

A LANDSCAPE OF POWERS IN HIGHLAND PAPUA, C. 1899–1918¹

ERIC HIRSCH

Brunel University, Uxbridge, UK

The article proposes that anthropologists and historians attend to a 'landscape of powers' to understand the ways colonial and mission projects become actualised in on-going social relations. An expanding body of scholarship for the Melanesian region has focused on the way missionaries and colonial agents, as much as the diverse Melanesian peoples, attain power through rendering persons and places in specific forms. This is documented here for Fuyuge-speakers relations with colonial and mission projects during their early phase. Although the forms and consequences of power among each—Fuyuge, colonial, mission—is different, attention is devoted to the resultant and emerging patterns of these long-standing interactions and interventions. In particular, the article maintains that when such projects become locally actualised a landscape of powers is established. A landscape of powers is the multiply constituted arrangement of persons and places in an historical and ethnographically delineated context.

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It is in landscape that [the] intertwining of place and historical event is most intimately and completely realized. (Casey 2002: 274, emphasis removed)

INTRODUCTION: RENDERING THE PRESENT

Historical anthropology periodically transforms its lexicon as modes of inquiry are refined in relation to specific ethnographic and historical problems and materials. This is certainly evident in a region such as Melanesia where there has been a substantial measure of historical anthropological work in recent years. For instance, in an historically informed study of the New Guinea highland, Maring, LiPuma (2001: 10) draws attention to a distinctive configuration of Maring and Western mutual influences. He notes how "[a] 'new' conceptual and emotional landscape comes into being that is not Western, indigenous, or even some logical combination of the two". It is something entirely singular. But what is it? How can it be delineated? Although LiPuma stresses the emergence of a unique *conceptual* and *emotional* landscape, I would suggest that this is simultaneously a distinctive *material* landscape. In fact, one of the intentions of the present article is to explicate, among a Papua people, such a landscape—a landscape of powers—as I later designate it.

Correspondence to: Eric Hirsch, Department of Human Sciences, Brunel University, Uxbridge, Middlesex UB8 3PH, UK Tel : +44 (0)1895 274000; Fax: +44 (0)1895 203018

My attention was drawn to the historical anthropological issue noted by LiPuma during my early period of field research in the upper Udabe Valley (Central Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG)) when I was told a narrative on numerous occasions by my local hosts. They asserted that the narrative accounted for how the missionaries came to live among them.² What I want to draw attention to here is the way in which the story recounts a movement by the missionaries—said to be initiated in the lands of the *Fuyuge*—and how the missionaries ultimately came into the Udabe Valley. The narrative also highlights processes of alteration; in particular, the changes the missionaries effected upon the local people—especially as regards fighting and killing. And finally, the account draws attention to the current form of the surroundings: that the missionaries came to stay and live permanently in the Udabe Valley. The missionaries and the *Fuyuge* came to be allied.

Such a narrative is referred to as *tidibe* in the *Fuyuge* language of the area. *Tidibe* are narratives that account for how the present order of persons and things came to be fashioned. *Tidibe* are also, simultaneously, the figures that have brought about this arrangement, as recounted in the narratives themselves. Thus, the local people maintain that the way they organize and perform their rituals (*gab*), the manner in which they plant their gardens or raise their pigs, or the divisions between the expansive forests and the cleared areas lower in their mountainous valleys—all of these are derived from *tidibe*. In this respect, then, the origins of the missionaries in local perceptions is a consequence of *tidibe*: of origin figures and their narratives.

Being drawn to my attention were the circumstances in which both my hosts and their landscape had been prominently shaped by the missionaries, and later the government. There was the physically prominent central mission station at Ononge and the recently completed airstrip where I arrived, as well as parish chapels, priests quarters and roads throughout the valley. The local people were profoundly interested in drawing such changes to my attention; changes which they said, in short, ultimately derived from *tidibe*. As we shall see below, the missionaries as much as the government agents were similarly interested in effecting, gauging and narrating changes about and to the local people and surroundings. However, in the case of the missionaries or government agents, the basis for such changes were different—such as the requirements of converting “pagans” or civilizing “savages”. These differences in the way present conditions appear and their narration are contrasts about the basis of power. In *Fuyuge* imaginings, for instance, the capacity to appear powerful in dealings with other persons derives from *tidibe*. Missionary and government conceptions of power have, as will be discussed later, different sources.

Nonetheless, specific details about the missionaries and their activities are well known locally: for example, about the first missionary to enter the Udabe Valley (Clauser) and with whom he engaged. Details described in mission documentation correspond significantly with the details described by local people. Whereas such details are not in contention, where contention existed and still exists is in the way the *Fuyuge* conduct their social relations and form their landscape. These are differences, as indicated above, in the sources and visible realization of power. In particular, the conduct of *Fuyuge* ritual (*gab*) has been the grounds of ongoing dissension between the *Fuyuge*, the missionaries and government over many decades.

My perspective on these issues derives from the ethnographic research in the Udabe Valley during the mid-1980s and again for a brief period during 1999. This is the “ethnographic present”, so to speak. Yet this present itself is the outcome of relations sustained between the *Fuyuge*, missionaries and government over several decades beginning during the late nineteenth century. A question I address in this article is how the present I came to experience and record emanated out of these initial encounters and enduring relations? I answer it by recommending that what came to be formed was, and is, a landscape of powers.

The point I wish to emphasize is that persons attain power in their dealing with others through the way they make both the persons and places of their lives—their landscape—*appear*. The rendering of landscape, then, is how the here and now, the present as visually and materially realised (see Gell 1992). This is the case whether those concerned are the local denizens of the Udabe Valley or the missionaries and colonialists who entered this area. The forms and consequences of each manifestation of power are different, but what is of particular concern here is the resultant and emergent forms of these often longstanding interventions and interactions. In this way, a landscape of powers is always a multiply constituted arrangement of persons and places in a particular ethnographically focused setting (cf. Barker 1993: 201–206; Burridge 1960: 140–146).

Why Landscape?

I suggest that what anthropologists study in diverse areas of the world are persons and their social relations as manifested through landscape. Persons measure and value themselves as much through their landscape organization as they do through their social relations and organization.

Why should landscape be privileged in this respect, in connection with place and space (see Hirsch 1995)? Landscape is privileged because it *resembles* the processes of persons and their social relations. Persons are connected to other persons through *social* relations. Simultaneously, persons are always “placed” and their relations with other persons are concurrently between that of other places. Places are as much about persons as persons are about places. The interest in separating and distinguishing one from the other is an outgrowth of historically specific economic, political and scientific regimes as appeared in 17th-century Europe.

Anthropologists study the relations of persons and places within socially and historically distinct horizons. It is by attending to these horizons that anthropologists discern both the organization of the social relations (forms of social organization) and that of the places (forms of landscape). “Only when places are concatenated in a landscape is there anything like a horizon” (Casey 2001: 690). Horizon, as Casey correctly emphasizes, circumscribes landscape; horizon highlights both its relation and distinctiveness from place and that of space.

The complex relations between person, place, space and horizon are designated by myths. This is the important set of associations that Schama (1995), for example, attends to in his book *Landscape and Memory* (anthropologists such as Levi-Strauss and Roy Wagner, in their different ways, have attended to these relations as well). Myths are a part of the places of social relations, and implicitly or explicitly seen to constitute them. At the same time, however, they are perceived to exist in a realm of a different form: timeless, eternal, immortal. This is a realm of potentialities, which instructs the actual forms of lived existence. The example of *tidibe* and the missionaries is an actual set of relations that are also informed by *Fuyuge* mythic and cosmological possibilities.

The complementary relation between landscape and myth indicates how social life is lived with respect to two mutually connected scales (cf. Strathern 1999). One is the scale of the actual, event-filled relations of persons and places. The second scale is timeless, that of mythical, background potentialities informing the lived relations within distinctive horizons. Landscape is the outcome of these actual and potential forms of person, place, space, time and horizon (cf. Casey 2002)

With regard to the case documented here, the mission or government becomes part of *Fuyuge* relations, as the *Fuyuge* become part of mission or government undertakings. Lands are leased for mission or government stations, new boundaries are created, roads constructed, but these are not “separate”. Certainly patrols enter and leave, missionaries are connected to

wider bishoprics, subsequently *Fuyuge* migrate to Port Moresby and beyond. Although these relations endure as well as historically transform, they are locally and trans-locally perceived as interconnected. When the *projects* (see below) of either mission or government become locally actualised, they create a landscape of powers, thereby constituting the conditions for contentions as to whose vision of persons and the world will come to predominate.

Thomas (1994) selected the notion of “project” in order to rethink the description and analysis of colonial “discourse” and “agency”: notions which appear to be irreconcilable in colonial discourse theory and much conventional colonial history. “Project”, he argues, allows for these to be reconciled as it draws attention “to a socially transformative endeavour politicised and partial, yet also engendered by longer historical developments and ways of narrating them” (Thomas 1994: 105). Thomas emphasizes the “innovative” nature of the mutual engagements of people evident in colonial situations.

There is no doubt that the projects remained as projects (or radically transformed, even disappearing) but they also became something locally unique, distinctive in the relations of the lives of the people the project or projects were intended to effect. It is manifest that one cannot analyse the creation of a landscape of powers without reference to the colonial projects that converge and often overlap in a locale, but an ethnography of colonial projects (advocated by Thomas) is only adequate if it is the colonial projects *tout court* that are of interest. If, however, it is the effects and enduring forms of the local relations—of which colonial projects are a part—then a different focus must be sustained: less an ethnography of colonial projects and more an ethnography of the project as actualised in ongoing social relations. In short, when a project becomes locally actualised, it creates a landscape of powers.

Sources of the Past

The account of a landscape of powers I elucidate here is drawn mainly from textual sources, supplemented by my periods of fieldwork in the Udabe Valley. The point I want to underscore is that the textual representations of the relations between *Fuyuge* and missionaries or government derives from relations sustained between persons and the landscape. The intentions of all the agents documented here—*Fuyuge*, missionaries or government—are to compel persons and landscape so that they appear in ways recognizable to their conceptions of power. At times the textual representations examined here seem primarily concerned with specific relations between persons; other times with specific transformations of the landscape itself (e.g., roads, buildings, ritual structures). The issue I want to stress is that persons *and* landscape are present in all the textual representations—either implicitly or explicitly. This is because the activities of the mission or government, in their assorted ways and with their varying degrees of success, were concerned with the profound alteration of the *Fuyuge* as *persons and landscape*. To change one was to modify the other. This was a situation taken as given. The point to note is that the historical anthropology elucidated here from “texts” could have been elucidated equally from “landscape”; each mutually inform the other. This is the matter raised by Douglas (2001: 43, emphasis added) in her critical assessment of colonial texts used for ethnohistorical purposes, when she asks: “What, *on the ground*, might have helped trigger such a trope, passage, tone or reported action by this author in this text?”

The documentation drawn upon for writing the specific landscape of powers as it emerged, transformed and endures in the Udabe Valley is not consistent across the range of agents described here. Written documentation exists for the missionary and government agents. Much of this documentation focuses on *Fuyuge* persons and places, written from the perspective of either the mission or government at the time. Occasionally the explicit words and voice of *Fuyuge* men and women will be evident in these documents. There are few

sources available from the local people themselves; one is oral accounts which I gathered in the Udabe Valley during my periods of field research.³

The mission and colonial government documents derive from different engagements with the *Fuyuge* people and surroundings, and the different (and at times overlapping) agendas each pursued. The most relevant mission documents are from the *Annales de Notre Dame du Sacre' Coeur* (ANDSC), a monthly magazine produced by the Missionaires du Sacre' Coeur (MSC) in Issodun, France since 1866. The MSC are a Roman Catholic order. The magazine publishes articles of missionaries concerned with the diverse aspects of their apostolic endeavours. It also contains letters written to colleagues, friends and relatives. Significantly, the articles and letters provide insights into the daily processes of forming, expanding and sustaining the mission and missionary activities. The ANDSC is written and edited for a readership interested in mission affairs, but not necessarily with the internal politics of the mission. Where pertinent, information on the internal politics of the mission is drawn from Waldersee (1995) and to a lesser degree from Delbos (1985) and Langmore (1989).⁴ Because the articles need to appeal to a readership not necessarily familiar with the local people or surroundings, they provide detailed and often vivid accounts of the relations and the actions of specific missionaries as they endeavour to alter particular local peoples and their lands.

The specific mode in which the MSC missionaries encountered the *Fuyuge* is an outcome of the political history of missionization in British New Guinea. By the time the MSCs established themselves on Yule Island during 1885, large sections of the coast had been missionized by the London Missionary Society (see Langmore 1989). As a result, the MSCs in British New Guinea were highly constrained and forced to advance their missionizing procedures into the inland and mountains regions north of Yule Island. As a consequence, considerable emphasis was given to communication and transportation issues. This, in turn, informed the way in which the apostolic landscape was created among the *Fuyuge*. The MSC missionary endeavour was predicated on the notion of "conquest", of advancing the Catholic doctrine among "pagan" peoples. This was both a spiritual and a material quest, and recognition of its accomplishment is disclosed in the ANDSC in order to demonstrate to those interested that it is "advancing".⁵

The government agents' documentation is very different to that of the missionaries. The colonial government in British New Guinea (later Papua) was extended through the use of patrols conducted by a small staff of patrol officers and patrol posts were constructed as part of this colonising activity. Government administration was formed around a series of resident magistrates each based in a government station. As new areas were opened to colonial patrolling, new resident magistrates and new patrol posts were established. Patrol officers submitted patrol reports to their senior officers after conducting their patrols. This was an often highly edited record of the events and circumstances of the patrol. During the early years of colonial administration, when local peoples were first contacted, patrol reports were often long discursive documents, recording the encounters in substantial detail. In addition to curtailing acts of vengeance killings, patrol officers were expected to systematically redefine and transform the social and material world of those now under their authority. Colonial control was thus seen to be effective if such transformations were both present on the ground (e.g., in the form of nucleated villages with latrines, constructed roads, law-abiding villagers) and representable on paper. As the local people became routinized to the patrolling procedure, the patrol reports themselves become more formalised documents. They record, for instance, whether or not villages conform to government-imposed procedures.⁶

Separate and Combined Effects: Envisioning a Landscape of Powers

Although the interests of the mission and government significantly overlapped, there were also important differences. The mission was primarily concerned with what it recognized as

the “law of God”. This did not mean the missionaries viewed their endeavours as separate from the “law and order” of the government. Rather, they perceived their apostolic project as aspiring towards different goals. Patrol officers and their superiors, for their part, assigned priority to the law of the state. Occasionally the missionaries resented the attitude of the government, whereby the missionaries were seen as effectively advancing the goals of the government: were the people and landscape to be reordered according to government or mission ideas and procedures?

In practice, however, the interests and efforts of the mission and government significantly converge, especially in the mountainous region of the *Fuyuge* where priority was on road-building and the creation of an infrastructure suitable to European modes of communication and transportation. The roads facilitated more than the movement of persons, goods and information. They were iconic of power itself; of the capacity to alter the people and surroundings so they appeared controlled and disciplined. As we shall see, when it came to directly intervening into matters of local violence, the missionaries deferred to the authority of the government. Missionaries did not hesitate to contact government agents when people were killed or violence perpetrated. In these and other practices, the missionaries and government came to converge in *Fuyuge* perceptions. This highlights the fact that there is no landscape of powers in general. *Fuyuge* speakers’ understanding of government and mission are different, for instance, from coastal peoples with their distinctive colonial history and geography (cf. Barker 1993; Burrige 1960).

Fuyuge relations with the missionaries and patrol officers underwent profound transformations over time. Initial encounters appear to have been dictated by an incapacity to establish sustainable, long-term relations. This resulted in the use of force and violence on the part of the government. It is only after some years of contact and continual engagement that the notions of government “law” and the consequences of its transgression were understood by the local people. In time, the missionaries and government come to be inextricably linked in *Fuyuge* perceptions as these agents were seen to communicate and often combine in their attempts to alter the *Fuyuge* persons and surroundings.

As noted above, my research was focused in the upper Udabe Valley. The missionaries first entry into the *Fuyuge*-speaking area was in the Auga Valley to the southwest during 1899. It was only after several years that they ventured into the Udabe Valley (1909). Early government entry into the area was less systematic, focused as it was on exploration. This policy changed notably after Murray became Lieutenant Governor in 1908.⁷

What is clear from the earliest European encounters with the *Fuyuge* to the most recent, as described here, is that *Fuyuge* persons and landscape take the form they do through the continual enactment and re-enactment of the ritual they refer to as *gab*. This is the conviction potently articulated by the *Fuyuge* and quickly, if reluctantly, acknowledged by both mission and government. What is also evident is that the manner in which *gab* is enacted and re-enacted has been transformed in conjunction with the sustained presence of mission and government agents and organization, and the ways the latter have changed in their own distinctive ways.

The period from c. 1899 to 1918 is part of the first phase of mission and government influence among the *Fuyuge*, a phase which lasted until the beginning of World War II (Hirsch 1999: 810). However, *systematic* government patrols only effectively begin just before the start of World War I, with significant interruptions during the war years (see Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991: 40–43). Missionary endeavours were also greatly affected by the Great War as personnel and supplies were disrupted by French involvement in the European hostilities. As Langmore (1989: xviii–xix) has noted: “The First World War was no watershed in Papuan history as was the Second World War, but as far as the missions were concerned it cut off or curtailed recruitment for several years. Those who came to the mission

field after the Great War were men and women who came from a different world.” Following the European hostilities the initial phase of government and mission colonialization of the *Fuyuge* is substantially consolidated under Murray’s long period as Lieutenant Governor (1940) and de Boismenu’s period as Bishop and Archbishop (1945) (see Hirsch 1999: 813–818).

During the historical period under consideration here, the mission and the colonial government came to establish their presence in the five river valleys of the *Fuyuge* (most substantially in the Auga and Udabe). The entry of the missionaries and government agents was not straightforward and involved considerable force and violence (significantly on the part of the government agents). Nonetheless, once a foothold was established by the mission, what becomes evident is the way the missionaries, government agents and the *Fuyuge* each attempt to create and re-create what they envision as *their* landscape, in their complex relations with one another⁷.

Whereas the missionaries, for instance, endeavour to establish an apostolic landscape, centred around churches and schools, the *Fuyuge* use the presence of the missionaries and government to different effect—increasing the size and frequency of their *gab* ritual performances. In short, they expanded the form through which they create persons, create their landscapes. They based this increase upon the imposition of an end to warfare. The description of this period ends with a contest that was evident during 1918 as it was 70 to 80 years later: this is the contest between a form of “discipline” centred around school and church, and that of the dance or *gab*. The landscape of powers that emerged during this time is one where different “disciplined” conceptions of persons and places contend and transform.

Smoothing Out the Path for the Gospel

The manner in which the missionaries came to eventually settle in the lands of the *Fuyuge* has come to be defined by a mission legend. Some of the circumstances that appeared to create this legend are as follows (cf. Errington and Gewertz 1995; Young 1997). During 1899, Fathers de Boismenu, Hubert and Jullien entered the *Fuyuge*-speaking region but subsequently had to flee (Waldersee 1995: 244).⁹ A letter by Jullien dated 24 June 1899 was written to the Governor of the Colony, Le Hunte, providing some indication of what occurred:¹⁰

This year of 1899, from 2th May to 18th of June, three of us, viz the Rev. Father Alain de Boismenu, Hubert & Jullien, we pushed on up to the tribe of Mafulu (10 hours North East from Deva Deva). This tribe is situated in the valley of Adualla river East tributary of St Joseph river.

We intended too to see the thick populated tribe of Gaivala, and to join then the valley of the Vanapa whose villages are reported to be very numerous. Unfortunately the cupidity of that new tribe prevented us from carrying into effect such a scheme.

Without any vexation on our part (even we did not touch nor molest nor despise anyone) we were spoiled of every provisions. . . . And to save our lives, we were obliged to get out quickly with only a few clothes . . .

We ask for no revenge at all, *but we wish you could let this . . . tribe understand that the whitemen, the missionaries, will always find an effective protection in the Government.* (NAPNG: G91, 291C: 19–20, emphasis added)¹¹

Several government patrols were subsequently despatched to the area (cf. Dupeyrat 1948: 74). As a result, Mafulu men and a native policeman assisting the government patrol were

killed (cf. Nelson 1972: 66; Schieffelin and Crittenden 1991: 23–24). Writing to the Canet Seminary in France several years later de Boismenu described the situation as follows:

For four years that is how things have stood with Mafulu [i.e., no mission contact after the colonial reprisals]. In spite of our establishment at Dilava, we had not yet been able to make contact with them . . . we were waiting . . . for an opportunity to establish friendly relations with Mafulu and to extinguish their old resentment against Whites. We knew these resentments to be deep and tenacious, even fierce. Baiva, the big chief, had displayed on a tree at the entrance of his village the bones of his brother, victim of the soldiers: he had sworn to kill at the foot of this same tree the first White that he could take. (ANDSC 1905: 632–633)

This was penned by de Boismenu after he had successfully contacted Baiva during the blessing of the first church among the Kuni on 28 February 1904 (Dupeyrat 1948: 74). The “Oath of Baiva” was how this missionary legend came to be known. Baiva had to be vanquished in order for the apostolic endeavours to continue. The manner in which the relations between Baiva and de Boismenu came to be construed by the missionaries was one of a precarious “conquest”, not by violence, but by the “power of God”. In a subsequent issue of the mission journal, de Boismenu describes how both he and Baiva eventually made their way to his village:

The chief puts his hand on my arm, and mutely with the end of his club he shows me the fork of the tree where I see some dried-up bones. It is the skeleton of his brother . . . killed by the English soldiers. And I suddenly remembered the story of Baiva’s oath.

It is there, at the foot of this tree, that he had sworn to avenge his brother’s death by killing the first White he saw.

I had the very quick impression that Baiva could, at the blink of an eye, carry out his oath. The two of us were alone, ahead of the procession, deliberately isolated from the rest of the people.

But the hour of God had sounded for Mafulu, and Providence, sovereign over all human hearts, was smoothing out the path for the Gospel. (ANDSC 1906: 79–80)

This legend is repeated and transformed in many succeeding editions of the mission journal and related mission publications (e.g., ANDSC 1925: 257–258; ANDSC 1931: 134–138; ANDSC 1939: 130¹²; Dupeyrat 1948). Given the spheres of influence policy and the very narrow constraints in which the missionaries were able to expand their endeavours—their fields of “conquest”—the setback at Mafulu was significant. It came to take on, one might say, legendary proportions. In effect, the legend centred around the uncertain, coercive relations between Baiva and the missionaries—especially de Boismenu. Each side was attempting to turn the relation to its relative advantage. Baiva wanted to attach the white men to him and gain the power and valuables that would flow from such a relation. The missionaries needed a local ally in order to establish their base for expansion in the mountains. Gradually, as the missionaries’ account later reports, Baiva is described as having travelled to Yule Island and to have “chosen” the first missionary for his area: Father Fastre (ANDSC 1906: 144).

Transforming Pagan Lands

Once a foothold was established at Mafulu (Popole) by Fastre, the relations between missionary and local *Fuyuge* begins to transform accordingly. On the one hand, mission policy with regards to the mountains (where the population was more scattered and less settled than on the coast) was to have single missionary stations as the centre of each district. De Boismenu’s vision was “to gather a selected group of children at [the mission] house, mould them for work and for the Christian life, and to form in this way a nucleus of loyal

neophytes who later, on their marriage, will be able to return home and found a line of Christians” (ANDSC 1905: 519).

On the other hand, the local *Fuyuge* had an interest in attaching themselves to and assisting the missionary in building up his centre, in exchange for the wealth that circulates from this relationship. Repeatedly in the pages of *Annales* one finds calls for dog’s teeth, mirrors and other “trinkets” transacted by the missionaries in order to procure vegetables and labour. At the same time, these valuables are used to attract the young people into the mission school. As de Boismenu records:

The schools, here as everywhere, are everything. Particularly in pagan lands where the family background is fundamentally tainted, if there is no school, there is nothing to hope for. And so we are ready to make any sacrifices to get the schools running.

In the three years since this new district of Mafulu was opened, the missionaries have baptised only babies and dying adults. No other baptisms. And we don’t want any more for a whole year. That hardly swells the statistics. And those who, at a distance, follow our work, think no doubt we are moving like tortoises. Too bad about statistics, and too bad about our glorification. What we need at any price is not *baptised* people but *Christians*. (ANDSC 1908: 683)

These lines of de Boismenu reveal three associated concerns that are to recur in the missionaries’ dealings with the *Fuyuge*. The first is that of the school and its perceived significance in enabling the *Fuyuge* to become a different type of person (i.e., Christian¹³) within the limitations of what the missionaries of this period frequently refer to as their “Kanak” character (cf. Clifford 1982: xi). The second concerns de Boismenu’s disparaging remarks about *Fuyuge* “family background”. At this early date, the missionaries operated with preconceived ideas about *Fuyuge* concepts of parentage and marriage, and assume that a change to “Christian family values” is the only alternative.¹⁴ Connected to this view of “paganism” is the *Fuyuge* performance of their *gab* ritual, that in subsequent years came to be explicitly and repeatedly blamed as the major obstacle to school participation. Finally, there is the concern with statistics; with the quantity of converts, baptisms and related missionary interests. The effectiveness of mission efforts are measured in several ways: in the buildings and roads created on the ground, and in the numbers of persons that currently conform to mission standards of Christianity. Here de Boismenu is playing down the numbers, while at the same time attempting to highlight the mission’s competence.

In the missionaries’ imaginations, the boarding schools they opened would serve their own long-term interests by making their apostolic journeys in the mountains easier and more agreeable. “Our aim is to take young native boys from 12 to 15 years of age, to prepare them for baptism and to give them four or five years of serious instruction on the principal truths of our sacred religion. After this training they will return to their villages and act as catechists there” (ANDSC 1908: 694). In the event, this plan was revised after several years¹⁵ and only very small children were “adopted” into the mission “family” (see below).

Between 1905 and 1909, Fastré (and later his curate, Clauser) made “exploratory” visits to the neighbouring homes in the Auga Valley.¹⁶ Their movements were assisted by local men who carried their belongings, and food was supplied by women and men in each home visited. This assistance was reciprocated throughout with the provision of small quantities of salt, boxes of matches, sticks of tobacco. However, the missionaries found during this period that it was not a simple matter to get men to travel with them from one home to the next. Fear of violence and attack was prevalent. In addition, prior encounters with the colonial patrols into the region, and the force and weaponry that such patrols utilized, meant that local men, women and children were frightened by any approaching white man. Clauser reports how the *Fuyuge* men who accompanied him to a particular home would shout ahead “Don’t be afraid; its not an Englishman [Piritani], its the missionary; its a real man who speaks the Livu language: *An’akai, Livien’u gan’ete*” (ANDSC 1909: 272).

Clauser's reference here to "real men" (or "true men") is one that numerous missionaries over the decades report. It is a recurring theme for the missionaries, as much as the local *Fuyuge*, because it highlights certain vital, perceived differences that activate their respective conduct. The fact that Clauser can speak the local language indicates that he is not entirely foreign, or different; he partakes in one of the ways or manners of "real men". In these same encounters Clauser draws attention to another of these differences in manner, this time with respect to temporal perceptions—between moving on quickly and keeping to "schedule" and of staying and "eating properly" (ANDSC 1909: 389).

During 1909 Clauser entered for the first time the Udabe Valley to the east. He was accompanied by numerous men and women from the Auga Valley¹⁷, who had been challenged to attend a *gab* in this neighbouring valley. At Ononge, he established relations with several chiefs from Ononge villages. Again, Clauser records their response to hearing him speak their language:

Nemb'u Koge the Onon'u ku chief, approaches very timidly at first; he has never seen a white man before. But as soon as he hears me speaking Fu[y]uge', the Mafulu language which is also his language, he is reassured and clicks with his tongue, as a sign of surprise and pleasure, and he reassures his fellow tribe members. (ANDSC 1910: 213)

During his visit, Clauser established relations with homes on the eastern side of the valley (Kambisi, Omale¹⁸) before recrossing the Udabe River at Kase and returning to Ononge via Visi. At each home he entered, Clauser was presented with one or more pigs. Upon his return to Onon'u ku, Clauser indicated to his hosts that he would need to return to Popole; Nemb'u Koge then offered him another pig. At this point Clauser seems to have deployed a strategy that appealed to *Fuyuge* sensibilities: instead of refusing the pig (as he apparently preferred) he suggested that Nemb'u Koge "looks after" the animal for Clauser—"from now on there would be a tangible link" (ANDSC 1910: 400). As it transpired, it would be another four years before a mission station would be established in the Udabe Valley at Ononge (cf. Murray 1912: 52).

Mission Landscape, Government Landscape¹⁹

Although missionaries established a continuous presence in the mountain valleys from the time of their first camp among the Mafulu in the lower Auga Valley in 1905 (see Dupeyrat 1954:13), they were in principle constrained from intervening directly in matters of law and order.²⁰ For example, during September 1911, Lieutenant Governor Murray dispatched a patrol officer to investigate a complaint communicated to him by letter from Father Clauser concerning several vengeance killings in the Auga Valley. Patrol Officer Jackson subsequently travelled from Kairuku into the Papaun highlands.

Jackson's report of engagement with the *Fuyuge* reveals a significant disjunction between *Fuyuge* presuppositions about personal action and its consequences, and the views of the colonial state and its agents. Early on in his patrol, after initial attempts to apprehend the killers were unsuccessful, Jackson (NAPNG: G91, 295/B/8, emphasis added) reported: "I took the opportunity of thoroughly explaining that their feud . . . had to be settled by the Government, who were *looking after all the people equally* and they could not be allowed to retaliate on their own account for injuries received at the hands of other people."²¹

The reader of Jackson's detailed patrol report can readily comprehend the movements and actions of the patrol officer and his police (utilizing the elements of surprise, hostage-taking, and relentless pursuit). However, from the perspective of the *Fuyuge*, the idea of apprehending a killer and bringing him to court and eventually prison was not, at this early date, conceivable. The *Fuyuge* at this time had not yet accepted the idea of "the law" or the

idea of killing as contravening the law, let alone the notion of an agent dealing with all the people as essentially equal.

As Jackson's encounter with the *Fuyuge* indicates, colonialists and missionaries came to be linked closely around the curtailment of vengeance killings.²² There were two other aspects of their undertakings in which both were similarly allied: road-building and the burial of the dead. A network of well-maintained roads suitable for the transportation of supplies by human carriers and pack animals was essential to the maintenance and eventual expansion of mission and colonial influence in the rugged mountain areas of Papua.²³ The roads were built through a combination of mission engineering, native labour, and mission and government financing. Native participation was enticed through the distribution of items such as salt and axes, and by colonial legislation that made work on trails an enforceable requirement of all able-bodied men. The overlapping project of the missionaries was conversion centred around a series of parishes in each river valley, with individual buildings in each parish to house the priest during his pastoral work, and in which to conduct mass.²⁴ Exposure of the dead only ceased among those *Fuyuge* who came into prolonged contact with the missionaries and their conversion procedures.²⁵ Colonial patrol officers were largely unsuccessful in prohibiting this practice (NAPNG: G91, 228/24; NAPNG: G91, 248/9; NAPNG: G91, 399/C/70; NAPNG: A9844, 7/2/44:10). The parish units of the missionaries largely corresponded to the census, and to mapped territorial units that the colonial patrol officers had begun to chart in each valley as part of their project of implementing the "law" of the colonial state.

The following year (1912) Lieutenant Governor Murray conducted a patrol of inspection into both the Auga and Udabe Valleys. Murray made use of the roads constructed by missionaries and local peoples. As he notes in *Papua or British New Guinea*, published that same year: "A good road, made by the Roman Catholic Mission, leads from the coast up into the mountains of the interior" (1912: 51; cf. West 1970: 68). In this text, Murray (1912: 303–304) is careful to distinguish his efforts of colonial administration from that of his predecessors, especially MacGregor: "In Sir Williams's day [1888–1898] the problem before the Government was exploration; of late years it has been, not exploration, but consolidation and development . . . [F]rom an administrative point of view, an expedition which merely passes through an unknown district and is not followed by the establishment of Government stations, means in most cases merely an expenditure of money, without tangible result" (see Murray 1925: viii–ix; 192?: 7).²⁶ Murray's emphasis on the establishment of stations, linked to regular periods of patrol, would be instrumental in aligning the interests of missionaries and government, particularly as perceived by the *Fuyuge*. Again, the roads and other buildings assembled with the work of *Fuyuge* men and women were iconic of the power both missionary and government aimed to register upon the local people and surroundings.

The Challenge of *Fuyuge Gab*

Eight years after the mission established itself among the *Fuyuge* people at Popole, a new station (a new set of "parishes") was founded in the Ononge area visited previously by Clauser. The date of this foundation was announced as 9 February 1913 (ANDSC 1913: 354).

Fathers Clauser and Dubuy and Brother Paul made their way to Ononge with 150 men from the Auga Valley assembled by Clauser. Significantly, the missionaries attained a more central location with respect to the villages of Ononge. They arrange to settle at Jele ul enda, a crest overlooking the Udabe with vistas in all directions, on land belonging to Suden Even (ANDSC 1915: 155). In accordance with mission policy (see above), Dubuy began to transform the mission station into a highly visibly centre. As his fellow

missionary Norin²⁷ wrote to his colleagues in France: “Our plateau has become a garden, with a long alley of red ‘crotones’ up to the end, as far as the houses. We have dug out the holes for the coffee trees. There is a garden of 100 square metres” (ANDSC 1913: 546). Within a relatively short distance of this new station, Dubuy records that there are several large villages containing close to 1,200 people in total. Missionaries such as Dubuy were conscious of the requirement to continually appear effective in the eyes of the Catholic hierarchy—progressing its apostolic organization—as well as in the eyes of sympathetic benefactors to this organization.

As Dubuy was prompt to indicate, missionary efforts were devoted to building up their station, developing a network of connecting roads and establishing relations with the surrounding people. In fact, the accomplishment of the first two objectives was only possible with the third. Although the missionaries were committed to their endeavours, the *Fuyuge* were similarly committed to the performance of their *gab*. Dubuy provides an account of one ritual performed not longer after his arrival at Ononge (c. 1913)²⁸:

[I]t was the first dance to take place at Ononge since our arrival, and so I really wanted to see it up close, all the more so because it was being performed by a tribe from the other side of New Guinea: Tsirime, an unknown land four days walk from Ononge. . . . I won't tell you about the dance—there is more than one account about this in the *Annales*; I simply want to point out to you the pagan side of these ceremonies, for they are truly ceremonies which start and end in a macabre way. The dancers, highly decorated and armed with long spears open up the session by rushing upon the tombs placed at the entrance of the village. They demolish everything with spear blows, and seize some skulls which they break into pieces. They penetrate the courtyard, in the centre of which there is a long pole. On the ends are five or six skulls and two yams which bang together in lugubrious fashion. One by one the dancers approach and with furious momentum throw themselves against the pole. The violently shaken skulls end up by falling on the ground where they are broken up by clubs. This is the prelude to the dance. It is about midnight when the gymnastics start. Long reed torches illuminate the scene. The sight of these contortions in the reddish and smoky light of the torches gives you an impression of the devil's work which brings home the paganism of the Kanaks. . . . After dances for a day and a night, our people rested while consuming a goodly number of yams, taro and sugarcanes, but the highlight of the day was the killing of the pigs. It took place this morning at dawn; you should have seen the courtyard of Ononuku, one of our villages, turned into a field of carnage. . . . However, all this “blow-out” has a religious side as you will understand when I tell you about the skull pole erected in the courtyard of Ononuku. After the immolation of the former citizens, streams of blood flowed below the pole. It is in the steaming blood that one drops the skulls, hanging above. They were then transported to vegetable houses and thus the harvest of yams, taro and other agricultural products could be assured. . . . For our people are great cultivators before Tsidibe (God). (ANDSC 1913: 548–550; cf. Hirsch 1987)

Dubuy's interest in *gab* is, as his text indicates, also about the challenge this ritual presents to the missionaries' evangelizing efforts. He draws attention to the “devil's work” of the dances, linked to the “paganism of the Kanaks”. His observations focus as well on the *Fuyuge* concept of “*Tsidibe*” which he translates as “God”: he draws the analogy one way, but as his fellow missionary Norin indicates, the *Fuyuge* draw it in the other direction (see below). In a report published one year after the above events, Norin further highlights the demands placed upon the missionaries' plans for converting the local population. Again, an explicit disparaging attitude pervades these remarks:

We haven't found any word to signify an interior life, unless diminished in meaning and very vague. . . . To this you add the degeneration of the Kanak and you will better understand our real difficulties at the same time as the beauty of our task, which is to civilize, to police, to christianise the feelings and the fleeting impressions of degenerate souls. (ANDSC 1914: 418)

These early remarks are poignant. Although the deprecating language only begins to disappear after several decades, the persistence of the *Fuyuge* in the performance of their ritual and thus to aspects of the cosmology it entails, means that the perception of difficulty and even failure, endures among the missionaries. Earlier in this same document, Norin chooses words which could have equally been expressed during the 1980s or 1990s: “[T]he

whole mountain is dancing now, and the good drums sound out in the valley” (ANDSC 1914: 417). However, an observation he makes a few pages later is one that, after a time, begins to transform significantly: “[T]he very old chaps who will die tomorrow, and are placed on the death platform, while waiting for the big dance which will scatter their bones” (ANDSC 1914: 418). Certainly by the 1980s the visible display of bodies and bones no longer figured in *gab*. This alteration begins to occur in the decades immediately following the mission presence. Some years previously, Clauser suggested that *Fuyuge* in the Auga Valley were beginning to feel shame when he approached a village with rotting bodies placed in the branches of *gabi* trees (ANDSC 1910: 115–116). This sense of regret transpires in conjunction with other transformations resulting from the relationship sustained between the colonial agents and missionaries, and their combined interventions into *Fuyuge* conduct.

Norin’s early interactions and observations of the *Fuyuge* parallel those of his mission colleague Dubuy. It is noteworthy that statements Norin reproduced for his readers during the early decades of the 20th century were ones that I found uttered to me, in virtually the same form, over seven decades later. This derives from a perceived difference, then as now, between “real” or “true” men and other men—white men. One set of assertions focuses on the *Fuyuge tidibe* (*Tsidibe*). The *Fuyuge* in these distinct historical periods are drawing an analogy between their origin-source and the human-likenesses derived thereof, and that of the humans created in God’s image as narrated in the Bible: are they not two different names for the same phenomenon? Norin recounts how the mission teaching elicits responses from the *Fuyuge* to this effect: “You say ‘Adam and Eve’; we say ‘Ufife and Aringe’; who knows if they are dead? They went to the Kodighe tribe. They are our first parents: and ‘true men’ [men of the place] imitate their ways of doing things” (ANDSC 1914: 419).²⁹

What both Dubuy and Norin have captured is the pivotal quality of *gab* to *Fuyuge* social life: to kill pigs in the name of the dead and living, killings which are preceded by adorned dancers. However, both the humans and the pigs they rear and sacrifice rely on numerous gardens of sweet potatoes. The conduct of all these endeavours is based on the patterns laid down by *tidibe*. *Gab* and all it entails derives from *tidibe* (cf. ANDSC 1915: 156–157; ANDSC 1916: 109–112).³⁰

A Contest between School and Dance

After over one decade of sustained contact the affiliation of the colonial government and the missionaries is apparent in the understanding of the *Fuyuge*.³¹ Just prior to the establishment of a mission station at Ononge, Murray conducted patrols of inspection into the Auga and Udabe Valleys, giving reports of these areas prominence of place in his annual reports (Papua 1913). The following is a characteristic report of their mutual efforts, written by Clauser:

His Excellency, who is very interested in the progress of our mission came to see us twice at Mafulu, and during the course of his visits, recognized the justice of our observations relating to government intervention in wars which all too often trouble these regions not yet under government influence. And recognizing that these wars have totally finished in the tribes nearest to our stations, he recognized the effectiveness of our influence and comes to confer on us officially the right, if not the mission, to make use of this influence to reconcile the warring tribes of our district and to prepare the way gradually for a new era when justice will be rendered by the government. (ANDSC 1915: 516)

The *Fuyuge* area was geographically between several distant government stations established on, or nearby the coast: Kairuku to the west of Port Moresby, Kokoda and Ioma to the northeast. As channels of communication became established between the missionaries resident in the mountains and the government agents on, or near, the coast, patrols could be summoned after the outbreak of local hostilities. For example, not long after Dubuy and his

colleagues situated the station at Ononge, a spate of vengeance killings in various parts of the Udabe Valley came to their attention (see ANDSC 1916: 203; ANDSC 1916: 314–316). Among those reportedly killed was a Kase man who had presented Murray with a pig during the latter's patrol in 1912. These conflicts were communicated to the government by the mission and subsequently a patrol was sent from Kokoda. The patrol travelled up the Chirima Valley and across in to the Udabe.³²

Again, Jackson is the officer on patrol here, one of his central objectives being the suppression of local vengeance killings: "I tried to impress them with the fact that the 'Government' was all round them and knew everything that was going on, pointing out that Government parties had already visited their district from Port Moresby via the Vanapa [Udabe] and from Kairuku via Mafulu, while I had come over from Kokoda and another Government party might at any time drop down on them from Ioma. They seemed to be duly impressed by the warning" (NAPNG: G91, 399/C/67). It is clear, though, that what most "impressed" the *Fuyuge* men about the power of the government's law were the coastal prisons where men were taken to await trial, imprisonment and often death.³³

In both mission and patrol reports are found repeated references to the missionaries and government agents meeting on roads, often when travelling in opposite directions (e.g., ANDSC 1916: 355). As the stations and connecting network of roads developed and expanded, there was an evident sense, certainly among the missionaries, that the area was now in their control. Clauser asserted confidently to his reading audience that "the immense region we have just covered already belongs to us" (ANDSC 1916: 356). During 1916, the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart were installed at Popole (ANDSC 1916: 279–281). Gradually the MSCs replicated the forms and patterns of apostolic life within the mountain surroundings they co-inhabited with the *Fuyuge*.³⁴ Their effectiveness and power could only be demonstrated through their ability to realise on the ground this apostolic organization. In fact, later that year the baptism of five native girls was enthusiastically chronicled.³⁵

It is perhaps ironic that the more effective the missionaries and government became in establishing their presence among the *Fuyuge*—in curtailing vengeance killings and exposure of the dead, and enlarging their network of roads,³⁶ stations and schools—the greater the occasion for the *Fuyuge* to engage in the reciprocal challenges of *gab*. The missionaries, in particular, attempted to mould disciplined, Christian persons, who regularly attend school and the rites of Catholicism. Fastre's early attempt to create such a cohort among 12–15 year olds (see above) was soon abandoned. He judged that he must secure the young boys before they have been taken over by what he referred to as "Kanak rottenness". He began the creation of a "black family" within his station of Popole by "adopting" boys locally.³⁷ He justified this new procedure as follows:

I have taken them out of their Kanak rottenness to make them into well brought-up children capable, with God's grace, of becoming good Christians and of giving good example to the pagans around them. (ANDSC 1917: 82)³⁸

Fastre's real contest, as he admitted in this same context, was with the *Fuyuge gab*: "... in Kanak country the dance is what ruins all the people" (ANDSC 1917: 87). It is a contest, in short, between school and dance. It is significant that Fastre highlighted two, seemingly opposed, forms of "discipline" which recur in the relations between *Fuyuge* people and the missionaries and government agents. How is effectiveness and power demonstrated by the relevant agents involved? The "progress" the missionaries such as Fastre, Norin or Dubuy³⁹ aspired towards is a "Christian community"—schools filled with children, complete conversion, active catechists dispersed far and wide.

By contrast, *Fuyuge* effectiveness and power flows from the coercive, reciprocal recognition (cf. Gregory 1997) achieved in *gab* (and, in the recent past, violence and warfare which was eclipsed in *gab*). These are vividly captured in the excerpts from the missionaries and government agents quoted above. Both the “school” and the “dance” require persons to be in specific places at specific times; each presupposes an organisation—a landscape—suitable to the performance of each. As the government, and particularly the missionaries, contended to pursue their form of landscape, the *Fuyuge* attempted to renew the form realised through the *gab*.

Conclusion: A Transforming Landscape of Powers

The contest as it came to take form in these early decades of the 20th century are clearly evident in the transformed circumstances of the late 20th century (see Hirsch 1999, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). The missionaries entered the lands of the *Fuyuge* with the intention of extending and re-creating afresh their apostolic landscape. This vision, and its imaginative possibilities, co-existed with the complex, actual relations sustained with the *Fuyuge*. Similarly, the *Fuyuge* attempted to attain the potentiality persons and places are perceived to hold, through the expanded enactment of *gab*. At the same time, though, the realization of *gab* and its expanded performance occurred through the intricate connections with mission and government agents alike.

The landscape of powers described in the above account is the outcome of both ethnographic and historical investigations. There is no landscape of powers in general. The landscape of powers I came to describe among the *Fuyuge* for this period is the product of my own ethnographic research during the 1980s and 1990s, and the ways in which this research has led me to particular historical problems and documentation. At the same time, the particular history of mission and government interventions into the lands and lives of the *Fuyuge* are unique, although exhibiting patterns similar to other areas of Melanesia. To speak of a landscape of powers, then, is to acknowledge the way diverse agents and interests came to contend around their visions of power, their visions of the present. To form a landscape is to form one’s vision of power; one’s vision of persons and places in particular times, and as we have seen, in particular encounters and contentions. A landscape of powers is the unique outcome of these relations and mutual transformation dictated by an ethnographic and historically informed mode of inquiry.

Notes

1. For their helpful comments and criticisms on a draft of this article, I want to thank Allen Abramson, John Barker and Adam Kuper. Valerie Phillips translated the French texts. Any errors in fact or form are the responsibility of the author. An earlier version of this paper appeared in *Mediterranean Ethnological Summer Symposium* 4 (2000).
2. I have considered some of the details of this narrative elsewhere (see Hirsch 1994).
3. Another is the document produced by the missionary Paul Fastré (nd) during the late 1930s. This is a discursive account of the *Fuyuge* written with the assistance of two men local to the Mafulu area where Fastré established the first station during 1905. The voices of the men are present in the text, but often in highly edited form.
4. At present I am researching the letters and other documents available in the archives in the General House of Congregation, Rome, but these are not discussed here.
5. I approached the documents analyzed here with a critical attitude to the proselytizing outlook. My critical take is informed by the ethnographic discernment I derived from fieldwork in the Udabe Valley, as indicated above.

6. Each year the Lieutenant Governor would pen an annual report, often drawing substantially upon the patrol reports submitted during the previous year.
7. The account presented here deals with what Barker (1993) refers to as 'external conversion'. For reasons of space it is not possible to attend to the mutual effects of 'external' and 'Internal' conversion (cf. Hirsch 1994; 2001b).
8. My lack of sustained research in the lower Auga Valley means that I have no relevant *Fuyuge* views on the person of Baiva (see below) or the initial encounters with the missionaries in which he was centrally involved. Mission elaboration of their relations with Baiva would it seems derive from the very constrained geographical realm in which they were operating.
9. Prior to this expedition in 1896, Jullien met five young *Fuyuge* men at Bubuni in Kuni country (Dupeyrat 1948: 57).
10. It is clear from later accounts that *Fuyuge* resident in one valley learned about the movements and encounters (often violent) with white men that occurred in neighbouring *Fuyuge* valleys. Murray, for example, writes that "[w]hen I visited Gagara I found that the people knew all about a recent Government patrol in the V[a]napa Valley" (Murray 1912: 103). It seems very likely that the violent clash between MacGregor and the Goromani [Omale] in the Vanapa [Udabe] Valley, "to relieve . . . beleaguered miners" in 1898 (Murray 1912: 51) would have been known by the Mafulu villagers from whom the missionaries fled. It seems possible that the uncertainty felt by missionaries about the Mafulu villagers' intentions, was mirrored by the villagers uncertainty about the intentions of the white men given the recent events in the Udabe Valley.
11. I have emphasized the final quoted portion of the letter as it is indicative of the relationship that would come to be formed between the missionaries and government, especially under Murray's long tenure as Lieutenant Governor.
12. In this account Baiva's murdered brother now becomes his son.
13. Guidelines for the process of evangelization had been laid down by Navarre in a handbook first prepared during 1893 [1987]. It reads as a "modern" document. A chapter entitled "How to treat the indigenous people in the beginning" contains the following sections: "12. The Missionary must not set himself up as Master"; "13. The Missionary is nothing more than a Foriegner"; "16. The Missionary must know the Organisation of his Village"; "19. Do not hand over the indigenous People to the secular Authorities". Although admirable guidelines, in reality these are only partially sustained, as illustrated in specific reports in ANDSC. Later in this same handbook, Navarre emphasizes that teaching is to be conducted by stories and pictures for the young and old. There follows a lengthy discussion of the Creation, Paradize, subsequent Punishment and the story of Cain and Abel. A questionnaire is included for each section. Finally there are chapters devoted to record keeping (weekly and yearly) and the need to teach in the English language.
14. Several decades later Fastre will revise his own views in particular (Fastre nd).
15. Fastre started a school in 1907 (ANDSC 1931: 253).
16. A road was completed in 1908 from Popole via Oba-Oba to the coast. It now took 4–5 days to walk to Yule Island (ANDSC 1931: 217).
17. During his previous visit, his current sojourn and another visit he made 15 months later, Clauser befriended a *Fuyuge* boy named Sol'u Si, son of Gopa Murife: "the nicest little Kanak face I had ever seen" (ANDSC 1910: 158–159). Clauser makes much of his relations with Sol'u Si and his father. It is perhaps not fortuitous that a Sol'u Si subsequently comes to take a pivotal place in (Udabe) *Fuyuge* myth (*tidibe*). A *tidibe* came to be formed which recounts how the missionaries came into *Fuyuge* lands (see above). Clauser (Pere Cross [or Kolossi in the Auga Valley] as he is referred to locally) is recognized as the first missionary to enter the Udabe Valley—the conjunction of this event and his very explicit fondness for Sol'u Si would, it seems, created certain imaginary possibilities (Hirsch 1999: 815, n.19).
18. Clauser wrote that the people on the eastern side of the Udabe had been previously reached by gold prospectors, originating from the Mambare, Kumusi and Gira Rivers (ANDSC 1910: 260).
19. The following five paragraphs are drawn from Hirsch 1999.
20. Delbos (1985: 363–364) refers to Bishop Navarre's circular of 1903 which explicitly forbids such intervention.

21. Jackson took several weeks pursuing the wanted men, eventually apprehending one, only to have him escape later.
22. Already at this time (c. 1911) there were indications that two new government stations were required in the central Udabe Valley and on the Mafulu road (West 1968: 157). By 1913 Murray could speak of peace being arranged in the Mafulu and Mondo areas through agreements with the local chiefs who assumed the role of Village Constable (West 1968: 221).
23. By 1921, for example, a route had been established from the mission and government base at Kairuku to mission stations among the Kuni at Kubuna and ending among the western *Fuyuge* at Ononge, a distance of about seventy miles.
24. Delbos (1985) provides a mission-based history of these developments.
25. During my initial period of fieldwork among the Visi, men and women denied that they had exposed their dead in the past and attributed the practice to other *Fuyuge* in their valley or neighbouring valleys. It was only after I had lived among them for over a year that people began to discuss the procedures surrounding the exposure of the dead, and their sense of relief when the missionaries arrived and began to forbid the practice. This raises the issue of whether the Christian notion of heaven, in which God's omnipresence was proclaimed with certainty, offered a viable alternative to the "fear" that surrounded the dead while their bodies decomposed and their spirits hovered around awaiting exchanges of various kinds (cf. Rafael 1993)? Williamson visited the Mafulu *Fuyuge* several years after the missionaries first arrived. In his account, he discusses certain attitudes towards the ghosts of the dead. With the above question in mind, Williamson's comments are apposite: "As the intentions of the ghost towards living humanity are always evil, his visits, whether for procuring food or in consequence of dissatisfaction with his habitat, are feared by the people. . . . When the Mission Station at Mafulu was started the natives were amazed at the missionaries [sic] daring to sleep alone in rooms with open doors and windows, through which the ghost might enter" (Williamson 1912: 269).
26. In a publication from over one decade later Murray provides a retrospective view:

Up to 1912 there was nothing very special about Papuan administration or Papuan history, and it is only since that date that we have been able to define and develop our native policy; and it is our native policy that is the distinctive part of our administration. . . . The British system of colonial administration, which we in Papua are seeking to follow, aims at the preservation of the native races, even those "weaker peoples" who are "not yet able to stand by themselves", the "well-being and development" of these peoples is declared by the League of Nations to "form a sacred trust of civilization", and this declaration is entirely in accord with all the best traditions of British administration. (Murray 1925: viii; cf. Murray 1923: 5; Murray 1926: 3; Lett 1935: x)

A few pages later Murray highlights "the value of anthropology in administration, and the necessity of keeping up old customs" (Murray 1925: ix).

27. Norin arrived at Ononge a few weeks after Dubuy (ANDSC 1945: 73).
28. His brief description merges together distinctly named events of *gab*. *Gab* follows a formal pattern which commences with the construction of the *gab* plaza and houses and includes the 'pulling in' of dancers, exchange partners and guests, followed by a series of daytime and nighttime dancers and a series of pig killings and distributions for the young, old and dead (see Hirsch 1987).
29. Later in this same discussion, Norin relates how the local Ononge spoke to him about their souls or spirits (*silave*) at death, and how these eventually go to the top of surrounding mountains (ANDSC 1914: 422).
30. Dubuy and Norin's relations with the *Fuyuge* are informed by a "gradualist" approach of missionization advocated by Navarre (1987: 31) and later followed by de Boismenu:

It is necessary to study their religion. Religion is for them, as for all people, the most sacred and deep-seated reality; if, after their disclosures we censured them they would forever withhold further confidences in this regard. It is not yet the time to take them up on it; let us wait until we have collected ample definite teachings and have a thorough knowledge of the religion and practices, and the extent of their attachment to them.

Missionaries differed as to their interest and engagement with local practices. Fastre, for example, recorded few detailed observations during his early period of the kind found in Dubuy and Norin's initial reports. However, Fastre did return to these issues over two decades later (see Fastre nd).

31. It is also significant that Murray was a Roman Catholic. In this respect, he was different from his predecessors, especially MacGregor, who had rather strained relations with some of the MSCs—especially Navarre (see Waldersee 1995: 224). Murray's relations with the MSCs were generally close and cordial. At the same time, though, Murray viewed the missionaries as a whole in a very similar way to that of MacGregor. "In MacGregor's eyes the missions were, like the police force [native constabulary], an auxiliary, a 'necessary adjunct to the work of government', devoted to the same ends—the imposition of peace and the promotion of the well-being of the Papuan peoples" (Langmore 1989: 216; cf. Waldersee 1995: 208). Although Navarre, for instance, resented this attitude of the colonial government (i.e., that the missions were simply extending the government's work through other means), the missionaries at Mafulu had a more accommodating opinion about their role.
32. This patrol also established the continuity of the *Fuyuge* language area (West 1968: 169; Murray 1925: 180).
33. This paragraph is extracted from Hirsch 1999.
34. In 1914 Clauser established a secondary station at a place he names "Bella-Vista", two hours walk from Popole. He then begins a further secondary station at Mondo, another four hours walk away. Each of these secondary stations are situated on the road cut out of the mountainside. By 1915, a new centre in the Auga Valley at Fane had been marked out by the establishment at Ononge two years previously. However, it was not until 1924 that the centre was formally moved to Fane (ANDSC 1931: 253).
35. The account of the baptism penned by Sisters Kostka and Theodorine reads as follows:

Our five little pagan girls had been well prepared and were very keen to become children of God for, they said, "the devil is a bad father". Four of them were already 8 to 9 years old and Father had decided to use the rite for the solemn baptism of adults in order to make a greater impression on their savage natures. So they were led in procession from our house to the threshold of the church where the first part of the ceremony was to take place. They were dressed in old rags in order to symbolize the nudity of the pagan coming to beg for the riches of the Holy Church. Nevertheless I took care to put some white flowers in their frizzy hair, in anticipation of the symbol of baptismal innocence. The facade of the church, where they were received, was magnificently decorated with palms and giant ferns decorated with banners. . . . We entered the church to the sound of a hymn of triumph, and the ceremonies proceeded. Our girls brought us credit with their modest, pious air and the firmness of their responses. Instead of putting white linen on their shoulders, the priest put back on them their baptismal robes; then the curtain which cuts off the nave from the sanctuary was lowered, and then I had the pleasure of dressing these new Christians in their white robes. What a transformation when they reappeared. There was a quiver of surprise in the assembly. . . . Coming out of the church we saw a big fire, beside which a priest came up, bearing the rags belonging to our five former pagans, and while "let us abandon the devil and all his works" was being sung, he threw them on the fire, explaining to the people that this action was symbolic, and that in the same way as the rags were vanishing in the flames, likewise our children were abandoning for ever the pagan ways and customs of the land, in order to live as Christians. (ANDSC 1916: 459–460)
36. Murray made a tour of inspection of the Mafulu–Ononge road during the end of December 1917 and January 1918. He reported to the Minister of State, Home and Territories Department, Melbourne, that completion of the road should continue to be assisted by the Government. However, the "chief difficulty is labour . . . if a dance or other festivity comes along it is a case of 'down tools' for perhaps an indefinite period" (NAPNG: A1/1: 18/3232).
37. Fastre's manner of adopting children (i.e., through transactions with particular Mafulu men and women) developed through his attempts to ascertain from local people the appropriate conventions for adopting children (i.e., their "price") (ANDSC 1917: 123). Fastre was endeavouring to create a new form of "kinship" among the children; a kinship where he sustained new forms of relations and knowledge. But there was always a tension, as he came to find, between the school and the dance, between the new form of relations he was attempting to create and the relations in which the children were simultaneously involved.
38. His later collaborator Daniel Kove Nomai is the first child taken to form this "family" (ANDSC 1917: 83–87).
39. On 16 October 1916, Ononge mission station was destroyed by fire (ANDSC 1917: 53; ANDSC 1918: 9–15). Dubuy brought 40 young boys within this station after this event: "[it was the] first house to be built after the fire" (ANDSC 1919: 4). The continuing effectiveness of the mission after

this event is demonstrated by the number of communions reported to have been administered at Ononge that year: “[Ononge] last year had the highest average of communions in the whole mission” (ANDSC 1919: 156).

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