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THE LIFE OF CHILDREN IN MANAM

By CAMILLA H. WEDGWOOD

IT is a trite saying that " the child is father to the man," but unlike many trite sayings has some truth, and it is unfortunate that until the last few years anthropologists have paid little attention to the life and training of children in so-called primitive societies. They have certainly described, often in great detail, the various transition rites (particularly those associated with puberty) through which each individual passes, and they have also given accounts of children's games, but in general little has been written of the way in which, during infancy, babyhood and childhood the individual learns to adjust himself to the social and economic environment and is trained to take part as an adult member of the community. Of those who have been concerned with the island people of the western Pacific, Professor Malinowski in his *Sexual Life of Savages* has given a valuable account of the education and development of children in a matrilineal community where patrilocal marriage obtains ; Dr. Mead in her slighter volume *Growing up in New Guinea* has described certain aspects of child life in a strongly patrilineal and patrilocal society ; and Dr. Firth in *We, the Tikopia* has shown us childhood among a people of Polynesian culture. These three different pictures alone demonstrate that no general statement can be made about the upbringing of children among peoples of even such a relatively restricted area which is valid for all ; that differences in economic

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and social setting, in traditional beliefs and traditional mental attitudes affect profoundly the way in which children learn to take their place in their society. The inhabitants of Manam are patrilineal in descent and predominantly patrilocal in marriage, but their women have a social position which compares more nearly with that of women in the matrilineal Trobriands than with the lowly one which they occupy in Manus. The following account of the life of Manam children may therefore present an interesting companion piece to the accounts which have been published of these other islands.

Manam is a volcanic island lying about ten miles from the east coast of New Guinea a little south of latitude 4° S. It is quite small, being only about thirty miles in circumference, and is inhabited by about 4,000 people. These occupy thirteen villages situated along the coast and straggling inland up the lower slopes of the mountain. Though there are slight differences in dialect and custom between the inhabitants of the south and west coast and those of the north and east, the culture may be regarded as homogenous. Each village is an independent unit, but it is rare to find a man or woman who has not some near relatives by blood or marriage in two or three villages besides his own, for marriage between people of different villages is common.

I spent twelve months in Manam, and during this time became very intimate with about a dozen married couples and their offspring, and familiar with most of the people of two adjoining villages, numbering in all about six hundred persons. I had therefore many opportunities for studying the life and upbringing of babies and small children, and I also saw much of the life of girls throughout their childhood and adolescence. With boys, after the age of about seven or eight years, I was less in contact, though I knew one or two of them fairly well, and small groups would visit me from time to time. Most of my knowledge of the life and training of children was obtained by direct observation and by seemingly casual conversations; any attempt to get information by questioning people on these subjects was usually not very fruitful, for they themselves were not particularly interested in them, though they would, and did, gladly talk at length and with pride about the doings of their own children.

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In theoretical works, and even sometimes in accounts given of individual peoples, it is often assumed or implied that all children in the community lead the same kind of life except for the differences between the lives of boys and girls ; that during infancy and childhood their environments are much the same, and that their gradual introduction and adjustment to their native society (particularly to the important system of rights and obligations connected with kinship) follow along the same lines. This may be a convenient assumption when giving a general account of the social life of a community, but it does not really harmonize with the facts. No two children have identical environments, for even if they are members of the same individual family, their position in that family often affects their upbringing. To take an extreme example, a girl who is the eldest of a large family experiences a very different childhood and is usually surrounded when young by a very different set of relatives from the youngest member of such a family.

The principal factors which affect a child's environment are its sex and upbringing ; the rank and status of its parents ; the domestic setting, as for example whether it lives in a polygynous or monogamous household, and whether the individual family of which it is a member be large or small ; and associated with these three and to some extent including them, the kinship setting. This last may be very varied : the marriage may be patrilocal or matrilocal or neither ; the near kindred of both parents may be members of the same village or they may be widely scattered ; the adjacent homesteads may be occupied by the near kin of one parent with children of approximately the same age as playmates, or they may be the homes of people of other clans with whom there are only ties of friendship ; even the occupants of the child's own homestead vary very greatly in their kinship filiations ; finally a child may have a large circle of relatives both of its own and of older generations with whom it is easily brought into contact and on whom it can rely, or it may have few to whom it can turn for companionship, sympathy and food. Furthermore, the divorce or death of a parent, illegitimacy, and the very common custom of adoption may also modify profoundly the conditions under which a child grows up.

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The Sex of the Child.

During infancy and babyhood the sex of the child has little bearing on its treatment. Although the Manam are a patrilineal people, there appears to be no general feeling that boys are more desirable than girls and care and attention are lavished on both equally while they are small. It is only when they reach the age of five or six that any difference in treatment begins to be noticeable. The small boys become increasingly independent of their mothers and play about together on the beach or sit beside their fathers while the latter work at some sedentary pursuit or talk with their friends. The small girls on the other hand begin to help their mothers in the house, and, as they grow older, in the garden also. It must not be thought from this that the girls become domestic drudges while the boys lead a carefree life. The little girls too have leisure to wander about the village and neighbouring bush in small bands, visiting their friends and chattering; and even quite young boys sometimes help their elders, as for example during the season of canoe-building, when they gather from the bush the creepers which are used for lashing. But in general the girls do spend more time in the homestead engaged in simple domestic tasks than do the boys. The reason for this may be partly the difference in the nature of men's and women's work. The latter is not very skilled and is concerned almost exclusively with cooking, the care of the house and garden and the tending of children. All these activities can best be learnt by watching and helping the mother in her work. Men's work is more varied and more specialized, and in their rambles through the bush and along the beach, in their games in the sea, and in the rudimentary hunting for lizards, frogs and small marsupials in which they engage, the young boys are preparing themselves, however unwittingly, for the more responsible life which they will have to lead when they have attained puberty.

The fact that a girl takes part in women's activities at an age when a boy is still leading a more or less irresponsible life with his contemporaries, results in her coming more into contact with other adults during her childhood, and she partakes earlier in social activities than her brothers do. She often goes with her mother to funerals, and on other occasions of ritual lamentation, both in her

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own village and in neighbouring villages, where she meets her kinsfolk and has opportunities of becoming friendly with those of them who are her contemporaries. She also picks up the words and tunes of the wailing songs, and learns with little or no formal teaching the etiquette which such occasions demand. Needless to say she also hears the talk of the women, the gossip and the scandals which are inevitably discussed at such gatherings. Girls who have not yet reached puberty are not under any social obligation to attend such functions, but they often go, either to carry some food for their mother, or to help care for a younger brother or sister who cannot be left behind. I never saw a boy over the age of four and under the age of sixteen at a wailing ceremony (and usually, except at a funeral, only fully initiated men attend), but there was always among the women a group of little girls, sitting quiet or talking amongst themselves in low voices, while their elders sang the wailing songs. Furthermore, if a man is going to the mainland on a trading expedition he sometimes takes one of his young daughters with him ; he never takes a son until the lad has passed through the first of the initiation rites at puberty. The reason for taking a young daughter is partly pride in her, a desire to show her off to his trade partner and to the people of the mainland villages, and partly that the man may have someone who can cook for him if need be (any man can safely eat food cooked by an immature girl), and who will in general look after his material comforts. In this way too a girl of ten or eleven gains more experience socially than a boy of the same age. It is perhaps significant in this context that whereas a girl passes directly from being (socially) a child to being (socially) an adult by means of the ritual connected with her first menstruation, a boy passes through two intermediate stages in his transition from childhood to manhood, each entailing an increase of social responsibility, social education and experience.

The Rank and Status of the Parents.

The largest significant social unit in Manam is the village, which is occupied by men of a number of different patrilineal clans together with their wives and children, the clans of each village being independent of those of every other. Within a single village some

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of the clans are linked together by sentiment and a tradition that one of them is an offshoot of the other. These may be conveniently distinguished as " major " and " minor " clans. For social purposes each one is a separate entity and has its own headman—the senior male lineal descendant of the original founder of the clan. But whereas the headman of a " major " clan has the right to be considered a *tanepwa* and to certain of the insignia which belong to that rank, the headman of a " minor " clan claims no such status. The principal *tanepwa* is the senior, male lineal descendant of the original founder of the village ; his clan is recognized as the most important and is usually numerically the strongest. All members of the village are under his authority, and, before the advent of the white man's government, his powers appear to have been extensive. If he requires help in any work such as the building of a canoe or a house, or if his wife requires help in her garden, the men and women in the village are under an obligation to give it. He can veto the marriages of any of his villagers and it is recognized that he and also his eldest son[1] can with impunity have sexual relations with any woman, married or single, of the commoner (*gadagada*) class, who is not prohibited to them on the grounds of clan or kinship. The village gongs are all kept in his homestead, though some of them may actually be owned by other men, and they may only be beaten with his approval ; the men's clubhouse stands in his homestead and matters of general importance to the village are discussed there ; he alone may possess curved boars' tusks, and on his overseas canoe alone may a carved wooden mask (*morupu*) form part of the ornament which crowns the mast. Such privileges are balanced by his obligations. He is expected to be generous with feasts and in recompensing those who work for him ; to entertain guests in a manner fitting to his position ; and in general to be dignified and commanding in his bearing and conduct.

The sons of a village *tanepwa*, his younger brothers and his younger brothers' sons are also spoken of as *tanepwa*, the distinction

[1] So far as I know this privilege is not extended to the younger sons or younger brothers of the village *tanepwa*, but is confined to him and to his successor, his eldest son.

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being that they are " little " *tanepwa*. They, together with the *tanepwa* headmen of other " major " clans, form the aristocracy of the community, and are usually richer in land than the commoners. As an outward sign of their position they may carry a staff ornamented with cassowary feathers, but the other insignia of a village *tanepwa* they do not have. The daughters of a village *tanepwa* and of a " little " *tanepwa* belong to the rank of *moiede* and have certain ornaments which they alone may wear.

A *tanepwa*, however exalted his rank, may take as wife a woman of any status, *moiede* or commoner ; on the other hand even a " little " *tanepwa* would seriously offend public opinion if he did not marry his eldest daughter to a man of equal or higher rank, and all daughters of a village *tanepwa* should have *tanepwa* husbands.

This insistence upon rank inevitably has its effect upon the children. Those of a village *tanepwa* are not shouted at or ordered about as are the children of commoners, and indeed were it not for the discipline which they receive from their parents, they could hardly fail to be spoilt. Even the children of a " little " *tanepwa* are treated with a certain respect by adults who are commoners. Among their contemporaries these children of the aristocracy easily become leaders and sometimes exert authority. I well remember one occasion when the sacred flutes were being blown in the neighbouring village (a time when people should refrain from making any noise) and some children were chattering and laughing on the beach ; the young brother of the village *tanepwa*, a lad of about seven years old, turned on them furiously and ordered them to be silent and respect the flutes, and, though some of them were older than he, the children obeyed. The offspring of *tanepwa* do not, however, learn only the privileges of their position ; at an early age their parents begin to train them in its obligations. Lessons in courtesy and generosity, particularly generosity with food, begin when a boy is quite small, even when only three or four years old, and the standard of behaviour demanded of *tanepwa* children is higher than that expected from those of *gadagada*. I have heard a village *tanepwa* reprove his young adopted son (to whom he was deeply attached) for conduct which in the child of a commoner would have provoked nothing more than an indulgent smile from its parents. The children

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of *tanepwa* and " little " *tanepwa* are, moreover, early accustomed to meeting visitors and behaving with decorum towards them; for visitors to the homestead are frequent and there are more occasions for feasts and for the ritual distribution of food than in the homesteads of commoners. From motives of policy and etiquette, as well as from friendship and affection, visits between a *tanepwa* and those akin to him by blood or marriage are frequent, and thus his children meet their distant relatives more often than do most, and their social horizon soon extends beyond the limits of their own village or the neighbouring villages on either side of their own. Sometimes a *tanepwa* even sends his son for a year or two to one of his trade partners on the mainland, so that the lad may acquire a knowledge of a mainland language and may make useful friends there. This is not usually done, however, until the boy has attained puberty.

A relatively short acquaintance with the Manam enables one to distinguish those people who are of aristocratic birth from commoners. The men and women bear themselves with more dignity; the children are less shy and have more self assurance. The difference is recognized by the people themselves. Once, when talking with me, an elderly man was belittling his fellow islanders, saying that they were all thieves and that, in particular, the children and youths were worse brought up and more dishonest than in his young days. I challenged this sweeping indictment somewhat hotly and in defence of the children's honesty cited an incident in which a lad named Apui had found, and promptly returned to me, some property which I had carelessly lost on the beach. The old man's reply was: " Oh, yes, but of course; Apui is a *tanepwa*."

It may also be mentioned here that in general physique as well as in manners and honesty the children of *tanepwa* are often superior to those of commoners. *Tanepwa* have more land than others, and even " little " *tanepwa* can usually claim assistance from a greater number of people. They are therefore able to have larger gardens and are able also to allow their land to lie fallow for a longer time than most commoners can do. For this reason, during the dry season, when many people have little to live on because their gardens are dried up and the taro and sweet potato are withered, the people

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of *tanepwa* rank usually have sufficient food and the children therefore do not suffer from undernourishment.[2]

Outside the ranks of the *tanepwa* class, among the commoners, all people are not equal. Some are more nearly related to *tanepwa* than others, some have more land than others, some have a larger and more influential body of kindred, while others again may have attained social prominence by their own personal achievements or character. This inevitably reacts to a certain extent upon their children.

The Domestic Setting.

In the term " domestic setting " I include those people who occupy a single house or part of a house in the homestead and who habitually eat together. Sometimes the inmates of a house comprise only a man, his wife, his unmarried children and perhaps a young daughter-in-law whose " husband " is not yet fully adult. There is then only one fireplace in the house, only one domestic unit. Often, however, there are two domestic units in a single house, in which case it is built open back and front, with a fireplace at each end. It may be that the master of the homestead is a polygynist, in which case each wife has her own part of the house and her own cooking place, and is the focal point of her own domestic group, the man being common to both. If the co-wives are good friends this distinction is often blurred, in that they often work together and eat together ; more usually they are liable to be antagonistic, and each keeps to her own part of the house and concerns herself only with her own affairs. It is very unusual to see a woman nursing or caring for the child of her co-wife, and normally a woman does not provide food for her co-wife's children. There are not therefore in Manam two kinds of family—the individual monogamous family and the polygynous family—but rather a man who practises polygyny is the common apex of two distinct individual families. The family

[2] Yams do not grow well in Manam and are therefore scarcely cultivated there. The three principal foodstuffs, taro, sweet potatoes and bananas, cannot be stored. A certain amount of dried sago is obtained from the mainland, and canarium nuts are preserved by smoking, but apart from these two articles of food the islanders have nothing which they can store to tide them over the dry season.

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trinity of father, mother and children remains constant, and is the kernel of the domestic unit.

But other people may be attached to this unit, and the unit is not constant. As we have seen a daughter-in-law may join it, and if a child is the youngest of a family this girl may play a much more important part in its early life than do its elder sisters, who have probably married elsewhere. An orphaned kinsman or kinswoman may also be included, and indeed in the domestic unit of a *tanepwa* or " little " *tanepwa* one or two dependants of this kind are usual. On the other hand girls when they have attained puberty generally leave the domestic unit of their parents to join that of their future husband's parents. Sons too, once they have passed through the first initiation rite (which they do when they are about twelve or thirteen) become less intimately a part of the domestic unit, partly because they are more occupied in company with the lads who were their fellow initiates, partly because from henceforward until they have become fully adult they may only eat food cooked by a pre-nubile girl or by a woman past childbearing, and partly because they must at all costs avoid having anything to do with the girls to whom they are betrothed and who are often living with their parents.

From this we can see that the domestic unit into which a child is born is not synonymous with the individual family, and is not even constant in its composition. In this connection it is important to remember that in Manam it is considered wrong for a man to have sexual relations with his wife while she is still nursing a child. Normally a child is not fully weaned until it is two years old (even after this it may be suckled occasionally), and although I believe few men wait all this time before they resume marital relations, there is usually an interval of at least two and a half years between the birth of two children of the same mother. This interval between successive siblings is often considerably increased by the death of one or more children, and it is common to find in a family of only three or four that the eldest child has already attained puberty when the youngest has only just been weaned. It is obvious therefore that the domestic setting differs even for children of the same family. At the one extreme we may have a girl who is the eldest of her family ; as a child she helps to look after her younger brothers and

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sisters and then, after puberty, she has to begin a new life in her future husband's homestead. At the other extreme is the youngest of the family, much petted, more familiar with her brothers' wives than with her sisters, the playmate perhaps of her brothers' children. In between is the girl who for the first years of her life looked up to and attached herself to her elder sister and then, losing that sister by marriage, became the companion of her brother's betrothed.

The changes in the domestic unit probably affect the boys less than they do the girls, for at an early age small boys are wont to wander about in company with their contemporaries, asking and receiving food from divers of their relatives, and thus leading a life not so closely dependant upon the domestic unit as are their more stay-at-home sisters. Moreover a lad continues to live with his parents, or at least in his parents' hamlet until he marries, and so those with whom he played as a little boy are generally his companions throughout his childhood and adolescence. He does not have to make the adjustments which are required of his sister.

The Kinship Setting.

Before describing the kinship setting in which a child is reared, something must be said of the kinship rules which regulate the marriage of its parents. These are concerned with clan membership and genealogical relationship.

Marriage within the village is wholly permissible, and indeed is most frequent among commoners ; marriage within the clan is prohibited. Furthermore, a man may not marry any of his first cousins (irrespective of the clans to which they belong) nor any near collateral such as a niece or aunt or granddaughter ; and of course he may marry no member of his own individual family nor any half-sister. It is not forbidden to marry two sisters (though this is very rarely done) and marriage with the deceased wife's sister is also allowed. On the other hand for a man to marry his dead brother's widow is not approved, though I know of at least two such unions, both between elderly people, one of which had certainly not been contracted under the influence of contact with the whites. One young man even approved this form of marriage on the grounds that the woman's second husband, being the brother of the first, would

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be a good father to the dead man's children. In general the rules governing the selection of a mate, as in other spheres of life, are determined rather by individual kinship bonds than by any generalized bonds uniting those of the same clan; indeed the conception of a "group" of kindred, if it is present at all in Manam, is I believe understood by only a few.[3]

It has been said that the largest significant social group in Manam is the village. The villages vary considerably in size: some, like Bodua, are very small with barely one hundred inhabitants; two are very large including over five hundred people; but the average sized village contains about three hundred inhabitants. Except for the very small ones, each village is divided into two, three or more parts or hamlets, separated from each other by a gully or wide stretch of bush. In each hamlet are usually found the houses of men of two or three clans which are traditionally associated with each other, either as "major" and "minor" clans, or merely as friends. These houses are not usually built together, or in any special arrangement to form a compact settlement, but are set in a number of separate homesteads, some containing two or three, others consisting of a solitary house, surrounded by a broad level space of clear ground. Sometimes the homesteads are so near together that only a small grove, or even a line of coconut or areca-nut palms divides them; sometimes as much as fifty yards of bush lies between threaded by a narrow, often ill-kept track leading from one to the other. Within each hamlet the different clans are associated with different tracts of land, and there is a tendency therefore for men of the same clan to have their homesteads in the same neighbourhood, but this is by no means a fixed rule. A man may decide to live among his mother's clansfolk or near to his wife's parents, and I know of two instances in which a man belonging to a "minor" clan was allowed to build on land belonging to the "major" clan with which his own clan was linked in order that he might live near a special friend.

[3] Whenever I asked why a certain person was contributing food or help to another, or was participating in a rite connected with another, the answer was without exception given in terms of individual kinship bonds, not in terms of clan membership.

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Within the homestead itself there may be only one, or there may be two or three dwelling houses, and these may be occupied by one or by many individual families or " domestic units," who may or may not be related. A few examples will serve to illustrate how diverse a group the inmates of a single homestead may be. In one there dwell a man, his wife and children ; his father's younger brother's son (now a widower) together with his young children ; and the wife of a fellow clansman (now away at work), who is the son of the owner of the homestead's elder brother's widow by a second husband (now dead). In another homestead live a man and his wife and child ; his widowed mother and young unmarried brothers ; a young orphaned fellow clansman and his betrothed ; a clan sister of his father together with her husband and unmarried children. In a third homestead we find a man, his wife and unmarried children ; his married son and daughter-in-law ; his wife's brother's son together with this man's wife and young child. A fourth homestead contains an elderly man with his wife and young son ; his daughter, her husband, her husband's widowed father, and her husband's younger brother who is a lunatic. A fifth is occupied by a " little " *tanepwa*, his two wives and three children (two of whom are adopted) ; the girl betrothed to his eldest son ; a widower of another clan who is a " father " to the *tanepwa* (the genealogical connection between them I could not trace) with his young son ; and an unmarried man of yet another clan who was a distant kinsman of the *tanepwa*. A sixth homestead presents an even greater variety of kinsfolk living together for in it are a man, his wife and unmarried children (except for a young daughter who lives with her maternal grandparents in another village) ; his aged widowed father ; his married son with the wife and child of this last ; his eldest brother's widow ; one of his married younger brothers with his wife and children and the unmarried half-brother of this woman.

These half-dozen examples, taken at random, show clearly that although people sharing a single homestead may be, and perhaps usually are, closely related they are not necessarily so, and although generally the men are, if not near kinsmen, at least fellow clansmen, this again is by no means invariable.

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Another variation in the kinship setting is made when a man settles not in his own but in his mother's village, on land which he has inherited from her there. This has been done by one family which I know well and the two children are far more intimate with the kin and clansmen of their paternal grandmother than with the members of their own clan or even than with their own father's brothers' children who live in the neighbouring village less than a mile away. The youngest child in particular, a boy of two or three years old, spends most of his time with a woman whom he calls *tubu-gu* (" my grandmother ") but whose claim to this title was so distant that I could not trace it.

A marriage may be matrilocal even when the woman belongs to a different village from the husband. When this is so the kinship setting in which the children grow up is necessarily different from that of a child living under patrilocal conditions, for it is their mother's and not their father's kin who under matrilocal conditions come first and most constantly into their social orbit.

Since the rights and obligations of kin to one another form so important a part of the social structure as they do in most primitive societies, an important element in the education and social growth of the child is his gradual recognition of his kindred, and the duties which he owes to them and they to him. Two opposed theories about kinship and the child's gradual apprehension of the kinship system of his community have been put forward. One postulates that, as a result of indiscriminate handling and suckling and of the practice of polygyny, babies in primitive communities do not at first distinguish between the many women who feed and tend them, and learn only gradually to differentiate between the many " mothers " and the true mother. Similarly they learn as they grow older to distinguish the true father and true siblings from amongst their many " fathers " and many " siblings." In contrast to this, Professor Malinowski holds that the first meaning of a kinship term which a child acquires is always individual, and that not until later do a series of extensions take place whereby the terms are used for other people in a " frankly metaphorical " sense. Thus the words for father, mother, brother, sister are acquired first with reference to members of the individual family, and their use for those outside

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this small kinship group is derivative. In his study of Tikopia, however, Dr. Firth points out that where, as in this island, the domestic unit often comprises kindred who are not members of the individual family circle, the young child uses the terms for father and mother indiscriminately towards the men and women who come within its ken. " The members of the household directly or indirectly train the child to use towards all of them—irrespective of whether true parents or not—its first efforts at identificatory speech. The result is . . . the child broadcasts the terms to all and sundry who enter the house . . . Common residence makes for parallel recognition." This does not imply that there is a failure on the part of the young child to distinguish in his personal relationships between the men whom he calls " father," between the women whom he calls " mother," but that he has no linguistic means whereby to express this distinction. Dr. Firth continues, with reference to the *Tikopia*: " With more appreciation of personalities and their status comes an increasing definition, a narrowing down of the parental terms to certain persons only within the kinship range, and an application of new terms to the others thus eliminated." Thus as the child's social horizon extends, and as he is trained in kinship behaviour, he learns concurrently to extend parental terms to new people, and to abandon them and substitute other terms for some of those whom he has hitherto addressed as " father " and " mother." A wider extension and a narrower precision go hand in hand.[4]

It certainly seems inevitable that the nature of the social setting, the type of kinship organization and the composition of the domestic unit should determine very largely the way in which a child's apprehension of his kinship filiations and responsibilities develops. Since, even within a relatively small geographical area, the social, kinship and local organizations differ, often very markedly, between neighbouring peoples, we may well expect to find considerable variations in the ways in which the children acquire a knowledge of the technique and linguistics of kinship.

[4] R. Firth, *We, the Tikopia*, London 1936, pp. 274-6.

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It is very probable that philogenetically the line of development was amongst most if not all communities, from the individual family to the near collaterals, and thence in ever-widening circles to more distant kin. In Manam such a development is to a great extent in harmony with social usage, for kinship obligations are most stringent upon near kin, and become increasingly lax the more distant the relationship is. Thus if a man dies it is upon his true brothers that the obligation falls to be a substitute father to his children ; if a man needs help in his work it is upon his own true brothers that the obligation rests most heavily to give that help, to a slightly less degree he can rely upon his father's brothers' sons to assist, whereas more distant kin and unrelated clansmen can evade their obligations without great opprobrium, unless they are bound to the man by other ties, such as reciprocity for help which they have received from him in the past. Furthermore it must be observed that if a person has no near kin who are members of his own clan, he turns not to distantly related fellow-clansmen, but to near kin who are members of another clan. For example his " brother " who is the son of his father's sister, is in sentiment and social obligation nearer to him—though he may live in another hamlet—than his " clan brother " with whom the genealogical connection is distant. But ontogenetically the line of development of " kinship awareness " is neither so simple nor so constant.

Except in the case of children who have been adopted in infancy or who are illegitimate, the physiological mother is probably the first woman of whom the child is conscious, for it is she who suckles it and for the most part tends it. After her the other members of the domestic unit enter into his consciousness, and as we have seen the composition of this unit varies. This is true also of the homestead and the hamlet. A child may learn first to say *tubu-gu* (" my grandparent ") to a very distantly related elderly man or woman who live nearby, and only relatively seldom may he see his true *tubu* who may live in another hamlet or even another village. The *pwapwa* (father's sister) who nurses him and gives him tit-bits is very possibly only a clanswoman of his father, and only later does he get to know his true *pwapwa* who is living at a distance.

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Moreover, as we have seen, the childhood associations, which in our own society are usually formed through playing together, with brothers and sisters or with school friends, may very probably be formed by the Manam child with the children of an elder brother or of any of the various adults (kinsmen or not) who are living in or near the child's homestead. These bonds, formed in early childhood, are not easily loosed, and though social emphasis is laid on the duty of brothers to brothers, maternal uncles to sisters' children, father's sisters to brothers' daughters, grandchildren to grandparents, actually the bonds of friendship, the early attachments formed in childhood, seem to overshadow these social ties. This is perhaps one reason why the kinship and clanship bonds in Manam seem to be weaker, and the kinship pattern less apparent in daily life than, judging from accounts, they are in many communities. It is not unknown, and causes no surprise, for two clansmen to come to blows over the question as to whether or not the child of one of them is a thief; nor, because one man had quarrelled bitterly with another, did this spoil the friendship between the man's brother and the other party to the quarrel, or between the two brothers themselves.

The lack of system in the way in which a child acquires an understanding of the kinship organization and the haphazard composition of the kinship setting in which his earliest years are spent, may also be associated with the fact that, except when addressing or referring to the true parents, it is rare for anyone in Manam to speak of or to another by the kinship term, unless for some reason (usually to obtain a gift or help) the speaker wishes to emphasize the kinship bonds which unite them and in virtue of which he is making the request.

It is not only in the kinship composition of a child's geographical environment that the kinship setting varies. As we have seen when considering the factor of rank, some children have greater opportunities than others of coming into contact with their relatives and are reared in an atmosphere of strong kinship unity. This is particularly so among the *tanepwa* class, where first cousin marriage is customary (though it is prohibited to commoners), and in those families which have been formed by a brother-sister exchange

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marriage. Others, either through quarrels or misfortunes, have few kin and see little of them. This last is particularly likely to occur when a man, on account of a quarrel with his village *tanepwa*, goes to live in a distant village, or, as a result of quarrels or general misanthropy, builds his house isolated from his fellows and does not play his part in the socio-economic life of his village. Such a difference in the kinship setting inevitably affects a child in a community where kinship determines almost all social relations, and indeed it affects an individual throughout his or her life.

In this discussion of the kinship setting as a factor influencing the environment and upbringing of a child, it has been assumed that the child has two parents. Something must be said of the variations wrought in the kinship setting through the loss of one or both parents as a result of death or divorce, and also of the position of illegitimate children.

In Manam as in our own country, the effect on the child of the loss of one of its parents through death differs according to the age of the child, according to whether the surviving parent remarries, and, of course, according to whether it is the father or mother who has died. We need scarcely consider the fate of infants whose mothers die in or soon after childbirth, for such infants seldom survive even if they are not intentionally killed.[5] If a man loses his only wife, he usually marries again, unless he is past middle age, and the new wife is expected to play the part of mother to his children. This seems to prove a harmonious arrangement if the children are small, and indeed I often found to my surprise that a woman whom I had always assumed to be the true mother of the children she tended was in fact only a step-mother. This also seems to be true if a polygynist loses one of his wives and the other takes over the young children who are thus left motherless. But as regards social and kinship obligations the children are always bound to the kin of their mother and do not, so far as I could observe, have

[5] If the mother died before the ritual of purification after childbirth, which usually takes place about a fortnight after delivery, the infant was in olden days usually buried with its mother, no attempt being made to save it. To-day such an infant is generally taken and reared by the Reverend Sisters at the mission station.

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any obligations to their step-mother's kin, nor vice versa. If, however, the mother dies when the children are past babyhood and early childhood, and the father marries again, there is sometimes friction, particularly if, as is usually the case, the new step-mother is a young woman and later bears children of her own. The children miss their own mother and seem to resent the presence of the stranger in her place. For her part the new young wife is liable to be jealous of her predecessor's children, especially if their mother was much beloved by her husband. I well remember how one girl of about fourteen often contrasted to me the virtues of her dead mother with the shortcomings of her step-mother, and how she cried out in a passion one day when this woman had no food ready when she (quite legitimately) asked for some : " You are supposed to be my mother, but you don't behave as a mother to me ! " Indeed the psychological situation between step-mothers and step-children is not unlike that common in our own country, except that, since mothers exert less direct authority over their children in Manam than they do in England, the friction very seldom becomes marked. Sociologically, however, the situation may have the effect of the motherless children turning more and more for maternal care to their father's brothers' wives, father's sisters and grandmothers, should these be living in the neighbourhood. Such women are not only closely related to them, but have usually known the dead mother and have been bound to her by ties of kinship and friendship. For her sake, as well as in harmony with their kinship obligations, they are very willing to act as her substitute. Sometimes a man who loses his wife does not remarry, especially if he is elderly, even though his children may not be grown up.[6] Instead he attaches himself to the homestead of another man, usually a near relative or a *tanepwa* of his clan, whose womenfolk will cook for him and his children as well as for their own domestic unit. But if the widower has a daughter of about twelve years old, by which age she is capable of

[6] One reason why a widower does not remarry may be that he cannot get a wife. There is an excess of males over females in Manam, and with the common practice of child betrothal, most girls of marriageable age are already married or betrothed. A *tanepwa* or very influential man, although past his prime, might acquire a young wife ; but a *gadagada* could hardly do so.

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cooking and doing some work in the house, or if his son is betrothed to a girl who has attained puberty and has therefore left her own father's homestead for that of her future husband's parents, he may continue to live, wifeless, in his own homestead with these girls to cook for him, and depend to some extent upon the help of his kinswomen. Such an arrangement usually affects the sons but little; no responsibility falls on them, the burden falls on the daughters. I knew one elderly man whose wife was dead: three of his grown-up sons were away on indentured labour; the youngest boy, aged about fifteen or sixteen, spent most of his time in the company of his fellow-initiates; and his daughter Aupo, a child of eleven or twelve, looked after the house and cooking assisted by her sister-in-law (wife of one of the sons away at work) who lived with her own people but came almost daily to her father-in-law's house. Aupo's life was therefore very different from the more or less carefree existence of her contemporaries. I used to see her when she came down to the beach for water, but she did not often stay and chatter with the other little girls who were passing their time there. On one occasion she did stay and talk for longer than usual, and then noticing the position of the sun, hurried off home, while one of the other children, a girl of the same age, remarked to me with some sympathy: "Aupo will catch it; she hasn't yet cooked Tibong's (her father's) food." This particular man was rather a curmudgeon, which probably partly explains why he continued to live in a homestead by himself instead of joining up with one of his relatives.

Should a woman lose her husband through death, she may live with one of his brothers and his wife, occupying a separate house or end of a house and having her own fireplace; or she may continue to live in her husband's homestead if this is separate from that of his brothers; or she may return to her own people and live with a married brother. Which she does depends, I think, partly on her own preferences and personality, partly on the wish of her husband's near kinsmen and their strength and influence to enforce it. The widow of a *tanepwa* I believe always continues to have her home among her husband's people, and to rear his children there; it is significant that the widow of a *tanepwa*, at least of a village *tanepwa*, is not allowed to remarry.

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When a widow does not remarry and continues to live with her children among her husband's kinsfolk, one of them, usually the dead man's father or brother, acts as father towards the children; he arranges the betrothal of the girls and makes himself responsible for the father's part in the initiation rites of the boys. The social environment is therefore not very different from what it would have been had the father lived. The difference is greater if, as often happens, one of the father's clansmen formally adopts one of the children, for then the family unit is broken up and the adopted child has to form new family ties. The complex situation caused by the practice of adoption will be discussed more fully later.

If the widow goes to live with her own people, the kinship stress is altered, for the children grow up more closely bound, through early association, to their mother's than to their father's kin. I believe, however, that unless some member of the mother's kin has formally adopted a boy or girl, the father's brother or father or other near relative of the same clan acts as a "substitute father" in all social matters such as initiation and betrothal. After the first initiation rites too, it is usual for a boy to remain with his father's people, and it is therefore among them that he learns to take his part in the life of the community. (Wherever she may have been reared, a girl goes after puberty to her future husband's people.)

Unless her husband's rank forbids it, a young widow often remarries. As mentioned above, although marriage with the deceased husband's brother is not correct (even marriage with his clan brother is looked upon askance by some) it does occasionally occur, and when it does the new husband easily takes over the "fatherhood" of the children. But should a widow marry a man who is not kin or clan-fellow of her dead husband only the younger children go with her to her new home; the older ones, particularly the boys, usually remain among their father's people, cared for by his father or by one of his brothers. Sometimes the second husband actually adopts one or more of his predecessor's very young children and they may never know that he is not indeed their true father. They are then regarded as members of his clan, and enjoy and observe all the kinship rights and obligations of his true children. If the children are not thus adopted, then the kinship bonds between them

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and their true father's clan and kin persist and, as the time for betrothal or initiation approaches, the dead father's kinsfolk generally come forward and take on the social responsibilities of fatherhood.

One of the practices which makes the study of Manam kinship peculiarly difficult and which inevitably affects the life of the children in their adjustment to their society is the custom of adoption. This is by no means confined to children who have lost one or both parents; nor is it done only by the childless. The motives which lead people to adopt are probably mixed. Sometimes a couple with several boys wish for a girl and an arrangement is made whereby an infant boy is exchanged for an infant girl, considerable care being usually taken to prevent these children from ever knowing that they have been adopted. One man besought me not to let his grown-up married daughter discover that she was only an adopted daughter, and my impression was that he feared that if she were to discover the truth she would cease to love him as her father. When children are adopted at birth they are generally suckled by their true mother for a time, especially if the adopting mother has no milk, but after about the first two months they are brought daily to their adoptive mother's house, and spend most of their waking life there. When they are old enough to do without the mother's breast, they go to live permanently with their adoptive parents. Unfortunately I was not able to study the psychological effect of the severance from the physiological mother and the transference to the social mother. The shock may perhaps be softened by the Manam custom of giving a child, of even four or five years old, the breast when it is sick, frightened or unhappy; the action of sucking brings comfort to the child whether the breast has milk or is dry. This the social mother can and does do. The effect of infant adoption on the infant's social environment is probably negligible, for the change takes place when the child is still too young to have become very conscious of its surroundings. Furthermore, since the change is complete, the adoptive parents taking on the full rights and duties of the real parents, and the infant being as wholly absorbed into the kinship setting of its adoptive parents as though it were a true child of their flesh, this infant adoption sets the child in the normal environment of individual family life.

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Sometimes, however, the adoption is not arranged until the child is three or four years old, and does not take effect until even later. So far as I know only boys are adopted in this manner. Girls seem to be adopted usually as infants or as very small babies, and if they are adopted at a later age, I believe the adoption always takes effect straight away ; there is no interim period of what might be called dual parentage. This is probably because girls when they attain puberty are generally betrothed and go to live with their future parents-in-law ; a boy on the other hand remains with his " father " throughout adolescence and often throughout life, and it is not really until the first initiation rite is due that social parenthood becomes significant. I know two small boys, each about six or seven years old, who have been adopted, but who continue to live in their father's home. I was told that one of them would not go to his adoptive father for some years still, perhaps not until he attained puberty. Meanwhile the adoptive father takes pains to impress upon the boy and upon everyone else that he is his father, calling him " my son " and insisting upon him being considered as the brother of his own true children. But when the time comes for the child to change his home he will have to reorientate himself considerably in relation to those among whom he has passed his childhood, for his adoptive father is not only a man of rank, but is also of a different clan from his true father.[7] Then he will have indeed two sets of kinsfolk : one to which he is bound by ties of habit and affection, the other to which he is bound by social ties. The change will not be as serious as might be expected, however, for the lad constantly spends his days in the homestead of his adoptive father. For the other boy the adjustments which will be demanded of him will be much more difficult. His adoptive father is of another clan and of another village. Moreover his true father, a village *tanepwa* of considerable personality and repute, died when the boy was only about four years old, and the child has grown up under the gentle and indulgent authority of his mother and eldest brother. He sees very little of his adoptive father and has almost nothing to

[7] Here I am considering adoption only as it affects the child ; I hope to deal with the subject more fully in a detailed study of kinship in Manam.

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do with the boys of his adoptive father's village, whereas amongst those of his own village he is a leader.

It sometimes happens that, when the time comes for them to make the change, sons who are adopted in this way refuse to live with their adoptive parents, and persistently return home. I am convinced that they do this, not because their adoptive parents are unkind to them (indeed no Manam adult is intentionally unkind to any child; they err rather in the other direction), but because they are homesick and want to return to the people and setting in which they have passed their early years and with which they are familiar. One particularly kindly couple of *tanepwa* rank, a man and woman of exceptionally gentle temper, longed for a son (they had only two daughters) and adopted successively two boys, both of whom ran away from them. (Finally they adopted the new-born son of the man's sister, and as he will grow up with them from infancy their wish may at last be realized.) The same unhappiness also befalls children who are sent to pass their early childhood with some relative in another village, such as a widowed grandmother, and later have to return to their parents' village and homestead. I knew well one boy of about twelve years old, Tsu'ua by name, who had spent most of his childhood with his grandmother. Her own children were all grown up; she and her husband felt lonely and so asked to have the boy with them. Then the old man died and the grandmother clung more tenderly than ever to this grandson, who seemed fully to reciprocate her affection. At last the time came when Tsu'ua was approaching the age when he must pass through the first of the initiation rites, and his father, a "little" *tanepwa* of the neighbouring village, decided that the boy must return home, there to go through the rites and there to remain. One day his father turned up (primarily in connection with an inter-village dispute) and I saw Tsu'ua leaning in an attitude of bitter unhappiness against an areca palm, tears streaming down his cheeks. I asked my companion what was the matter with the boy, and he replied with calm fatalism: "His father is taking him home to-day; he does not want to leave his grandmother, so he is crying." I was interested to see that Tsu'ua did not go home with his father that day after all, nor for many days after.

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The change of social environment which many boys have to make as a result of adoption, temporary borrowing, or being reared among the kin of a widowed mother and later taken over by their father's kin has from the point of view of society as a whole certain advantages as well as disadvantages. On the one hand it creates bonds of friendship between people of different villages and so does something towards creating or maintaining inter-village harmony; on the other hand it checks the development of strong bonds between clan-fellows and tends in general to weaken kinship bonds and to create a conflict of loyalties. Psychologically it probably puts a greater strain on such children than most boys experience who remain inmates of a single individual family throughout their pre-marriage lives, a strain which is perhaps comparable to that experienced by a girl who at puberty is sent away to live with the parents of her future husband.

I doubt whether the natives themselves recognize the existence of any such psychological strain upon the boys who have to experience this change of social and family environment. Certainly Tsu'ua's regrets at leaving his grandmother were regarded as very natural, and no one to whom I spoke of the matter appeared in any way to blame Badiadega's two adopted sons for refusing to stay with him. But I do not remember ever hearing anyone imply that boys who had to leave the home where they had been brought up and settle in another were at all to be pitied; on the contrary because the result of such adoption was usually to their social advantage, they were often spoken of as being fortunate. This is in keeping I believe with the Manam temperament. Adoption is tacitly accepted as a customary and therefore desirable social institution, and if sometimes it causes individual unhappiness, "*ramuramu*" ("it can't be helped"), the adults say placidly. (They point out, too, that if a boy is really unwilling to stay with his adoptive parents he can always run away.) Similarly because it is the correct thing for a boy, wherever he may have lived in childhood, to be initiated and spend his adolescent years among his father's people, any individual unhappiness which may result from the change of home is little heeded or is accepted philosophically.

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According to general statements made by the natives, if a man divorces his wife, or if she leaves him, the children remain with the father. Actually no hard and fast rule is followed. If a child is very young then I believe the mother usually takes it, and daughters too, if they are still children, appear usually to accompany their mother. Young boys of more than seven years old, however, generally remain with their father, by which time they are past the age of close dependence on their mother. But even if some of the children do go with their divorced mother, the father and his people do not thereby lose touch with them. A man, Tsila, had divorced one of his wives who, when she left him, took with her her two small daughters ; the elder her husband's true child ; the younger begotten by another man. When the time came for the elder to go through her puberty rites, she returned to her father's house for them ; he arranged her betrothal and from his homestead she went to her future husband's place, whither her father often goes to visit her. Later, when she had a quarrel with her husband and left him for a while, it was to her father's house that she returned, not to her mother's people. Thus, children who go with their mother on divorce, although they are brought up primarily among their maternal kinsfolk, are by no means cut off from their father's people, and when childhood is passed they are, in social matters at least, re-absorbed by them. On the other hand if a child remains with his father after his mother has left, he does tend to lose touch with her and her kin. One boy, Tsalameng, I knew well, and for many months I was under the impression that his mother was dead ; by accident I discovered that she was alive, living in the neighbouring village not two miles away. So far as I know he never visited her nor had anything to do with her, nor could I observe that her kinsfolk played any part in his life. Unfortunately I was not present at the rites of his first initiation, and so do not know whether any of her kin took part in them ; on the occasion of his betrothal I am almost sure they were not present.

Very different from the position of the children of a divorced couple is that of illegitimate children. There appears to be a good deal of promiscuous love-making in the bush between young men and girls, and inevitably this sometimes results in conception.

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In the days before the white man's government enforced its orders, attempted abortion, and if this failed, infanticide, were commonly practised by the mothers of illegitimate children. Even to-day the killing of such an infant is not unknown, but the fear of severe punishment by the government has certainly made infanticide much more rare than it used to be. I was told that even in olden days the father or brother of the pregnant woman would sometimes agree to adopt the child at birth, and thereby provide it with a social father. Even so, however, an illegitimate child goes through life under the disadvantage of having only one set of kin—those related to him through his mother—and although the stigma attached to illegitimacy is not as great as in our own society, such children are undoubtedly somewhat looked down upon. Just as the children of *tanepwa* are assumed to have better manners and to be more honourable than the children of commoners, so illegitimate children are readily assumed to be less worthy than others. One girl who had the misfortune to be the offspring of a Manam woman and a former Chinese trader was betrothed and went to live with her future husband's parents. One day she was sent away and I was told she was a bad woman, that she was lazy and a thief, and then with a shrug, her erstwhile mother-in-law said: "No father," as though that lack entirely explained the girl's shortcomings.

If a married woman bears a child not begotten by her husband, its position is much the same as that of an unmarried woman's child. The Manam clearly recognize that coition is the cause of pregnancy and attach considerable importance to physiological paternity. It is not so much, I think, that a man cares for his offspring because they are biologically a part of him (as we have seen the practice of adoption runs counter to this view, and men show as much affection for their adopted as for their real children), but rather on account of his beliefs concerning pregnancy. The Manam hold that pregnancy does not result from a single act of coition, but only from a number of such acts repeated.[8] If there-

[8] It is possible that different people in Manam have different theories about the relation between coition and conception, but I believe that the one given above is that most commonly held.

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fore, a man's wife conceives, and her husband knows that he cannot be responsible, he inevitably assumes that she has been carrying on a protracted love affair with someone else, or has been giving herself to a number of different men—that she has a regular lover or is a wanton. To-day such illegitimate births are more common than they used to be because young husbands go away to work as indentured labourers for three years or more, leaving their wives under the charge of a parent or other near relative with neither children nor households to occupy them. If one of these grass-widows conceives, her husband's parents send her away, thus breaking the marriage and leaving the child without a social father. If a married woman has two children, one legitimate and the other illegitimate, she may take them both with her when she is sent away by her husband, but whereas he retains his paternal interest in and responsibility for his own child, he has nothing to do with the illegitimate one, although it was conceived and perhaps born while its mother was still legally his wife. Thus when Tsila sent his first wife away, although the elder girl whom he recognized as his, was married from his house, the younger girl, whom he knew or believed not to be his, was married from the homestead of her mother's people, and neither Tsila nor any of his kinsmen took part in the proceedings—or at least so I was told.

Conclusion.

We can see then, that the factors of sex, of the rank and status of the parents, of the nature of the domestic setting and of the more general kinship setting, as well as such "abnormal" events as the loss of a parent through death or divorce, and such an "accident of birth" as illegitimacy, all serve to modify the environment into which a child is born and in which it is reared. The way in which the individual learns through his kinship filiations, gradually to take his (or her) place in the community is affected by differences in environment. This must be born in mind when considering the social structure of Manam and the forces therein which make for cohesion or disintegration. Equally important is the fact that these differences affect the psychological development of the individual, helping or hindering him in making a satisfactory adjustment to the

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other members of his community, and therefore, again, ultimately affecting the stability of the community.

It is, moreover, abundantly clear that to write of " the Manam child," as though all children on this island were so nearly alike in their nurture and education that they could be spoken of in general terms, is to give a very false and over-simplified idea of the actuality. All children do, however, go through certain phases in their physical and social development, and it is possible to give some account of these different phases which will indicate the norm around which the variations occur.

CAMILLA H. WEDGWOOD

(To be continued.)

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