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Chapter 10

A Measure of Violence: Forty Years of "First Contact" Among the Ankave-Anga (Papua New Guinea)

Pascale Bonnemère and Pierre Lemonnier

> I have now patrolled all the Kukukuku area except that part within the Eastern Highlands District. This southwesterly fringe of the Kukukuku in the Ivori/Swanson area is the most primitive and uncontacted that I have encountered
>
> (P.G. Whitehead, Assistant District Officer; PNGNA 1966–67a, 8).
>
> After approximately 70 years of control in the Gulf District, this must be the most uncontacted and under-developed area of the inland tribes of any District
>
> (R.S. Bell, District Commissioner).[1]
>
> The Kukukuku, as an informant, is most unreliable
>
> (K.I. Chester, Patrol Officer; PNGNA 1950–51a, 3).

For anyone who has hiked through the Anga country of Papua New Guinea, it is remarkable and obvious that the various groups that comprise the 80,000 strong people who inhabit the area do not share a similar view of modernity. Straddling the borders of the Eastern Highlands, and the Gulf and Morobe Provinces, this territory and its people have long been penetrated by colonisation. However, although these areas were "explored" at about the same time, the Ankave ("contacted" in 1937 or 1938 by A.T. Timperley and then in 1951 by K.I. Chester) and the Baruya ("contacted" in 1951 by J. Sinclair), for instance, show striking differences in their interactions with the agents of the state, church and market. In the Baruya valley of Wonenara, there was an airstrip, a patrol post, and a German Lutheran pastor as early as 1961. By contrast, the Ankave were still being "contacted" in the early 1970s and, as far as we know, they have still *never* seen the patrol officer from Kotidanga who is supposed to look after this northernmost part of the "Ankave-Swanson Census Division" of the Gulf Province of Papua New Guinea, although they have often met police from Menyamya (see figure 10.1).[2] Whereas coffee-bean shellers were common among

the Baruya in 1978, as late as 2002 Ankave people still broke coffee beans between two stones, or even with their teeth, and sold a few dozen kilos of dried beans in the Suowi valley (also called Ikundi valley, after the name of the main hamlet). In 2004 white missionaries had yet to install a church and a school in this valley.

Figure 10.1 The Anga groups in Papua New Guinea

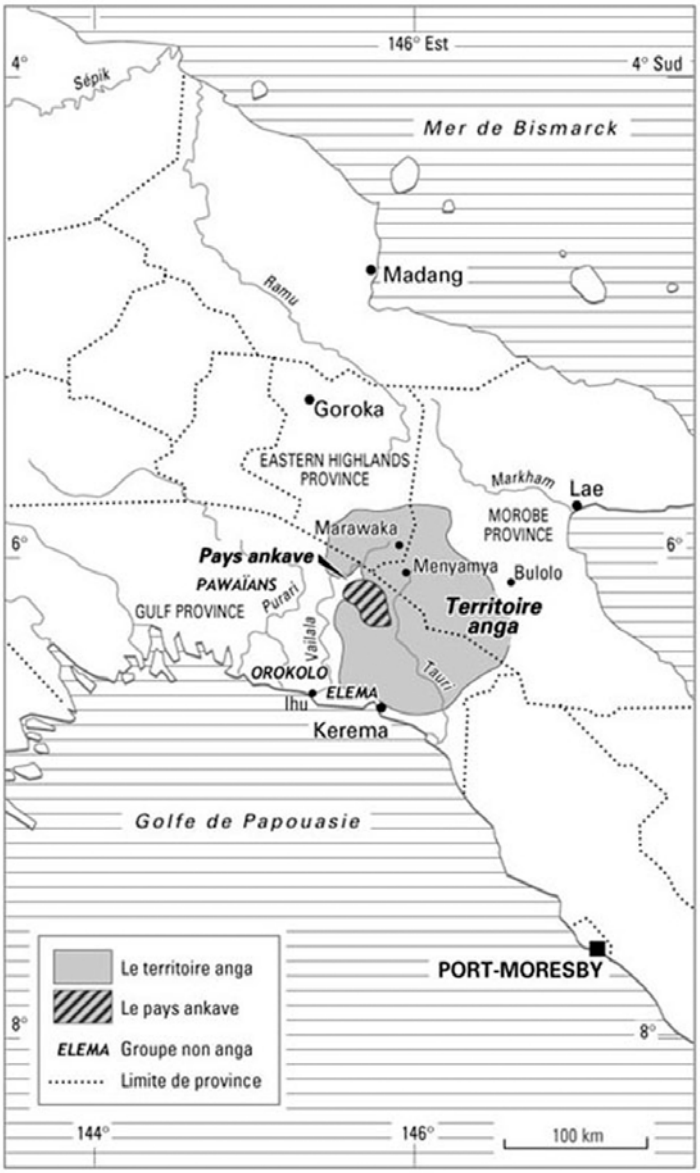
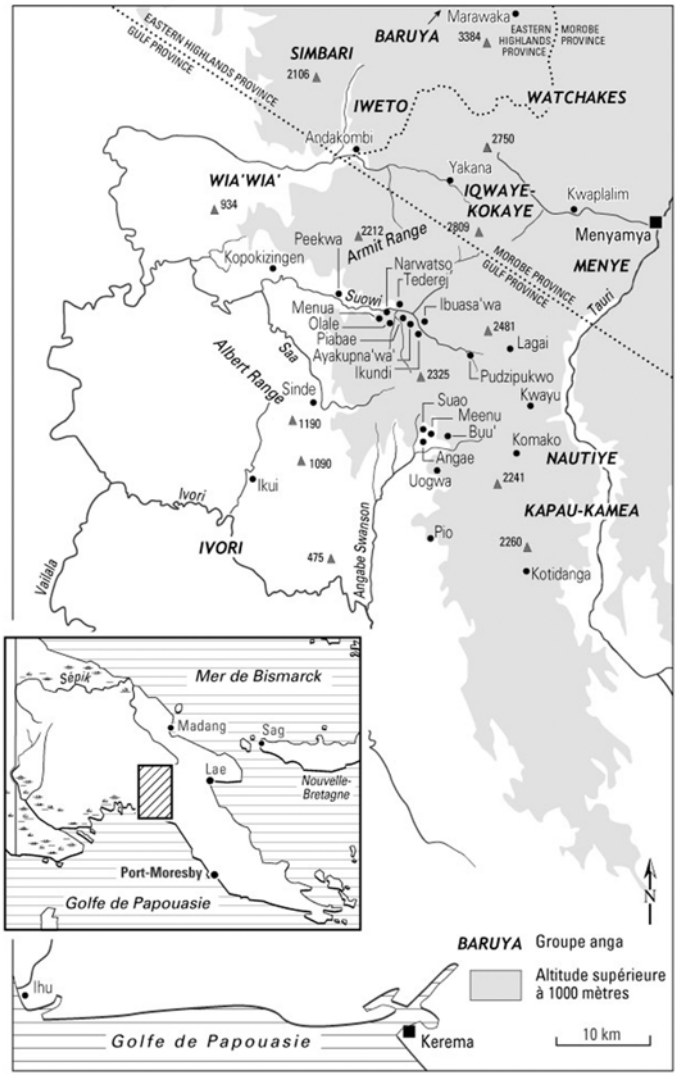


Figure 10.2 The Ankave country



Unlike the Baruya, the Ankave have no bush stores in their valley. Children around Ikundi hope to see a school before they are adults, and their cousins around Angae, near the Ankave-Swanson River (see figure 10.2), miss the *tok ples skul* "school in the local language" (Tok Pisin), which was closed around 1995, three years after the missionary from the Summer Institute of Linguistics departed following a twelve-year stay (1980–92). Similarly, a mere twelve-minute helicopter flight (or a one-and-a-half day walk up and down the mountain) away from computers, co-operative stores, coffee buyers, missions and the health centre at Menyamya (a patrol post opened in November 1950), one is struck by

the absolute respect for food taboos, ongoing male initiations, fear of invisible cannibal witches and the semi-annual need to drive away the ghosts of the recent dead, which are all still strongly embedded in everyday Ankave life in sets of representations and practices that were theirs long before they discovered the Australian patrol officers, their carriers, policemen and belief in modernity, fifty years ago.

Such sharp contrasts between areas "contacted" at roughly the same time calls for explanation. As Thomas puts it, in most places in Oceania "there came a time in each place … when [the] incursions [of the West] ceased to be manageable. The histories subsequent to that time cannot be seen in terms of the increments and extensions of an indigenous cultural logic. The stream of outside offerings ceases to be a matter of contingent events which internal structure selectively receives and accommodates, and the structural aspect of what is external itself impinges on the local system and its contingencies" (1989, 114).

The Ankave have not reached that point yet. Furthermore they have dozens of "reasons" not to be excited by many aspects of modernity. Notably, they still share representations, a worldview and ways of interacting that are linked in some way or another in what we will call a "culture." For instance, in light of their ongoing will to associate the origin of humanity with male initiation, or mortuary rituals with the necessity of chasing away the ghosts of the recent dead, their lack of interest in Christianity comes as no surprise.

On the other hand, there is no doubt that the limited relationship the Ankave entertain with the outside world is related to their sparsely populated valleys, lying well away from the main axes of development in the Highlands and at the intersection of three provinces, each as uninterested in their lot as the next. However, it should be noted that some remote Anga valleys (such as those of Yakana and Andakombi for the Iqwaye, a two-day walk north of the Suowi/M'Bwei valley, see figure 10.2) are home to foreign missionaries, New Guinea teachers, airstrips, aid posts and so on, and such circumstances of "contact" need to be somehow explained.

One particular way to look at the problem raised by Ankave disinterest in modernity is to posit that it derives *partly* from the very form of the series of first contacts – "first contact" needs a plural here – with white people and other New Guineans (Neumann 1994, 113). One factor that may have restricted Ankave interactions with the agents of the state, the church, the school and the market derives from the very characteristics of their first encounters with the strangers who penetrated their valleys roughly between 1938 and 1970. The use of new forms of violence for dealing with internal problems or with conflicts involving people from the two main Ankave valleys is another aspect of today's local life that may have originated in the violence of the encounters. This explains why,

although we had no *particular* interest in "first" contacts, we decided to put together the fragments of information regarding the passage of the first Australians, Papuan carriers and police in the area.

Few Sources, So What?

Compared to other areas of Papua New Guinea, the sources for Ankave encounters with the Europeans are few. The area was clearly off the path of the "great patrols," and, as far as we know, no *kiap* ("patrol officer") ever published an account of his explorations in the Ankave-Swanson, Saa'/New Year Creek or M'Bwei/Suowi valleys.

There are two main sources: patrol reports in the PNG National Archives (PNGNA) and the oral history we have collected since 1982. Numbering thirty or so, the patrol reports consulted were written first by pre-World War II administrators who were not based in the Anga region proper (but at Ihu, Salamaua and Kerema), then by *kiaps* after World War II at new patrol posts within that region, at Menyamya, a two-day walk from the Ankave valleys, and at Kaintiba, which is at least four days away from the Ankave (i.e. more than a week at the time of the patrols which were walking through "unknown country").

The Ankave people we have interviewed, or listened to in the last twenty years,[3] belong to three generations:

(1) The first generation comprises old women and men who were 65 or more in 1987 – more precisely, we have a detailed oral account by one man, Idzi Erauje (recorded in 1990), and shorter ones by two women (recorded in 1987).

(2) The second generation comprises people now in their 50s or 60s: a highly detailed account in 1990 from Abraham, a man from Lagai[4] (in Iqwaye country); and interviews of two women done in 2002 about (a) what they knew of encounters with Europeans and (b) what they told their children about them.

(3) The third generation comprises young men and women without children yet, or those with children not yet old enough to be told or comprehend stories: twelve or so of these young people were interviewed in 2002 about what they knew of encounters with white people and unknown New Guineans.

Since the Ankave numbered altogether fewer than 1,000 in three valleys at the time, not many people can have seen the coming of the Australians. Only half a dozen witnesses to the 1938 patrol were still alive when we started to work on "first contact" in 1987, only three of whom talked to us. In the 1980s, there were probably around twenty men and women who remembered more recent events, notably the 1960s patrols, but we actually worked with only a dozen of them. Some important information was also merely mentioned in passing during ordinary conversation. For instance, commenting on the arrival of steel

tools in the area, one interlocutor said – in one short sentence – that this was when the first white men came up the valley. For us, notably because we have long been looking for a trace of that party in the archives, this short statement has been an important piece of information. Such a statement is not an account of "first contact," but a mere comment indirectly referring to early encounters.

Since we were dealing with the everyday life of the Ankave (e.g. gender relations, male initiations, land tenure, mortuary rituals, etc.) when we began our long-term fieldwork among the Ankave in 1987, "first" contacts were not our primary concern. Questions that were not asked at the time will thus forever remain unanswered. Yet, because we felt that the violence in these first encounters with white people paved the way for some important aspects of today's life in the Suowi valley, we finally undertook a systematic enquiry.

This chapter compares information derived from the colonial archives with what people "know" about these events, either because they witnessed them or heard about them. It also reports what we can decipher of the consequences of these contacts both before and since we started our fieldwork. In many cases, matching Ankave remembrances with administration reports permitted us to pin down some quite important dates, which were previously only approximate because they were based on the age and memory of the informants (see also Gammage 1999, 4): the first departures for plantation work; the arrival of Seventh Day Adventist New Guinean catechists; and, of course, the violent events that "disrupted" the people we work with.[5] The "matching" also shows how both Ankave and whites have selected specific information to be memorised or transmitted to subsequent generations. In particular, the minimising of all forms of violence in the colonial archives we have consulted so far would be worth an in-depth study. However, and notwithstanding the differences in the meaning of "dates" for the Ankave and for European historians, which we are well aware of, dates are important here. First, as relative time markers ("This took place before or after that"), they are part of Ankave narratives. Second, the people of the Suowi valley are as much interested in the order of the incoming patrols as we are. This is a way for them to relate the chronology of their own violence – namely of wars and vendettas – to that of the whites and their followers, notably because vendettas were used to enforce the ban on armed warfare. These temporal landmarks also have political implications, because people remember fairly well who was living where at the time of these outstanding events. The departure of the young men for plantation work is another historical process in which the sequence of events matters – Who went away first? With whom? For how long? What happened while they were away? Did some co-initiates stay home at that time? What did they bring back?, etc.

Written sources include published books by *kiaps* narrating their own or their colleagues' encounters with the Kukukuku (as the Anga were previously

known), especially McCarthy (1963, 90–125) on "The wild men of Menyamya" and Sinclair (1966, 24–75) on the discovery of the "Batiya" (Baruya) salt-makers. Historical publications were used to provide the general context of the "exploration" of Anga country, but they also proved invaluable for us in locating essential archives (Simpson 1953; Sinclair 1966; Souter 1974; Nelson 1976; Fitzpatrick 1999).

There are probably traces of explorations in the SDA or Lutheran mission files in Menyamya, but we have not consulted them, primarily because the mission explorations do not seem to have concerned the Ankave area. Although the Lutheran pastor A.P.H. Freund, (who arrived in Menyamya early in 1951) often made exploratory patrols from Menyamya (with his rifle, the Iqwaye man Abraham recalls, see endnote 4) in areas where the *kiaps* had not yet gone, as far as we know, it seems that none went into the Suowi or Ankave-Swanson valleys. A Lutheran mission was opened at Kwaplalim by Reverend Russel Weir in September 1957 (Fitzpatrick 1999, 191), but we have never heard his name among the Ankave. In 1990, Abraham remembered well that "Rasol Wua" had come to the neighbouring valley of Lagai around 1957, but not to the Ankave area. There were SDA personnel from Menyamya[6] at Buu' in the Ankave-Swanson valley as early as 1966, that is, at a time when the region was still "restricted."[7] They were people from Menyamya, and not Australians, and we doubt that they left reports; however, if they did, these would of course be worth their weight in gold. In the Suowi (Ikundi) valley, mission work proper did not start before 1972, a few years after young men started to go to work on the plantations.

Gold and Order: The General Context of the Explorations among the Anga (Kukukuku)

The bulk of the exploration of the Kukukuku country was concomitant with the first discoveries of gold ore, before 1910. In 1906, Monckton (a resident magistrate)[8] descended the Lakekamu River (Simpson 1953, 15; Souter 1974, 85; Gash and Whittaker 1975, 242–3), and gold was found midway down the river in 1909 by prospectors who had first explored the Tauri (Simpson 1953, 15; Gash and Whittaker 1975, 260, 263; Nelson 1976, 194–8, 224). In 1907, the first two Australian officials posted to the new Gulf "division" (Captain Griffin, then Higginson) successively went up the Lohiki River, which is the first important tributary of the Vailala as one goes inland (Souter 1974, 98–9).[9] In September 1909 two German explorers, Dammköhler and Oldörp, ascended the Watut River from the Markham and were attacked by thirty natives armed with spears, bows and arrows – they were possibly Kukukuku. Dammköhler died from his numerous wounds (Souter 1974, 112–3; Burton 1996, 2). In 1910, an Australian prospector illegally sneaked into German New Guinea, went up the Waria River, then the Watut and discovered gold in Koranga Creek, a tributary

of the Bulolo River (Demaître 1935, 44–6; Simpson 1953, 25). Although it was a one-day walk from the nearest Anga village, Nepa was for many years the only government station in Anga country (Nelson 1976, 216). In 1912, two Lutheran missionaries crossed the northeast corner of the Kukukuku region during an extraordinary trek from the Watut to the Markham.[10] World War I was the time of the long wanderings of German Captain H. Detzner, who refused to surrender to the British in 1914 and walked through New Guinea until 1918, including part of that same region between Watut and Markham, though doubts remain about the exact Anga area he went through (Detzner 1935, 57–61, 177; Burton 1996, 8–12; Gammage, pers. comm. 2004). In 1916 and 1917, patrols from Kerema reached the Lohiki and even the Ivori, that is, the tributary of the Vailala River immediately south of the Ankave territory (Skelly 1919). Both Skelly, around the Ivori, and Griffin, on the Lohiki, describe Anga men and women fainting with terror and excitement at the sight of white people (Simpson 1953, 16). Although an important mountain range in Ankave country is called "Staniforth," it is unlikely that the administrator of Papua, Staniforth Smith, who headed the Kikori expedition in 1910–11, actually passed nearby, for the area in which he wandered was at least 150 kilometres west of the Vailala as the crow flies (Smith 1911).

It is mostly from camps of gold prospectors or miners that, in the pre-World War II period, Europeans penetrated Anga territories lying far in the interior of the island. This penetration mainly concerned the valleys immediately west of the gold fields of Wau and Bulolo. The prospectors who explored the region between the Watut and the Markham were usually followed by Australian *kiaps* chasing Kukukuku who had attacked these prospectors.[11]

Administration exploration of Ankave territory proper did not start until late 1929, when Middleton reached its westernmost part (PNGNA 1929–30). But there are indications that gold miners may have penetrated the Ankave country from the Vailala. First, Nelson (1976, 219) mentions that Pryke led prospectors 120 miles up the Vailala in December 1911. They reached the Iova (a right-bank tributary of the Vailala, some 15 kilometres downstream from the spot where the M'Bwei/Suowi flows into the river), "and then walked east" – that is, probably toward the lower Fore/Sambia country. On the way back, the party – including Pryke, who was badly wounded in the chest by a Kukukuku arrow – explored the Ivori and the Lohiki. These areas are located north and south of Ankave territory, but the miners may have been quite near places like Ikui, a tiny Ankave hamlet a few hours' walk north of the lower Ivori, from which people have reached Esu (Ihu) by raft or canoe possibly since the 1950s. It was during the patrol led by the Assistant Resident Magistrate E.C. Skelly on the Ivori in 1917 that the Angabe was named "Swanson River" after a Mr. Swanson (Skelly 1919, 72).[12]

And so, administration explorations reached the western tip of the Ankave country for the first time in late 1929. Four years later, on the site of the present-day district offices of Menyamya in the Tauri valley, located a mere two-days' walk from the northeastern part of the same territory, McCarthy opened a patrol post in the middle of a huge, flattish savannah. Several Anga groups believed this to be close to the spot where humanity originated and where their languages and cultures started to differentiate. A first aeroplane landed there on 2 September 1933, but the post was rapidly abandoned because of the absence of gold and also, because the Kukukuku regularly attacked the patrols (McCarthy 1926–52, 1963: 90–113; Sinclair 1966, 8; Gammage 1998, 21–22). McCarthy explored the Tauri valley, and several prospectors – namely, Yeomans, Jensen, Lewis, Lorenz – "extended their journey to the headwaters of the Vailala River" (Sinclair 1978: 210, 2001: 152). According to the patrol reports (PNGNA 1933–34, 29–41), the area they explored at that time was the Iqwaye country, that is, the valley just north of the Ankave territory. They do not seem to have entered the high Kuowi or Suowi valleys, nor any part of the Ankave country (PNGNA 1933–34). Exploration stopped during World War II, but a hundred kilometres east of the Ankave territory, the building of the Wau-Bulldog track in 1942–43 employed more than two thousand New Guinea labourers and a thousand soldiers on the border with the Kapau country (Powell 2003, 34–37).[13]

Europeans in Ankave Country

The documented contacts with the Ankave are summarised below in Table 10.1. As one can see, twelve years passed between the last pre-war and the first post-war patrol in or near the Ankave valleys. Another fifteen years (1950–65) elapsed between Chester's and O'Brien's patrols. Exploration and law-and-order were still the main goals of these administrative penetrations of the area until 1970, when Coles led "the first patrol of a non-punitive type."[14] Without exception, the reports dealing with the period we are investigating here speak of "contacting" people, making census, "spreading government influence," and explaining what the Australian administration was willing to and could offer. Coles' 1970 patrol actually had nothing to do with "law-and-order" problems, but it appears to be an exception: fighting on the Ivori/Ankave border continued at least until 1972.[15] We will see that tensions between the main Ankave valleys soon developed into non-lethal but very violent encounters in which the administration was enrolled, if not manipulated. The main change here was that fights were between Papuans, whereas pre-war patrols elsewhere in the Kukukuku country often dealt with attacks on gold miners or *kiaps*.

Table 10.1 Administrative patrols in or around Ankave country (1929–72)

1917–18 E.C. Skelly, 20 October to 9 November 1917, ascended the Ivori as far as the Angabe, which he named the "Swanson" (Skelly 1919, 72).

1929 S.G. Middleton (PNGNA 1929–30), 29 November 1929, to 26 January 1930, went up the Vailala and lower Ivori River, including a section of the stream that the Yoye Amara of Sinde (Ankave speakers) used for their trade expeditions. [16]

1937–38 Together with Patrol Officer A. Timperley and nine policemen, the Australian geologist S.W. Carey walked from the Upper Vailala River to the Tauri (along the Mbwei river that flows between the Staniforth and Armit ranges) on an exploratory patrol for the Oil Search Limited company (Murray 1937–38, 27; Carey 1990, 20–21; Sinclair 2001, 198). Having departed from Kerema on 27 October 1937, Timperley came back on 14 January 1938 after having gone through the Mbwei valley between 8 and 21 December 1937. This was a long and very difficult trip during which it is reported that first contact was made. Several violent conflicts occurred between the population and members of the prospecting expedition which ended with casualties on both sides as well as repeated desertions from exhausted and frightened carriers (Murray 1937–38, 27; PNGNA 1937–38). [17]

1951 K.I. Chester (PNGNA 1950–51a), 3 January 1951 to 29 February 1951, coming from Menyamya, descended the M'Bwei River as far as the Vailala River, including Yoye Amara territory (also called New Year Creek, Saa' River). [18] Chester estimated the population in the M'Bwei valley at 500 persons, but the valley was "unpopulated for most of its length." Before they left, instructions had been given to the members of the party about the thieving habits of the Kukukuku. They were consequently warned not to leave any axes or knives lying around. On February 13, it is noted that "people were not very enthusiastic about us." As Patrol Officer O'Brien comments some fifteen years later, "This patrol happens to have been just passing through the area to obtain an idea of the population living there" (PNGNA 1965–66a, 25).

1951 L. Hurrell (PNGNA 1950–51b), 20 June to 8 July 1951, patrolled the Iqwaye valley of Peemdzerwa, crossed the range that separated the valleys converging toward Menyamya from those at the "Vailala Headwaters." He visited the Iqwaye valley around Yakana, a two-day walk due north of the Ankave territory, but he did not enter the M'Bwei/Suowi valley. He met "refugees from the Iakoi River villages" and "brought from the Vailala several old men to see the Kokaia [Iqwaye of the Iakoi River, west of Menyamya] people and have a reunion" (PNGNA 1950–51c, 7,

9). It seemed that word of this may have reached the Lagai valley where many other Iqwaye refugees, those living on the upper the Kuowi (a large tributary of the M'Bwei), came from.

1951 O.J. Mathieson (PNGNA 1951–52b), 1 August to 7 September 1951, coming up from Kerema, went through the Yoye Amara village of Pipidawa, whose inhabitants took him to the Ivori River, where he met a SDA catechist. Further on, he reached the Swanson but stayed in Ivori country without entering the Ankave area. [19]

1953 W.M. Purdy (PNGNA 1953–54), 23 October to 9 November 1953, walked from the Iakwoi valley to Yakana, around the "Vailala Headwaters." As a result of patrols by Hurrell and Purdy, the Iqwaye who had been settled on Ankave territory for almost ten years were safely brought back to their homeland.

1965 K.G. O'Brien (PNGNA 1965–66a), 18 September to 23 October 1965, ascended the M'Bwei River, cutting across Saa'/New Year Creek; stayed around Ayakupna'wa', then went to the Swanson valley, up to Meenu. This was a "joint patrol" with Weber (PNGNA 1965–66b). [20]

1966 P.G. Whitehead (PNGNA 1966–67a), 24 November to 23 December 1966, enquired about murders in the Ivori River area, near Pio, and looked for Ankave witnesses at Buu' ("The area is primitive and uncontrolled, and many villages were entered for the first time" (1966–67a, 7)). This was a joint patrol with R.A. Deverell (PNGNA 1966–67b).

1967 G.C. Connor (PNGNA 1966–67c), 23 June to 23 July 1967, walked from Kaintiba via Komako to the Ankave-Swanson (Buu' and Angae) and the Suowi (Ikundi) valleys, "to contact people in Swanson and M'Bwei River regions" ("Object of patrol"). This is a well-remembered patrol, notably because some six policemen searched the area for twenty days, trying to capture a man who had shot a carrier.

1969 A.M. Didlick (PNGNA 1969–70a), 22 August to 2 September 1969, enquired about alleged murders at Manteba and Famba, on the upper Ivori River. In "fact," it appeared that the two dead people had drowned. [21] The bulk of the patrol stayed in the Ivori country, but two policemen went to the Swanson area (Uogwa), looking for escapees from the Kerema jail (PNGNA 1969–70a, 1, 3).

1970 R.S. Coles (PNGNA 1969–70b), 3 to 25 March 1970, enquired about a murder in Buu'. However, the assistant district commissioner in Kerema notes: "After 60 years, the last of the Kerema inland areas is now administratively settled." [22] The *kiap* writes that "the main idea of this [patrol] is to demonstrate that the Administration can do something for the people besides chasing them up hill and down dale"; "Some 50 adults

(15 men and the rest women) claimed that they had not previously seen a European at close quarters before. All had heard of Europeans before and all the men and about half of the women had seen patrols passing through the area, but they had remained hidden and watched from a distance" (PNGNA 1969–70b, 1).

1970 R.S. Coles (PNGNA 1970–71), 8 October to 11 November 1970, went to Uogwa, Buu', Meenu in the Ankave-Swanson valley with only three policemen, one medical orderly and two interpreters. "The majority of the population are still wary of administrative patrols. At least part of this wariness would be due to the mistreatment given to these people by some members of former administration patrols and village officials from other areas" (PNGNA 1970–71, 5).

1972 A.J. Meikle (PNGNA 1971–72), 1 to 18 May 1972, apropos of raids between Pio/Famba and Sinde, did not go into the Ankave-Swanson nor the M'Bwei/Suowi but descended the Ivori River. "At Sande [Sinde] on New Year Creek two men were found who could speak pidgin (of sorts) which they had picked up whilst working on 'big line' in Menyamya" (PNGNA 1971–72, 3) – this is the place where a Belgian TV crew met "Stone Age people" twenty-one years later [23] (Lemonnier 2004).

Fragments of Ankave Memories

We do not know much about the general impressions the whites made on the Ankave. Some thought the Europeans were dead people coming back, as they were as clear-skinned as dead bodies are after being rubbed and anointed with grey or white clay. But others clearly explain that the *kiaps* or Catholic missionaries looked like the *pisingain awo'* ("bush spirits") and not like the *pisingain siwi* ("spirits of the recent dead"). They called the Australians *ange wietange'* ("people from elsewhere") or *wauze* ("strangers"). The Australians were tall, and so were their Vailala carriers, truly immense compared to the Anga. They had dogs; they had firearms; the police were violent; and they asked to clear a piece of forest in a certain place, right on top of the present anthropic savannah of Ayakupna'wa'; a woman who remembers that the "strangers" did not eat the grease, skin and bones of the pigs they killed, but only the meat.

In the Ankave accounts, three main points are underlined: the violence; "the cowrie shells that fell from the sky"; and the identity of the people who had a house next to the place where the patrol cleared the forest in view of this airdrop. The last is important, because it is now proof that some members of the Idzadze clan already had a right to live on this piece of land belonging to the Nguye clan, which will become the pathway for modernity entering the valley, when the airstrip is completed, if ever. In other words, this event (the 1965 patrol, see below) is immediately linked with the present: new forms of violence involving

the police and tensions over land surrounding the future airstrip, which the Ankave equate with access to regular health services, the coming of a schoolteacher and, more generally, a door opening onto modernity. The modification in the exchange rates due to the sudden abundance of cowrie shells is not commented upon, but the money falling from the sky – and the view of a plane circling in low passes over rugged terrain – is still remembered as part of these extraordinary events.

As already mentioned, part of the information about these first encounters derives from very short statements made in passing during conversations or interviews dealing with other topics.

The first patrol known to have entered the Suowi (that is, the first ever in Ankave territory) was that of Carey and Timperley in December 1937 (see Table 10.1). It is said to have killed two Ankave men, and a "policeman" was shot in the eye. In fact, as already mentioned, five carriers from this exploratory patrol were killed and eleven went "missing." An old woman remembers:

> I was married and had several children when a white man came with many other people from Ihu. He killed a man from here. Several men took bushknives belonging to the white man. Back then, we had only stone axes. When the white man woke up, he killed Toatto Ngudze, who was not the culprit. He was not the one who stole the bushknife; other men did it. Everybody was very frightened and went back home. The white man stayed six days (Iwasi Rwej, an old woman; recorded on 26 June 1987, at Ayakupna'wa').

But a few days later this old woman, Iwasi Rwej, denied that Toatto Ngudze was killed by the Australian patrol officer and said instead that he had been the victim of a local man, after a dispute about an adultery. Abraham, the Iqwaye man who was a refugee along the Upper Suowi River until an early 1950s patrol took his family back to his own valley of Lagai, spoke of the killing a few years later. He was a child in 1950, but the fairly well-documented account he gave us of that first, and violent, patrol had been told to him when he was a young man:

> The white people had left some of their cargo in order to prepare the next step of their patrol. At that time, another man, Ikundi Onaxo, stole a machete and ran away. When they realised that, they shot the first man they encountered, and that was Toatto Ngudze. The women were hidden nearby with their children. They gave no steel tools or shells because they were cross. That [stolen machete] was the first gained by the Ikundi people.
>
> At the place where the Tsigigni [stream] flows into the Kuowi [river], above Ikundi near Pudzipukwo, Abe Nguye akwije, one of the victim's

> brothers, shot a Papuan policeman in the eye with an arrow. They [the patrol] wanted to retaliate, but the attacker(s) ran away. The patrol's dogs did not find [the man who had shot the arrow]. The policeman did not die on the spot. They carried him. The two whites walked in the lead. After Pudzipukwo, they met a man from Lagai named Wewo ognorwa [of the Akwirele clan] who was out walking. It was the first time this man saw white people because no one had come from Menyamya yet to this place [the Suowi valley]. He was looking from a distance, and they killed him because they thought that he was preparing an ambush. They went on and made a camp, at the place where Maadze Angapatse ulakwa had the last [Ankave] gardens in the valley. They had left some supplies in Ikundi. Their patrol boxes were empty. The next day, they went through Kwaye[24] to take the track that goes up [to Komako]. The policeman died on top of the ridge; they left his body there, under some leaves, together with a patrol-box that was too heavy (recorded on 21 July 1990, in Ayakupna'wa').

According to Carey, who mentions that bushknives were "coveted" (1990, 22), only one native was killed – by Carey himself – because he was aiming an arrow at him. Carey knew that this person "belonged to the next valley over the Vailala–Tauri divide," so he was probably Wewo ognorwa.

Violence was also part of the second patrol remembered, which was clearly that of Chester, in February 1951. Some members of the patrol stole sugarcanes from a garden and shot a big male pig.

> At the time I had a child. A white man came with several policemen from the lowlands, stopped at Pudzipukwo and returned following the same road. People from here stole their knives. The white man tied Iwadze Erwanguye up with a rope for he wanted to take him with him. But Iwadze Erwanguye broke the rope and told his dog to kill this man. But they finally did not fight. The patrol looked for a man from here to bring him back with them. These knives were the first we ever saw. We gave food to the whites and they gave us a few machetes. We bought beads, but we did not give them cowries. Before, there were no cowries; we only had many when they fell from the sky (Igete wiej, a woman of 70 or more, Ayakupna'wa', October 1987).

The only other data we have of this patrol is an oral account given by Abraham:

> Nguye Omadze stole a steel axe. The patrol threatened the people by saying that they would burn the houses if the axe was not brought back.[25] At some stage, they captured Erwa Nguye and tied him up with a rope, but he pretended he wanted to go to the toilet and freed himself with a bamboo knife. But, when the next patrol entered the area, coming

> from Menyamya via Lagai, Iqwaye carriers told their Ankave affines not to behave "badly" [i.e. not to steal], because the whites had given them beads and cowries in exchange for food. The Ankave did not bring food to the patrol, a good reason for Chester to just pass through (Abraham; recorded on 21 July 1990, in Ayakupna'wa').

Fifteen years later, the carriers accompanying the next patrol in the area (coming from the coast) – the patrol of O'Brien (1965–66) and seven policemen accompanied by two Catholic priests from Kavava (Ihu) (PNGNA 1965–66a)[26] – had to point to their belly so that the Ankave of the Suowi would understand they wanted food. People who agreed to bring tubers were given beads, razors, matches and salt. That was the time "when cowries fell from the sky" – as an old woman once told us, that is, when a plane circled above Ayakupna'wa', where people had cut trees to prepare "a helicopter site" on which cargo (food, tools, beads and cowries) was dropped. If one can judge by the precision of the memory, that event was a watershed:

> The whites gave us axes so that we could cut trees, then they installed a radio. We did not know what it was. They stayed one day and told us that a plane was coming, but we did not understand, except that we had to hide. He wanted everybody to gather in one place so that the supplies would not fall on our heads [during the airdrop]. The plane came from the west, from Kerema.[27] I wanted to go to Lagai in order to fetch Abraham to translate what the whites said. On my way I met someone [a man named Wamdze, who was still alive in 1990] who could do that. So, that man acted as an interpreter.
>
> So we hid. We heard the noise of the plane circling above Ayakupna'wa' without seeing where the people were. The carrier lit a great fire; the plane came down circling and dropped patrol boxes and big bags full of different kinds of shells. The bags broke [there were five bags] and one of the three patrol-boxes too. There was rice, *girigiri* [Tok Pisin, "small cowrie shells"], tins, sugar, coconuts. No axes or machetes, those had been brought by the carriers. There was a bag missing. People from here [Ayakupna'wa'] had hidden it under some leaves. The white man gathered us to sort out what was going on. The translator explained where he had seen the bag fall and it was found. There was frozen meat, rice. He [the Australian] gave some to the people and asked where the translator came from. He said he lived in Lagai and had come to help the people from here. He had gone to school in Wau with Abraham. The white man and his carriers spent the night here and said they wanted to kill a pig. So we gave him one we had previously killed.
>
> Before he ate, the white man gathered the young men: he designated some of them, those he wanted to go to school: Apatse, Maadze Nguye,

Maadze Angapatse akwije, Ngwadze akwije [who was dead by the time of the interview], Apatse Wadzo [deceased], Ngwadze Nguye [deceased] and Mark. All were already initiated. They were afraid, but they went. Their parents killed a pig and the white men stayed one more night. The next day, they destroyed their shelter and off they went. Maadze Erauje [deceased] joined the group of youths. They followed the Kuowi up to its headwaters and decided to spend the night up there, on the border between Angae and Ikundi. The young men tried to run away. They had been sent to fetch firewood, and they escaped (Idzi Erauje, a man aged 70 or so in 1990, living in Ikundi; recorded in July 1990 in Ajakupna'wa').

When Asaia [the narrator's son, born around 1975] was still young, I told him that the whites had thrown *girigiri* and beads. We took them: they had fallen all around and we gathered them up. It was the first time we saw that. The women gathered the shells and the men cut the trees. They gave axes and machetes. We used this *girigiri* until the [Australian] money came. Now we use it as body decorations. We wear shirts and trousers and we do not use shell money anymore. The time of Independence, we call it *Keba'ya*. The whites came from down below and came up the Suowi. There were five white people[28] and very tall people from Papua [Pawaïans are, indeed, very tall]. They took me into their house. I was [staying] with my future in-laws [at the time]. They told me: *'Yu stap na harim long redio'* [Tok Pisin. 'Stay there and listen to the (shortwave two-way) radio']. I was with my father-in-law and they gave me beads, salt and matches. I listened to the radio. My father was dead. The women were afraid. I myself was worried, but I did not cry because I was already grown up [12–13 years old]. I told that story to my children, and only that one. I did not see which track they took when they left. They gave us shells, which we ground down on stones and made into *kama'a*. I do not remember the stories suggesting fights [with the Australians]. I do not remember that a man shot a carrier. After this patrol, no one came [no other white].(Ikundi Beri, a woman aged 50 or so; recorded in July 2002 in Ajakupna'wa').

I was young and I had no children yet. Angeri Wadze akwije's mother had just given birth. She was frightened and ran away with her baby. There were a lot of people: two white men with tents, which they installed on top of the "airstrip" [that is, the area where the future airstrip is projected to be]. People from here cut trees at the whites' request. The next day one plane, only one, circled and dropped *kama'a* and *sinangwen'* shells. The patrol boxes fell. One fell in a tree and broke. We had never seen *girigiri* before. We cleaned them ourselves. There were beads. They had told us before that these shells were going to fall from the sky,

> together with rice and tinned fish. We gathered only the shells. Everyone had come back to gather them – men, women and children. The beads were given by the whites in exchange for some food. They were so kind and so tall. … We gave them sugarcane, bananas and greens, and we got beads in exchange. They stayed five days; they slept five nights and went on the road to Buu'. They slept at the head of the Kuowi River (Onorwa'e, a woman aged 50 or so; recorded in July 2002 in Ajakupna'wa').

> Cowries fell down in great amounts at the time [or shortly afterward] these whites came [see the Igete wiej's account above, of the patrol by Chester in 1951]. They had built a house at the top of the "airstrip" site. They stayed quite a bit of time; in their bags, they had *buai* [Tok Pisin, "lowland areca nut"] and *girigiri*. They gave us small and big knives as well as axes (Igete wiej, a woman aged 70 or so; recorded in October 1987 in Ayakupna'wa).

Igete wiej showed one of us (Pascale Bonnemère) a very old knife and said that the whites ate only the meat of the pigs that had been killed for them and discarded the grease, the skin and the bones, which they threw away anywhere around. A woman who was seated next to her added:

> They made me sit down on a patrol box, because I had brought food to them. I thought they wanted to take me with them. They raped a woman, Ngudzi abenaxej, and left after four nights (Nguye onexej, a woman aged 70 or so; recorded in October 1987 in Ayakupna'wa').

Sometimes the ethnography complements the patrol reports fairly well. In a patrol report from 1967, for instance, it is noted in passing that, while searching in the upper M'Bwei (Suowi) valley for a man from Angae who had shot a carrier, the party that stayed there for one week met three men from Ikundi who "had recently returned from a 12-month labouring expedition to Rabaul" (PNGNA 1966–67c, 3–5).[29] Matching that report with information scattered in our notes enables us to ascertain the dates of a series of departures, when some thirty-five men went to plantations between the 1960s and 1975 (that is, at a time when most of the Ankave area was still considered "uncontacted"!).[30]

During one of the last "exploration patrols," the victims of violence were on the government side only:

> On the morning of Friday June 30th [1967], the Village Councillor from Kwayu [in Kamea territory, a day's walk east of the Swanson River] informed us that he had previous knowledge of the Meenu people [an Ankave hamlet in the Swanson area] and that he understood their local dialect, and that he would like to go with a group of men from his village to try and contact the Meenus. He stated that he would go alone, without

> a police escort as he believed that the people had run away yesterday because they were afraid of the police as well as myself.
>
> Upon coming to Meenu they saw one man working in his garden and they approached him. The man turned, saw them, and evidently became afraid, as, before they could talk to him he picked up his bow and arrows and fired one arrow which struck one of the carriers above the right breast and penetrated to a depth of about 6 inches. The man who fired the arrow then ran off into the bush and was not pursued.[31]
>
> A police party was sent, which searched unsuccessfully for the Ankave man who had shot the carrier for 20 days in a 30-mile radius.[32] While the policemen were in the M'Bwei [Suowi] valley, '1930 [i.e. 7:30 p.m.] report comes that Constable Yan who is with the search party in the M'Bwei River area, has fallen over a rock face and is unable to walk.'[33] The carrier and the policeman were picked up by a helicopter on July 2nd and July 17th respectively and 'it is felt that money, time and effort cannot be spent on these small pockets of semi-nomadic hunters, who do not wish our presence.'[34]

Seen from the Ankave side (that is, the tape-recorded life story of Peter Saapitso from Angae as well as various indications scattered in our notes), the story runs like this:[35] As usual the carriers recruited in Kaintiba or in the Vailala area were "supplemented as required by local Kukukuku carriers on a village to village basis" (PNGNA 1966–67a, 11). In fact, the attacked carrier was previously known to the people around Meenu and Angae: he was a Naotiye (i.e. a Kapau) from Kwayu, who had previously raped the wife of Iwadze Toatto, the man who shot him. As for Constable Yan, it happens that he fell on the slippery river rocks while running after Ibua Akwoningi, then a young woman. Iwadze Toatto took refuge with a brother-in-law at Sinde – the main hamlet on the banks of the Saa'/New Year Creek river valley, some fifteen kilometres long, where some forty to fifty people live. According to what Peter Saapitso was told when he was young,

> Iwadze Toatto was hiding and one of his brothers-in-law living in Ikundi helped him to hide. Two men from Lagai, who had come to Angae in order to buy bark capes, had their hands tied too and they were asked where the fugitive was. The young man [from Lagai] denounced Iwadze Toatto and said that, if the handcuffs were removed, he would show the way. The fugitive, therefore, fled farther. The members of the patrol caught the people they found here [Ikundi] and tied their hands because they refused to talk. They burned the houses and the gardens and killed all the pigs, which were left to rot. They destroyed the place and raped the women. People from here went to get people from Kwaplalim. They ran after the fugitive. Ibua Akwoningi ran away and a black policeman

> ran after her. In his flight, he fell into the We'ne River, near Ikundi, and drowned. A helicopter searched for him and he survived [he was not totally drowned then!]. He was half dead, but kept on shooting his gun to let the other policemen know of his presence.
>
> They chased the fugitive to the Kogan River, then came back empty-handed and took a bunch of people [but not Idzi Erauje or Ibua Akwoningi] back to Angae. There the whites made a big speech: "It's all your fault if they wrecked your villages, etc. Don't do it again." They sent the people of Ikundi back home, except for three persons, all of whom are dead today [Apatse Iwadze, Maadze Erauje and Iwadze Sandze]. These three went to work at the Kaintiba airstrip; in reality they were responsible for the firewood only. They came back on foot [it's a long walk] after two weeks. An old man from Lagai came back with his handcuffs still on his wrists and his hands were swollen (Peter Saapitso, a man born around 1965; recorded in July 2002 in Ikundi).

Violence and Shells: A Process of Selective Remembrance?

Analysing the oral accounts of Ankave people from three different generations apropos encounters with the whites offers an opportunity to think about the way these people construct their own memory of these events. This also points to how violence is told, or not told, as well as to what is transmitted to children and young people.

The interviews took place at different times. In 1987 and 1990, two fieldwork periods when our line of research was not particularly focused on encounters with outsiders, older women came to Pascale Bonnemère to tell stories about these events. As we have seen, when Iwasi Rwej spoke about the first patrol that ever entered the Suowi valley in 1937–38 (by Timperley and Carey, described above), she mentioned the name of one of the two men killed, but, when asked again a few days later about what she had previously said, she denied that he had been killed by a white man, attributing his death to an internal vendetta instead. She added that she did not want to say more about this because she did not remember the events well. Whether this change of mind is to be attributed to memory failure or to an uncomfortable feeling toward the white ethnographer is not possible to tell. But it must be noted that in 1990, when Abraham from Lagai gave Pascale Bonnemère a detailed account of this event, Idzi Erauje – passing by – told him that it was not a good idea to tell her all this, that "the whites could take revenge." He was, of course, talking about the shooting of the policeman in the eye with an arrow. The older people, who had witnessed these violent encounters, were thus clearly not at ease with these extremely violent events.[36]

What Igete wiej and Abraham related about the next patrol (by Chester in 1951) also concerns a violent event: what was emphasised by both were the theft of knives and seizing of a man. In 2002, by contrast, no one talked of the first and violent encounters that had been spontaneously mentioned fifteen years before. As mentioned previously, two categories of people were interviewed: women aged 50–60, of whom two (Ikundi beri and Onorwa'e) gave quite detailed accounts (see above), and several younger men and women. All of them talked about the patrol led by O'Brien, which involved the airdrop. We may infer that, as time passed, these informants did not talk about events that did not concern them. In 1937/38, when Timperley and Carey's patrol entered the valley, the older women were not even born. In 1951, they were very young girls. As for the youngest people, they were not yet born at the time.

It is as direct witnesses that, in 2002, when systematic interviews were undertaken, the middle-aged women gave personal accounts with details about events that they themselves had experienced (Ikundi beri being asked to come with her future father-in-law to listen to the radio when she was 12–13 years of age) or which occurred when the white people approached the campsite (Onorwa'e remembering that a woman who had just given birth fled in terror with her newborn child when she saw them). For some reason, mothers' personal experiences have not been transmitted to younger generations. The accounts that the children of Onorwa'e gave do not contain details of this kind, and only the main lines of what happened were told. On the whole, what is firmly known by the younger people is restricted to: first, the general geographical direction from which the patrol came; and second, the airdrop that followed a few days later, with all the goods being scattered on the ground and people picking them up.[37] Compared to the older generations' recall and comments, the violence of the first encounters is strikingly absent.

The one event mentioned briefly but repeatedly is the airdrop of all sorts of supplies, including beads and shells. It has been described at length above from accounts given by two old people (Nguye onerej, a woman, and Idzi Erauje, a man) in 1987 and 1990, and by two rather younger women, aged fifty and sixty years in 2002. Moreover, this is something young generations spoke of as well.

To sum up, two points have to be emphasised, both of which are related to the status of violence in regard to encounters with the whites and the memory of them. The first concerns the obliteration of any mention of violence, the second the relation of gender to memory.

As far as we can tell, no transmission to younger generations has been made of the violent events that occurred during the first patrols. Apparently, people who were reluctant to speak to us of the violence of the 1937 and 1951 encounters did not talk more freely about them to other Ankave either. There has not been any cultural elaboration of violent past encounters with Australians, since all

the younger people inhabiting the Suowi valley in 2002 simply do not know about them.

This would match the findings of previous analyses dealing with the question of transmission. Edward Schieffelin notes that the "stories of the [Strickland–Purari] patrol were not often told by the people amongst themselves and were not particularly well known to the younger generation" (Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991, 9). It might also be the case that the Ankave situation parallels that of the Huli, about which Chris Ballard writes that those narratives told by the women were for women only (2003, 124).

Can we, therefore, say that the first violent encounter with the whites is something that Ankave people simply want to forget? It seems that this may be the case. The only image of these strangers in people's minds today is that of a provider of goods that one day dropped from a plane and scattered on the ground. Some of these goods were new to people at the time, but they are now part of the landscape. It is well known that, in other parts of what is now Papua New Guinea, the giving of shells (identical to the ones they already had through inter-tribal exchanges) by the Australians has been interpreted as a mark of their human nature (Strathern 1992, 251; Ballard 2003, 130). It was only when such an exchange gesture was made that local people could determine the identity of these strangers. Among the Ankave people, while the violence of the first whites entering their valleys has been forgotten for lack of transmission, it seems probable that, like elsewhere in the country, the image of them as providers of shells will be transmitted to future generations, and become an enduring one.

The second point that can be made concerns gender and memory. When comparing the accounts of the same event given by a man (Idzi Erauje) and by two women, it becomes possible to propose hypotheses about who transmits information to younger generations and what kind. The event in question is the encounter with O'Brien and his carriers, immediately followed by the airdrop. In July 1990, Idzi Erauje told Pascale Bonnemère in great detail what happened during this patrol (see above). Although the events occurred twenty-five years prior to the interview, his memories were quite vivid. He rendered them in chronological order and, on the whole, with great clarity. He remembered the names of the young boys (all initiated at the time) whom the white man wanted to take away to school but who finally fled. In short, his account was quite factual. When, in 2002, his young adult son was asked what he knew about the encounters, nothing similar came out, although he is one of the most talkative young men in the valley. He clearly did not know this story in detail.

Now, for some reason (including demographic ones – e.g. "my father died without telling me this story") we were told many times that young men and women had heard about the first contacts from their *mothers*. Women, rather than men, are the ones who talk to their children about these events. And, as

we have seen, the women's narratives of encounters have a more personal tone than the men's, which are more factual and detailed. Comparing what the women told us with what they seem to have transmitted to their children, it also appears that, together with violence, what has disappeared from the accounts are the women's first impressions of whites (tall, not eating pigs' grease) and what happened to them personally.[38]

In any event, violence during the first encounters has become a "blind spot" in the present-day memory of that event. And this is reason enough to go back to the place of violence, which was intrinsically central to the reciprocal view the Ankave and the Europeans had of each other during the twenty years or so of their "first" encounters.

"Killers in Bark Capes": Epitomising Stone Age Cannibals

The raids by the "diminutive but ferocious mountaineers" (Souter 1974, 97) against the coastal populations around Kerema are a leitmotif of reports from "British New Guinea" (Papua) at the turn of the previous century (Blayney 1901, 57–60, quoted by Gajdusek et al. 1972, 18; Higginson 1908, 50–5, quoted by Gajdusek et al. 1972, 32; Murray 1912, 170–2, quoted by Gajdusek et al. 1972, 35). To officially put an end to their attacks, a new "division" was created in Papua (Gulf Division) and a new patrol post opened in Kerema in 1906 (Murray 1908, quoted by Hallpike 1978, 4). The capture of a Kukukuku, the day before Christmas 1907, who was carrying the leg of a victim killed and cut up near a coastal village did not help their reputation (Simpson 1953, 13). The only relations the Anga had with the coastal populations were hostile, which explains why the Australian administration noted the impossibility of recruiting non-Anga interpreters speaking an Anga language (Murray 1926, cited in Hallpike 1978, 5). In 1919, the peaceful visit of a Kukukuku to Kerema was therefore a rather remarkable event (Simpson 1953, 19).

The stories published by the patrol officers who approached the Anga country between the two World Wars mention attacks on their camps (Humphries 1923, 50–63; Hides 1935). The general tone of the prospector's autobiography is similar (Sinclair 1979, 104–34, who narrates J. O'Neil's prospecting efforts on the Upper Watut; Leahy and Crain 1937, 106–26; Leahy 1991, 23–48). To be brief, the expedition by the Pryke brothers and Crowe between the Tauri and the Lakekamu was attacked in 1909 (Nelson 1976, 219–20; Simpson 1953, 15; Souter 1974, 99). In 1910 Darling was hit by five "Nautiya" (Kapau) arrows, and several of his carriers were wounded while discovering the Bulolo goldfields (Simpson 1953, 25). In early 1923, Patrol Officer George Ellis conducted the first patrol on the Upper Watut, during which "they came into conflict with the fierce little Kukukuku bowmen" (Sinclair 1998, 35). In 1927, District Officer S.S. Skeate and Patrol Officer Jim Taylor patrolled the Upper Watut (Gammage 1998, 9). Two years later, Patrol Officer Alan Roberts had made "the first extensive contacts

with the Kukukuku of the Upper Watut" (Sinclair 1998, 127), but the German prospector Helmuth Baum, who accompanied him, was killed, beheaded (and eaten) by Kapau people from Kareeba, along with eight of his Buang carriers (Simpson 1953, 34–7; Sinclair 1966, 8; Souter 1974, 178–9). Between July 1930 and March 1931, Patrol Officer Jack Hides, who was walking from Kerema on the coast to Wau and back, investigated the attack on a mining camp near the Lakekamu by some Kukukuku, cutting diagonally across the southern part of the Anga country at the same time (Nelson 1976, 249–50; Gash and Whittaker 1975, 261; Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991, 46–7).

In April 1931, some time before the Leahy brothers made the Highlands patrols recalled in the film and book *First Contact* (Connolly and Anderson 1983, 1987), Mick Leahy was attacked and wounded by Langimar people, an Anga group now known as Angaatia, while rescuing Assistant District Officer N. Penglase (Sinclair 1966, 8; Leahy 1991, 37–40; Souter 1974, 178–79; Gammage 1998, 12). In 1932, a patrol post was opened at Otibanda by M. Pitt and K. Bridge to protect the gold miners on Surprise and Slate Creeks, that is, near the border of the Langimar and Kapau territories (Blackwood 1978, 8; McCarthy 1963, 91). In January 1933, prospectors Clarius and Naylor were killed by Kapau, together with six of their Buang carriers (Sinclair 1978, 206; O'Neil, quoted by Sinclair 1979, 112; Townsend 1968). McCarthy arrested the murderers, but he too was attacked and seriously wounded in March 1933.[39] Six months later he returned to the area and opened the first patrol post in Menyamya. The local Kukukuku were still hostile. On 12 September 1933, "an arrow hit John [Black] over the left eye, splitting the bone and jamming in his skull. … Next morning, John was flown to Salamaua" (Gammage 1998, 22). The Menyamya patrol post was closed a few weeks later. The next month, during their exploration to the west of Menyamya (i.e. toward the Vailala headwaters), McCarthy and the three prospectors he accompanied together with fourteen policemen were heavily attacked and the Kukukuku were killed (Sinclair 1998, 131).

Many administrators probably shared Hides' view that the Kukukuku were "probably the lowest type we have in Papua, and it will be a long time before they are civilized people" (Hides 1936, 202). In the early 1950s, a *kiap* entering the valley of Marawaka had quite a poor opinion of its inhabitants (Baruya speakers): "Their faces are not attractive, being of a glowering cast, and even when they smile there is nothing of the open, hearty cheerfulness of the Pinatas and Onei-Biras [in the Lamari River valley]. One instinctively distrusts them" (PNGNA 1951–52a, 18). At any rate, the reputation of the Kukukuku as warriors was well established. They were dangerous killers who "attacked" the patrols. For instance, whereas the people of the Suowi give an account of the pre-war patrol according to which two men were killed on the spot soon after a steel machete was stolen, the comments by the Australian speak of "attacks" by the local people, to which they could only retaliate.

Needless to say, the carriers too considered that the Kukukuku were dangerous people.[40] As one *kiap* wrote in 1925 about a patrol in the lower Tauri area, "the behaviour of the carriers on this patrol [was] difficult to describe. Their fear of the Kukukuku was beyond all reason" (PNGNA 1925–26, 10). Forty-five years later, a patrol officer wrote that "even with the increased pay and allowances offered to carriers, there is a growing reluctance to act as carriers among the more sophisticated groups in the Kaintiba/Kaiberope areas. In the case of this patrol the reason for this may have been an underlying fear of going into the "unknown" territory to the west of the Swanson River, which seems to form the natural boundary to the Kamia [Kamea]-speaking people" (PNGNA 1971–72, 2). In passing, Pierre Lemonnier saw a government interpreter and a medical orderly from Ihu run away from the lower Ivori area for fear that the *kiap*, who was somewhere in the bush trying to reach the Ankave hamlet of Sinde, had been "killed and eaten by the Kukukuku." That was in 1979. Even the possibility that the Anga practised "ritual murders" linked with initiations was present in some Australian minds.[41] At the time of the last exploration patrols among the Ankave, the "Yaba murders" (twenty-three Kamea people killed in one fight in a single hamlet by a neighbouring group) was in everyone's minds and, together with exploration, restraining violence was always an official aim of patrols (PNGNA 1961–62, sec. 1). In any event, for decades, most non-Angan people would have agreed that "when the Kukukukus came from the hills, it was to kill" (Zimmer 1969).

Anga carriers themselves would have shared the same view about the supposed aggression of the remote "uncontacted" Anga peoples they visited. Aside from warfare and intergroup trade, which involved relations between individual partners or "friends" on both sides of a border, Anga locals had only limited contacts with each other. People of the next valley were known, but those a range further away were usually not. In 1987 our oldest informants insisted that, prior to the 1950s patrols, they had never been to Kwaplalim or Menyamya, a mere fifteen-hours' walk from the Suowi. As a result, for those Anga who had long been in contact with Australians but lived days or weeks away from the patrolled area, the inhabitants of the valleys they entered were dangerous "bush kanakas" ("country bumpkins"). As for carriers belonging to a neighbouring group, they probably had a better idea of who they were going to meet. Yet, tension and violence were most probably part of the encounters, as any two Anga groups had a high probability of being former or present enemies.[42]

Violence is Good for the Others

Angan "treachery" and "savagery" are a product of the Australian imagination, but there is no doubt that inter-group warfare and intra-group vendetta was part of their everyday life. Patrol Officer Weber's view apropos the headwaters

of the Ankave-Swanson, for instance, is most probably right: "The people in the Kwinyi area, except for one or two who had been to work at Menyamya, have had no contact with Europeans, and are living and fighting in their traditional manner. The houses are all guarded by a network of fences to prevent sneak attacks – this practice has ceased in the Kaintiba area. There were reports of many killings in the past, all between hamlets living an hour or so walk apart" (PNGNA 1965–66b, n.p.).

Indeed, the idea that the Ankave were fighting each other a lot was not simply an Australian administrator's view about "primitive" Kukukuku. It is still that of the Ankave themselves, when they refer to the period of their encounters with the agents of the state. On the northern frontier, the war with the Iweto (Iqwaye people in the Yakana and Andakombi valleys, who were the Ankave's traditional enemies) ceased in the early 1950s, almost as soon as the *kiaps* from Menyamya passed through. At that time, the situation between the Ankave of the Suowi and the Kamea speakers of Kwayu was tense, because three Kamea had been killed (possibly in the late 1940s) after they themselves had murdered Ikundi Onarada. But no revenge has been taken yet, nor any compensation paid.[43] Things were even worse on the southeastern border, between the Ankave of the Swanson and New Year Creek valleys and the Ivori speakers of Pio and Famba. There was still fighting in 1972 (PNGNA 1971–72, 3). As one man from Ikundi explained to us:

> When you leave Uogwa [the last Ankave hamlet to the south], people do not attach their *ass-maro* [barkcloth loincloth that covers the buttocks] with a rope hanging from the neck; it is only held by a belt. That's the reason why they react as brutes, without thinking of what they are doing. For instance, when you give them a woman in marriage, they send arrows to their brothers-in-law instead of thanking you! (Erauye Nguye, a young man around 30; recorded in July 2002 in Ayakupna'wa').

As for the people of Uogwa, they were on good terms with the Kamea of Komako, but on bad terms with their fellow Ankave-speakers of Angae and Buu'.

The shattering of their shields (and killing of pigs) by Lee Enfield bullets during the "firearms demonstrations" organised by the patrol officers surely accounted for the cessation of inter-group warfare and intra-group vendetta.[44] In a hamlet that would host eighty people only on special occasions (e.g. a mourning ceremony, in time of war, or during the initiation rituals), a column of two *kiaps*, sixty carriers, six policemen and two interpreters was quite a shock. Indeed, something to keep away from. Up to now, people refer to the policemen with something like terror.

Fear of the police was so strong that one woman remains famous for the incredible joke she played in the 1970s on her family by donning the pants,

shirt and shoes her husband had brought back from plantation work. With a hat on her head, a backpack, a cane in her hand and chattering a pseudo-pidgin, she so frightened her own brother that he ran away and left the game he was cooking in the fire of his garden shelter. The history goes on to say that her father was so angry that he broke a bamboo pipe over her head and her husband wounded her with an arrow to the chest.

Rather than the fear of death in a fight, which any Ankave man would deny, it is the fear of jail and that of the bad manners of the police that men emphasise (women do not say much about these things, because women are not supposed to kill people with whom they disagree). Several times we heard statements like "I won't kill this guy because I do not want to go to jail, when you are in jail, you cannot see your kids. And the police beat you." The striking thing is that, notwithstanding their fear of the police, the Ankave almost immediately adopted the state's view of how to deal with culprits. That is, they very rapidly decided to refer problems to the police of Menyamya that they would previously have handled with bows and arrows (Lemonnier 1998). And they do it on at least two levels: to deal with inter-valley collective problems and, more recently, on an individual basis.

In 1982, together with two Baruya friends and a dozen men from Angae, Pierre Lemonnier was walking in the thick mountain bush that separates Angae from Ikundi, when he saw a lone woman some fifty yards down the track. She stared for a second at the "patrol" and immediately jumped into a ravine and disappeared. The Angae men burst into laughter, yelled and searched for the woman, who did not reply or reappear. In other words, the mere sight of an unknown European travelling with unknown carriers (two of Pierre Lemonnier's Baruya friends) had made the woman flee and run for her life. It took us a dozen years to realise that she had good reason to avoid encounters with unknown people coming from Angae. We also know, from experience, that in 1985 people from Ikundi walking with us to Angae would not stay alone in that village, but would take refuge in the house of the missionary from the Summer Institute of Linguistics who was based there at the time, or stay within a few metres of us, the anthropologists. Surely, there was some sort of quarrel going on.

For decades, indeed probably a century, relations between Ikundi and Angae were good. By contrast with the thirty-nine deaths resulting from warfare or vendetta in the Suowi valley, tensions between Ikundi and Angae resulted in only three deaths, probably in the late 1890s. At the time of the "contacts" (1953–70), the 1,000 or so Ankave speakers would more or less react as one political body and, at least in theory, all enemies were common to both valleys. In fact, until the mid-1970s, all of the boys were initiated together, either in Angae or in Ikundi. In the 1960s, internal fighting was rapidly fading away under the double pressure of the Iqwaye people from Lagai (who explained to

their neighbours how good it was to be peaceful) and that of the first *tultul* or *luluai* ("local headmen") appointed by the *kiaps* as a sort of local agent of the state. It was at this time that something unheard of happened: many people (twelve adult men and eleven adult women) suddenly died en masse in *several* hamlets *simultaneously*. For us, this was a consequence of what *we* know to have been a flu epidemic. An influenza epidemic had spread into the inland in 1969. But the Ankave had a different interpretation.

Unlike the *ombo'* invisible cannibals, whose main action is to cut or block organs so that the circulation of blood, the key life substance, is lethally hampered, *ayao'* sorcerers exercise a remote negative action characterised by flows of bodily fluids, usually pus, blood or mucus. *Ayao'* sorcery is usually performed to protect personal belongings, to punish a thief, but also to steal something from someone. The many deaths occurring in the late sixties were attributed to *ayao'* sorcerers, who were supposed to have taken revenge after some wrong. And since no hamlet was spared in the same valley, there was no doubt that the sorcerers belonged to the neighbouring valley. For some reason no enemy group was involved.

Whereas we now have a good view of the various wars and vendettas that killed respectively twenty-seven and twelve people in the Suowi valley between 1920 and the mid-1960s, the details of the tensions between the two main Ankave valleys are still unclear to us, notably because things are still not settled. But at least we know what kind of events, factors and agents were involved.

In the 1960s, a man from Suao (Omeri Iwadze) allegedly used *ayao'* sorcery to kill a man from Ikundi (Olale hamlet), whose wife (Toatsi) he wanted to "steal." Omore Dzadze, the brother of the sorcerer's victim, in turn, killed the alleged sorcerer. The people from Suao, we were told, were quite happy with that, since they had already killed Erwato Apitse, the sorcerer's brother, because he himself was supposed to be a sorcerer. At that stage, things were dealt with in a highly conventional way. Clearly, Chester's and Purdy's patrols had not been enough to convince the Suowi people that they should report their law-and-order problems to the *kiaps* and the Menyamya police.[45]

Years later, around 1972–74, a man from Ikundi killed his wife's lover, and the police from Menyamya were called in to arrest the murderer. At that time, there was some fighting between Angae and Meenu in the Swanson valley. For some unknown reason, Witi Yaye "cut" two men (Iwadze Apitse Akwije and Wite Akwonengo) with his machete. The Meenu people went to Ikundi, met their in-laws, and they all walked to the *kiap*'s or police office in Menyamya. The police went to Angae, captured the troublemakers and jailed them for two months (some say four months). On their way back to the station, the police apparently also arrested a young man from Ayakupna'wa' (Ngwaje Akwije) for adultery with Ibua Akwoningi.

Some time after all the men had come back from their stay in prison, Ngwaje Akwije died, together with another twenty-two adult men and women.[46] His mother was from Meenu, a hamlet then at odds with Angae. Also, people now say that the population from Angae was unhappy that Ikundi had helped Meenu to call the police to Angae. At any rate, it was thought at the time that Ngwaje Akwije had died from an *ayao'* attack by some Angae sorcerer, acting on behalf of his own hamlet but also on behalf of Rotabie Erauye, a man from Ikundi whose affines were from Buu'. Rotabie Erauye, it was said, was looking for revenge after some people laughed when his young son died. The sorcerer from Buu' was identified as Erwa Namo.

Ayao' sorcery is totally imaginary in the sense that, although its effects might be dangerously real once people believe they are under magical attack, we have no reason to think that any Ankave ever manipulated some substance or pronounced formulae in order to harm someone else. For this reason, no one will ever know what was the real aim of those "people" who allegedly asked a supposed sorcerer to exterminate part of the population of the Suowi valley. What matters here is that fearing for the life of Erwa Namo (remember that two sorcerers from Suao and Angae had been killed in Ikundi in the previous ten years or so) the Angae people asked the police from Kaintiba[47] to come and, as a precaution, arrest their opponents in Ikundi. Around 1978 (we are missing the patrol reports for that time) the police *and* the men from Angae burned the houses, beat everyone on their hands with rattan canes, killed "all" the pigs and raped the women in a house, under the floor of which their husbands, fathers or brothers had been put away. Some people were sodomised with rattan sticks. Captured in the forest, Moregni Dzadze was left "half dead," hanging from a tree with rattan ropes. Memory of this event obviously inspired the flight of the Ikundi woman Pierre Lemonnier met in 1982.

A year or so later, some men from Angae stole some eels and pigs in Ikundi. They also raped some women. A man from Ayakupna'wa' wounded one of the assailants, and the policemen from Menyamya were asked to intervene. The people from Ikundi went to Angae with the policemen and took revenge. The hamlet was surrounded "and we did the same thing to them!" Hence the tense atmosphere in Angae in 1985, when Pierre Lemonnier stopped there on the last stage of a patrol from Ikundi via Sinde and the lowlands.

As far as we know, that was the last of the collective punitive expeditions the Angae and Ikundi people organised against each other with the help of the police. It is noteworthy that two patrol posts located in two different provinces, Menyamya and Kaintiba, were approached. The main result of these new ways of handling tensions – the old caused by adultery and the new caused by large scale *ayao'* sorcery – was the separate organisation of the first stage of the male initiations, which, unlike the second and third stages, used to gather all the boys

from the three valleys (Ikundi, Angae, Sinde) for more than a month. However, in 1987, there was some co-operation between the two valleys because a new type of witch hunter (called *boss sangguma* in Tok Pisin and specialising in finding *ombo'* ("cannibal witches")) was introduced from the Kamea-speaking area of Komako, but the subsequent killing of two women in Angae resulted in the Ikundi people losing interest in the experts from Buu' or Angae. In 1990, Angae organised its own rituals; in 1994, only two men from Angae took part in the rituals in the Suowi (both friends of the authors, by the way); in 2002, a ritual expert from Angae was called for the third-stage initiations in Ayakupna'wa'. Stay tuned …

At some stage in the mid-1990s the use of police in local affairs shifted from an inter-community scale to a local one. Not only were the police asked to enforce the law in the case of homicide, brawling, theft or adultery, but they have also been used as a weapon in personal or vaguely clan affairs. Personal ties are involved between those few Ankave men who now act as radio operators or *komiti* (a local representative of a valley, elected or not) and the police they meet in Menyamya and make friends with. The policeman usually comes alone, without a colleague or any patrol officer, and rattan beating is the only violence involved. It is unclear whether the money often given to the policeman is some sort of fine or a gift under the cover of an "offending fee." At any rate, violence is still present. No one is killed by the police anymore, but a man unduly accused of murder in 1996 or 1997 lost a tooth after being beaten with a rattan cane by a policeman. He was (he is now dead) one of the last living members of the Nguye clan that owns the strip of land on which the future airstrip is currently being constructed; and the police were called in by an Idzadze man who has been sneaking into Nguye territory for the last fifteen years. Fear of the police is such that a young man who had insulted them from afar in Ikundi literally fainted when he was recognised by one of the constables a year later in Menyamya; that was in 2000. The story and history of this mixture of bribery and local policy remains to be written. But, clearly, if one "agent" of modernity has been manipulated by the Ankave more than any others, it is the police.

Conclusion

It is well documented that, although repetitive and spanning a long period of time, "first contacts" durably paved the way for the future relationship of the Ankave with modernity in two ways. They determined the relations between their two main valleys; and, for at least forty years (1953–93), during which the administration was equated with law-and-order problems, they shaped the image of the people from the "Ankave-Swanson Census Division" in a way highly compatible with the basic view of the Anga as Kukukuku, that is, as fearless warriors.

For the Ankave, the irruption of the *kiaps* and their constables has been integrated into local and regional (inter-tribal) history. At the time of contact the relation between the Ankave valleys proper was rather even: wars were a thing of the past, marriages were ongoing and both male initiations and enemies were shared. However, this peaceful but quite fragile equilibrium was destroyed by two concomitant and related novelties brought by the Australians: the end of inter-tribal warfare, which stopped immediately after the first glimpse of the power and destructive capacity of the police weapons, and the epidemic spread of illnesses that – for some reason – were interpreted as a large-scale *ayao'* sorcery, as a magical vendetta, rather than a magical war.

As for the Australians, they had "known" for a long time that the Kukukuku were dangerous people as well as troublemakers. When the *kiaps* penetrated the Ankave rivers, the Kukukuku had long since stopped raiding the coastal people, but McCarthy's difficulties and, later, the Yaba "murders" were in everyone's minds. At the very end of the 1960s, the supposed Anga violence and resistance to colonisation was stressed in the orders given to the patrol officers who were in charge of contacting these indomitable holdouts. As a result, violence was part of the programme. And three Ankave men were killed in the Suowi valley, a rather high figure in relation to the overall population concerned (300 people, and less than a total of 1,000 in the three valleys at that time).

In turn, the Ankave interpreted this violence as a new but perfectly normal way of dealing with problems. It took more than two decades (1950–72) before they stopped running away at the sight of a white man, but they have been quick to enrol the police in their own ongoing tensions. The use of arms was forbidden, but the violent beatings and the rapes by the policemen and foreign carriers had become part of their new arsenal. And it is clear that the manipulation of the police plays an important part in the strategies linked with the incipient individualism now observed in Ikundi or Ayakupna'wa'.

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Notes

[1] This chapter owes much to Chris Ballard, Bill Gammage, R. Grieve, Hank Nelson and James Sinclair, who patiently gave of their time and knowledge, so that we could contextualise both our ethnography and the patrol reports dealing with the area in which we work.

Letter from R.S. Bell, district commissioner, Kerema, to A.M. Didlick, assistant district commissioner, Kerema, 18 September 1969, attached to Kaintiba special patrol report (PNGNA 1969–70a).

[2] Here, our use of the ethnographic present corresponds to the time of one of our last periods of joint fieldwork in Ayakupna'wa' (Suowi or "M'Bwei" valley, Gulf Province) in July 2002.

[3] Pierre Lemonnier started fieldwork among the Ankave in 1982. Since 1987 the ethnography of the Suowi valley has been carried out conjointly with Pascale Bonnemère. Among other institutions, such as the French Ministry for Foreign Affairs and the Fyssen and National Geographic Foundations, the three main institutions supporting our research – the French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS), the Papua New Guinea Institute of Medical Research at Goroka and the Papua New Guinea National Archives at Waigani – deserve special thanks.

[4] Like other Iqwaye refugees, Abraham was living on the Upper Suowi River until the early 1950s patrols in Iqwaye country enabled his family to go back to his own valley of Lagai. At some stage he became one of those people officially entitled by the administration to settle land disputes and, indeed, the Ankave relied on him to solve some of their own land problems. In 1990 he gave Pascale Bonnemère a whole set of accounts of the encounters with white people in the Suowi valley. He had heard about

them from his parents when he was a young boy. As an adult, he developed a great awareness and knowledge about all these events involving white people in the region, in part because he is very concerned about the poor situation in which the Ankave have always been left by government authorities. From the 1960s onward, he has been considered by the Ankave as an intermediary and a translator, when necessary, in encounters with Australians.

[5] "The present policy of raising spasmodic patrols will not achieve anything except the heavy expenditure of patrol funds, exhausted patrol personnel, and disrupted inhabitants" (PNGNA 1966–67a, 14).

[6] Peter Rayapo from Angae in his tape-recorded life story; also R.A. Deverell (PNGNA 1966–67b, 3, 7).

[7] There were also SDA Australians (a family) in the valley northwest of Menyamya in 1966 (Gammage, pers. comm.).

[8] Resident Magistrates were the Papuan equivalent of District Officers. They were later called District Commissioners. See also Mosko (this volume) on Monckton.

[9] Souter writes Lahiki, but there is no doubt about the identification of that stream on the left bank of the Vailala.

[10] i.e. G. Pilhofer and L. Flierl (Pilhofer 1915; see also Burton 1996; Gash and Whittaker 1975, [plates 548, 555] 244, 247; Souter 1963, 114).

[11] They were also followed by anthropologists. Sent to New Guinea by the Pitt Rivers Museum, Beatrice Blackwood took up residence in a hamlet comprised of Kapau (Nauti) and Langimar (Manki) in order to study "the technology of a modern Stone Age people" (Blackwood 1950). This woman from Oxford was forty-seven years of age at the time and had already a year of fieldwork experience (1929–30) on "both sides" of the Buka passage, in the Solomons, when she undertook an eight-month study on the Upper Watut in 1936/37. First contacts in the Upper Watut are also dealt with by Burton (1996).

[12] This prospector may have been either James Swanson or his son, with whom he previously "went up the Vailala and the Tauri" in 1909 (Nelson 1976, 195). His son was probably H. Swanson, the prospector who, in company of E. McGowan, discovered oil on the lower Vailala in June 1911 (Sinclair 2001, 167). Twenty years later, an H.T. Swanson (who is probably the same man) tried to reach the Lakekamu from Kerema, and a party led by Resident Magistrate Oldham was sent to look for him (PNGNA 1930, 1–3). We do not know yet if Swanson was really lost then. H.T. Swanson is not to be confused with A.P. Swanson (who was a "chainman" in the Morobe Goldfield in August 1934 (Sinclair 2001, 153)), nor with P.M. Swanson, mentioned in the May 1936 *Walkabout* issue (Fisher 1936) (who is said to have accompanied Patrol Officer K.W.T. Bridge on a patrol in the Kapau River area; see also Sinclair 2001, 227 for details about P.M. Swanson's activities during World War II).

[13] This track was designed to enable trucks and troops to cross the ridge and fight the Japanese in case they progressed beyond Wau, which they did not.

[14] Letter from N.C. McQuilty, assistant district commissioner, to the assistant district commissioner, Kerema, 3 June 1970, attached to Kaintiba patrol report (PNGNA 1969–70b).

[15] In 1972, A.J. Meikle still mentions the Ivori "raiders" coming from Famba and Pio into Ankave territory (PNGNA 1971–72, 3).

[16] Reports about patrols from Kerema into the *lower* Kukukuku country are: Kerema no. 6, 1928–29; no. 12, 1929–30; no. 1, 1934–35; no. 8, 1935–36; no. 5, 1936–37; no. 8, 1937–38; no. 11, 1937–38 (Ivori River).

[17] It is only in 2007 that we had access to a copy of the report about this prospecting patrol for the Oil Search Limited company (OSL), that was accompanied for exploratory and security reasons by the Kerema patrol officer, Alan T. Timperley, who wrote the report. It was thus too late to include an analysis of this very detailed piece (34 pages) and so a forthcoming paper will be devoted to this first contact, which was followed by a long period without any visit in the Mbwei valley.

[18] On 2 January 1930, Middleton (PNGNA 1929–30, 23) named "New Year Creek" a tributary of the Ivory, which according to Patrol Officer Mathieson, whose demonstration is clearly correct (PNGNA 1951–52b, 11), was not the tributary of the M'Bwei/Suowi River named "New Year Creek" on the maps (until now). The "New Year Creek" referred to here is that tributary of the M'Bwei/Suowi River (locally known as Saa') on which the hamlet of Sinde is located.

[19] As far as we know, Vizard only patrolled the Ivori River (PNGNA 1950–51a).

[20] In the meantime, Jordan (PNGNA 1960–61), 24 July to 27 September 1960, came from Menyamya (and not from Kerema, where he was based) and looked at the Swanson from afar.

[21] We mark this fact with quotation marks, because we know of "accidentally" drowned people who were killed before being thrown into the river.

[22] Letter from J.B. Quinn, Assistant District Commissioner, to the District Commissioner, Kerema, 22 June 1970, attached to Kaintiba patrol report (PNGNA 1969–70b). At the same time, Abraham (the Iqwaye man) had attended school for two years in Wau and could discuss with his "cousins" in Ikundi the (still unsolved) question of which district (now province), the Gulf or Morobe, they would like to belong to.

[23] A Japanese film crew working in the Kamea area definitely passed through the Ankave country in 1970 or so. Pierre Lemonnier saw their film once, twenty years ago, but we have not been able to locate it thus far.

[24] The last hamlet at the head of the Kuowi River; not to be confused with Kwayo, which is a Kamea village, east of the Ikundi valley and south of Komako.

[25] In his report, K.I. Chester writes for 10 February 1951: "we climbed to the Aweia–Mwei Divide, 7600', which was reached at 0907 hrs. Here, as Const. Tauvailogo was off colour, I gave his swag to our guide, who had volunteered to carry it. Fifteen minutes later I was to regret this action, as, when our guide rounded a bend out of sight, he suddenly disappeared into the scrub. We called to him, but received no answer. Const. Erapa tracked him, and a few minutes later returned with the swag minus a tomahawk" (PNGNA 1950–51a, 14). However, nothing is said about the seizing of a local man, as the Ankave and Abraham mentioned to us.

[26] This patrol was unofficially accompanied by two Catholic priests. Archbishop Paul Marx confirmed to us the route followed. The patrol left the Vailala a few kilometres downstream from where the Ioua flows into it. They had to walk for six days before reaching New Year Creek (Saa') and another six days to get to Subu, near Ikundi (map attached to the patrol report).

[27] Kerema and the coast are due south, but the Ankave locate both in the west.

[28] At least two patrol officers and two Catholic priests, as we know.

[29] Led by Constable Felix, the search party stayed in the Suowi valley from July 11 to 19.

[30] It seems that the SDA catechists from Menyamya played some role in the very first departures. Around 1973, recruiters from Lae were active in the Suowi. Plantation work declined rapidly at the time of Independence. In the early 1980s, the Australian patrol officer in Menyamya enforced the law and asked for a legal contract to be signed between the companies and the workers (D. Thompson, former *kiap* in Menyamya, pers. comm.), and no Ankave left for plantation work for at least ten years.

[31] PNGNA (1966–67c, App. A).

[32] "Once the word spread that we were searching for the character that did the shooting, people whom we possibly would have contacted fled, no doubt carrying the word further that their judgement day had arrived, causing others too, to flee" (PNGNA 1966–67c, 4).

[33] PNGNA (1966–67c, diary: 4).

[34] Letter from B.W.P. Burge, assistant district commissioner, Malalaua, Gulf District, to the district commissioner, Kerema, 19 August 1967, attached to Kaintiba patrol report PNGNA (1966–67c).

[35] Recorded in Tok Pisin in 2002, Peter Saapitso's life story is currently being edited by Pierre Lemonnier.

[36] As for ourselves, we had no clue at the time about the Ankave and Iqwaye attacks on the carriers, and we did not enquire more about the crucial but seemingly forgotten first patrol. This was clearly a mistake.

[37] However, a few other sketchy things about the white men and the Ankave were recounted to Pascale Bonnemère by young people and not mentioned by older ones; e.g. that some people thought the first plane they saw was an eagle, and that an old man tried to shoot it. The noise resembled that of a big insect.

[38] These remarks would of course need to be thought over and refined, for example, by comparing systematically young men's and women's accounts.

[39] His cook Boko firing his Winchester and his corporal Anis charging with his bayonet saved his life. McCarthy walked back to Mumeng after being wounded by two arrows (McCarthy 1963, 106–13; Sinclair 1966, 8).

[40] Carriers were recruited around the post from which the patrol started and also on a village-to-village basis. In Chester's patrol, eleven carriers were Keuru prisoners, that is, people from around Ihu (PNGNA 1950–51a, 3: summary).

[41] "Although this was not admitted, I consider this was a ritual murder in the initiation of [so and so]" (PNGNA 1966–67a, 10).

[42] Hurrell's comment about encounters between Iqwaye living on both sides of the range separating Menyamya from the Vailala headwaters in 1953 is worth quoting here: "The Iakoi people on more than one occasion on entering a hamlet and having the villagers crowd around too closely would shout 'Keep clear you Kanakas, don't bring the smell of your women to us. We've been alone for many days'" (PNGNA 1950–51b, diary: Thursday, July 3, 1951).

[43] Until today, no Ankave from the Suowi would walk to Kwayu, a two-day walk west of Ikundi, unless they walked behind us, the anthropologists; at least, that was the case in 1988.

[44] During a patrol in 1967, two pigs were purchased from the Ankave "for use in firearms demonstrations" (PNGNA 1966–67c, 3).

[45] Interestingly, Haviland's "medical" patrol was also said to be the first time the Australians were considered as people friendly enough to be called for help (PNGNA 1955–56; see n. 69). This fits well with the common opinion that the *kiaps* of the 1950s were those whose presence allowed the Iqwaye and the Ankave inhabiting the eastern side of the Vailala–Tauri divide to cross the range toward Menyamya.

[46] We have not yet found any record of this epidemic. Whatever the case, epidemics were not uncommon among the Ankave at the time of "contact." In May 1956, Patrol Officer R.R. Haviland led a medical patrol in the "Vailala headwaters." He estimated that a flu epidemic had killed forty to sixty people in the previous ten months in the Iqwaye valley right north of the Suowi. However, this epidemic seems to be too early to be the one the Ankave are referring to. Another influenza epidemic spread through the southern part of Papua New Guinea (Riley et al. 1992, 284–5), but this seems too early as well.

[47] They may have reported in Kotidanga, near Kanabea but, as far as we know, there were no policemen in Kotidanga at the time.