm wide. The brass head, most likely originating from a ship, has three large screw holes in a triangular shape, plus an irregular shaped hinge attached to the face by two screws; three iron nails have been inserted into the head of the staff. A calico band has been attached above the brass head and below near the proximal grip.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912.
Landtman,1933:55.

NMFVK4902:581, head carrier. *gara ora* (Kiwai); used for carrying severed human heads.
Kiwai Island.
Rattan (*Calamus* sp.) loop bound by natural 'bush' fibres to a short stick. The cross stick is made from an old harpoon dart. The length of the rattan loop is 435mm; maximum width is 110mm; length of dart 140mm. The dart has a barbed tip.
coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Similar objects NMFVK 4902:581 and 583).
Landtman,1933:56-57.

QMQE4282/2 (Fig. 97), head carrier *singi* or *sungei* (Meriam); used for carrying severed human heads.
Mer (Murray Is.).
Cane (*Calamus* sp.) loop bound to a small crosspiece by fibre string (possibly coconut fibre). The head carrier has been attached to QE 4282/1, a bamboo knife with *goa* shell decorations, by fibre string. Length of loop 430mm. Width, maximum, 150mm. Length of crosspiece 170mm.
coll. A.O.C. Davies. Acquired by QM March 13, 1964 (QM photographic references RB4400, RB 4401). (A.O.C. Davies was the school teacher on Mer during 1924-1925).
Haddon,1912,IV:199-200; Davies,1924-1972.

NMFVK4902:580, bamboo knife *uere* (Kiwai); used to sever human heads.
Kiwai Island.
Bamboo 275mm long and 60mm wide, cut longitudinally to form a concave blade. The handle end measuring 165mm long has been kept intact and bound with fibre string which has been worked into a zigzag pattern. The blade has been

sharpened by the removal of thin strips of bamboo as is indicated by the cut notches in the blade. This object is of considerable age as many sections have been removed. The inner part of the handle has been filled with resin. A plaited fibre cord has been attached to the handle.

coll. Landtman, 1910-1912. (Similar objects are NMFVK4902:578 and 576.)

Landtman,1933: 56.

QMQE4282/1, (Fig. 97) bamboo knife, *kwoier* (Meriam); used to sever human heads.

Mer (Murray Is.).

Bamboo knife used in connection with the head carrier QE4282/2, attached to this object by fibre string. The bamboo knife has an elaborate decorated hand grip of lashed fibre string. Two notches have been made in the bamboo blade. Length 400mm. The knife has been decorated by the attachment of *goa* shells.

coll. A.O.C. Davies. Acquired by QM March 13, 1964. (QM photographic reference RB4400, and RB4401). (A.O.C. Davies was the school teacher on Mer during 1924-1925).

Haddon,1912,IV:199-200; Davies,1924- 1972.

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