

Sepik IV - Part 1

Coming to Grips with the Future

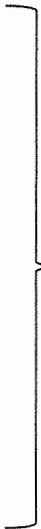
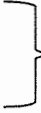


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Sepik 4: Coming to grips with the Future – 1946 to 1975 and Beyond
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Writers Note :-

Sepik 4 is a history of the Sepik District as it unfolded following World War II through to Independence in 1975.

Some chapters dating from 1961 describe the writer's entry into the kiap system as an 18-year-old Cadet Patrol Officer. These chapters seek to provide frozen snap-shots of how the kiap system operated in those places and at those times during which the whole kiap system was experiencing rapid and far reaching changes as it came to grips with its future and its ultimate demise.

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- Acronyms used
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Sepik 4 Chapter 1 An Example of Raw Tribal Violence - Kaiiemi <=1946=>

[Map 2 – approx. 40 miles upstream of Ambunti]

Introductory comment: The names of village groups change throughout this chapter. Kaiiemi was formerly called Kauia – the name of the hills where the Kaiiemi people live. Their enemy, an uncontacted group known as the Yau, was also called Yaungara, Yaunget and Marua. Sugatombai, a Yau ally, was also known as Alikai. The other Yau ally Warasai is sometimes known as Numau and in Grant's 1955 report as Wasei. These were the sorts of problems that later prompted DS&NA to develop the Village Directory which provided an approved spelling of all contacted villages.

As the story of the Kaiiemi unfolded, I realized that it was an excellent example of the sort of situation the Sepik elders described, whereby there was a need – an imperative - to record what was still known of the oral history before sections of it were lost with the death of each elder. In Kaiiemi's case all their elders were killed at once and with them Kaiiemi oral history and traditions were gone. A comparison of Kaiiemi and Swagup stories in this chapter reflects how traditional religious knowledge and faith in customary beliefs and practices gives a village community the strength to stand as one against whatever their neighbours and circumstances throw their way and, conversely, how the lack of it leaves a community vulnerable to annihilation.

From the perspective of a European reader unfamiliar with tribal warfare, this chapter provides an insight into the seemingly illogical and erratic system of retribution, the trivialization of human life, and unpredictable and rapidly changing tribal dynamics. The case of Kaiiemi could most probably be extrapolated to include the rise and fall of tribal groups going back in Sepik history a very long time.

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The problems the Kaiiemi people faced went back generations, but, as Ambunti Patrol report No 7/1972-73 explains, the immediate problem that saw them nearly annihilated in 1945-6 was over one woman :-

'Okiapis, a woman of Kauia [Kaiiemi] ran away to live with a man called Kanaga of Yau. She refused to return despite frequent visits by her guardian Yenwanga. He wanted her back because she was betrothed to Wileau who was absent in New Ireland working as an indentured labourer.

Upon Wileau's return, he and Yenwanga renewed their efforts to get Okiapis back and in response the Yau people plotted to kill them. At Yau, a man called Amul asked Wileau if he could have a look at his tomahawk, since it had recently been brought back from New Ireland and was quite a show piece. Unsuspecting, Wileau gave him the tomahawk and Amul immediately struck Wileau on the top of the head with it, killing him. At the same time Yenwanga died of a spear wound in the side; the spear being thrown by Sapsuma.

Out of fear of payback, Yau decided that Kauia – their long standing enemy, had to be defeated once and for all. Warasai and Sugatombai warriors [Sugatombai is now called Alikai] and they all agreed to help Yau. Kauia was surrounded and attacked at dawn. At that time it was customary for men to have two houses; one in the central village - the haus marit (married house) where all meals were taken and a place to be during daylight hours. The other house was a haus bus (bush house). It was located a short distance from the central village and was used for sleeping purposes only; a communal place for all the Kauia men.

The 'haus bus' was elevated and had only one entrance through a trapdoor in the floor. This afforded protection from mosquitoes.

The 'haus bus' was set on fire by the attackers and the men were killed as they dropped through the trapdoor. Those killed were:

From Kauiembi: *Mokai/Kwomlisi, Wutam/Makitawaun, Wautama/Kludis. Biam/Kapiya and Yo'usiv/Kra'umbi. These five were in addition to the original two killed at Yau - Wileau and Yenwanga; a total of seven.*

From Yessan: *Inagara, Alomb and Sau'usad. A total of three.*

A small group of survivors, mainly women and children made their way to the Sepik, and by hiding in the pitpit by day, were able to reach Yessan. Two decades later, in 1967 they started to return to their own land.¹

The massacre took place at Kambalol in the swamp north of, but close to the Kauiembi hills. In 1974, the current village was located at Aptusu on the hills.² During Ambunti Patrol 11a/1973-74, the writer spent the night of the 8th February 1974 in Kauiembi after a 25 minute journey up a shallow channel which joined the left bank of the Sepik. The writer's census revision of Kauiembi revealed a population of 60 people. They were very friendly and helpful but lacked knowledge of their past as their elders had been killed in the massacre. Most of the men of 1974 were around my own age (born in 1942+/-), so they would have been children at the time of the massacre. What I learned was information I got from Sambasau of Kauiembi, who, prompted by others, told how :-

'Our ancestors started at Lubanakmi near Yaunget. The ancestors fought with Yaunget daily and they were tired of it, so two ancestors left there and came to look at the mountain Kauia. These ancestors were of the crocodile clan and their names were Olo and Nangra. Olo was Sambasau's great-great-great-great-great-grandfather'. Upon being questioned, he assembled his personal genealogy as follows, starting with a distant ancestor Olo :-³

OLO-MINDES AU-NOKUMO-MINDES AU-KOPONGALA-KAMBRAI-LOTAMA
SAMBASAU

Writer's Note: In reciting this genealogy he called Olo down to Mindesau then hesitated before calling the remaining ancestor names down to himself. I realized that this genealogy was not a reliable indicator of the time span linking the past with the present. Sambasau continued :-

'The two ancestor Olo and Nangra came back to collect their wives and families and set up small bush shelters at Kauia. Then they made proper large houses and planted gardens. Then other clans came and asked if they could come or not. The ancestors told them they could come if they so desired. They came. The [additional] clans that came were Pig, Kokaruk [Fowl], Muruk [Cassowary]. They came and settled near Kauia at the place called Kambalok.⁴

Writer's Note: At this stage there appears to be an historic slippage on two points ...

1. The Muruk clan is said to have migrated with the others to Kauia to join the Crocodile clan ancestors, but "Muruk" is not mentioned again, nor is it a current Kauiembi clan.
2. A second settlement developed before, after or in parallel with Kambalok, but there is no discussion why or how this happened. It only becomes evident as Sambasau's story continues :-

'The clans that settled at Kambalok built their haus tambarans Amowasi and Baikwi, while our haus tambarans on the hill at Kauia were Nakmi and Maramori for the Crocodile and Pig clans. The clan at Kambalok was Kokaruk - [two haus tambarans are listed as being there – presumably the second belonged to the mysteriously missing Muruk clan?]

There were no fights with Swagup when the ancestors first came here. It was in the time of their children when the fighting started. The first fight was preceded by a visit from the Swagups in the day time. They came and made friends and then went back and waited in their canoes at the mouth of the channel. Our ancestors had made friends with them by giving them coconuts, betelnut, daka [mustard to be consumed with betelnut] and coconut fibre [for sago making].

At dark the Swagups paddled back towards Kauia and a woman saw them. I do not know her name. She warned them "I saw men's paddles" but the people replied "No its just fish jumping" and she said "it's alright, I was just talking". It was dark and most of the people were sleeping in bush houses. One man who had been making sago was in the village and was sitting cooking his food when the Swagups attacked and killed just one child. The man escaped and called out and beat the garamuts [slit gong drums] in the haus tambaran. The people came to fight with their spears and shields and the Swagups ran away.

Next morning the men of Kambalok came and said: We are worried about you. You should leave this place and come and live with us. If you stay in the open like this they will always come and fight you.

After the first raid the Swagups came back to Kaiembi again; it was about three weeks afterwards. They came hesitantly, not knowing if there would be a fight or not. The Kaiembis called down to them We are here. We will not fight you. Men have gone to get betelnut and daka for you. You did not kill plenty of people – just a child and we are not worried about that.

The Swagups came ashore and were befriended and given betelnut, daka and coconuts. They put these things in their canoes. Meanwhile the Kaiembis were talking among themselves in their own language. Shall we let them go? Should we not pay back the death of our child. Think about it – we can kill them! They took their spears and killed five Swagups. I do not know the names of the killers or the victims as it was a long time ago. The heads of the five were taken as our ancestors were head-hunters. The bodies were taken to the bush where they were placed on a platform of slabs of flat timber salvaged from the sides of broken canoes. This platform was at the foot of a ficus tree.

The Kokaruk clan took the Crocodile and Pig clans to come and live at Kambalok, where we remained until the [post-World War II] massacre. Fighting with Swagup stopped in the Japanese time. Kaiembi's relations with Wogamush, Yessan/Maio and Naiuri were always peaceful.'

Writers Note: There was reluctance to talk about the more recent fighting with Swagup or anyone else. Being unable to penetrate this reluctance, I asked about the Germans, pre-war Australians and Japanese. Sambasau continues :-

'The Germans came and anchored their ship in the river off the mouth of our channel. They came inside and made their camp on the upstream corner of the hills. They stayed there about two or three days while making friends with Kouiemi. They gave us trade goods and they shot flying foxes and game for us. When they left, they took a man called Spen with them. He went voluntarily because he was angry with the village at that time about not giving him a wife. The Germans took him out to work and to learn Pidgin¹. The people here thought he was taken and killed. They had made mortuary payments to his cousin by the time he returned about a year later. He came with great wealth in trade steel, clothing etc. The Germans had brought him as far as Yessan and the Yessans brought him up to Kouiemi.'

"The Germans" would have been the "Behrmann" expedition of 1912/13. Behrmann's map⁵ shows a village "Kamberau" in the location I the writer visited Kouiemi in 1974. Where Swagup should be, the map shows Kala, which represents the Swagup language name Nggala. Sambarau believes the Australian government did not contact Kouiemi pre-war.

However Karandaman of Malu believes they did. He tells how :-⁶

*'McCarthy and I contacted the Kouiemi on their Island at their old camp. At that time the Yau or Yaungara lived on a channel that leaves the Sepik above Yessan. The Yau fought Kouiemi in repeated raids and I heard from Yessan **Wontok bilong mipela laik pinis nau** [Yessan's friends were about to be wiped out]. I told the kiap and him and I went and contacted them. The Malu Yambon and Brugnowi were the paddlers for the police and this kiap. We greased them [Kouiemi] with knives and tomahawks and I held [prevented from running] one big man from there. His name was Kaua and the kiap made him Luluai. They brought in yams and mami's to trade. We made friends with them and told them to stop fighting. They responded well and came out of their isolated area and began moving freely back and forth to Yessan. This continued to be so throughout the Japanese time.*

But when the Japanese went and the Australians had not yet come back, the Yau went down and attacked Kouiemi. There were also Yessans sleeping at Kouiemi at that time. All the big men were killed and the survivors came to live at Yessan. They stayed there for some time and when they were plentiful again they went back to claim their tribal lands in 1970-72.'

Sambarau continues his story :-⁷

[Before the war] four men went out to work. They were Galagala, Gurara, Sinapi and Wiliau, who was later killed by Yau. [Galagala was later Tultul of Kouiemi and accompanied Doolan and Orwin as interpreter on their 1952 patrol to attempt to arrest Swagup head hunters]. There is some obvious confusion, to which I the writer do not have the answer concerning Galagala. Sambarau continues :-

'The Japanese used to come here on patrol brought by Yessan and Swagup paddlers. They did not appoint a native captain here. We used to give them food. They did not kill any of our men and we did not have women troubles. On one occasion, they killed a dog and a pig of ours. The dog owner and village men took up their spears and shields and the

¹ The question is – was it Pidgin English of Pidgin German. SVD teachings in the Sepik and Alexishafen sought to teach in German, but the local people developed their own vernacular which was drawn from a number of different languages – Modern Pidgin English has German, English, Kuanua, Arabic and other words, the origins of which cannot be identified eg Didiman for Agricultural officer. When a new word is needed, it is invented eg Highway robbery 'Handsapim'

Japanese aimed their rifles at the men threatening them. Nothing happened and the patrol left'.⁸

Namgoilbol of Swagup was able to shed much more light on the history of relations between Swagup and Kaiuemi.⁹

'Swagup and Kaiuemi were not enemies in the distant past. We communicated as we speak the same language, so why should we fight? Kaiuemi used to live inside. [meaning away from the Sepik River] Then they came out to where they live now. Then a woman called Lufak of Kaiuemi went missing. Swagups had caught her in the bush and killed her. They quietly hid her body. The Kaiuemis did not know who did it and most of the Swagups did not know either. The Kaiuemis searched and finally found the body. They surmised that it was Swagup who killed her. The fighting started then.

A Swagup man went to be friends with Kaiuemi. But the Kaiuemis had found Lufak and decided to pay back. They killed the Swagup man and while he was dying he asked why he was being killed. They explained, he denied and then he died. The fighting started then. They did not fight all the time. They would fight for a week and then be friends for a week or so – like that.

*A Swagup man called Yapi was killed by the Kaiuemis. They made a victory singsing and the Swagups heard it and said ...**Good! It is alright. You have killed one of us. It is a pig or crocodile [game] of yours – kill it.** Then they made peace again. The Swagups did not think to pay back. They were friends and traded back and forth. They gave us food and we put it in our canoes and brought it back. The peace lasted about five years and we were good friends. Then the Swagups thought about the unpaid debt.*

*The Kaiuemis were catching Mangan fish in a lake and bush called Kokoboro ...An ancestor of mine called Yorokosiba went to fish at this lake and he met the Kaiuemis there. He asked ...**Friends, what are you smoking?** They replied ...**Friend we are smoking Mangan. We caught plenty.** A Kaiuemi friend of Yorokosiba's fastened a tanget, i.e. put together a sheaf of croton leaves marking a leaf for each day until they would meet and the friend would give him a gift of a bilum. He told Yorokosiba ...**Come by yourself secretly.** Yorokosiba agreed to do this and he went back to Swagup.*

At that time the men of Wolbi ward in the haus tambaran Kokombauwi were making a large war canoe. They were making it for the men of Nggraio - [another Swagup ward]. The Nggraio men, in response were preparing a party for the Wolbi canoe makers. The canoe was called Onbi which is a Wolbi canoe name. After the carving was finished they applied red and white paint and they carried the canoe to the launching place in a launching ceremony.

The government [i.e. in this case – the writer] would not understand the ritual for launching a war canoe. The men involved become angry in their stomachs. They do not put the canoe in the water quickly. No! They lift the canoe, then lower it, then lift it again. The channel was nearly completely dry [low water]. They samsamed [war danced] back and forth with the canoe and their spears and shields; it was very black². The men themselves looked white because they had showered lime over themselves. They wanted to go and fight Yessan;

² "Very black" signifying the brooding, aggressively dangerous mood of the village men:

they wanted to go on a raid while the canoe was new to launch it; the raid should be while the paint was still new on the canoe. They talked about where they should go to fight. They discussed fighting Yessan then they discussed Waskuk (on Sepik) but they could not agree. Then they discussed Kubkain, but they said that Kubkain was not an enemy place and they did not come and fight us too much; the people could not agree.

We do not “fight tanget” [beating croton leaves on the seat of the orator’s chair to debate, as in this case, where to fight] as the Sepik down below do. We do not use tangets and a chair, but with a coconut frond, beating the ground or a canoe plank on the ground. A man who has a good thought to express slaps the ground and says his piece.

Yorokosiba heard these discussions and he finally cut in and took the palm frond and slapped the ground. ...**You men of Swagup I do not want you to make a fight around at all the places; I am in favor of us going on my tanget with Kauiembi. I still have a big worry about YAPI’s death. He was not killed by Yessan, Kubkain or Waskuk; he was killed by the Kauiembis.**

They had bilums and lime over them and they were hot to fight. There was not a lot of time; the tanget was for tomorrow. They launched the canoe and tomorrow it would go on its first raid! In the afternoon they loaded their spears and shields. They took crocodile spears. They took other canoes as well because all the men went to this fight. They went to meet the obligation set by the tanget. They went and it became dark as they reached the bush just downstream of the mouth of the Kauiembi channel. They went ashore in the dark. At about 11pm, a warrior of the past, a real fighter called Faip went to watch for the devil [spirit] of any man who might be around. He was lucky as he heard a man call out; it was the devil of a man calling out. They saw light like a tilly lamp. The many Swagups waiting in the bush then heard Faip’s cry. Water came over the ground.

The Swagups threw lime over themselves and over others who had no lime. They hit themselves with bilums and those who had no bilum hit themselves with fire. This is the way of anger and courage. They danced and waited and then they heard the first fowl cry (indicating dawn) they cast off and paddled their canoes up the channel to the position where they intended to wait in ambush on the track. This track was out near the lake, but the people were living inside at the time.

They went in and cleared their “road”; a straight line through the bush parallel to the track with lines of fire onto the track. This was their ambush plan; they hid and waited for the Kauiembis to walk down the track. The other side of the track was the lake; there was nowhere there to hide.

Faip was standing out in the open on a wild fowl nest near where the Kauiembis had smoked the Mangen fish. He stood at the predetermined meeting place. One Swagup was up a tree watching for the Kauiembis. He called when he saw a white Saun bird suddenly take flight further up the track. This was a sign than men were coming. Then he called again ...**Here they come, many men. It looks like the whole village has come!**

Good! Said the men in the ambush position. The fight leader Faip then went around the ambush and gave ginger to each man to eat. A man of lesser importance could not give out ginger for the fighters to eat. The Kauiembi men came down and looked out into the lake and saw turbulence there. They said to each other ...**where is an old useless canoe that we**

can take out there to spear some of those fish and crocodiles. But they were not real fish as all. Some Swagup men, a separate group from those in the ambush, were hiding in the water. The turbulence that looked like fish was done with bamboos.'

Writer's Note: Whether it was physical movement of bamboos – breathing tubes? - in the water or some supernatural power attributed to sacred bamboo flutes is not clear to me. I suspect the latter.

'Then Faip came out into the clear. The Kouiembis saw him and spoke in their language among themselves ...Where do we go now. There's no way out. Our enemies have us. The Kouiembi leader who was also called Faip fell with a spear through him. The Swagups attacked and the Kouiembis were defeated. Nubuf asked ...Where is my brother YAPI? I am seeking my brother YAPI...Ah Galagala you are the one who killed my brother YAPI. With that Nubuf killed him with a bamboo bladed spear and finished him off with a cassowary bone dagger by stabbing him in the neck.

The whole Kouiembi party was killed, a total of fifteen men. Only Kabruawa survived. He was wounded and he pulled the spear out. Later the Kouiembis fitted a kina shell into the wound and the flesh grew over it. He ran and called ...Are they all dead? Yes they are all dead. Kabruawa replied It is your pig, take it. Are you just Swagups or are there Waskuks with you?

No! just us Swagups. The canoes were so filled with the bodies that there was no place to stand to paddle. They had not yet cut the heads off. They came out onto the Sepik and landed just downstream of the [Kouiembi] channel mouth where a big tree used to stand. They took the bodies ashore and cut the heads off, taking only the heads back to Swagup. They also cut the hands off a huge man called Golio. Now we are small in size, but in the past there were huge men. Also, a man called Sibiauwi's body was brought back to be eaten.

Sibiauwi was a big man [leader] of Kouiembi and while looking at the bodies one of the Swagups said ...Sorry, a good pig. The fight leader agreed ...That is so. All right we will take him back and eat him. So they carried him back singing and samsaming [war dancing] as they came. When they arrived at the village they made a platform and put the heads on it. The body they tied in a standing position to a post in the haus tambaran. At dawn next day two brothers burned the body to remove all the hair as we singe pigs before cooking them. It was then dawn. It was customary that there could be no fires that [previous] night.

They cut the cane and the body was taken and placed on a large garamut called Sibiendo and they cut him into small pieces for smoking. His intestines were cleaned with all the excreta removed from them and they were stuffed with grated coconut until they were tight like a car tire. This was then placed on the platform to be smoked. The men kept singing. The meat was smoked for two days and was eaten on the third at a communal feast where they ate for two days. My father ate some of the meat, he was a small child when the feast took place. Now we do not eat human meat it is not like pig that we can eat at will. This is a very big traditional law about that. It is an old story that we do not know, but we still follow the rule that it sets.

After killing the fifteen men, four of our men paddled up to make friends with Kouiembi. They were Bisok, Ulambo, Amkol and Nobusbunei. The Kouiembis took Ulambo up into the village to get coconuts, betelnut and daka. They killed him up there in the bush. The other three waited for him at the canoe. The Kouiembis came and found them asleep.

They killed two and speared the third, but he pulled the spear out and ran. He came to the channel and swam down to the Sepik. He drifted on logs and rubbish all night.

*The men of Swagup waited for them, but they did not come. When they heard the garamuts from Kaiembi, they thought ...**they have killed those four men, the garamuts are not sounded without reason.** At dawn they went by canoe. The wounded man was hungry and was eating pitpit shoots when they found him.*

The explanation from the wounded men made it unnecessary to go to Kaiembi to find out what had happened; going to Kaiembi would mean another fight, so they went back to Swagup. Then not long after the four were attacked Kasakoro of Swagup ...and his wife Kansua went by canoe to the bush we call Nandiom and walked to their garden to harvest taro. They were fishing from their canoe when they heard the Kaiembi garamuts. They decided to go and see the Yam festival that it signified. Kansua had a swelling on her leg which necessitated her walking slowly. Her husband went on ahead and arrived first. The Kaiembis were all dancing. They welcomed him.. Kasakoro was carrying an axe. Kasakoro's friend Kiatimp approached him and asked if he wanted to sell the axe. But Kasakoro did not want to sell it. Abruptly Kiatimp took the axe and killed Kasakoro with it.

The Kaiembis then ran back to kill Kansua who was still coming. They did not spear her. They raped her first then Ablas killed her. They cut the heads off and took them to their haus tambaran and made their singsing and beat their garamuts. The Swagups heard the Garamuts and they went to ask the Kaiembis. They saw Kasakoro's canoe and in it they saw rotting fish. They knew then that Kasakoro and wife had gone to Kaiembi and that the garamuts were for them. The Swagups turned around and cried as they came back. Kasakoro was a big man and had been appointed Luluai. The Japanese had not come yet when they killed him.

Finally the last Swagup/Kaiembi killings: Dimiep of Swagup and his brother Dit were making a canoe in my section of the village, which is known as Dogoshua. They burned the canoe with fronds to seal it and were rubbing the charcoal off with old bilums. Charcoal got on Dit's skin and he washed it off as he had not earned the right to wear black paint. Dimiep worried about this. He went to Kaiembi and crept up on a man called Nanplas who was tending his banana garden. Dimiep speared him and took his head. In Kaiembi village the big man Yumbwien heard Nanplas' cry and ran down to the point where Dimiep's canoe was moored and waited there in ambush. As Dimiep put the head in his canoe Yumbwien speared him and took his head to the haus tambaran. Swagup heard the garamuts. There was no further fighting against Kaiembi. The Japanese came then.

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With the loss of the Kaiembi elders and custodians of their oral history in 1945/46, little is known by the current Kaiembi men. Apart from what Namgoilbol of Swagup was able to tell, there are some apparent clues to the past ...

1. Both Swagup and Kaiembi had haus tambarans called AMUWASI or AMOWASI. This suggests some past cultural linkage between Kaiembi and Swagup.
 - a. This link may relate to Souli Moganai/ Kopon-Nggala fleeing survivors of the war with the Kwoma on the top of Mt. Ambunti. Swagup's Sago clan claims to have

originated on Mt Ambunti which Swagup call Mt Baba. The Sago clan recognizes "Ulo" as a sago ancestor. In the case of Kaiuemi – Sambasau's crocodile clan genealogy starts with "Olo". The Souli Moganai Kopon-Nggala leader was Olu. The name Sambasau stumbled over as he recited his genealogy was his great-grandfather Kopongala, which is the name of Olu's people. As with all Kaiuemi oral history these references are shaky, but possibly relevant.

2. At the time the four original clans migrated from the place of origin Lubanakmi to the Kauia hills, they built four haus tambarans in two separate settlements. This suggests that the population was considerable; possibly indicative of how large the population might have been is that in 1974 Swagup had three haus tambarans for a population of 140 people. So indications are at one time Kaiuemi had a substantial population, which was reduced by warfare through the years to remnants that were almost wiped out in 1945/6
3. Karandaman's story clearly states he went to Kaiuemi with J.K. McCarthy with paddlers from Malu, Yambon and Brugnowi. J.K. McCarthy was in Ambunti and the Upper Sepik twice in his career; in 1930 and with Administrator McNicholl in 1935. If it was McCarthy and he used canoes, then it would have been around 1930. While "Patrol into Yesterday" does not mention this patrol, I accept Karandaman's story, but the kiap may have been someone other than McCarthy.

ADO Ormsby's October 1946 monthly report from Angoram reported an attack on the War Graves party and went on :-

'Other incidents to have occurred [geographically] between Wogamush and Yessan, as previously reported the Kaiuemi had evacuated their village and were living at Yessan. A party which returned to inspect gardens etc. is said to have been attacked by natives of Yauingara and seven people were killed, including three Yessans. This report will be investigated during the Wogamush patrol'.¹⁰

The "Wogamush" patrol report [if indeed he wrote one] conducted by District Officer Niall has not been located, but none of the correspondence sighted that came out of that patrol mentioned Kaiuemi. The first recorded solid suggestion that something should be done about the Kaiuemi situation appears in cadet patrol officer J. Cahill's August 1949 monthly report for Ambunti Patrol Post :-

'The Kaiuemi natives are asking if the Government is going to do anything about helping them regain the ground they lost when they were attacked and driven from their area by a combination of Numau, Yau and Ablatak natives. They say the Yessans are sick and tired of them living on their ground.

It is expected to visit or at least contact the three tribes mentioned on this patrol. Have you thought any more about opening a temporary post on the upper side of the Yessan bend? As mentioned before this, is the best place for contacting all three tribes and it is very close to the Waskuk Hills.

The reports of the Kaiuemi natives and also the Yessans...a large number of men were killed and a lot of women taken prisoner in the Yau attack of 1946. As yet accurate information on this situation is not very clear...'¹¹

The forthcoming patrol he referred to was apparently Angoram Patrol No 5/1948-49, a copy of which was not found on the Ambunti files. What was there on file at Ambunti were DO Niall's comments on the patrol report :-

'...I am perturbed that head hunting to collect heads for the 'haus tambaran' is apparently being carried out by the Numau people. The officer reports a fresh head which the people claimed to belong to one of their Yau victims. Apparently he did not take any further action and this matter will be thoroughly investigated in the near future. As far as is known the Yau people have never been visited and a thorough patrol will be organized when the high water level recedes
Sgd. H.L.R. Niall DO. '12

In October 1949 Cahill made a trip on MV Mubo to May River and reported ... 'No population or signs seen on the Kaiembi hills.' Cahill's Ambunti patrol No 2/1949-50 again found him in the Numau Ablatak area. With regard to the Yau, he reported :-

*'Both Amakis³ and Ablataks⁴ talk to the Yau people; the swamp dwellers to the west along the Namblo River, who were responsible for the attack on and expulsion of the Kaiembi villagers. No contact had been made with these tribes.'*¹³

By this time H. Niall had handed responsibility for the Sepik over to J.J. Murphy⁵. Murphy's comments to ADO Angoram on this patrol were :-

*'In my opinion Mr Cahill takes insufficient police on a patrol into an area such as this. He should take at least six and I want you to instruct him accordingly...a small force tempted the venturesome spirit in some areas to 'have a go.'*¹⁴— Cahill had taken only three police.

Mr. C.J. "Jack" Cahill at this time was of very junior rank, and therefore, presumably of limited experience. He was listed as a CPO stationed at Ambunti in the staff postings lists of December 1948 – March 1950.

Patrol Officer Orwin's Ambunti Patrol No 2/1951-52 was reported as an uneventful census revision of Waskuk, Numau, Yessan and the Upper Sepik. It mentioned :-

*'No information was received on the Yau natives from west of Namblo River'*¹⁵

In May 1953 patrol officer P. Wenke's report noted 'No life on Kaiembi hills, Kaiembis want to return home, this is not advisable until the Yau's are contacted.'¹⁶

In October that year Wenke made an overland journey from Ambunti to Yellow River. The route he took through the Numau Ablatak region was from Amaki to Warasai to Maimai. He noted :-

'Some Yau natives seen, but village not visited'.

Finally on 19th January 1955 during Ambunti Patrol No 3/1954-55, Patrol Officer Neil Grant reported :-

³ Amaki is believed by the Kwoma and Nukuma peoples to be adjacent to the legendary hole in the ground WANMAI which they regard as their place of the creation.

⁴ Ablatak was the point at which Lieut. Fryer and the Dutch party separated from Capt Taylor's police patrol in early June 1943. Fryer with help from W. MacGregor proceeded to Maimai and on to Lumi, while Taylor's party went to Begapuke on the April Rv. See Sepik Book 3 Chapter 35

⁵ J.J. Murphy was the author of 'The Book of Pidgin English' W.R. Smith & Paterson Pty Ltd – first published 1943.

' To Marua – formerly recorded as Yau – for initial census and village inspection. A few from the newly contacted villages of Wasei [Warasai], Nau'alu – formerly No'in and Marua have been out to work. ' [as indentured labourers on the coast]¹⁷

A seemingly reasonable question might be asked as to why did the administration not act to protect the Kaiembi and investigate the 1945/6 raid against them by the Yau? I believe the situation would have attracted immediate direct action had evidence of the raid reached the administration as soon as it happened. As it was, there was no clear time line when it did happen and evidence of it came from refugee survivors already established at Yessan. In essence this report would have been regarded as the same as many that came out of the time before the Australian administration of the Sepik was re-established after the end of Pacific war.

Effectively it was a cold case and to launch into an investigation against the uncontacted Yau would in all probability result in the administration being seen as the aggressor with similar consequences as McCarthy experienced with the Kamasiut in 1930, or Doolan would soon experience with Swagup in 1952. There was however a more pressing call on the time of available staff in 1946 as events unfolded at Wogamush, not far upstream of Kaiembi and Swagup, with shots fired. The administration's actions and policies was about to come under close scrutiny.

End Notes Chapter 2

¹ Ambunti patrol report 7/1972/73 Wongamusen P.O. Phil Moore – in Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 P 129.

² Informant Sambasau of Kaiembi – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 P 425.

³ Bragge Sepik research notes Vol 17 page 425 – informant Sambasau of Kaiembi

⁴ Bragge Sepik research notes Vol 17 page 425 – informant Sambasau of Kaiembi

⁵ Behrmann W *'Im Stromgebiet des Sepik'* – Berlin 1922 – last page.

⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18 Pages 28-9

⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Page 426

⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 426

⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 Pages 432

¹⁰ Angoram monthly report October 1946 Bragge Sepik Research note Vol 19 P34

¹¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 40 page 41

¹² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 Pages 76

¹³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 Pages 76

¹⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 Pages 76

¹⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 Pages 76

¹⁶ Ambunti Patrol report 6/52-3 – Upper Sepik, Leonard Schultze and Wogamush Rivers in May 1953 by P.O. P. Wenke - in Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p79

¹⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 81

Sepik 4 Chapter 2 The War Graves Quest to Recover Lieut. Barracluff's Remains

Throughout the latter months of 1946, Captain Burnett the officer in charge of the 29th War Graves unit stationed in Wewak had been intending to visit the April River to recover the remains of Australian Lieut. Joseph Barracluff who had been killed in action whilst serving with the ANGAU forces in the upper Sepik in 1943 (See Sepik 3 Chapter 33). The original plan was to do this with a large American War Graves vessel but when this plan was cancelled, Capt. Burnett approached the District Office staff for a guide to take him there.

Bill Macgregor who then held the rank of patrol officer was detailed for the task. He agreed to use his own launch, which in normal river conditions could have proceeded up the April River to the spot where Lieut. Barracluff was killed. The party left Wewak during October and headed upstream on the Sepik River. Macgregor performed a number of tasks in various villages. At Marui Dr. McInterney decided to join the party.

The river level was very low at the time and somewhere just upstream of Yessan [Map 2 – upstream of Ambunti] the river became too shallow to allow the launch to proceed further. Macgregor, being reluctant to leave his vessel unattended, arranged for Captain Burnett and Dr. McInterney to proceed upstream and thence up the April River in canoes provided by the people of Yessan and Maio villages.¹

Constable 2408 Dopi² takes up the story :-

'All the police at Marui were assembled in the office and Corporal Bengun and Constables Bangua, Wensikin and I were detailed to accompany the launch to Begapuke to recover the remains of a European who had been killed by the Japanese... At Malu, Brugnowi and Yessan we took on board interpreters and 'contacts'. Three canoes belonging to these people were towed behind the pinnacle. After camping ashore [after Macgregor's boat ran aground] we continued upstream by canoe...

On rounding a bend below Wogamush I saw a large number of canoes at the river side on our right hand. Our party was hugging the pitpit on the left side going upstream. When we were about level with the canoes on the right, five canoes manned by about four or five paddlers each, proceeded to our front and kept about fifty yards distance. They were in single line abreast. A large number of canoes left the shore and took up position astern of us. One long canoe similar to the Marui station canoe (this canoe is about 60 feet long), pulled out from the shore and took up position about fifty yards away on our right hand.

We were paddling upstream, the party having three canoes and disposed as follows: One canoe containing Doctor, Constable Bangua and crew, the second canoe containing the Army Captain, myself and crew and the third canoe containing Cpl. Bengun, cargo and crew. No 2 canoe was at the river side, No 1 canoe a little away abreast of it and No 3 canoe was lagging behind some distance and was cut off by the Wogamush canoes.

Our interpreters recognized that the strangers were Wogamush and they called out to the Wogamush natives. I do not know what was said. The Wogamush answered. The interpreters said. 'They do not wish to be friends, they wish to fight.'

The Army Captain said 'Oh lets go on and see what happens.' We then proceeded. The Army Captain and the Doctor has a short conversation in English. The Captain then said to me. 'The Doctor is going to shoot high. Do you think it will frighten the Wogamush?'

Then the Doctor fired a shot from an Owen Gun. We each, that is Doctor, Capt., Const. Bangua and self, were armed with Owen Guns. At the time I saw Doctor shoot he had the Owen Gun resting against the gunwale of the canoe in a position of elevation. After the Doctor fired the Wogamush without exception jumped overboard. They later re-embarked. The Doctor then fired another shot. The Wogamush again took to the water. One man in the long canoe abreast of us was seen to be doing a war dance of a type calculated to insult and raise indignation of any opponents. It consisted of turning his backside towards us and holding a cheek with each hand and swaying from the hips. Then the crew of our canoes drew my attention to an arrow they said had just fallen into the water between our two canoes. I did not see it fall and neither was I able to calculate from which direction it came. As far as I know no one else saw it fall but all heard the noise it made when striking the water.

Doctor then fired a burst and I fired a burst. I cannot say whether the Army Captain fired. I had no order to fire, but followed the action of the Doctor. I fired high. I do not know what direction or elevation the others had. I did not see any natives who had been shot. After the firing the Wogamush retreated hastily and some went into the canal we had intended travelling. The interpreter advised us not to go into the canal as it had high sides commanding the water and any canoes or crews would be at the mercy of the Wogamush ashore. The Doctor and Captain then had a conversation. Then we all turned back down stream and sleeping one night ashore we came to Mr. Macgregor's pinnace at Maio and from there we came on the pinnace to Marui³. [Map 2]

District Officer Horrie Niall takes up the story :-

'The party returned to Angoram and shortly afterwards I was advised by signal that they had been attacked by the natives of Wogamush, below the mouth of the April River. Arrows had been fired at them and they had replied by firing shots into the air and that no casualties had been suffered on either side. The officers made statements over the next week; they explained they had fired shots in defense as they feared the natives, in about 30 canoes were endeavoring to surround them as they had already fired arrows.

The following weekend I visited Marui and the patrol officer there (P.K. Moloney) advised me that he had been informed that ten natives of Wogamush had been shot. The Doctor was again interviewed in Wewak and maintained his story that none of the natives had been injured. I decided to investigate personally, which I did on the District Vessel A.S. 1812. The ADO Angoram (Ralph Ormsby) accompanied us upstream and at Marui, Patrol Officer Maloney and the Medical Assistant were taken on board. At the last villages in the controlled areas interpreters and guides were picked up from Brugnowi and Yambon villages.

Leaving Yeschan (Yessan) early in the morning a full day's steaming brought us to Wogamush village in the afternoon. The former village appeared to have been abandoned and the remains of many burnt houses were seen. No contact could be made with the natives that day, although several men were seen lurking near the pitpit swamps bordering the river. But as soon as we approached them in the launch they took refuge in the pitpit where it was impossible to follow them.

Practically the whole of the next day was spent visiting likely sites in the many lagoons and waterways in the area, but although many gardens were seen, only odd natives could be sighted at a distance. Late in the afternoon some natives were seen to enter the pitpit some distance below where the ship was anchored and we went to this area. After a great deal of shouting out by two old men from Yambon, who were said to be friendly with the natives of Wogamush, some natives gradually appeared and although armed with spears, bows and arrows, were very timid. Some gifts were made and they were induced to return with us to the 1812.

Questioning elicited the fact that on the occasion of the visit of Dr. McInterney and Capt. Burnett, two natives had been shot and killed. Their names were ascertained and the brother of one of the deceased was among those present. This relative was then given axes, knives, tomahawks, fish hooks and other trade goods as compensation for the death of his brother. Some trade was then carried out between the local natives and members of the crew. All appeared quite satisfied. They were then instructed to return to their villages and return the following morning with the relatives of the other native who was killed.

The following morning 37 canoes arrived at the ship bringing articles for trading and food for sale. They also brought the brother of the other man who was killed. Similar payment was made to him and the natives appeared very satisfied. After some further trade and exchange of gifts friendly relations appeared to have been re-established and a return was then made to Wewak.

The story behind the hostilities appears to be as follows ...

Here Mr. Niall recounts the tale of the ill-fated Japanese patrol and the resulting Japanese reprisal against Wogamush, who were not the ones who killed the Japanese patrol members. (Sepik Book 3 Chapter 51) Mr. Niall's report continues:

'In August or September 1946 the Wogamush decided to re-establish friendly relations with Yambon, Brugnowi and Yessan – the villages whose people, when in company of the Japanese punitive expedition looted their possessions and sacred objects. A large number of Wogamush people visited Brugnowi by canoe. Friendly relations were established and Wogamush natives remained there for a few days and stated that they would return some weeks later to re-establish friendly relations with the Malu and Avatip people.

Due to lack of good interpretation, it was extremely difficult to obtain a clear picture of what actually happened in the clash between the Europeans and the natives. Some natives affirmed that the Wogamush were proceeding to Avatip and Malu to a peace conference when they met the European party and thought that Yessan people had betrayed them and were bringing Europeans to attack them. Another story was that they feared further reprisals for some deeds committed during the war and sent a war party downstream in the hope of frightening away the Europeans. I [Niall] am uncertain which story is correct, but from all accounts they definitely endeavored to surround the Europeans and the police and they were the first to fire arrows, although from some distance and out of good arrow range.

The whole affair is most unfortunate in my opinion, due solely to the lack of experience amongst uncontrolled natives of the two officers concerned. If Mr. Macgregor had been with the party, it is not considered that the clash would have resulted. When leaving Wewak Capt. Burnett was informed that he could not visit the April River unless accompanied by an experienced Patrol Officer and I was unaware that the Medical Officer intended to join the party.

It is recommended that the whole affair be now considered closed and that no further action be taken. In such cases where deaths have occurred through fighting, providing sufficient payment is made, it is unusual for natives to feel aggrieved, and the payments made seemed quite satisfactory to the aggrieved persons. I feel quite certain that they bear no ill-will for the loss of their menfolk and that future patrols will be received in a welcome manner.

As War Damage Compensation is paid to the villages on the river, the next patrol to Wogamush will be instructed to pay compensation for the deaths of those killed by the enemy and the destruction of their houses and the looting of their goods. Compensation will be paid in trade, as money is of no value in this area.⁴

see ... Sepik 3 Attachment D which describes another subsequent attempt to locate the site of Lieut. Barracluff's burial in 1971, and efforts to recover his remains.

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D.O.Niall's report was forwarded to Port Moresby and duly reached the desk of the Administrator, J.K.Murray, who was not quite satisfied as he explained in a memo to the Government Secretary:

With regard to the attached correspondence, will you please inform me what is the usual arrangement with regard to investigations concerning such affrays in which people are killed? I am not quite easy with the penultimate paragraph of the District Officer's report...It may be interpreted as a suggestion that since no further repercussions are likely to occur from the native side...No action should be taken.⁵

There followed a sequence of communications between the Government Secretary, the Administrator and the Crown Law Officer in which post-war PNG policy on the management of "Affray" was thrashed out. This is the subject of Sepik 5 Chapter 2.

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End Notes Chapter 2

¹ Niall 14th November 1946 cont.

² We briefly met Constable Dopu in Sepik 3 Chapter 50 during the Sepik campaign near Yapunda

³ Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 20 pages 54-5

⁴ Niall 14th November 1946 cont.

⁵ Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 20 pages 50

Sepik 4 Chapter 3

Patrols into the Uncontrolled Palei / Maimai Region PART 1 - P.O. George Morris June 1947

Introduction –

In order to confront the Japanese enemy, on 22nd April 1944 American forces landed at Aitape. From there, with ANGAU support, American and later Australian troops pushed the Japanese 18th Army eastwards on fronts both north and south of the Torricelli Mountains – described in Sepik Book 3.

Yapunda - mentioned in this chapter - was a pre-war police post and an important allied wartime base and transit point. Mai Mai Police Post, established in 1938 by PO J. Hodgekiss in support of Oil Search's petroleum exploration, also featured in ANGAU's wartime activities, particularly those of Lieut. Fryer and the Dutch party.

District Officer Horrie Niall had served as ADO Aitape before the war and was familiar with the Yapunda/Maimai country, past history, patrol routes and its people. Post war, the first station to be established south of the Torricelli Mountains was Maprik in 1946, followed by Dreikikir in 1947 and then Lumi. Both Lumi and Dreikikir had airstrips built during the war by ANGAU troops using local village labour.

A regional Map as well as the patrol map appears at the end of the Chapter. This map is also applicable to Sepik 4 Chapter 4.

Chapters 3 & 4 also reflect upon the relationship between Patrol Officers and their native patrol police who were essentially a para-military force. "*It is doubtful if a finer indigenous police force ever existed*" [quoting former PO J.D. (Des) Martin].

Sub District Office, AITAPE
6th June 1947

Mr. G. Morris P.O.
AITAPE

PATROL INSTRUCTIONS.

To investigate reports of the murder of two women of the Yemberemba area by natives of Mukili you will proceed to the area leaving here on or about 9th June.

Police detachment for the patrol will consist of the Sergeant Major and seven constables, one of whom is to be drawn from the Dreikikir detachment and should meet you at Yapunda. The officer in charge Dreikikir has received the necessary instructions ...

The area concerned was regarded as uncontrolled prior to the war. Patrol Officer Whitforde visited it about August last year and was attacked by Yemberemba natives. Since then natives responsible for the attack and natives from Mukili have worked at Aitape as casual labourers. Before departing read carefully the relevant portions of Mr. Whitforde's report.

The objects of the patrol are to check on the authenticity of the complaint and, if true, to endeavour to bring the offenders, complainants and witnesses to Aitape. Subsidiary to this, endeavour to ascertain the reason why the Yemberemba natives, who laid the complaint to you, left Aitape without warning.

Utmost care must be taken to ensure the safety of your party. A hostile attitude is possible. Resistance to such hostility should be diplomacy rather than action with weapons which should not be used except in the last resort to prevent death or injury to members of your party ...

If after ten days in the area you have not been able to achieve the objectives of the patrol and seem unlikely to do so within a few days, return to Aitape leaving word with nearby natives that the Assistant District Officer intends to patrol the Palei-Maimai area later in the year...

signed ... R.H. Boyan a/ADO

The patrol departed from Aitape on the 9th June and travelled via Kapoam, Peiwa and Lihen to reach Yapunda base camp. From there they went via Mai to Wanali, where a permanent carrier line was recruited, and on to Seleput. PO Morris continues the story :-

'At Seleput on 18th June 1947, the patrol was met by a large armed party of men from Yemberemba and Wani who were under the impression that the patrol's purpose was to wipe out the Mukili natives.

Thursday June 19th

Before leaving Seleput the Luluai of Yemberemba was consulted and it was explained that the purpose of the patrol was to investigate two reported murders and that the patrol did not wish to become involved in any fights ... The immediate plan was to go to Makafum No 2 and from there to make contact with Mukili. The Yemberemba and Wani natives were sent back to their villages. The patrol departed from Seleput and at 10.30am as the patrol was about to ford the Watmartin River a large party of natives were seen on the opposite bank. It was found that they were the Yemberemba and Wani natives who had been sent back and also reinforcements.

Consulting the map showed that the patrol had been led astray. The Tultul of Seleput admitted that he had decided that the patrol should go on the Yemberemba side. It was very evident that the Yemberemba group wanted to fight the Mukilis.

The patrol then left the natives after stressing the desire for a peaceful settlement and followed the Watmartin River until the Makafum road was found. The Tultul of Wilal acted as guide over a road so steep and overgrown with nettles it was almost impassable ... At 1pm a party of natives was heard ... The two Tultuls were sent ahead to tell them that the patrol wanted to sleep at the village and that it had peaceful intentions, and that the patrol would like them to accompany. The natives ran off without waiting for the patrol to come. The police were warned to keep a sharp look out and the Sgt Major was sent to control the rear. The Luluai of Mai and the Tultuls [who were inclined to scoff at precautions] were sent ahead to arrange quarters etc.

The patrol proceeded down the mountain. The track was steep and hemmed in by dense bush on one side and a near precipice on the other. When the writer and two police reached the bottom a short message was beaten on the Makafum garamut, to be repeated by Mukili, Makafum No 1, Emukuli [Aimukili], Kri and Sulfin. Much noise accompanied a large party of natives armed with spears, bows and arrows and pig skin shields, who left the village along the road towards the patrol. The patrol fell back to a slight levelling of the ground. The writer, Const. Turu and Const Nangi took up positions on the mouth of the road and waited until the officials returned. These arrived after being fired upon by natives waiting at the top of the mountain...

Visibility, because of the nature of the ground, was limited to 15 yards. The natives advanced to within 15 yards with bows already drawn. A volley was fired over their heads. It had absolutely no effect. At ten yards the writer felt that the lives of the party were in danger and ordered Constable Turu to fire on the closest. The natives' advance stopped.

Whilst this occurred Sergeant Major Simagun was attacked at the rear of the party, by a large party of natives who had been carefully following the patrol. This was halted, the native taking cover. No native showed the least fear of the rifles of the patrol, and at no time did they show any sign of retreating. Their only reaction to close fire was to take cover and advancing when firing ceased. They were given no opportunity to use their weapons; as if they had they would have been sure of killing at such close range.

During the lull the carriers (who had panicked) were organized and the Sergeant Major led the patrol to the top of the mountain, to the yam houses. The writer and Constables Turu and Nangi held the road by close fire until the rest of the patrol reached the top. The party dispersed by the Sergeant Major then attacked at the rear of the carriers and threatened to cut the rearguard off. The writer and Const. Dani covered this attack, the writer being nearly killed.

The rearguard then fell back under cover of the S/Mjr to the top of the mountain where an area was cleared and a defensive position taken up. An all-night guard necessitated the use of all the police. The first attack occurred at 3.45pm and the rearguard did not reach the top of the hill until 5.15pm. At dark three parties of natives carrying bamboo flares left the village and disappeared in the direction of Seleput. It is certain the patrol was under observation all night.

Friday 20th June 1947.

At dawn the patrol stood to, but the only contact was with forward scouts. The patrol left a generous payment and gifts at the yam houses. A small quantity of yams was eaten by the carriers, but otherwise nothing was touched or damaged.

The patrol then retraced its steps and was followed by scouts until the boundary was reached. Upon arrival at Seleput natives were sent to Wani to find out why the patrol was attacked and by whom.

21st and 22nd June 1947. At Seleput

Monday 23rd June 1947 at Seleput.

It was ascertained that the hamlets of Wambe, Wange, Wamanacor, Mainimbe, Wanu and Simaun, all of Makafun No 2 village, and the hamlets of Nauange and Marunguli of Makafun No 1 village plus the villages of Kri, Sulfin and Eimukuli – all took part in the attack. Mukili itself was waiting on the Wani-Yemberemba road, and did not join the others until dark.

It appeared the natives had organized an ambush of the patrol, but because of the storm and the delay in the patrol arriving (because of being led astray) only a skeleton party was waiting. This would account for the attack starting before the main party arrived from the village. It was certain that they expected the patrol to go on in the morning and it was ascertained that the whole group waited on the mountain near the village. Otherwise the return to Seleput may have been different.

It was ascertained that one of the natives was killed and another missing. Word was left that the ADO would be visiting the area later on and that the present patrol was hurt to think its peaceful intentions were met with such hostility.'

The patrol arrived at Aitape at 4pm on the 26th June, after leaving Seleput and staying overnight at Yapunda on the 24th and at Lipan on the 25th. Morris' patrol report concluded :-

'To admit failure is always shameful, yet it must be admitted that the patrol did not achieve its objectives. The patrol could have gone on...if it had it is certain many natives would have been killed. It is also highly probable that some of the patrol would have been killed or injured. The natives were present in sufficient numbers to dispel all fear of the patrol's rifles. Their attack was a planned attempt, not the frightened bravado of a fearful village, but a deliberate strategy of a large organized group.'

The writer is aware of his own inexperience in such matters, and the tendency of inexperience to exaggerate the gravity of the situation. It is thought advisable therefore to point out that the Sergeant Major of Police Simagun with 20 years' experience in the force was inclined to take an even graver view of the situation'.

Writer's Note: We will meet Sergeant Major Simagun again in later chapters. Mr. Morris wrote of him :-

'S/Mjr, Simagun. reg No 2232. The S.Mjr was all that could be desired. He did not try to interfere in any native matters or do anything outside his duties. His advice was requested on occasions, and it was given frankly without advantage being taken of the fact that it was asked. Had the rear of the party been controlled by someone less experienced events might have turned out differently.' Mr. Morris continues with his conclusion :-

'It seems fairly certain that the reported murders did take place. The Yemberembas left Aitape because having lodged the complaint they considered their work done.'

The probable cause of the attack was boasting by the Yemberemba natives and the arrival of the patrol so soon after they arrived back from the coast. A patrol in three months-time would stand a better chance of success. There is no danger to the Yemberembas in the meantime. The occupation of any one village would have to be lengthy because of the numbers involved. It is certain nothing can be done now, but a patrol later working through Wani to Makafum, then through Makafum to Mukili might succeed. This plan might have been carried out had there been the slightest indication that Makafum was hostile.

The last patrol to this area recommended ten police. The present writer can only repeat this and recommend it as a minimum. It is not to be thought that a Government patrol with eight rifles was forced to retire by fifty or sixty natives armed with bows and arrows... If it is desired to send a punitive patrol, the writer and police will accommodate.¹

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On 1st July 1946 a/ADO Boyan commented of Morris' patrol report, as follows :-

'... I am convinced that Mr. Morris acted wisely throughout. I suspect the good intentions of the Yemberemba natives. After laying the complaint at Aitape and then leaving without first notifying Mr. Morris...it appears likely that the kiap was going to come and take punitive action of the Mukili people in general and that the attack on the patrol was regarded by the natives responsible as "action in self-defence..."'

In September next it is my intention to visit the Palei/Maimai sub-divisions for the purpose of meeting pre-war Wage Claims and compiling forms for War Damage Compensation. Without diverging from the main purpose of that patrol I will endeavor to regain the confidence of the Mukilis.

The fact that some casualties had to be inflicted on the ambush party is regretted. However I am satisfied that Mr. Morris abided by the instructions in this matter, that he showed extreme patience and forbearance and was fortunate that neither he nor the police nor the carriers and guides suffered casualties...²

R.H. Boyan a/ADO

District Officer Niall reply to a/ADO Boyan dated 3rd July 1947, stated in part :-

'In view of the serious nature of the attack on this patrol, you will proceed to the area and make every possible endeavor to ascertain the cause of the hostility to the patrol and the reasons for the attack.

To assist you in carrying out these instructions Patrol Officer Zweck of the Wewak Sub District will be posted to Aitape for approximately one month, to accompany you and four police of the Wewak detachment will be detailed against your strength if necessary...Zweck and the police will arrive at Aitape on the 12th July, and it is desired that you proceed to Mai Mai, leaving the following Monday, or as soon thereafter as possible.

It is considered that Patrol Officer Morris should not have left the scene of the attack without first endeavouring to make contact with the Makafum natives. The Seleput natives are a different "talk" to the Makafum-Mukili people, and it could not be expected that the latter would visit Seleput the following day to make friendly contact as the track joining the two areas is rough and very seldom used.

The road used by Mr. Morris was not the most suitable, and it is desired that you proceed via Lipan Pass then follow the main Mai Mai road through Yapunda, Yarkom, Yambil, Monandin, Yiliwambuk, Singrer-Nuku, and Namblo villages to the Mai Mai police post. On arrival there send word to the natives of Mukili, Emukili [Aimukili], Yermerava and Makafum through the Tultul of Mai Mai village, if possible, and endeavor to arrange for them to come to a conference at Mai Mai in order to settle their differences peaceably. If this cannot be done you will visit each of the villages and make contact with the natives and endeavor to effect a peaceful settlement.

... If it is learnt that the murders have in fact been committed, you will make every effort to apprehend the offenders and bring them to trial. The following short history of the area will assist you:

Little contact was made with the natives of this area prior to 1937. Odd recruiters had visited the area but with no success, and then about 1937, geologists and field parties of Oil Search Ltd. thoroughly explored the area and eventually established a large base camp at Mai Mai and constructed the 'drome there.

About the middle of 1938, after several minor attacks by natives on Oil Search parties a government police post was established at Mai Mai by Patrol Officer Hodgekiss but little success was met with in bringing the natives under control. From memory both Patrol Officer Hodgekiss and ADO Bloxham were attacked near Mukili and Mr. Stanley, geologist with Oil Search Limited, was also attacked there. The latter lived away from the main Mai Mai party

at a small place called Balla between Mukili and Emukili and he made good contact with the natives and learned to converse with them in their own language.

Towards the end of 1938 the late Patrol Officer J. Hyde was attacked near Makafum and in the affray the flag was taken by the natives. I visited the area in March 1939, using the road taken by Patrol Officer Morris and the natives at Makafum were at first hostile and a few arrows were fired at our party, but no one was hurt. We proceeded to the village and after staying there a day, friendly relations were established, and on my next visit some two months later we were warmly welcomed and the natives had constructed a very good rest house.

Some few months later I visited the villages of Watalu and Libuat to settle a fight between them and the Yerimerwa people, and some natives of these villages were arrested and imprisoned at Aitape. After that patrol the people settled down and caused no more trouble until the outbreak of the war. During the last 12 months of the war Sub-Lieut. Stanley of F.E.L.O. was in the Mai Mai area for several months and reports were received that some of the armed natives caused a lot of trouble amongst the natives of that area. Patrol Officer Elliott was murdered at Wanali on the 30th June 1939 and in June last your patrol officer Whitforde was attacked at Yerimerwa, but no further action was taken and he proceeded on his patrol.

It will thus be seen that these natives are a warlike people and quite willing to attack any patrol that is not properly organized and prepared, and you will therefore take every precaution against a surprise attack. Should the natives of any village attack your party, you will remain in the areas until contact is made with them and a peaceful settlement effected. If you leave the area after an attack without having taken any action, you will only cause trouble for future patrols, as the natives tend to believe that they have compelled a withdrawal by the force of arms, and this belief will only lead them into further excesses.

On no account whatever is the patrol to be regarded as a punitive one, and this must be thoroughly impressed on all the police and members of your party.

From my experience I would think that in this case word has been passed to Mukili-Makafum natives that the patrol was visiting the area to attack and punish them. Such rumours are easily spread amongst semi-controlled natives and as the patrol entered the Makafum boundary by a little-used road, which could easily be considered as a back-door to their village, this no doubt helped foster such a rumour.

On arrival at Mai Mai Post examine the aerodrome and if at all possible, arrange for it to be thoroughly cleaned. It is suggested that the natives from the big Namblo village be employed for this purpose... if you consider it suitable for landing by Dragon aircraft, send advice of same to Aitape by runner, from where this office can be advised by signal...³

signed H.R. Niall District Officer'

Also on 3rd July 1947, DO Niall forwarded the report and associated comments to the Director of DS&NA J.H. Jones, who had been the District Officer in charge of the Sepik District five years before when war broke out. Niall reported in part :-

'The police post at Mai Mai should be re-opened and manned by a Patrol Officer for at least six months, but the present field staff of the District is insufficient to allow this... The whole area is well-known to me and I have patrolled it on several occasions and am of the

opinion that provided due precautions are taken, and the natives shown that the patrol cannot be bluffed by a show of arms, no patrol will be in any danger.

From the report it appears that actually no arrows were fired or spears thrown by the natives at the patrol and that they only adopted a very threatening attitude. At ten yards distance, these natives who are excellent bowmen, could easily have killed members of the patrol if they had so desired.

Patrol Officer Morris cannot be blamed for shooting at the natives when they failed to disperse after shots were fired over their heads. He had the safety of his police and carriers to think of and he acted in self defence and in accordance with TPNG District Standing Instructions, as per the following extracts from page 5 :-

- b) *“Every endeavour will be made to arrest the offenders and punitive measures will not be resorted to. District Officers are reminded that they are protected by the Queensland Criminal Code should they be forced as officers of police certain lines of action. [i.e. shooting in self-defence] For the sake of conciseness, information is shown in tabular form...:-⁴*

| <u>Instances</u> | <u>Lawful Action</u> |
|--|--|
| <i>A police party is approaching a village to arrest one or several members of the tribe reasonably suspected of having committed inter-tribal murders. The tribe throw spears or hold spears in such as to make the police, who are endeavouring to make the arrest, reasonably consider that the tribe or members of the tribe intend to throw them. The police open fire,</i> | <i>The police are justified in firing for such time as is consistent with the law as it set down in Section 254 Q.C.C. vis., ‘It is lawful for a person who is engaged in making any arrest to use such force as may be reasonably necessary to overcome any force used in resisting such arrest’.</i> |

On 11th July 1947, Director Jones referred the reports to the Government Secretary and suggested he may refer them to His Honour the Administrator, who in turn may refer them to the Honourable Minister [for External Territories]. After re-stating the facts of the case Jones added :-

‘... such incidents may be anticipated from time to time as the sphere of government influence is extended into uncontrolled and unexplored areas of the Territory.

Many junior administrative officers will be called upon to play their part in this responsible and hazardous work while yet relatively inexperienced in uncontrolled area technique. The acute shortage in the service of men with this specialist knowledge makes no other course possible.⁵

(J.H. Jones) a/Director’.

The Government Secretary’s response to Jones contained the following short sharp response from the Administrator concerning Jones last paragraph :-

‘I consider this can be overstressed without any compensating advantage. Old reports indicate grave difficulties too. We cannot but use all our resources to the best advantage.’⁶

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Aitape Patrol No 1 1947-48 – a/ADO R.H.Boyan, PO A.Zweck and 11 police: 17/7/47 – 30/8/1947. ADO Boyan's report stated in part :-

The attempt to arrange a conference at Mai Mai

... Enquiry was made of the Tultul [of Mai Mai] as to whether he, or any of his natives could contact the Mukili, Aimukili, Makafim [spelt Makafum by Mr. Morris] or Yemberemba natives and invite them to visit the post at Wambara [i.e. Mai Mai police post.] The Tultul regretted that he was unable to co-operate; It appears that prior to the activities of the Oil Search Ltd. personnel and the establishment of the Post, the Mai Mai group had been decimated by frequently aggressive action initiated by the natives beyond their boundaries (I don't doubt that the Mai Mais were not always innocent) and the Mai Mais still feared death at the hands of their traditional enemies.

First contact with the Makafim natives.

The patrol formulated a general policy of not moving to potentially hostile villages unless contact had first been made with some of the inhabitants thereof who would thereupon act as guides and intermediaries. Therefore no immediate action was taken in the hope that observance of action on the aerodrome...would entice some visitors from the disaffected area to the post. This had not happened when, on 28th, from the aerodrome (with the aid of binoculars) natives were sighted burning off gardens between Wambara and Makafim.

Two officers with four police thereupon set out for the gardens and, en-route, accosted two natives and established friendly relations sufficient to justify a small party moving on to a group of hamlets centred around Wadifil (...described as Makafim on the Army maps). Other natives joined us on the way...About two hours were spent at Wadifil. We then returned to Wambara accompanied by two natives who agreed to lead the patrol to Aimakili

Arrival of "Dragon"

Next morning, 29th, a Dragon aircraft...made a landing even though the restoration of the lower end of the aerodrome was not complete. At that same moment, a large number of Wadifil, Mukili and Aimukili natives...arrived to greet the District Officer.

Next morning 30th July the patrol moved to Aimukili and received a good reception. Over successive days, contacts were made with the Makafim, Mukili and Yemberemba [Morris' spelling is Yemberemba] natives and the stage was set for a visit to each group...

Reasons for attack on Morris' patrol.

...To understand the full implications, it is necessary to go back to the attack on Whitforde's patrol in September 1946 (incidentally, it was confirmed that no natives were killed on that occasion.) It was ascertained that subsequent to the attack on Mr. Whitforde's patrol, Mukili and Aimukili natives stole native valuables from Yemberemba village. This rankled in the minds of the latter people so some of their number visited Aitape and falsely complained that the Mukili people had killed two of their women. When they learned that a patrol was on its way out they set off to join the patrol at Seleput and en-route at Wani-

Womaka made statements giving rise to belief that the patrol was a punitive one proceeding to shoot up the Mukilis, whereupon the Yemberbes would be avenged and be able to recapture the stolen loot with, perhaps interest.

Fearful of the safety of their daughter Safu, married to Keiwoa of Langong hamlet, Makafim, an old woman named Waki preceded thereto and passed on the boasts of the Yemberebas. The attack was, therefore motivated by self-defence and launched on the principle of "attack is better than defence."... Soon after the first contact with him, Wailiwan, the leader of the Mafakim hamlets was told of the peaceful intentions of the patrol and asked to produce the next of kin of those killed. By this time it had been ascertained that the total casualties were three:

| | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>Geibi of Weyon hamlet</i> | <i>- Next of kin Masawoa (wife)</i> |
| <i>Wolmo of Weyon hamlet</i> | <i>- Next of kin Salmi (mother)</i> |
| <i>Bauwi of Wamanakoa hamlet</i> | <i>- Next of kin None.</i> |

...on the spot gifts were made of shells and lavalavas were made to the wife of Geibi and the mother of Wolmo...Salt and tinned meat was also sent from Yapunda.

Potential Patrol Posts.

...I consider that if a landing strip could be found in the vicinity, the Post for the administration of the country forming the middle watersheds of the Wagasu, Om and Namblo Rivers should be established in the Makru - Nuku vicinity in lieu of Wambara [also known as Mai Mai].⁷

Writer's Note: A decade later in 1957-8 Nuku Patrol Post was established by PO George Oakes and in 1976 the writer was posted there as ADC to upgrade the Patrol Post status to District status, the equivalent of the Sub District status prior to 1966.

In his comments of Boyan's Aitape Patrol Report No 1/1947-8 DO Niall seemed well pleased

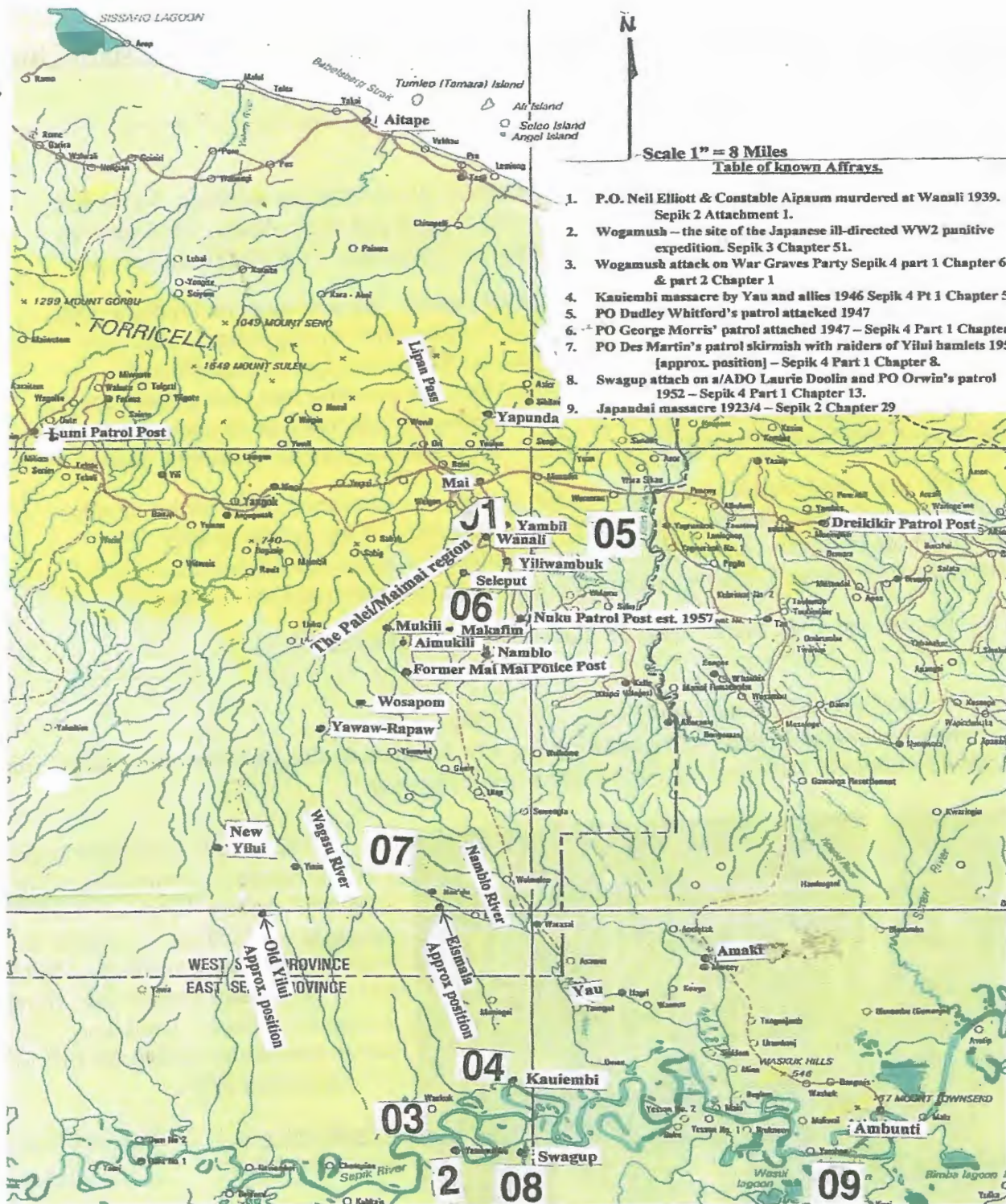
...The report is an excellent one, and Mr. Boyan appears to have acted correctly throughout the whole trip. It is recommended that no further action be taken in the matter and the whole question of the killing of the natives be allowed to drop...⁸

The file on the attack on Morris' patrol was closed by a memo (C.M.840/1/3) from the Administrator and signed by the J.R. Halligan, Secretary in which he stated :-

'I am directed to inform you that the Minister has noted that the position is now well in hand and that no further action is proposed in relation to the three natives who were killed in the attack on the patrol led by Mr. Morris'.

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The map scale below – is reduced from the 8 miles shown to about 11 miles to the inch in order to fit it onto the page ...



Scale 1" = 8 Miles
Table of known Affrays.

1. P.O. Neil Elliott & Constable Aipaum murdered at Wanali 1939. Sepik 2 Attachment 1.
2. Wogamush – the site of the Japanese ill-directed WW2 punitive expedition. Sepik 3 Chapter 51.
3. Wogamush attack on War Graves Party Sepik 4 part 1 Chapter 6 & part 2 Chapter 1
4. Kaniemi massacre by Yau and allies 1946 Sepik 4 Pt 1 Chapter 5
5. PO Dudley Whitford's patrol attacked 1947
6. PO George Morris' patrol attacked 1947 – Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 7
7. PO Des Martin's patrol skirmish with raiders of Yilui hamlets 1951 [approx. position] – Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 8.
8. Swagup attack on s/ADO Laurie Doolin and PO Orwin's patrol 1952 – Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 13.
9. Japandai massacre 1923/4 – Sepik 2 Chapter 29

End Notes Chapter 3

¹ G. Morris – Aitape Patrol Report No 11/1946-7
² Aitape reference WKT 30/2-15 of 1st July 1947
³ H.R. Niall Wewak reference WK. 30/2-30, of 3rd July 1947
⁴ H.R. Niall Wewak reference WK. 30/2-31, of 3rd July 1947
⁵ J.H. Jones reference DS 30-11-28 of 11th July 1947
⁶ Port Moresby Government Secretary reference C.A. 1/107/1 of 22nd July 1947
⁷ Aitape Patrol Report No 1/1947-8 p 17
⁸ Wewak reference 30/2-42 dated 18th September 1947

Sepik 4 Chapter 4

Patrols Into The Uncontrolled Palei- Mai Mai Region PART 2 – PO J.D. Martin [from Dreikikir] Sept. 1951

Writers Note :

We continue here the history of Dreikikir and the patrol officers who served there. As we saw in Sepik Book 3 Chapter 65, Dreikikir was re-established as part of the Aitape sub district by PO Whitforde in 1947, and in 1949 it was transferred from Aitape to the Maprik sub district.

PO Laurie Doolan was the first OIC after the transfer. We next met him briefly as OIC Telefomin in 1951 - 52, after which he was posted as acting ADO at Angoram. In February 1952 a patrol he led was attacked at Swagup – Chapter 9. [By 1974 he was the District Commissioner of the Western Highlands at a time when that province was a tribal war zone. He devised a strategy to pacify the warring tribes and obtained the approval of the then Chief Minister, Michael Somare, to implement it. The writer participated in that exercise Chapter 54.]

PO J.D. [Des] Martin took over from Mr. Doolan and conducted six Dreikikir patrols. The first of which [Dreikikir patrol no 1/1951-2] is the subject of the current chapter. His excellent observations and reporting of this and his other five patrol reports provided the information for Chapter 5 *Aspects of Dreikikir Anthropology Frozen in 1951-53 Time*.

We will meet Mr. Martin again as ADO Ambunti in Chapters 14 and 28.

The cover of the patrol report indicates the objective of the patrol was :-

‘Investigation of Reports of Tribal Fighting and Murders in the Mai Mai area [Aitape sub district] and a General Survey of the Native Situation in the area.’



The patrol personnel were PO J.D. Martin, ten members of the RP&NGC led by Sergeant Nemo¹, **opposite** - Medical Assistant E. Wilson, one native medical orderly and a permanent carrier line from Womgrir village, Dreikikir. The patrol was in the field from 11th to 30th September 1951.

Introduction:¹ Patrol Officer Martin recorded :-

‘The patrol set out to investigate a report by a native from the lower Mai Mai to the effect that a party of men from Yilui had attacked a hamlet of the Eismala village group and had succeeded in wiping out the total population of one of the two hamlets. This report was verified by the patrol. It was

found that the area had not been entered by any Europeans before – including recruiters and missionaries. None of the native guides who accompanied the patrol had any good local knowledge of the area and this resulted in a village being attacked and a number of natives being killed while the patrol was in the field within a day's walk of the incident. Had good guides been available, it is felt that this attack could have been prevented... The Yilui village group was attacked on 16th September and the patrol arrived there two days later.

It is felt that the patrol was a partial failure in one respect, because it was found impossible to apprehend any of the natives responsible for the recent murders. However, the events leading to the killings at Eismala and the Yilui groups will be described in the Native Affairs section.

Patrolling in the Mai Mai area had been confined both pre-war and post-war to the central villages. It is felt that the pre-war patrols often had trouble with the natives whilst in that area, and the two post-war patrols [Whitforde and Morris] which followed the main tracks through the area did not penetrate to the small hamlets and numerous village groups away from the main track – these were subsequently attacked.

The area is badly in need of a permanent officer if the incessant tribal fighting is to cease. Although this patrol was fortunate not to be attacked it is my belief that an officer operating permanently in the area, particularly in the lower part of the area, will suffer some opposition from natives in early stages of contact ...

The patrol diary in brief :-

11/9/51 Departed [Dreikikir] station 8am and arrived Ianinguap village 2.20pm

12/9/51 Departed Ianinguap and arrived at Awes village 4.10pm

13/9/51 Departed Awes 8am and arrived Namblo 3.45pm

14/9/51 Departed Namblo 8am and arrived old Mai Mai Patrol Post midday.

15/9/51 Departed Mai Mai 8am and arrived Wosapom village at 2pm; a village previously uncontacted by Europeans. No adult male natives present – believed to have gone to Yilui to engage in a tribal fight. Camped outside the village – Guards posted.

16/9/51 Departed Wosapom 7.30am. At 1pm contacted a large group of armed natives, about 30, resting in the bush. All ran upon our approach. Pursued one group into the Kunai but all scattered and none contacted. Camped for the night on the Kunai plain.'

Writer's Note: Sixty years later Mr. Martin submitted an article for publication in the International Police Association Magazine entitled 'A Patrol Officer's Life in the TPNG Field Constabulary'.¹ He mentioned the events described above as :-

'After days of trying to catch up with the group [of raiders], the patrol with me in the lead more or less stumbled on to them as we came out of bright sunlight into a darkened small forest. To say the least, confusion reigned for a while until we sorted ourselves out. Suffice it to say that arrows were discharged by the raiding party and shots fired in exchange.

Writer's Note: Departmental standing instructions include about 12 pages devoted to "The use of force" and many sub texts devoted to the use of firearms. In a sub text entitled "**Firing Upon Hostile Persons**"...the ultimate paragraph reads :-

‘Because an officer has a good legal defence to possible charges of homicide, grievous bodily harm or unlawful wounding, it does not necessarily follow that his conduct or management of the patrol will escape censure’

Mr Martin’s story continues: *On our return to Dreikikir...the patrol police naturally told their mates of their experience and I overheard one say to another “spia benara oli pundaun olsem ren” [...the arrows fell like rain] which was somewhat of an exaggeration but a well- received story all the same.*²

Writer’s Note cont. – We noted in Sepik Book 4 Chapters 2, the attack on the War Graves Party by Wogamush warriors, and Chapter 3 the attack on PO G. Morris patrol. Both these incidents were reported, both were investigated in depth and on both occasions the officers involved were censured. Consequently, although it was the right thing to do, some such incidents went unreported and even when reports were made, suspicions remained whether the *whole* incident was reported.

After just one arrow was fired by a Mianmin warrior at Telefomin patrol No 3/1966-67, [Chapter 38] District Commissioner Clancy insisted that I, as leader of patrol No 3, lead the next patrol into the Mianmin Restricted Area as it should be me who should carry the consequences of anything the patrol might have done during or in response to the earlier attack.

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P.O. Martin’s diary notes of Dreikikir patrol No 1/1951-52 continues :-

17/9/51 ‘Broke camp 8am and arrived Eismala group 9am. Previously uncontacted, surrounded by swamp with only one approach, and this defended by armed natives. Made friendly contact and entered village area. Made camp for the night.



18/9/51 *Broke camp 8am. At 2.15pm found seven male natives dead on a platform at the edge of the track - **opposite**. All bodies had arrows still in the flesh. Shafts broken off. All had more than 10 wounds each. Dead about two days. At 2.35pm arrived Yilui village outskirts. Self and Sgt. Nemo sighted by natives who ran towards us carrying spears etc. Ordered police to hold fire unless life endangered. Disarmed hesitant natives and ordered others to throw their weapons away. Signals complied with. Entered area slowly on alert. Found suitable position and camped for the night. Strong guard posted.*

19/9/51 *Spend the day trying to gain the confidence of the natives. Mr. Wilson treated many natives with sores, many of which were gangrenous. Some*

wounded natives also came for treatment for spear and arrow wounds. Believe some are hiding in the bush close to the village. Ordered police and carriers not to leave the camp precincts.

20/9/51 Inspected site of the fight – many burnt houses, broken arrows and spears at the scene. Apparently houses set on fire and occupants killed when they ran out. Talked to a number of old men about the folly of tribal fighting and killing. Demonstrated the effects of rifle fire on shields and trees. Impressed natives very much.

21/9/51 Departed Yilui 8.30am. Camped on the bank of the Wagasu River. Found a dead man on the track. Killed or wounded in the fight and abandoned by the attacking group. Made camp 3.30pm.

22/9/51 Broke camp 8am and arrived Yawar [Yawaw – Rapaw] village group 9.30am to find no natives in the village. Have information that this village participated in the attack on Yilui. Found three stretchers in the village – used for carrying the wounded. Apparently all natives are frightened and are in the bush. Probably expect reprisals for taking part in the raid.

Departed at midday. No contact made and arrived at Wosapom 2.30pm. This village also participated in the raid and no natives except two old women and a young man suffering from a tropical ulcer. He stated that he had just returned from Rabaul where he worked on a plantation. He himself left the village and went to Lumi to sign on. Reports that many men who were in the raiding party had just returned from work and that all had left the village to sign on – no contact by Europeans, no natives in the village. This confirms report that this patrol first in area...Camped the night.

23/9/51 Departed Wosapom 9am. Still no sign of other villagers. Arrived old Mai Mai Patrol Post 1pm. Camped for the night.

24/9/51 Rested all day. Police and carriers very tired. Both Medic Wilson and self covered in sores on legs probably from walking in swamps. Tultul Yowi of Mai Mai villages and native Markut of Awelva village fearful for future safety of their villages as they accompanied the patrol and acted as guides and interpreters. Believe that other natives will say they brought the patrol to the area and will take action against them. Told that in the event of a raid on either of their villages to report immediately to Aitape.

25/9/51 Departed post 8.30am and arrived Namblo 11.30am.

26/9/51 Departed Namblo 8.30am and arrived Wandembangi 1.30pm. This hamlet previously uncontacted by Government patrol, though recruiters have been here. Not many natives in village. Approaches heavily fortified with fences. Told that Amagi [Amaki] group of villages in Wan area have killed and eaten a number of males from this village. Site of village recently moved. Camped over-night.

27/9/51 8.30am departed Wandembangi and arrived Mahawa [Klaflei No 2] 2pm. Camped for the night. This area not previously contacted by Government though heavily recruited.

28/9/51 Departed Mahawa 8.15am and arrived Bongos [Gawanga area] 1.30pm.

29/9/51 Heavy Rain. Departed village [Bongos] at 10am and arrived Tau 3pm. Over-night

30/9/51 Departed Tau 8.15am and arrived Dreikikir post 12.15am – End of Patrol.'

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Native Affairs.

'The Mai Mai area is under the direct control of the Aitape sub district. However a message concerning the murders at Eismala village group was brought to Dreikikir and knowing the staff position at Aitape, I proceeded to the area to investigate the reports (in Oct. 1951).

It appears that the report was correct in all details. The Yilui group attacked a hamlet named Iluwaia, which is one of two hamlets that make up the Eismala group of people. This attack occurred about five weeks before the patrol entered the area. While en-route to Yilui from Eismala, I inspected the remains of the attacked hamlet and also the remains of nine bodies all in an advanced state of decomposition – opposite.



Eismala natives who accompanied me told me that some others had died in the second hamlet where they fled during the attack. The bodies were those of men women and children. The people of the remaining hamlet informed me they would like to avenge the attack but were numerically too weak to think of attacking Yilui.

Good friendly contact was made with the Eismala people who appeared to be very interested in the patrol. They were very keen to accompany the patrol to Yilui in the hopes that with the help of the patrol they might avenge the attack on their now extinct hamlet.

It was explained that the patrol had not come to the area to fight anyone at all, but only to try and make friendly contact with natives of the area. Two guides were taken to show the way and it was only after many hours of walking

through sago swamps that Yilui was reached. It was found here that the group had been attacked two days before the arrival of the patrol and the village group was still in a state of chaos and despair. All of the young men had vanished into the bush and none were sighted while the patrol was camped within the group.

It was while the patrol was at Yilui that it was found that sometime after the Yilui attack on Eismala another group of men, also from Yilui, probably elated by their success over the Eismala hamlet, proceeded to Yawar village and surrounded a man working his garden. He escaped and the Yilui group fled back to their village.

The Yawar people called a conference of the Wosapom village group and the Watalu village group which is closer to Mai Mai village... These three groups decided that the Yilui people needed a lesson. First they had attacked the Eismala group with success and now they were coming further afield. A large group of fighting men was assembled and the raid was carried out on Yilui. It was part of this group that the patrol stumbled onto while en-route to Eismala. They were returning from the fight. After they had scattered when they sighted the patrol, I thought the group had been on the way to the fight, not from it, and was pleased that they had broken up and perhaps would have received such a fright they may abandon the idea of the attack even after the patrol had left the area.

It was quite a shock to arrive at Yilui and discover the bodies and realise that the patrol had been too late arriving there...

As the patrol progressed through the Mai Mai area, it became apparent that the fight at Yilui was only one of many that had taken place throughout the area. In the Wan section of the area fighting is rife and according to reports, cannibalism is still practiced by some of the groups. As well as tribal conflicts, there have been many individual murders throughout the area; many in villages that are under mission influence. Any officer who is posted to the area would gain a lot of information from the Roman Catholic priest at Magaru whose catechists report most of the murders. He stated to me that he was too frightened to venture into the Lower Mai Mai area and many catechists also stated the same...because of the incessant fighting that took place.

The pre-war patrols only apparently proceeded along the main routes through the area and were concentrating on the central section of the area. Two patrols since the war, according to reports, were attacked while in the area [PO George Morris and PO Dudley Whitforde] and no other patrols but those have been carried out. It is a great credit to the Mai Mai group of villages who probably came under the influence of the old Patrol Post in pre-war years, that they have been able to refrain from taking part in any of the conflicts that are going on around them. The Tultul Yowi is a good source of information and was a great help to this patrol. Another native named Markut of Awelva village in the lower Mai Mai was also a great help, but both these men are fearful that their villages may suffer because they accompanied the patrol...

In conclusion I must add that as an officer of the Law, I realize that all the natives responsible should be brought to justice. As a Native Affairs officer I also realize that this would mean that many weeks would have to be spent pursuing the various responsible natives throughout their areas. This would mean a large police detachment, plenty of rations and a permanent carrier line and even after many of the younger men were taken into custody, to prove that they had part in any of the murders would be a hard job to say the least of it.

It is my opinion that the area cannot be properly attended to by an officer posted in either Aitape or Lumi. It is also realized that the staff position may mean that it may be some time before an officer can be posted to the area but it is hoped that thought will be given to the posting of an experienced officer to the area. At the moment, the only Europeans seen in the central portion of the area are recruiters who are not interested what happens to the people as long as they can get recruits. It can be added that many ex-recruits took part in the raid on Yilui...

Villages. ...On most occasions the hamlets passed through were empty but a noticeable thing throughout the area was the fact that all hamlets throughout the area had all approaches defended by protective fences constructed of bamboo. In addition, sharpened bamboo stakes were found planted in the ground throughout the lower part of the area and a number of the carriers and some police suffered as a result of treading on these spikes.'

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Mr. A.R. Haviland, ADO Maprik commented in this patrol³ in part – as follows :-

'...Maimai area is one that is little known. It has been neglected for years and there has been little contact with natives of the Lower Maimai at all. Mr. J.D. Hodgekiss [a/ADO] late of the service, was the most informed officer in regard to this part, and it is many years since he worked there. According to reports he did not penetrate the lower Maimai swamp area at all.

The only solution to the problems encountered by Mr. Martin on this patrol is the establishment of a Patrol Post at first at Maimai, and later in the Lower Maimai. Of late years there have been reports of recruiters being chased away by large armed bands of warriors, and it is thought by me that it would be a good thing if the area could be closed to recruiters altogether.

Maimai is not a very attractive part of the country and it would be difficult to get an experienced officer to remain there for any length of time, but the area is badly in need of patrolling and may I suggest that when officers are available some effort be made to pay attention to this "no man's land."

Mr. Martin has done an excellent job and a follow up patrol should be under taken shortly from Aitape...Mr. Martin is to be commended and his work will be appreciated by the District Commissioner, Wewak and the Director of District Services, both of whom, I know have had experiences of Sepik swamp lands.' Writer's Note: The Aitape follow up patrol was a 92 day epic led a/ADO Aitape Wearne in 1952/3.

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There were two unexpected follow-ups to the story of PO Martin's Dreikikir Patrol No 1/1951-2. The first occurred near Kokopo in New Britain, where Mr. Martin was then stationed - he takes up the story :-

'...the [Kokopo] office was advised of a riot on an outlying plantation. My boss, the ADO sent me plus a native police orderly by Land Rover to investigate...

On arrival at the plantation it transpired that the manager who had taken refuge in his house had beaten up one of his labourers which had caused the rest of the work force to retaliate with threats to kill him. I was faced with between sixty and seventy extremely angry, shouting and screaming workers waving bush knives and axes and I realized that I could be in trouble if things got worse.

I was at a loss what to do to hose down the situation and my first inclination was to make a run to the Land Rover and get back to Kokopo and return with armed police. The problem with that was given the attitude of the workers it was very likely they would attack the manager's house and burn it down with him in it, or kill him if he ventured outside.

At the critical moment, a dozen or so workers came forward from the mob. Initially I thought I would be attacked but they arranged themselves alongside me shouting back to their colleagues that they were standing with an old Kiap boss whom they had accompanied to Mai Mai chasing the Eismala raiding party back in 1951.

It turned out that they were some of the permanent [patrol] carrier line from Dreikikir who had been with me at the time and who had since been recruited for plantation work on New Britain. Their support for me calmed things down as they shouted out the story of the Mai Mai patrol, enhancing their participation somewhat. But backing me up as they did, it prevented the situation becoming more violent...I arrested the manager who was convicted of assault.⁴

The second follow-up to the events of Dreikikir Patrol No 1/1951-52 occurred in 1961 when Mr. Martin was on patrol in the upper Sepik, while serving as ADO Ambunti :-

'During relaxed talks with the village elders [precise village not identified] ...it transpired that the local clans had been enemies of the Eismala people whose homeland was a few days walk from the Sepik River in a northerly direction towards Mai Mai...

I was told the story of how the Eismala people had come off second best in a clash with a government patrol led by a kiap called Mausgrass [Moustache] and since that time they had not had any further trouble with the Eismala clan who previously had been their traditional enemy for generations.

Having worn a moustache since my army days in World War 2, I realized that I was the kiap they were referring to in respect of the Mai Mai of 1951 chasing the Eismala raiding party.⁵ Since that time the Mai Mai area has become far more settled with the establishment of two more Patrol Posts in the region.' [Lumi and Nuku]

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The full patrol map appears below ...

Apart from ADO Wearne's 1952/3 Aitape patrol, probably the next patrol to pass through the lower Mai Mai area region was PO. PB Wenke's Ambunti patrol No 1/1953-54. Mr. Wenke's patrol passed through Amaki and Warasai areas to the former Mai Mai patrol post, thence overland to the site of the pre-war Yellow River post. His route probably would have taken him close to Eismala and Yilui, but his report makes no mention of either. His patrol returned to Ambunti by canoeing down the Sepik River.

Sepik 4 Map No 7. This map shows the location of nine conflicts described in Sepik 2 and Sepik 4. Of particular interest is the relative proximity of each conflict to the others which occurred between 1923/4 and 1952.

End Notes Chapter 4

¹ Copy of this article was provided by Mr Martin.

² J.D. Martin – ‘A Patrol Officer’s Life in the TPNG Field Constabulary’ Part 1 – International Police Association magazine – date unknown.

³ A.R. Haviland reference WKM 30/4 Special Patrol WKD No 1.51 Mr. Patrol Officer J.D. Martin 25/10/51

⁴ J.D. Martin – ‘A Patrol Officer’s Life in the TPNG Field Constabulary’ Part 2 – International Police Association magazine – date unknown.

⁵ J.D. Martin – ‘A Patrol Officer’s Life in the TPNG Field Constabulary’ Part 2 – International Police Association magazine – date unknown.

Sepik 4 Chapter 5 Aspects of Dreikikir Anthropology Frozen in Time 1951-52

Introduction.

A request made to the Librarian at the University of California for a copy of one of the Dreikikir patrol reports written by Patrol Officer J.D. Martin in the early 1950s, resulted in copies of all six of his Dreikikir reports being provided. These were found to contain perceptive and well written anthropological notes on the prevailing social scene in the various tribal areas that made up the Dreikikir administrative area at that time.

The current manuscript – Sepik Book 4 - seeks to document the rapid social change in Sepik District communities from the end of World War 2 to Independence in 1975. Within that continuum, these reports provide a snapshot of the situation that existed at a specific time and place, and as such offer a random measure of the nature, speed and extent of social and cultural change in the post-war Sepik.

Writer's Note: The first anthropological note quoted relates to what is now known as the Numau Ablatak division of the Ambunti sub district. Mr. Martin's reference to the "Wan" area relates to the term "Wanwan" – literally "one-one" meaning sparse population. When I was stationed at the Nuku sub district in 1976, there still existed a census division known as the "Wanwan".

Three additional references concerning Numau Ablatak communities serve to confirm the lack of contact they had with the outside world at that time. These three references follow the quote from Mr. Martin's Dreikikir Patrol No 1/1951-2.

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Dreikikir Patrol Report No. 1 1951-2 Page 5 Anthropological

'It was reported to the patrol at Wandembangi village that the people of Amagi [Amaki] village in the Wan area had killed and eaten a number of people from Wandembangi village. Only recently these people moved to their present site to escape the raids from the Amagi group. Police on this station also report that cannibalism is practiced throughout most of the area. This officer was told by the Eismala that the Yilui people did not eat human flesh but that they [Eismala] did and so did the rest of the area. This practice finishes at Eismala apparently - from Yilui on it is not practiced.'

Additional reference 1. The "Yau" people, who are also known as the Yaunget and Marua, who were responsible for the Kauiembi massacre in 1946 – Chapter 1 - are known at Ambunti as Numau Ablatak people.

Additional reference 2. Cannibalism, a test for sorcery – May 1956.

During Ambunti patrol 7/1955-56 in May 1956 on the third visit to most of the Numau Ablatak villages, PO Denys Faithful while at AMBUKEN heard a report that in about February 1956 some ABLATAK villagers had joined with WARASAI people in eating a man. The reports were

made from afar and seemed unreliable. Investigation revealed that in time gone by these villages had a sort of “litmus test” or counter-sorcery which reportedly originated around MAIMAI and was adopted by the Numau Ablatak people.

The system was that when a man died of what were thought to be of sorcery causes, all the people [males] whom it was considered might want to do harm to the deceased, were assembled near the deceased’s bier [platform upon which the deceased is lain]. There one of the assembled men was required to cut back the skin from under the deceased’s arm or the top of the upper thigh above the knee joint. The muscle flesh from under the peeled back skin was cut out; the amount cut out is determined by the number of men who are to take the test.

The removed portion of flesh was then given to another who makes soup of it. The flesh is cut into small portions and mixed with coconut meat and native salt and then cooked. The men were then required to eat the mixture. The idea being that whoever became ill afterwards was the sorcerer who acted against the deceased. Any person or persons upon being named to take part in the test and who refused to do so were regarded as major suspects. The deaths of women and children were never the subject of this test and women and children were not required to take part.

The custom had been dropped many years ago with the introduction of the administration. But on the death, some three months before, of a WARASAI man called WANIAMBU, when it was suggested he died of sorcery, it was decided to re-introduce the test to determine who had made the sorcery. Two men of MARUA [YAUNGET] were very determined that the test should be made; one cut the body and the other made the soup.

As the investigation proceeded the people were indignant that they were being accused of behaving like pigs or dogs, but in due course they all admitted the details and eight were convicted¹ [presumably of sorcery based on confessional statements]. The medical evidence actually indicated WANIAMBU died of dysentery – this would not have ruled out sorcery in local eyes - the question would be “*Yes, but who caused the dysentery?*”

Additional reference 3. A belated request for war damage compensation 1972

In July 1972, while conducting Ambunti Patrol No 2/1972-73, at Ablatak village, the writer was asked to lodge war damage compensation claims. An elder had been killed by a Japanese patrol and many houses had been burned when the people fled. There had also been strafing and bombing of Ablatak and other villages in the area. War damage compensation investigations and payments had extended only as far as Tongwinjamb in the Waskuk Hills but not into the Numau Ablatak villages, which were not patrolled until after the war damage compensation scheme ended. The case for the Ablatak claim was documented in Ambunti correspondence 3-1-1 of 2nd August 1972, but the Administration was not about to recommence war damage compensation procedures at that late date.

Dreikikir Patrol Report No. 2 1951-2 Gawanga area Page 6 Anthropological.

'Sister exchange is practiced throughout the area and is a much more popular method of obtaining a wife than that of outright bride price, although the latter is paid if the man has no sister.

When a woman is having a menstrual period, she retired to what is known as a "Haus Blut", literally Blood-House. Also all women undergo child birth in these houses which are similar to smaller editions of an ordinary dwelling house. For some reason there is a rumour in the area that these houses were also known as "Haus Pamuk", literally houses of ill fame but this is a fallacy. Many Europeans who go into the bush i.e. recruiters, have a bad habit of getting faulty information from natives about their customs and set themselves up as amateur anthropologists with a wealth of faulty knowledge, causing sometimes unnecessary investigations by government officers.

However it appears that women throughout the area are rather loose in their moral behaviour and I believe that a certain amount of promiscuity is probably carried out in these small houses. The husband in the case probably thinks that his wife is having her menstrual and is sleeping alone, but in reality the period has finished and probably remains a little longer than necessary so some admirer can be with her for a reasonable amount of time in safety. In this area as in others, the man has absolutely no intercourse, either social or other, with a woman having a menstrual period.

Women quite often do not name a child until it is a number of months old. It is believed that it is bad luck and the child may die. Not wishing these women to break a custom I entered "no name" alongside the entry of birth in the village book and will enter the names next patrol...

An interesting custom is carried out by all natives throughout the area and also by police so it must be very universal throughout the Territory and has probably been reported on before, but it is still worth a mention. I noticed that after drinking from a kulau [green coconut] the nut is always broken into two with a bush knife and the two halves are thrown away generally in different directions...I was told this was so the person who had drunk did not leave his breath trapped in the coconut and so become short winded. Breaking the nut releases the breath again. Also it was possible some spittle of the person drinking may be left in the nut and some evil person may get hold of it and make sorcery against the person who had put his lips to the nut.

Mention must also be made of the "Tambaran cult" existing throughout the area. This custom is practically universal throughout the area and extends to Maprik, although there are some differences in customary behaviour. A thorough investigation of the practice was made as the local mission priests have told the natives to stop the custom. Personally I do not believe there is any harm in it and I also believe any interference by the mission would throw the customary way of life into turmoil. Indeed I was told by an old man in one village that their whole way of life revolved around the "Tambarans" and that to ban it would be to kill the natives themselves as they would die without their customs.

There are two sections of the initiation ceremony that could perhaps be eliminated, and again I was told that an official ban on this would probably be appreciated by most of the natives themselves except the old men who control the ceremony, who believe like most fathers that what was good enough for me is good enough for my sons. Firstly the splitting or cutting of the penis causes much pain and some loss of blood to the unfortunate youth. When this is carried out small drums are beaten and much shouting is done to drown out the cries of the youth involved, who quite

naturally struggles violently but is held down by the natives controlling the ceremony. Secondly at the end of the ceremony the youths are beaten with "Salat", a very painful stinging nettle...

...One of my informers told me that most women had customs of their own, known only to themselves and not to men, so were quite satisfied to let the men have their "Tambarans."

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Dreikikir Patrol Report No. 3 1951-2 P 5 Urat Areas Anthropological

'The custom of young women setting themselves up in semi-brothels quite openly and the apparent lack of interest by parents, are somewhat startling when one is used to European ideas about these types of habits. This is described fully in the Native Situation section...

Native Situation

Women throughout the area are very immoral. Unmoral would perhaps be a better word. Shortly after puberty the young girls, generally about two or three band together and build a house in the vicinity of the village houses where they sleep and engage in sending messages to men of their choosing to come and sleep with them. But as no payment was made by the men, the women cannot be charged with running a brothel...The houses are called HAUS PAMUK – [Pamuk means prostitute in Pidgin] throughout the area...except than no payments are made – men are invited in at the discretion of the girls.

Older natives both men and women and the parents of the girls treat the matter as a joke. Older women say that they used to follow the custom so there is no reason why their daughters cannot. The males of the area are rather proud that the URAT women have a name for promiscuity, and believe it brings fame to them. It is common when a woman's husband goes off to work, for her to begin sleeping with her husband's brother. When the husband returns from work, the woman may return to him or she may remain married to the brother. However there is usually no undue trouble over the affair and all parties quickly reach an amicable agreement. The brother who has been to work accepts some gift from his brother for his wife's services for the year or so he has been away.

With the sister exchange system there is a great deal of trouble. Generally marriages work out, but when one girl does not like her husband and returns to her village, the girl who was exchanged for her also leaves her husband and returns home, so two marriages are broken up instead of one. Because of the flagrant unmorality of the women, most young marriages break up sooner or later. The woman may remain faithful to her husband for months or years but eventually her fancy attracts her to some other man and she leaves the husband for him.

It is not uncommon for a woman to have had six marriages. When the women get towards middle age then they seem to settle down with one man and live out the remainder of their life with him. The natives say that a married man should bear no grudge against a man who has intercourse with his wife. However if the woman was forced by the man to have intercourse [technical rape] then the man is entitled to question the man's actions.

Because of this lackadaisical attitude, women become something of chattels and it seems that if a man finds a woman alone in the bush working then if his fancy takes him he can more or less

force her to have intercourse with him. The woman may protest for a while, but after a short struggle she gives in to his advances and may or may not tell her husband about the incident.

A woman some time ago was found in the bush by a party of five men, all of whom had intercourse with her. She did not want to at first but they insisted, not with force, but with words and eventually she gave in. Apparently she was promised some presents or money but the men failed to give her any. The village to which she belonged thought it a great joke that she had been taken in so.

Many of these incidents seem to be on the borderline of rape, with submission on the woman's part rather than any force on the men's part. However it is the customary behaviour throughout the area so not much can be done about it.

The main sing-sing throughout the area and others nearby is called "Yeringhai". The whole of this sing-sing i.e. the speech, is obscene. With the women playing the main part. During the sing-sing the women see a man of their choice and link arms with him uttering obscene remarks about his and her genital organs, eventually they leave the sing-sing and go into the bush, have intercourse and then return. During the night the women may go off with a number of different men. Naturally the sing-sing is popular and had been adopted by natives or the Urim and Kombio areas. The missions are trying to ban the sing-sing but to no avail.

Outwardly there is no appearance of obscenity and unless a person understands the local dialect, he would detect no obscene speech and therefore I would not condone any official ban on the sing-sing. It is an integral part of life and customary behaviour in the area and is put on only once a year and by a different village each year to which all the neighbouring villages are invited.

The two other main sing-sings in the area are Mambu and Garamut [flute and slit gong] were in the times of the forefathers and ... in the case of the Urat people, quite decent. However since the time of recruiting was introduced...returning labourers have introduced obscenity into the sing-sings. Both sing-sings are led by one or two men who sing about some event that may have occurred in the village. The women then take up the chant. It is up to the leader as to what he sings about and generally as the evening goes on, one of the younger men takes over the leadership and commences some obscene story which is then taken up by the women, which because of their nature rather enjoy that sort of thing. The natives say this leads to sexual stimulation and later intercourse.'

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District Commissioner Allan Timperley's comments of this patrol report² stated :-

'The patrol was of a routine nature. The sing-sing "YERINGHAI" is apparently causing Mission societies some concern and this matter will form the subject of separate correspondence.'

Director J.H. Jones comments on this report³ stated in part :-

'...Your information on the matter of these dances would be appreciated in due course. The Assistant District Officer's opinions should be given careful consideration as he knows the area, but

the missions should not be antagonised by any attitude of obvious indifference. Some tact in indicated.'

Writer's Note: The "separate correspondence" is not in the files to which the writer has access.

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Dreikir Patrol No. 4 1951-2 Page 5 Bumbita and Muhiang Areas Native Affairs

'There is a lot of friction between the older customary leaders and the returned labourers who consider themselves men of the world...The older men and those younger men who have not been away to work and still follow the customs of their fathers, are in the majority and still hold sway in village affairs. However quite often open brawls take place when some dispute occurs. When these clashes occur the ex-labourers band together being bound by the common bond of having been away together.

A case was mentioned in relation to Sinuhu village where an argument occurred over burying dead in houses before the patrol came to the village. Ex-labourers objected to the custom saying it would only lead to trouble and eventually it seemed as if a fight would occur when some of the village natives got spears etc. and the ex-labourers armed themselves with knives. An elderly man stopped the clash and everyone went away feeling very ashamed of themselves.

It can be seen however that the old customs are dying out fast and when the older men are all dead the village will be controlled by the ex-labourers. In other villages in the area this process is complete and even all the officials are ex-labourers with only a few of the very old men left.

The old men say that all their stories, legends etc. are being lost. Unlike the Europeans who can keep records of all history, natives of course pass on their legends by word of mouth...Nowadays most of the youths are dis-interested and only await the day when they can go to work somewhere and really "see the world." ...

Twenty-seven bodies were exhumed [from within houses] and reburied [in cemeteries] throughout the patrol. In some cases not a pleasant job. No legal action was taken against the culprits. The task of exhuming and re-burying was punishment enough. Throughout the area the custom was either to take the bodies out into the bush and hang them up on a platform or to bury them in the house. The reason for this is fear of the "Sanguma" or "evil spirit" that takes human form. It is believed that the dead body left unattended will bring the Sanguma along to the village and that the Sanguma will open the body and take out the liver. In possession of the liver untold harm can be done to the relatives and to all in the village as really strong sorcery can be made from this liver.'

Writer's Note: Such beliefs are still held nation-wide in the 21st century, even by the Papua New Guinea's most sophisticated people. My brother-in-law Lohia Raka, former Registrar of the PNG National Court, was buried on Manubada Island, Port Moresby in 2008. His remains were encased in concrete at the bottom of his grave to prevent interference by those who would make sorcery against living Raka family members.

Mr. Martin uses “Sanguma” to mean sorcery, which it is. We will see however in Chapter 56 that in the Sepik there are [at least] two forms of “Black Magic”. The first is called “poison” in Pidgin English. It is not poison in the English sense of the word, but a form of sorcery which equates to “pointing the bone” in Australian Aboriginal cultures. Sanguma is a more serious form of sorcery. It incorporates beliefs in visibility and can involve physical as well as supernatural killing.

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‘Having the body buried in the house means it is always under guard. By hanging on a platform in the bush means that it will be impossible for the Sanguma to find it. In these villages where burials are made in cemeteries, a house is built nearby and a relative keeps watch until it is considered that the liver has decomposed; about a month in the natives mind.

The Sanguma “evil spirit that takes human form” is feared throughout the area. All sickness or death is attributed to this Sanguma. A sick person is believed to have met a Sanguma somewhere and have been stricken by that Sanguma. A person so stricken is placed under a spell and therefore cannot tell that he met the Sanguma or what exactly happened...It is useless to ridicule the belief and useless trying to make the natives disbelieve it.’

In his comments of this aspect of Mr. Martin’s patrol report, ADO A.R. Haviland in his WKM 29/2 of 21st May 1952 made these observations :-

‘Four years ago, through the custom of burying bodies superficially under the ground in the houses, blow flies and house flies were so common that all drinks and food has to be covered and fly sprays were in constant use. Now through a police campaign and the use of fly traps, the fly menace has been reduced considerably.

After burying a body, a near relative would sit and watch for the maggots to turn into blow flies and then the direction in which the blow fly flew was the direction in which lived the sorcerer who killed the deceased. It is a custom which is dying very hard.’

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Dreikikir Patrol No. 4 1951-2 P. 5 Bumbita and Muhiang Areas cont. Anthropological

‘...The Tambaran cult [meaning traditional religion] flourishes throughout the area. With mission influence becoming stronger the natives near the main Dreikikir-Maprik road do not construct the intricate HAUS TAMBARANS that they used to...However in the lower areas many of these houses are to be seen with their intricate paintings and carvings...

...A very interesting thing throughout the area is the unspoken languages. There are three of these – whistling, beating the garamut and blowing into a shell...A fourth is yodelling...

Whistling: *If a man who wants his wife to bring fire from the house a hundred yards away he whistles the message. To the untrained ear it sounds somewhat similar to Morse-code, a series of short and long whistles*

Garamut messages: *Quite involved messages can be sent. For instance it is possible to send a message such as:*

“Tell Anis when he comes from his garden to bring two sweet potatoes five yams and the digging stick I left under the Banana tree yesterday.”

Writer’s Note: Thomas C. Aitken explains the nature of⁴ Garamut Messages :-

Every adult has an individual signal called a tapet. This signal has three sections: An introduction, a main message and a conclusion. It begins with:

- A. The rubbing of the inside of the slit in the log drum.*
- B. A series of equidistant beats – demanding attention. [phone ringing]*
- C. One [for male] or two [for female] blows indicating the sex of the person summoned.*
- D. Then a slow version of the forthcoming main message is beaten and this is followed by a repeat of C.*
- E. Next the main message is beaten and repeated once or several times, and finally there is a repetition of B,C,D and A [phone ringing off]*

Yodelling: *... I was gossiping with the officials and a number of men when the sounds of yodelling were heard and everyone in the group smiled. It turned out that a woman was calling her husband for the evening meal and she was inferring he was wasting his time with another woman in the village instead of being home at his own house where he should have been. It was alleged that the wife would probably get scolded severely as everyone throughout could hear the message so yodelled.*

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Missions: *...The natives...are not missionised to any extent having been under mission influence for only a short time.*

The S.S.E.M. mission does not interfere at all with native customs. They believe that by preaching the gospel is enough and that eventually such customs as the Tambaran cult will be done away with by the natives themselves. The Roman Catholic mission is of course against such customs and tries to stamp them out. I believe if it were not for the law of the land that all HAUS TAMBARANS would soon be burnt down and the custom banned completely...

I think a quotation from the thesis by Dr. P. Karberry in relation to the Abelam tribe of the Maprik area, published in Oceania Vol VI No 4 of June 1941, sums the problem up completely:

“The missionary who hopes to destroy merely a superstition by excising it from the culture, the Tambaran cult and the rituals associated with the yams, is in much the same position as a Shylock called upon to cut off a pound of flesh, neither more nor less. Unless the missionary is prepared to accept the responsibility for not only a new religion, but also a new social, economic and political organisation; in short a new society and a new culture, then any interference with the Tambaran and Yam cults may bring in its train problems that have long proved insoluble amongst other indigenous communities in Oceania, Africa and America.”

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Dreikikir Patrol No. 5 1951-2 Urim⁵ area P.4 Anthropological

'The word Tuan is used throughout the area for "white man". The natives themselves do not appear to have any idea of the origin of the word, which is of course Malay. As the word is used extensively throughout the Dreikikir and Maprik area and was in use in native legend before the advent of the Germans into New Guinea, I am of the opinion that the word was introduced from Dutch New Guinea. The Dutch acquired sovereign rights over Dutch New Guinea in 1660 as a result of a treaty with the Sultans of the East Indies...

Bride Price has been fixed at £5 throughout the area. This price was introduced by a Patrol Officer some years ago because of squabbles and seems popular enough. In years gone by "bride price" although paid in native valuables and food was much higher than now.'

Writer's Note: Re the above, Mr Martin apparently was unaware of the extensive bird-of-paradise trade east of the Dutch New Guinea border. This is covered in detail in Sepik Book 2 Chapter 6 "*The Bird-of-Paradise Trade*".

In the Ambunti sub district in the 1970s bride price was commonly calculated in £ and shillings, although if actual cash was involved it was mentioned separately. The mention of currency was a counting mechanism for the number of native valuables paid. For example in Sepik Book 3 Chapter 35, Baras paid \$100 cash and £2/16/- in native valuables for his wife Gini. The £2/16/- translates as being 56 native valuables, on the basis of £1 being made up of 20 shillings.

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The Urim natives...have an art form which is fast dying out [basket ware] very similar to Buka basket work, although not as fine. It is mainly confined to food carrying trays of fine woven cane and in some cases, bamboo. At Yakrimbok there is only one old man proficient in this work and the natives say that when he dies, there will be nobody else able to do that work in that village...

Writer's Note: It is unusual, in that this was men's rather than women's work.

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Dreikikir Patrol No. 6 1952-3⁶ Wam/Sahik area Anthropological

'The first European contact in this area [north east of Dreikikir] [was] by a German patrol ...The patrol arrived near the village of Tumamba just after Tumamba had been attacked by some of the Urat people and together with the Tumamba the patrol pushed on to Urat and wiped out the Urat village responsible for the attack, indiscriminately killing men women and children. The Tumamba were overjoyed and some of the males accompanied the patrol to Karawop, on the coast which was the German post...

Throughout the area it is common for two brothers to exchange wives after a few years of marriage – biological brothers, not clan brothers. In addition if the elder brother has two or three wives he will often give one to his younger brother. If a man goes out to work on a plantation his brother takes over the care of his wife. This includes sexual intercourse with her in the husband's absence. The belief is that a man must work hard over a long period to build up a child in the woman's abdomen. If a man goes to work, in his belief he leaves a child half-finished then his brother must help him, in his absence to develop the child...

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An important man in the area is the "Glassman" or what might be interpreted as witch doctor. When a man is sick, then the Glassman is called in...for a fee. This man examines the patient and finds out the seat of the pain in his body. He then gets a large leaf in either hand and rubs them around the infected part. He does this two or three times and then changes the leaves by going to the bush and getting new leaves. After a few attempts he generally produces a small stone or thorn from the body. The stone or thorn had been concealed in his hands during one of his trips to get new leaves. It is not even good sleight of hand. However the natives cannot see the deception and relatives cheerfully part with payment and of course the patient, who was probably not very sick – recovers so all are happy.

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To find out who made sorcery on a deceased person, a group of men take a long length of bamboo. They gather on each side of and support the bamboo in one hand and tap it with the index finger of the free hand. They call the names of likely sorcerers until the right name is called and then the bamboo supposedly takes charge of things and either throws them all down in a heap or pulls them along in the direction of the sorcerer's home. In some cases they follow this bamboo through the bush for hours, finishing at the actual place where the sorcery was made and eventually coming to the village of the sorcerer.

Writer's Note: In conclusion :-

The random observations recorded in this chapter provide a picture of the social scene and the belief structures in tribal communities of the Dreikikir administrative area as they existed in 1951 and 1952. The observations also provide valuable glimpses into such matters as the earlier history of the Bird-of-Paradise trade and German indigenous administration which embraced the use of punitive expeditions.

The overall picture provided in these reports portrays communities in early stages of contact with the outside world, living in a state of relative peace which resulted primarily from the stability of the age old customary ways of the ancestors. The reports also reflect agents of change at work – ex-labourers returning to the village – 'men of the world' who began to challenge the authority of the elders. There was also the challenge of the missions which each wanted to destroy the traditional religion, and replace it with their version of the Christian faith. Not yet evident in 1951-52 was another agent of change which would erode the authority of the elders – the introduction of western style education and health services.

This 1951-52 snapshot freezes images of a social, cultural, economic and political environment, which would have to come to grips with its future - which in 23 years' time would see Papua New Guinea as an independent nation with a Prime Minister who was a Sepik like themselves.

End Notes Chapter 5

- ¹ D.Faithful PO Ambunti Patrol Report No 7/1955-56
- ² Reference P.R. WKD 3/52 dated 5th March 1952 addressed to the Director DDS&NA
- ³ Reference 30-11-161 dated 17th March 1952 and addressed to DC Wewak
- ⁴ Thomas C Aitkin – *Tapets: Drum signals of the Sawos* – in Sepik Heritage – Carolina Academic Press 1990 P546
- ⁵ The Urim area is located west of Dreikikir, between Dreikikir station and the Palei region.
- ⁶ The numbering of this report is confusing as it covers the dates 18/11/52 to 25/11/52 – IE too early in the financial year to be patrol No 6. It is presumed the numbering sequence followed the 1951-52 numbers which ended with No 5 [11/6/52 to 19/6/52].

Sepik 4 Chapter 6 A History of Sepik Cargo Cults, and Nativistic Movements.

Introduction: In 1964 Professor Peter Lawrence, the author of *Road Belong Cargo*, introduced Cargo Cult to his readers as follows:¹

The New Guinea cargo cult has attracted a great deal of public attention since the last war. It is based on the native belief that European goods (cargo) – ships, aircraft, trade articles, and military equipment – are not man-made but have to be obtained from a non-human or divine source. It expresses its followers' dissatisfaction with their status in colonial society, which is to be improved imminently or eventually by the acquisition of new wealth. It has, therefore a disruptive influence and is regarded by the Dutch and Australian Administrations as one of their most serious problems...

It has had counterparts in many part of the world: The millenarian cults of medieval Europe; the Chinese Taiping Rebellion, the Mahdiya in Sudan; the American Indian Ghost Dance; various cults in Africa, South-East Asia, and Polynesia; the flying saucer cults in modern America ...

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To understand cargo cults it is not enough to simply describe the cults and movements as I have done with 36 Sepik movements in Attachment 10 – these are outcomes. An understanding of why “cargo cults” happen requires a proper analysis of the total setting in which the “cults” grew up, in order to identify the causes. This logically includes;

1. The re-construction of the native cosmic order²; traditional society, religion, values and epistemology [the branch of philosophy that deals with knowledge Oxford Dictionary]
This is, in part, what Sepik Book 1 *Prehistory from the Beginning of Time* seeks to achieve.
2. The re-construction of contact with the outside world including the introduction of Christianity.
3. From the people themselves: the description of how they understood what was happening and how they tried to control this situation; this version of events apart from being a documentation of oral history, also describes the origins and development of “Cargo Cult Movements”.³

Bullets 2 and 3 above are described, as part of the wider Sepik History, in:

Sepik Book 2: *The Winds of Change 1886-1941*

Sepik Book 3: *The Sepik at War 1942-1945*

Sepik Book 4: *Coming to Grips with the Future - 1946 to Independence and Beyond.*

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Unlike Professor Lawrence's *Road Bilong Cargo*, which describes the evolution of a single⁴ Madang District cult commencing in 1871 and progressing in stages through until, and beyond his date of publication, the Sepik history books touch upon a range cults and movements across many of the Sepik's 200+ languages. Most of the descriptions in Attachment 1 come from Patrol reports, including two of the writer's.

Patrol reports cover field visits ranging in duration from day to months, but averaging about two to three weeks. Patrol reports typically cover on a range of topics, which would only include “Cult” related activity if such were in evidence during the patrol's visit. It was required that patrol reports be submitted promptly while the information reported was still current.

Attachment 1, by comparison with Professor Lawrence's *Road Belong Cargo* is a macro study, whereas the writer would classify *Road Bilong Cargo* as an in-depth micro study. The Attachment 1 may be of use as research documents for an anthropologist interested in conducting an in depth study of cargo cults and nativistic movements.

From the kiap perspective these reports were of vital importance in monitoring one of the most sensitive and unpredictable aspects of "native administration" in the maintenance the peace, order and good governance of the region. Ideally the kiap in charge of an administrative area knew the current state of affairs in his tribal communities well enough that he could anticipate evolving issues and deal with them before they became serious problems. An excellent example of this is described in Attachment 1 item # 20.

The consequences, for whatever reason, of not detecting an evolving issue in a timely manner were demonstrated in # 16 where four men were murdered and many others avoided the same fate purely by chance and # 35 where two lives were lost.

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The movements in patrol reports are variously described as Vailala Madness⁵, Cargo Cult, Wok Bembe [Pidgin] and/or "Nativistic" movements. The latter phrase was coined for such events as the 1947 Abelam tribal quest to eradicate "Black magic" as described in # 9 or the Telefomin uprising which sought to return the "Min" people to a pre-contact utopia as described in # 16 of Attachment 1. Such movements covered a broad range of traditional religious beliefs and adjustments that did not necessarily involve "cargo".

The indigenous people in the Sepik witnessed too much imposed change to their lifestyles since the Germans arrived in 1885, to continue their unquestioningly acceptance of their traditional views of the cosmos. Not only was there an ever increasing number of outcomes that traditional knowledge and beliefs could not explain, but as the elders reviewed their mythology in quest of a missed explanation of the cargo, a belief evolved that the Sepik people were being deprived of what was rightfully theirs; the material goods, technology and knowledge developed by the ancestors for them that was being stolen by the white men!

Middle Sepik people believe that black and white people all originated from the place of the creation - Mebinbit - so they questioned how could the whites have so much and the blacks so little? Clearly "white brother" had discovered some secret concerning the source of the cargo; a secret which he had a vested interest in not sharing.

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Concerning Attachment 1.

This collation of notes on 36 Sepik "movements" is by not all-inclusive because :-

1. There are no doubt records that the writer has not located.
2. Some "movements" undoubtedly went unreported, either because they were not regarded as important, or they were not identified.
 - a. Aspects of traditional religious belief are ever-present, just as western beliefs and values underlie European thinking. It is only when something in indigenous thought produces an outcome that seems sufficiently "different", dangerous, pagan or interesting for what-ever reason, that it finds its way into the records.

A brief analysis of the items in Attachment 1 shows the following :-

Worship of the dead:

In 9 of the 36 movements described the worship of the dead and ceremonies in cemeteries where features of the movements are described – down to the killing of dogs which might scare the cargo-bearing ancestors away. Throughout Sepik societies the traditional religion places strong emphasis on the worship of the dead. Common beliefs concerning the dead include:

1. By passing through the portal of death the spirit of the deceased gains access to all the secret knowledge that is hidden from the living. It is widely believed that all the “cargo” is manufactured by dead ancestors and that white men have discovered a way to divert the cargo intended for the living indigenous people in PNG, for their own use.

a/ Christian beliefs greatly interested the Sepik people – If Christ could die on the cross and return from the dead after three days, he could have brought the secrets of the cargo with him. Returning from the dead with the cargo secrets is the theme of # 35 *the Messiah Cult*.
2. The ancestral spirits remain in the community to protect and guide the living. Communication between the dead and the living takes place in dreams. No dream is ignored because no matter how obscure, there always believed to be a meaning or a warning for the living.

Lack of economic development:

The analysis of many reports of cargo cult outbreaks indicates that frustration over the lack of economic development in the Sepik as an important underlying cause. The Sepik had traditionally been a labour pool for coastal plantations particularly in the New Guinea Islands. Some attempts to grow cash crops locally failed for lack of transport infrastructure and markets. Some frustrated development oriented people turned their support to beliefs that money could be won by supernatural means.

In the late 1950s there were business cults which sought to address economic frustrations – see # 17 the Kavan’s Business Cult.

The separation of “True Believer” cult leaders from “Opportunists.”

Seven of the 36 movements described included analysis of the leader’s motivations. While half a dozen “Opportunists” are singled out in Attachment 1, others are not so easily classified.

Two interesting observations are made in # 24 by a/ADO Daugherty concerning the activities cult leader Numbuk who is classified as an opportunist:

1. *The people believe in him, not through any rational process, but because they want to believe and because [they believe] their growing economic aspirations will be realized in this manner.*
2. *I am very doubtful of the value of imprisonment [for cult activity] in what is basically a struggle for the people’s minds.*

Typical activities of opportunists was the furthering of their personal greed by collecting community money for cult purposes, and under the cover of mystic rituals gaining sexual access to “Flowers” [girls of such youth that their breasts still pointed outwards without yet beginning to sag]⁶ and/or the daughters of trusting cult followers.

Nationalistic aspects:

Five of the 36 movements described contain some aspects that can be described as Nationalistic. These include removing the Australian administration as the Japanese will deliver the cargo. Behead Australian administration officers in Lumi as they have stolen the cargo sent on planes that landed at Lumi [all cargo unloaded was believed by the people to have been sent by the ancestors for them]. The flying of Black flags to represent the Government of the black people. Issuing – 6” x 3” plank papers that would change into a PNG currency to replace Australian currency.

Concerning Traditional Religion and Christian ideas:

This section includes a broad array beliefs and actions ranging from tribal elders removing sacred objects from the haus tambarans and giving them to the Missionary to take away on his ship, to showing women and children inside the haus tambarans and showing them the sacred flutes [previously punishable by death], to abandoning the haus tambaran cult and then reinstating the haus tambaran cult and associated rituals. The anti haus tambaran activities usually had the support of the missions and mission converts.

The haus tambaran was and in some cases still is the “church” of the traditional religion. As such it was [and still is?] a central focus and sometimes the target of the Christian missions as they sought to eradicate paganism and show the people “the light” of Christian belief. There was a huge diversity of Sepik responses to Christian teachings as reflected in the people’s changing attitudes to their traditional values and haus tambarans.

There was further confusion as the people came to realise there was a major difference of opinion between the missionaries and the kiaps concerning haus tambarans and some traditional rituals - as shown in :-

1. When Father Blasig burned down five Wosera haus tambarans in the early 1950s, the kiaps charged him with arson in the Supreme Court.⁷
2. The mission opposition to Iatmul initiation as pagan ceremonies in 1961 [Chapter 27] was not reflected or endorsed by the Administration, which found initiation [without the previous requirement of head hunting] was acceptable under the Native Customs Recognition Ordinance.

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The tendency for readers to regard “Cargo Cult” as a quaint and simple display of “native superstition” misses the following critically important points :-

1. The deep roots of “Cargo Cult” are to be found in the traditional religious beliefs and values of the Sepik people. They are no more able to disengage from these beliefs and values than Westerners - who are not necessarily practicing Christians - can disengage from the values and fundamental mind and conscience sets founded on the Ten Commandments.
2. The Christian missions attempts to replace traditional religions “paganism” with Christianity equates to applying a coat of clear varnish over the traditional beliefs. The Christian teachings do not replace traditional beliefs; they are interpreted in the light of the traditional beliefs. The writer was told on one occasion :-

The missionary nearly got it right. It was not bread and fishes, it was sago and fishes and the man's name was Mai'imp not Jesus, but apart from that...

3. No matter how well the people know and respect a European, his explanation of the origins of cargo in factories, and the evolution of modern technology – metallurgy, the internal combustion engine, gunpowder and firearms, etc. etc. never succeeds. The people *know* that he is trying to mislead them away from the *true* secrets of the cargo.

The Australian Administration of Papua New Guinea, which brought the nation to the status of an independent sovereign state in 1975, did not create PNG as a “Little Australia” in the Islands north of the Australian mainland. PNG’s national cultural beliefs, values and indeed, its history will continue to evolve with heavy dependence upon the sustenance provided by its roots, which are set deeply in its traditional and slowly changing view of the cosmos. For the foreseeable future this evolution will include sorcery and “nativistic” movements.

End Notes Chapter 6

¹ Lawrence P. *Road Bilong Cargo*. - Melbourne University Press 1964. Introduction Page 1

² Lawrence P 1964 – Chapter 1

³ Lawrence P 1964 – page 6

⁴ Lawrence P 1964 – Page 5

⁵ A name derived derives by F.E, Williams study of a cult in the Vailala area of the Gulf District of Papua and documented in his *The Valiala Madness & other Essays*

⁶ Sepik 4 Chapter 54 Page 18

⁷ Personal communication from J.M. Wearne- email see item 415 Bragge reference vol 13.

Sepik 4 Chapter 7.

The Post-War Return of Christian Missions, and Increased Mission Diversity on the Sepik

This chapter does not purport to tell the whole story of post-war Christian mission activity in the Sepik. It seeks to show the increased diversity of post-war mission effort and how this was perceived by the Sepik people. It also seeks to show the nature of the engagement between DDS&NA and the missions, and the interaction from the Director DDS&NA's level down to field staff level.

Pre-War Background

The Catholic Mission of the Society of the Divine Word [SVD] under the leadership of Father Eberhard Limbrock established itself on Tumleo Island, Berlinhafen in 1896. Berlinhafen is the anchorage between Aitape offshore Islands and the mainland where Eitape [Aitape] would be established in 1905. Prior to World War 2 the only missionaries in the Sepik were SVD Catholics.

Father Limbrock was an enterprising leader and established many mission stations throughout the Sepik and Madang districts. The German missionaries in New Guinea were the subject of deliberations after World War I and the 1919 Royal Commission on former German New Guinea would have expelled them back to Germany but for the dissenting vote of Royal Commissioner Sir Hubert Murray. Many Australian field officers enlisted in 1939 to fight against Germany in Europe and when they were returned to PNG to protect Australia from the Japanese, many had serious doubts about trusting these "enemy alien" German missionaries in New Guinea.

With the arrival of the Japanese in the Sepik and Madang districts in 1942, many missionaries thought they could negotiate to continue their work in neutrality on the basis of the fact that Germany and Japan were allies. However the Japanese pointed out that had they been "good Germans", the Australian authorities would not have allowed them to stay.

The missionaries were taken to Ragetta [Kranket] Island off Madang, Kairiru Island off Wewak, or Hollandia depending which was closer. In March 1943 some 40 civilians, mainly German missionaries on Kairiru Island, were loaded onto the Japanese destroyer 'Akikazi', which then sailed for Manus Island where another 20 civilians were taken on board. As the ship travelled from Kavieng to Rabaul, all were shot and the bodies thrown overboard. Many more German and Dutch Catholic and Lutheran missionaries and civilians from Madang district died when the 'Dorish Maru', on which they were being taken by the Japanese to Hollandia, was strafed by allied planes as the ship approached Wewak on 6th February 1944.¹

The arrival of the Franciscan Order

Having lost so many missionaries during World War II, the Society of the Divine Word called for other Orders to help. The Franciscans joined the SVD missionaries and were based in Aitape². It appeared that the Franciscans took over the area of the old Aitape District and the SVD took over the remainder of the Sepik District, which very roughly equates to the West and East Sepik Districts respectively, as established in 1966.

During 1946, some 18 SVD priests and 14 brothers who had survived the war arrived back in the Sepik District from Australia. They were joined by six Franciscans. Franciscan Sisters joined the friars in 1949 and Italian Franciscans expelled from China in 1952 continued their mission in Aitape.

On 15th May 1952, the Prefecture Apostolic of Aitape was officially instituted under Monsignor Ignatius Doggett.³ In the Sepik District, the post-war return of the Catholic Franciscans coincided with an influx of other missions.

The frontline of what was to become a competitive situation in the Sepik was the Lumi/ Nuku region. So it was that when the CMML “Talatala” [Protestant] mission visited the Sibilanga area in September 1959 in quest of an airstrip site for a new mission station, a Franciscan priest informed them his intention was to oppose their every move ...⁴

Returning to Nuku...I had two long interviews with the patrol officer at Nuku who was not sympathetic. He argued that our coming to this area in competition with the Catholic mission would aggravate the cargo cult unrest....Finally he agreed that we could apply for airstrip and mission leases and that he would re-investigate the situation and submit a report to his superior officers... A month later the District Commissioner informed me he had overruled the objections of the patrol officer and the ADO [at Lumi] who opposed our application, and we were free to proceed.⁵

The re-establishment of the Society of the Divine Word.

Alois Kawan was from Tarawai Island off the Sepik District coast. The Tarawai people speak the Boiken language, which is a member of the Ndu language family. Whether this was a consideration when the Catholic mission commenced its work in the middle Sepik’s Sawos and Iatmul languages [also of the Ndu language family] is not known. Alois recalled in the 1970s :-

*In 1933 I was a student and Father Puff, a German Father took me and others to establish Marui in March that year.⁶ [Alois’ full interview concerning the establishment of the mission stations in the Middle Sepik appears in Sepik 2 – *The Waves of Change*.]*

Concerning the post war re-establishment of the SVD missions, Alois recalled :-

Torembei mission station was established by Father Karl. He is at Tawai [Marienberg] now, [i.e. in the early 1970s]. He was German. He was replaced by Father Kowalski who came here from Marui. Marui was later closed because of the attitude of the Nyaula [Iatmul] people, who did not support the Mission. Alois predicted “The AOGs at Yambunumbu [immediately opposite Marui] will find the same thing. They will not stay there long” This prediction proved to be correct.

The next station to open was Chambri which was established in about ... [uncertainty] in 1949 by Father Jansen and he later went to establish Kapaimari [adjacent to Kanganaman]. Father Jansen handed Kapaimari over to Father Leo; they are both Dutchmen. Father Jansen then went to re-open the pre-war mission station at Kaningara. But before Kaningara, Ambunti mission was established in 1956 by Father Toth, who is now at Ulupu [another pre-war mission re-opened post war]. Father Kowalski took over from Father Toth at Ambunti. Also before Kaningara, Timbunke mission was re-opened

Burui had been a bush materials mission station pre-war, then after the war Ambo of Burui was a hunter for Father Kowalski at Marui, talked with Father and together they decided to re-open Burui mission. Father Segal reconstructed Burui, [it was after Torembei], but then we sent Torembei students to the Burui school.⁷

Thus the Catholic Missions under both SVD and Franciscan fathers re-established themselves in the Sepik after the war.

The Seventh Day Adventists

Seventh Day Adventists are fundamentalists. They recognize no interpretation of the Bible, believing the whole of it to be strictly factual and relying especially on the Old Testament. They keep the Sabbath, observe the various food taboos of Leviticus, and believe literally and vehemently in the Last Judgment. Indigenous congregations described the Day of Judgment as a time when Christ will come again and “Finish the Ground” – rewarding the SDO followers and destroying the rest.⁸

In the Angoram monthly report for November 1949, ADO Ormsby noted that a Mr. & Mrs. Gander of the SDA Mission were in the area looking for possible sites for mission stations. This mission was reportedly very keen to do medical work and it was suggested if they take up land at Ambunti, they could do excellent work in providing medical facilities. An SDA mission station was established at Ambunti⁹ by Mr. Orm Speck and his wife in 1950-51.

As mentioned, Father Kowalski settled into Marui and actively patrolled the region, even well upstream of Ambunti. PO Jack Cahill wrote.... ‘It is hoped that Mr. Speck arrives in time to meet his co-worker [Farther Kowalski] in the godly cause.’¹⁰

In late 1949 J. Cahill’s Ambunti Patrol Report 4/1949-50 noted :-

Local reaction of the Chambri people to the news of the SDAs was to question whether they would bring schools.

In the light of the Bowi cargo cult then active at Aibom, Cahill’s report equated “education” in the thinking of the people with Aibom’s ideas of “English and Cargo”. Cahill was of the opinion that after a time it [i.e., the cultist interest in the SDA offer of education] would fall flat. He equated catechists rushing into “new” villages to men pegging claims in a gold rush. He added :-

*The bulk of mission adherents were women and children. The women do not speak Pidgin. Few men are interested in the mission. The mission seems to be going for quantity rather than quality.*¹¹

PO P. Wenke’s Ambunti Patrol No 6/1952-53 noted :-

*...The SDA mission which has only been in the area for two years has opened a school at Japanaut. To date all the young men have learned is to give up smoking, betelnut, pigs, and singsings – the price of an hour’s English schooling each day. Just at present in the area the great desire is to learn to read and write. It is at this point the missionaries capitalize by “jamming” the natives’ heads with questionable “Tambus” interspersed with a few hours English teaching – thereby creating in the natives’ minds the delusion that they are being educated.*¹²

The Police vs. Gaui/Dambwi¹ - Charge – Carnal knowledge of a girl under the age of 16 years – Preliminary hearing of an indictable offence in the District Court at Ambunti – in 1960s [actual date not noted] :

Facts in brief: Two SDA students indulged in consensual sex. The girl was 15. The European SDA missionary took offence. When sending the deposition in for registration with the Supreme Court, ADO Ambunti wrote to the Magistrate in Wewak :-

...I request you support my application that a Nolle Prosequi be entered in this case on the grounds:

¹ Gaui/Dambwi is a made up name as the defendant does not need his name smeared.

1. *The law is not designed to defeat itself, and in this case no law of nature has been broken. The alleged offense was between two mature people. In their respective areas Angoram and Manus, they would have been sexually active since puberty, with the full sanction of native law...*
2. *A Supreme Court case with its formality, even if it acquits, will probably have a lasting repressive effect on these young people. Both of them seem to have withdrawn into themselves since being expelled from the mission, and going through the District Court Committal process.*
3. *The decision to go ahead with this case in the first place was made upon the basis of the morals of an Australian SDA Missionary, which when taken in the light of the average New Guinean, definitely do not run parallel to those of the average person.*

The Nolle Prosequi [no prosecution] was entered. The two, however, were not reinstated to the SDA mission or its school.

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Three samples of Administration policy of the time, relating to Christian Missions

Circular Instruction No. 109 of 3.5.1950 entitled ‘Attitudes of Officers towards Christian Missions’.

During the past two years complaints have been made that some officers display an anti-Christian attitude towards Christian Missions.

Every man is entitled to have his own beliefs, but an Administration officer is not entitled to allow his own personal beliefs or unbelief's to enter into his attitude and actions towards Mission Institutions. It is the established policy of the Admin to give assistance to Christian Missions in their endeavours to promote the welfare and development of the people of this Territory. A very grave view is taken when officers display an attitude contrary to this policy.

.... signed I.F. Champion – a/Director.

Circular Instruction #109 had been preceded by two earlier instructions which were :-

DS 30-0 of 10.8.1949 ‘Patrols on Sundays and holidays’

Patrols will rest on Sundays and holidays and on Saturdays in areas where all or some of the native people are adherents of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission.

This instruction is not to interfere with the powers of discretion of the officer-in-charge of police in connection with police matters, nor in cases of necessity; but where the necessity involves the use of carriers, the European or native missionary should be advised of the necessity. Census shall not be taken on Sundays.

Such rest days shall not be wasted as there is sufficient clerical work to occupy an officer's time on those days if he does not wish to rest himself.

Signed I.F. Champion – a/Director

DS 32-1-5. of 17.2.1950 Relations with Missions

To preserve good relations with Mission bodies throughout the Territories, officers are advised that all matters of a contentious nature will not be taken up by the officers themselves but must be submitted through this Department to the Government Secretary.

The matters will then be handled by either His Honour the Administrator or by him through the Government Secretary.

In the case of Sub-Districts, the O.I.C., will advise the District Officer who will then submit the matter confidentially through this Department.

Where communication is necessary on a minor or routine matter, the communication shall be between the District Officer and the Secretary or Business Manager of the Mission or between the District Officer [or ADO] and the local representative of the Mission

Sgd. M.C.W. Rich a/Director

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Baptist Missionaries arrive in the Telefomin Sub District

On 21st May 1949, DS&NA Director J.H. Jones Informed the District Officer in Wewak that Reverends Orr and Kronert of the Baptist Mission may visit the Sepik; they were interested in establishing a mission in some area not served by other missions.¹³

The next letter on the file is dated 14th April 1950 and was addressed to Assistant District Officer, Telefomin :-

Dear Sir,

In a few months' time I shall be coming to the Telefomin District, the Administrator has given a group of us permission to commence missionary work there. I hope to have the mission station established in fairly close proximity to the airstrip, for convenience in bringing in stores etc.

When we arrive you will no doubt have to make arrangements for us to buy a section of land there. It is desirable for a mission station site to have the following qualities, if they can be found in one place:

Firstly, accessibility to the airstrip, the proximity to the heaviest concentration of population, close to good water and fertile soil and to such native building materials that the district offers.

I trust that we can cooperate in sharing a plane for bringing in supplies as it would probably mean that we can get stores and mail more frequently if we are able to do that. We hope that you will be able to pay us social visits now and then as your duties permit. When I was on the Fly River in Papua, I was a single man, and the ADO at Lake Murray and myself were very glad to see each other when our work brought us together because it became lonely there at times.

I am making arrangements with Gibbs Sepik Airways to fly in our stores, and I understand the Government Station at Telefomin has the same arrangement. We would appreciate it if you can give us any information regarding the area, as it will be different in some respects to other areas I have been in, I should think. Trusting to see you in a few months' time

Yours Sincerely Stan Dale.

The ADO Telefomin, H. W. West replied on 18th May 1950 :-

Dear Mr. Dale...

...Before coming to Telefomin to remain permanently I would strongly advise you to make a survey visit to acquaint yourself with conditions prevailing. I am sure you could arrange with the District Officer, Wewak, to come in on an aircraft chartered by the Administration and you would be welcome to stay with me for a few days.

Actually, Telefomin is not well endowed by nature and what it has to offer in the way of potential sites for mission or administration centres falls far short of the ideal.

For the sake of clarity and brevity the following information is supplied in note form:

Location. Sepik headwaters 4,800 ASL. Country very rugged otherwise swampy.

Weather. Rainfall is high. Cold wet days are common. Night temperatures are low and three or four blankets are necessary.

Population. The population of the Sub-District has been estimated at 5,000. There are fewer than 2,000 people within a radius of a long day's walk from the airstrip, which is centrally situated in relation to the total population. The population is nowhere very dense, but the local Telefomin villages have a combined population of about 500. The people, however spend long periods, sometimes months, at their garden hamlets, a long day's walk away.

Water & Soil. A good water supply should present no problem, but the soil is very poor and agricultural prospects are by no means bright. The general picture is about three or four inches of rain soaked humus on a solid base of clay which prevents percolation.

Native building materials. Bamboo, pitpit, kunai and bark suitable for the construction of walls are available, but all are widely scattered and have to be carried long distances. Both hardwoods and softwoods are fairly plentiful.

Communications & mail. As far as possible the District Officer, Wewak arranges a charter 'plane each week. This is dependent upon the availability of aircraft and flying conditions, and frequently three weeks elapse between 'planes. Wewak is normally contacted twice daily by radio.

Native food. Native foods are only available in small quantities, largely because of the small population and poor soil. Taro is the staple. Sugar cane, sweet potatoes, corn and a few greens are also grown.

Livestock. Pigs are scarce, fowls unknown.

Trade items. Knives, tomahawks, salt and tobacco are widely accepted. There is some demand for beads and powdered paint but gold-lip shell, girigiri, mirrors and other items meet with little response.

I hope this information will be of use to you in planning your new station.

Yours faithfully

(H.W. West) Officer in charge.

The reply dated August 9th 1950

Dear Mr. West,

Thank you so much for your recent letter and details regarding the Telefomin Sub District. I had heard something of the area from Dr. Kenneth Pike from U.S.A. [President of the Summer Institute of Linguistics], and from Osmar White of the Melbourne "Sun" newspaper, but nothing very clear and definite.

It looks as if missionary work there would be a fairly tough proposition, but I have done it in areas nearly as bad as Telefomin sounds, and no doubt can do it again. However, the Government Secretary at Port Moresby. Mr. S.A. Lonergan, advised that I make a preliminary survey of the area and form an opinion on the spot, as to the advisability of establishing a mission there.

I deeply appreciate your offer of hospitality and shall be very glad to accept it while in the valley. All being well I hope to leave Australia on the "Bulolo" in September, so there is every possibility of seeing you at the end of that month or early in October. In my last letter I must have forgotten to ask you when the real wet season began. I suppose it would be about December, as elsewhere.... S. Dale. 9th August 1950.

The next file document was a permit issued under the *Uncontrolled Areas Ordinance 1925-1938* dated 11th May 1951. It is made out to Mr. Jack Green of the Baptist Mission Baiyer River via Lae. The permittee was thereby authorized to enter the Telefomin Sepik District for the purpose of establishing a mission station. Condition 10 endorsed on the permit stated: *Permittee is confined to a five mile radius of the Government Station at Telefomin.*¹⁴

Writer's Note: Although the above correspondence from Mr. Dale seems quite innocuous, there was already some doubt about his credentials, and acceptance within his cohort. Mr. Dale had no further involvement in Telefomin. In 2016 I asked former Baptist Missionaries [Tekin Mission Station, Telefomin Sub District] Ian & Jill Flatters about him. They knew of him but said "He was not one of ours."¹⁵ He was eventually to be killed by natives in Dutch New Guinea / Irian Jaya because of his extreme evangelical views and behavior – see Chapter 42.

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Soon after Oksapmin Patrol Post was opened 45 miles east of Telefomin in 1961, the Baptists established a mission station called Tekin in the nearby Tekin valley. Relations between the patrol officers and mission personnel were close and neighbourly. Then in 1966 SDA mission representatives visited Oksapmin with the intention of establishing a mission station in the Hewa tribal country near the Om/Lagaip junction of the Strickland River. The writer was in charge at Oksapmin at the time and found it necessary, if there was more than one mission, to formalize relations so it was clear that there was no favoritism.

In the days before the SDA arrival, the Baptist Mission and Oksapmin Patrol Post had an "honour system" which allowed for example cases of nails to be borrowed by the Baptists to be returned when their nails were delivered, and timber to be supplied from the mission mill against future payment when the Cash Funds Certificate came through.

When the SDA intentions became known, I pointed out that there were bound to be inter-mission differences and local confusion. The SDA response was that they preferred to set up in established mission areas rather than "new" areas as the "other mission" would have already done the ground work for the SDAs. The SDAs maintained their distance. Of necessity I explained to the Baptists that our honour system of mutual borrowings unfortunately needed to cease, as I did not want to be accused of bias.

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The South Seas Evangelical Mission [SSEM] among the Arapesh and elsewhere

The SSEM expanded from the British Solomon Islands to the Sepik in 1948 and Ilahita mission station was established in 1951. By 1976 there were ten SSEM mission stations scattered

through the Southern Arapesh, Urat, Urim, and Kwanga language regions [broadly in the southern foothills of the Torricelli Mountains between Maprik and Dreikikir]. By then they employed 39 non indigenous staff.

SSEM was/is a Protestant group similar to the Assemblies of God [AOG] and Christian Missions in Many Lands [CMML] in other parts of the Sepik.

In seeking total commitment from converts, the mission prohibits a range of traditional behaviours including smoking, betel nut chewing, magic of all kinds, Tambaran Cult activities, sister exchange marriages, infant betrothal, polygyny, song, dance festivals, nudity and life crisis ceremonies. Faced with this all-or-nothing choice the great majority follows the easy course and remained pagan.¹⁶

The Summer Institute of Linguistics. [SIL]

The SIL organization had been active in PNG since 1956. SIL members seek to translate the bible into languages in which the bible is not recorded. SIL couples I the writer have met typically expect to spend twelve or more years in a remote community learning a language and then translating the scriptures. SIL members do not regard themselves as missionaries, but prefer to work alongside the church and missionaries [Protestant rather than Catholic Missions to the writer's observation] in a non-evangelizing role of translating. It had been said the foundation of the church is the bible and that translating it is the SIL focus.

In a practical sense SIL members are long-term members of village communities and their personal Christian life style and religious observances tend to be emulated by the people. Of late according to SIL Director Paul Minter, SIL is increasingly engaged with the preservation of traditional languages by encouraging community members themselves to actively engage themselves in translation works¹⁷. At present [2015] The PNG's SIL headquarters is Ukarumpa near Kainantu in the Eastern Highlands, a self-contained town with a wide range of services.

The Assemblies of God [A.O.G.]

AOG mission commenced work in Maprik in 1949¹⁸. The Ambunti annual report of 1956-57 included, in addition to the SVD and SDA, a 3rd mission – the AOGs at “Pagwi” – the mission was actually at Yamunumbu on the opposite bank of the Sepik from Pagwi and Marui Catholic Mission.

The 1964-5 Ambunti Annual Report noted that the AOG Mission at [Yamunumbu] was also preparing to construct a mission station at Tauri [Wongamusen area] where an airstrip was planned, but noted no action had as yet taken. However PO Rudiger Treutlein found that the Tauri people would not sell the land required.¹⁹

The 1966/7 Ambunti annual report noted that because the AOG mission withdrew educational facilities, they are having difficulty holding land in the Yambanumbu area [Nyaula language group]. The report indicated the AOG mission would soon move to Tauri and also set up a mission at Ambunti.

The 1967-8 Ambunti annual report stated the AOG mission had not yet extended to Ambunti and Kanganaman {Parembei dialect Iatmul} but had applied for land in both. In 1970, when the writer was posted to Ambunti the AOG mission was already established there. The 1968/69 Ambunti Annual report for the first time mentioned a Catholic [Franciscan} Mission station had been established at Kubkain in the Wongamusen area – downstream of Tauri.

Christian Missions in Many Lands [CMML]

CMML was established in 1921 as an NGO to service missionaries from the USA. CMML commenced work in PNG during the 1950s with a primary focus on adult literacy, particularly in Pidgin English²⁰

On 28th November 1954 the Liddle family landed at Green River airstrip and established the CMML mission station just to the west of Green River Patrol Post where they established a school for teenagers and adult literacy facilities with involvement in translating the scriptures.

In March 1955 Kay and Roy Austin conducted a patrol into the Amanab area with a view to establishing a mission station, but due to Austin's illness Amanab's establishment was delayed in favour of mission stations in the Lumi area. Interestingly Liddle's main land negotiator at Lumi was Makain, pre-war medical orderly and Japanese collaborator. Together with Cargo Cult leader Teni of Tauwete, the self-proclaimed *Black King of the Wapei*, they had planned the capture of Lieut. Fryer and party at Seinum in order to take them to Aitape for execution by the Japanese.²¹

The CMML mission stations established in the Torricelli foothills were: Lumi, Nuku, Eretei, Anguganak, Sibilanga, Yellow River, Kilifas, Kabori, Yimbrasi and Yebil²². Then in April 1958 Roy Austin and family went to Amanab and constructed the airstrip and established their mission station a year or so later in 1959/60.

With the Administration takeover of the Dutch administered Dera language enclave in 1962, the Franciscans established a mission at Kamberatoro some hours walk due west of the CMML mission at Amanab.

New Tribes Mission [NTM]

The NTM is an international theologically evangelical Christian mission organized and based in Sanford California. It was founded by Paul Flemming in 1942 and currently [internet 2014] has about 3,300 employees in 20 countries. NTM focused on groups where no translation of the bible exists.²³

In 1972 NTM people visited Ambunti to discuss setting up a mission in the Upper Leonard Schultze area. I, as ADC, agreed to accompany them on a reconnaissance flight in their helicopter and indicated to the pilot that we should land on the river bank near where I received an air drop during my exploration of the Sepik-Strickland Divide from Oksampin in 1966. There were no people in sight, but nearby was a Hewa style communal house with open walls. We went there and saw there was a fire burning in one of the hearths.

A bitch and her litter were near to the fire but one of the pups had fallen five feet from the floor to the ground below. I picked it up and put it back in the house before we departed back to Ambunti. The people having fled at the sight of the helicopter, had watched us from the forest fringe. The NTM reported back later that the people decided that we were good people when they saw me put the pup back with its mother.

The NTM established an airstrip on what had been my airdrop site and when I again visited the Upper Leonard Schultze River area in 1989 – as an adventure tourism operator - there was no resident NTM, but I noted that 2,000 years of social change had occurred there since my exploratory patrol of 23 years before:

1. The population claimed to be 100% Christian.



2. The people professed no knowledge of the stone axe manufacture and trade of their ancestors. See Sepik 1 Chapter 23.

3. There was no sign of traditional dress. In honour of our visit, the people both at the SDA airstrip at the Om/Lagaip junction south of the central range, and at the NTM airstrip to the north of it, agreed [for a cash fee] to display tribal costumes on freshly scrubbed Christian bodies. When anthropologist Professor Hatanaka saw the photos, she shook her head and said that never before had she seen such dress and decorations. This was less an indication of rarity than one of inauthenticity

***Opposite – above** - The writer in 1989 with an SDA Christian of Saiyolof tribal origins.*

***Below** - The men in red are NTM Christians of Setiali/Sumwari tribal origins – Upper Leonard Schultze River.*

PO Phil Moore's Ambunti Patrol Report No 2/1973-4 reported that NTM had built a house at Apan [in the Malu area – just upstream of Ambunti] in 1973 and expected to build at Ambunti in 1974. They would have added to the missions already established at Ambunti which included the SDA, SVD, AOG and Orneil Kooyers' "Ambunti Akademi".

What language was used by Christian missionaries with their congregations?

Through time and across the geographic spectrum of Christian endeavor in PNG, there have been a range of mission policies adopted concerning the language to be used in teaching the Gospel :

- Father Limbrock and his missionaries initially taught in German.
- The Kote language of Finschhafen was adopted by the Lutheran mission particularly as the mission spread into the Highlands.
- The Summer Institute of Linguistics translated the bible into many of PNG's indigenous languages.

Given the huge number of indigenous languages spoken throughout the Sepik, and the Territory of New Guinea generally, the language of the people was Pidgin English and in the vast majority of congregations it became the language of the church.

Mission spheres of influence, conflicts and the "Sordid Scramble for Souls" concept.

It is the writer's observation that in the late 1960s – early 1970s the phrase "The Sordid Scramble for souls" was coined and came into popular usage to identify the inter-denominational quest to influence indigenous communities in PNG, and equally for each mission to protect their congregation from the influence of others. The notes and observations below are in loose chronological order :-

During CPO H.W. Gill's June 1963 patrol [Ambunti Patrol Report No.12 1962-3] to the Waskuk Hills [Kwoma language area] and adjacent Numau Ablatak region, he found that :-

Catholic Mission [SVD] has influence at Beglam, Saseriman, Tongwinjamb Urumbanj, Waskuk and Bangwis.

SDA has influence at Bangwis.

SSEM working out of Nungwaia [Maprik Sub District, south of Dreikikir] is doing some initial work in Numau Ablatak. In some villages dancing and singing are reduced because it does not meet with mission approval.²⁴

In July 1963 [Ambunti Patrol 1/63-64 Wongamusen division] Gill reported :-

SDA reps at Swagup, Yauenian [Hauna] and Chenapian.

Catholic Mission slight influence in upriver villages – school boys at Ambunti from Oum and Tauri.

Warasai village book entries x 2

[1] 10/9/1965

ADO Ryan commented on work started on a Catholic Mission [Franciscan] airstrip at Warasai and stated that the airstrip would be of little benefit to the people.

[2] 2/8/1966

People ordered to cease work on the airstrip until such time as the priest at Wati [Nuku area] lodges a legitimate application for a mission lease, and land investigation and purchase are completed. Until then any work done would be in clear contradiction of Section 24 of the Lands Ordinance 1962. Anyone ordering such work on native land is liable to prosecution under this ordinance.²⁵

Writer's Note: This was an effective use of a village book entry; knowing that in all probability the priest from Wati would read it. Presumably a separate letter to the same intent was sent via the District Commissioner Wewak to the Bishop at Aitape.

Ablatak village book entries x 2

[1] 27/7/1966

These people are under the influence of the SSEM Mission at Nungwaia. Some missionary conned them into building an airstrip at Wingi [1 hour walk away from Ablatak]. Apparently the mission had no intention of placing a European missionary there, so the airstrip was not used. Such actions on the part of the mission are nothing less than contemptible and deserve prosecution under the Lands Ordinance. No money was paid for the work...but a plane did make five practice landings there in 1965. Nothing has [further] eventuated. The airstrip is 1500 ft. by 150 ft. and a surprisingly good job considering it was constructed without supervision.

District Commissioner's 25-1-1 of 22nd December 1966:

I note that the field officer who made the entry has been instructed to exercise more restraint in his official relations with the Mission, especially as regards entries in village books. It was strongly suggested that the village books be recalled and the offending remarks are removed from the record.

[2] 1/6/1967

A letter was sent to SSEM about their intentions... This airstrip has caused quite a bit of dissent among the people. signed P. Colton PO.²⁶

In the 1966/7 Ambunti annual report ADC J.C. Corrigan stated :-

Of the three missions², the Catholic Mission [SVD] has the most influence. This is not surprising as it had a good 25 years start on the other two. Generally the missions have a hard time contending with the coldly materialistic outlook of the people. There are no recognized spheres of influence and no mission respects the claim of another.²⁷

Mr. Corrigan made a similar statement when commenting on PO W. Van Rixoord's Pagwi patrol report No 2/1966-67 to the Main River [Iatmul area] :-

There is a lesson in the attitudes of the people to be read by the missions. That is, that the people are no longer content with evangelising and platitudes. They are quite selfish in their attitude and make no effort to hide this. They want everything to their material advantage, especially good as distinct from poor and inadequate educational facilities for their children. If these are not forthcoming, then as far as the people are concerned, the mission will be written off as of no account and they will be made unwelcome... The SDA mission almost ceased operations in six villages. The people are resentful; not over lack of a mission, but over the closing of schools.²⁸

Ambunti Patrol No.7 1966-67 – Numau-Ablatak mentioned :-

SSEM has influence in four villages, but the people turned against them as the original promise of a mission station if they built an airstrip did not eventuate as there is not enough population [presumably talking about the Ablatak airstrip.]²⁹

Ambunti Patrol No.5 1967-8 Wongamusen Sept/Oct 1967 – PO R. Treutlein

The AOG Tauri land application – Investigated and held in abeyance by Barclay in 1966 as people not prepared to sell. Re-opened by AOG. People still not prepared to sell... Franciscan Mission Nuku [Wati] recently sent a Catachist to Kubkain and incurred the wrath of the AOGs.³⁰

Pagwi Patrol No.2 1967-68 – **Chambri Lakes** – **PO W. Van Rixoord** :-

The SDA mission tried to set up at Aibom at the invitation of some people there. The Catholic Mission at Chambri demanded the removal of the SDAs or Catholic Mission would leave Aibom³ This bluff has been modified, but the Catholic Church is opposed to anyone who has anything to do with any other mission. The people are not upset by this.³¹

Ambunti Patrol No.7 1968-9 Wongamusen: ADO Corrigan observed :-

The Catholic Mission [Franciscan], after three years of lagging behind AOG has taken the ascendancy with Father Campbell at Kubkain. The initial opening feud with threats of court action has now died down between the missions. The Catholic Mission is popular as it sets up

² Catholic, AOG and SDA

³ Registration of Land Titles files [Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 178] "Aibom Catholic Mission arrived in approx. 1923, payment made by Father Puff in 1933 approx. Payment covered only the Posko clan land, but not the Lenga or Nombok clans

trade stores and a school at Oum. Mission popularity depends upon what they have to offer. The missions are gaining supporters, not converts.³² In September 1970 it was noted that the Catholic mission at Kubkain had a feeder school that channeled students to Oum.³³

Ambunti Patrol No.12 1969-70 Payler/Veratau. Waskuk Hills :-

SSEM applied for land near Tongwinjamb, but withdrew application. SSEM is now applying for land at Beglam. Catholic Mission and SDA regard SSEM intrusion with concern. Missions show little Christian charity to the arrival of new missions.³⁴

Ambunti Patrol No.2 1971-72 Upper Sepik. Moore and TPO Binjari :-

The adults in the villages tend to pick and choose those aspects of Mission beliefs that appeal to them e.g. no work on Sunday or Saturday [depending upon denomination], but this does not stop them having several wives, eating pig meat, chewing betelnut, etc. The younger generation on the other hand, has lived with mission influence all their lives; to them all of the above are sins, and to be treated accordingly.³⁵

Ambunti Patrol No.4 1971-72 Wario Sio and part Sepik/May Division. PO D. Mahar. August 1971.

The AOG school at Nakek, which opened in 1970, is now closed.

Comments by ADO Ambunti on **Ama [May River] Patrol report No.8 1972-3** written by Dave Stevens CPO :-

An interesting side issue of the New Tribes entry into the Ama area is that the SDA missionaries [the established mission at Ama] feel this is a direct reprisal for the SDA going in and setting up a mission on an airstrip made by the New Tribes in the Wonenara area. [Kainantu sub district of the Eastern Highlands.]

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This chapter is primarily about the various mission denominations working in the Sepik after World War 2, and about the indigenous reaction to Christianity generally – its variable benefits and prohibitions depending upon the missions involved.

Before World War 2 the Catholic mission [SVD] was the only denomination involved in the Sepik. The people who were new to Christianity at that time were at times very enthusiastic, even to the extent of church services being held in haus tambarans at Parembei and perhaps elsewhere.³⁶ In the post war period the attitude of the Sepik people [particularly the Iatmul] to missions became hard and materialistic, and one observer indicated the missions gained supporters rather than converts, based upon what material advantages each denomination had to offer. Recognizing the value of Western education, schooling was seen as an integral component of ‘material advantage’.

On 25th August 1950 the Acting Director DS&NA issued to all District Officers the following Circular Memorandum entitled NATIVE MARRIAGES :-

At the last Mission Conference a resolution was forwarded to the Administration requesting:

1. That the Marriage Ordinance of Papua 1912-1935 become statute law for the combined Territories of Papua and New Guinea.
2. That native customary marriages be recorded by Government Officers and that the help of village officials be enlisted to secure and keep such records up to date.

3. That a special certificate form be provided for natives who have previously contracted a native-custom marriage, and who desire that that marriage be registered according to the Births Deaths and Marriages Ordinance.
4. That polygamy [having more than one wife or husband at the same time], including polyandry [having more than one husband at the same time] and polygyny [having more than one wife at the same time] be declared illegal for a native who has contracted a registered marriage.

The resolution was considered by the Executive Council and a committee was appointed to make recommendations. The Committee recommended :-

- a. Before any further action is taken, District Officers be asked to provide the following information in regard to villages which have been censused in their district :
 - a. Name of village.
 - b. Population
 - c. Number of married men.
 - d. Number of single men.
 - e. Number of men with more than one wife.
 - f. Number of men with 2 wives, 3 wives etc
 - g. Ages of men with more than one wife.
 - h. Position of such men in the community
 - i. Have any of the men in (g) polygamously married by native custom widows of deceased brothers.
- b. It is further recommended that District Officers be requested to report on the effects it would have on the social structure and wellbeing of the people if polygamy was made illegal.

Will you please obtain this information from your census statistics. Please treat this matter as urgent.

signed ... I.F. Champion Acting Director.

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On 10th October 1950 H.W. West responded [in part] from Telefomin :-

I am at present engaged in taking the initial census of those sections of the Telefomin Sub District where contact has been sufficiently close to make this feasible...

Women here appear to have much more freedom in the choice of a spouse than they do in many other parts of New Guinea and this probably accounts for the incidence of polygamy being only about ten per cent.

The industry, wealth and prowess of the man and the acquiescence of the first wife are the main determinants. Widows are free to marry whoever they choose and the custom of marrying the deceased's husband's brother is not prevalent, although he is normally responsible for the welfare of the woman (and her children) if she remains a widow.

It would seem that one weakness of the figures asked for by the committee...is that areas that have recently come under the influence of the Administration and the Missions are lumped with those that have been closely influenced for many years, and thus the impact of those two bodies on the (legally recognised) institution of polygamy is not revealed. Useful figures, which could be more readily supplied by the Missions than the Administration would be :-

- a. The extent to which polygamy existed in a given area when first contacted by a Mission.
- b. The extent to which it existed after ten, twenty years etc. of mission influence.

If the decrease is appreciable, no legislation to curb plural marriages should be necessary; if it is not, the fact that the people have rejected the Mission's teaching does not prima facie constitute a case for legal repression of polygamy.

It has been my experience that when a Mission is established in an area that polygamy rate falls steadily. However the missionary, basically and predominantly concerned with spiritual rather than man, cannot be satisfied with what to the administration officer in analogous matters would be considered satisfactory progress, and is deeply concerned about existing polygamous marriages.

Nevertheless the law cannot be guided by purely spiritual or religious issues and no doubt legislation in relation to the abolition of polygamy would not be made retrospective to dissolve existing polygamous unions, and one of the main problems as far as the missions are concerned from a spiritual point of view would remain unresolved.

It seems, too, that polygamous marriages according to native customary law would continue whether regarded as legally valid or not, and as native customary law is neither static nor uniform over wide areas, the effective enforcement of monogamy would be difficult. In any case there would be nothing to prevent a native having additional de facto wives or omitting some element of the customary marriage ritual, with the tacit consent of the community, to circumvent some legal technicality.

An interesting discussion on recent legislation in the Belgium Congo provided for the registration of customary marriages and the assumption of the legal obligations of monogamy by natives is contained in an article, "*African Marriages in the Belgium Congo*" in the April, 1950 issue of the "*Journal of African Administration*".

H.W. West Patrol Officer. (Officer in Charge)

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The Native Customs Recognition Ordinance 1963, which became the Customs Recognition Act of PNG, effectively recognized indigenous customs, [other than those that are repugnant to statute law], as legally enforceable; effectively customary law is PNG Common Law. Polygamy, and initiation ceremonies as conducted in the post headhunting era [see Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 34 *Initiations 9th March 1933, 1961 and 1973 a comparison*] are allowed within the scope of the Customs Recognition Act, despite the fact that some Christian missions regard such customs as pagan.

Topics addressed in other chapters of Sepik Book 2 and Book 4, but not covered in this chapter, include the important issues of :-

1. Sepik traditional religions, which some Sepik philosophers even segregate into *the Sepik Old Testament* – being ancient myths and legends akin to Jonah and the Whale; and *the Sepik New Testament* concerning oral histories of the Sepik people passed down through the ages.
2. The attempted eradication of traditional religions by Christian missions by burning haus tambarans [the churches of traditional religions], destroying sacred religious objects [pagan idols] and teachings in favour of Christianity and against traditional beliefs which were equated with Satan and sin.
3. The evolution of a new religion – cargo cult - which in most cases reinterpreted and blended Christian teachings with traditional beliefs in order to explain why the Sepik did not have access to modern technology and material goods, yet the white people did.
4. The "Min" revival including the Joshua Movement in the Telefomin district and wider "Min" tribal area.

End Notes Chapter 7

- ¹ Bragge L.W. Sepik Book 3 *The Sepik at War*. Chapters 25 [Akikazi], 42 & 44 [Dorish Maru] unpublished.
- ² Catholica, a global conversation – Missionaries dig in by Francis 14th November 2013
- ³ Diocese of Aitape; a History of the Diocese.
- ⁴ Liddle K. *Into the Heart of Papua New Guinea* – Welford Design and Print. 2012 p.145
- ⁵ Liddle K. *Into the Heart of Papua New Guinea* – Welford Design and Print. 2012 p.145
- ⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18.p.282
- ⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18. p.286-7
- ⁸ Josephides J Seventh-Day Adventism and Boroï images of the Past. In Sepik Heritage – ed Letkehaus et al 1990 Carolina Academic press. Page 59.
- ⁹ Angoram Monthly report November 1949. In Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p. 42
- ¹⁰ Ambunti Monthly report March 1950. In Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p. 42
- ¹¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.75
- ¹² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.79
- ¹³ File reference DS [Port Moresby] 32-1-15. 21st May 1949 in Bragge Ref Vol 8 item 263.
- ¹⁴ Bragge Reference Vol 8 item 263
- ¹⁵ Personal communication with Isn and Jill Flatters in Cairns 2016
- ¹⁶ Tuzin D.F. *The Ilahita Arapesh* – University of California Press, Berkeley LA1976 P 33.
- ¹⁷ Kafcalouodes. P interview with SII Director Paul Minter 5/8/2013 – from internet
- ¹⁸ Liddle K. *Into the Heart of Papua New Guinea* – Welford Design and Print. 2012
- ¹⁹ Ambunti Patrol Report No 5/ 1967-8 – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 P 109
- ²⁰ Ahai N [Naihuwo] – *Literacy in an Emergent Society: Papua New Guinea*. SIL International 2004. P 5.
- ²¹ Bragge L.W. Sepik Book 3 –*The Sepik at War* Chapter 37 – yet to be published
- ²² Liddle K. *Into the Heart of Papua New Guinea* – Welford Design and Print. 2012 P144
- ²³ Wikipedia. – New Tribes Mission.
- ²⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.101`
- ²⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.318
- ²⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.317
- ²⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.47
- ²⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.134
- ²⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.108
- ³⁰ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.109
- ³¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.135
- ³² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.112
- ³³ [Ambunti Patrol 7/1970-71 Wongamusen Bragge Sepik research Vol 20 p. 116]
- ³⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.125
- ³⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p.125
- ³⁶ Parembei village book entry 11/10/1939 Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 P313



An SDA Christian of Saiyolof tribal origins – Om/Lagiap River 1989

Sepik 4 Chapter 8 The Nyaula Colonization of the Chambri Lakes Islands

Introduction –

Four historic events described in Sepik Book 1 – *Pre-History from the Beginning of Time to 1885* and Sepik 2 – *The Waves of Change* are relevant to the outcomes in this chapter.

1. **Iatmul history.** After the Iatmul migrated from the Sawos areas and the recognized place of the creation – Mebinbit - to the Sepik River, three Iatmul sub groups evolved.
 - a. Parembei Iatmul based on the mother village Parembei.
 - b. Woliagwi Iatmul who occupied the Sepik River downstream of Parembei
 - c. The Nyaula Iatmul based on the Mother village of Nyauirengai/Kandingei, upstream [and enemies] of the Parembei.
2. **The Manabi people of Timbunmeri and their demise.** A series of raids annihilated the original inhabitants of Timbunmeri Island in the Chambri Lakes and disbursed Manabi survivors.
3. **Ancient trade relationships.** Two essential items of trade came from the Chambri Lakes in pre-contact times:
 - a. Pottery including sago storage jars and hearths – from Aibom.
 - b. Stone adze blades and monoliths from the three Chambri villages.
4. **The impacts on trade and the Chambri exile.**
 - a. Upon contact and access to western goods – Aibom pottery remained in strong demand, being regarded as superior to metal saucepans... The Parembei Iatmul exerted influence on Aibom, which lost its own language in favour of Iatmul. This could be regarded as the start of Iatmul colonization.
 - b. Stone blades immediately became redundant by the introduction of steel axes. The Chambri people who, until the arrival of steel, needed no fighting or defensive skills because of total regional reliance on their blades, were now raided mercilessly by the Nyaula Iatmul. The Chambri fled into exile to distant village communities in the south hills that bounded the lakes. They returned only after the Australian Administration had pacified the area. The returned Chambri people could never match the Nyaula in aggression. This was emphasized in World War 2 when the Nyaula supporting the Japanese and used this status to further ancient animosities. [Sepik 3 Chapter 38]

Gindume of Timbunmeri told the following story of the Kandingei [Nyaula Iatmul] settlement of Timbunmeri Island in the lakes.

A man of Yanget [Sawos language group] called Wimeri, stayed with the Posko and Yat clans at Kandingei. On the market day the following people sought to go to the market [to get sago] – Wimeri, Yuolmeri, Wutnagwan, Yuandublangauwi, two women and a child called Wungunyambi.

Yentchanmangua, [a daughter village of the mother village Nyauirengai which had been positioned at the junction of the channel and the Sepik River to prevent access by enemy Parembei canoes – was jealous of the Kandingei use of the Gungusa market channel. Yentchanmangua and Korogo waited at the channel and attacked the Kandingei party. Wimeri was struck, splitting his head open [but not killing him]. The child Wungunyambi fell into the water and might have drowned.

Yuolmeri brought the talk back to Kandingei. All of Kandingei went to fight Yentchanmangua and Korogo at the mouth of the channel, on the land from Sambingit to the mouth of the channel. The

men came from where they were working and took limbum clubs and spears and went to fight. They shouted a challenge and waited for the Yentchanmangua and Korogo men to come.

The Kandingeis held up their hands to indicate the fight should only be with hands [indicating limited aggression between Nyaula groups]. As soon as they landed the fight started and afterwards the fighters returned to their respective villages nursing their injuries. Kandingei leaders Meivan and Ararabi killed a big pig for the men who fought. The Kandingei situation was that now they had no access to the sago market. They reported their problem to Father Puff at Marui. The other Europeans at this time had fled from the approaching Japanese.

Writer's Note: There is an apparent time slippage here. Father Puff opened Marui mission station in 1933. The priests at Marui in 1941/2 as the Japanese approached were Father Hansen and Father Cruysberg. The involvement of Father Puff suggests the events leading to the settlement of Timbunmeri occurred in the mid-late 1930s.

Father Puff purchased sago from Burui and the Plains people and gave it to Kandingei. But as you know [Kandingei] is a big place and the sago was not enough for all of us. Meivan and Ararabi asked Chambri whether they could help. Sangerembanga and Wapi responded by sending two leaves of tobacco, a yam, a mami and a hand of bananas. The talk they sent was this: "If you do not like these things, you come here."

Writers Note: The meaning of this message was:

PEOPLE WHO HAVE NO SAGO EAT GARDEN PRODUCE. BUT GARDEN PRODUCE IS NORMALLY ONLY A SUPPLEMENT TO THE STAPLE – SAGO. IF YOU WANT TO EAT OTHER THAN GARDEN PRODUCE, YOU WANT SAGO – COME HERE.

Two Chambri leaders said "Alright you can go and cut the bush at Timbunmeri, it is vacant – the Manabis are finished". We went and I cut the first bush there on the site where the haus tambaran is now. We slept; we did not have sago so I ate laulus [Malay apples]. After clearing the bush we left Timbunmeri at noon the next day and returned to Kandingei. The two men Meivan and Ararabi came to Timbunmeri and cleared the timber we had felled and let it dry. They burned off and cleared the ground and then we came and built houses. Some Chambris came and stayed to help us. Kworopnau of Kilimbit's people came. We lived together with the line of Wapi of Indingai as well.

Then the Yentchanmangua, Korogo and Nyauarengai came with Chambri to fight here. The Nyaulas [Yentchanmangua, Korogo and Nyauarengai] had managed to make the Chambris angry with us and they came together to fight. They fought us here and no one was killed, just broken heads and bruising. At this time we were still sleeping in bush houses, as our new houses were not yet finished.

Q. Why did they come?

A. They wanted to "raus" [chase] us off the land. Then the Nyaulas and Chambris came to fight. The Japanese had taken Wewak but had not yet come into the Sepik. It was after this fight that the Japanese came. We went to collect the Japanese detachment. Their Captain was Sibirano... Two of the Japanese died and are buried here.

Q. Who led the first Yentchanmangua & Korogo fight against Kandingei?

A. Yangandimi of Yentchanmangua and Sugandimi of Korogo.

Q. Why were they angry with you?

A. We were marketing at a market they considered theirs.

The clans that came and settled Timbunmeri were initially Posko and Yat. Later we were joined by Nyaura and some clansmen of these clans remained at Kandingei. The people to move

were all of the Wombungeigo haus Tambaran. The clansmen who stayed are also of that haus tambaran of Kandingei.

The taboo on the Gungusa channel remained in force until after the war when the Australian Administration again commenced appointing Luluais and Tultuls. Then Kandingei again made market arrangements with the plains people. They now trade with Torembei, Burui, Wereman and Yamuk. But during the war Kandingai and the Japanese were supplied with sago from Timbunmeri.

In the beginning we paid the Chambris - Wapi of Indingai and Andiauwi of Kilimbit for the land rights. After this the Chambris still disputed our rights and then after the war, a kiap whose name I think was Gilbert came to investigate the problem. He called all the places together and listened to the stories from Mari, Changriman, Garamambu [and Chambri].

The owners of Timbunmeri were decided to be Tami and his brother Mebarabo of Mari and Waru and Gambi of Garamambu. These four men were paid after the kiap instructed Luluai Meivan to pay them. Our land boundaries take in the sago stands between the Mensuat and Changriman channels, the Island of Timbunmeri and the land inside the Garamambu channel.

Writer's Note: The boundaries described are not what the village book entries of the early 1950s indicate or what the 1970 LTC decision stated. There is a difference between the reality of legal decisions and Timbunmeri wishful thinking that no doubt contributed to the deep-seated animosity in this dispute. ¹

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In late 1949 J. Cahill's Ambunti Patrol Report 4/1949-50 reported the following overview of Nyaula incursion into the Chambri Lakes :-

An important development in the Chambri Lakes is the incursion of Main River natives [Nyaurengai, Kandingei and Japanaut] into the unpopulated Islands of the [Chambri] lakes. This has occurred in the last ten years mainly due to the Japanese occupation. The greatest migration is of Nyaurengai natives to Timbunmeri Island [writer's note – this should read Kandingei]. The current dispute with Changriman is over the cutting of sago. This [Timbunmeri] village population is increasing mainly by migration.

The former Timbunmeri Islanders [the Manabi people] lived right on top of the Island and were exterminated by a combined force of Garamambu, Changriman, Chambri and Nyaurengai. All that remains is one old rotting garamut, covered over by bush. For years the island was unoccupied until about 1942 when the Nyaurengais moved in and gave payment to all their former allies in the original attack on the former Timbunmeri natives. The current disputes with Changriman are over cutting sago not included in the original purchase. Changriman welcome the presence of these canoe people who taught them how to build and handle canoes. They also trade sago for fish with Timbunmeri.

Lukluk and Arinjone Islands Sepik settlers here are less permanently settled, and their rights are very flimsy. They were censused with the Sepik, and will be censused with Chambri when they purchase the lands they occupy.²

Sgd: J. Cahill PO.

The Timbunmeri dispute was hotly contested over the following years as indicated by the following Timbunmeri Village book entries. This also demonstrated the ineffectiveness of DS&NA field officer's authority to adjudicate on land disputes. On 14th March 1951 PO Thomas added further clarification in his entry in the Timbunmeri village book.

“The area SIMANDANGUAN has been purchased by Timbunmeri [i.e. by the Nyaula settlers of Timbunmeri Island] and no more pay is to be given. The original owners, who belong to Garamambu have received payment and are satisfied. None of the ground belongs to either Changriman or Chambri, although they claim it. TONAGWON [another portion of Timbunmeri Island] is to remain the property of Garamambu. Pay given £50 cash and 6 kina shells.³”

On 28/3/1951, a fortnight after the previous village book entry, PO R.Orwin reported in a seemingly counterproductive move :-

This dispute brought up to me at Ambunti... I have decided as follows:

1. *Timbunmeri to collect back pay from whoever they gave it to.*
2. *Timbunmeri to vacate the disputed land until a patrol visits the area.*
3. *Land to remain fallow and not be used by any natives – Tambu for 3 months*

...This matter has been settled five times now and I think that by not bestowing Title of land on any particular group it may bring home to the natives concerned the futility of trying to “brush” [ignore?] an instruction or ruling given by a PO after fair review of all sides of the question.

The next entry which was undated [but in August 1951] was also by Orwin;

...Previous findings again reiterated as under:

1. *Ground known as Tonagwin is:*
2. *Hunting ground for Timbunmeri. Payments made to Garamambu*
3. *Gardening ground for Garamambu.*
4. *Ground known as Simandanguan is:*
 - a. *Gardening land for Timbunmeri. Payment made to Garamambu for rights.*
 - b. *Hunting ground for Changriman.*
5. *Ground known as Wangiambu – the Timbunmeri village site; Pay given to Mari in my presence 1/8/1951.*

On 21/9/51 a/ADO A.Zweck made the following notation in the Timbunmeri village book :-

Decisions given by POs Gilbert and Orwin confirmed at Yentchanmangua. [There is] to be no more talk on this land dispute...⁴ But of course there was more talk, as recorded as village book - the main protagonist being Chambri.

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The Lands Titles Commission Ordinance 1962 [later to be known as the Lands Titles Commission Act]. The Timbunmeri dispute, with “decisions” being made by Patrol Officers Cahill, Gilbert, Thomas, Zweck and Orwin was typical of disputes throughout PNG.

The LTC legislation took the determining of land disputation out of the hands of field officers; the kiaps, and made it the responsibility of a higher authority, which in the eyes of the people equated to that of the Supreme Court. Most of the Commissioners were senior DDS&NA officers. The local kiaps now had the responsibility to gathering the facts and providing representation for all parties to the dispute; their roles equated to those of prosecution and defence counsels in Supreme Court hearings.

Section 38 of the LTC ordinance provided for a right of appeal to the National Court.

S 38 (2) An appeal may be made only on the ground that–

- (a) the Commission has exceeded its jurisdiction
- (b) the decision was against the weight of evidence
- (c) the hearings of the Commission were conducted in a manner contrary to natural justice;
- or (d) the Commission was wrong in law.

The impact of the LTC was to elevate and formalize proceedings. By so doing it also provided a legal end point to the responsibilities of DDS&NA field staff and an expensive and complex appeal process which was out of the reach of the average villager. Did it actually resolve the disputes to the satisfaction of all parties? Certainly not.

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When the writer was posted to Ambunti in 1970, my predecessor pointed out that I should consider it a priority to bring the Timbunmeri dispute before the Lands Titles Commission [LTC]. A key area of disputed land was documented and lodged before the LTC and in due course Commissioner Page came to hear the dispute. I allocated field staff members to represent the interests of each of the parties to the dispute. Commissioner Page found in favour of Timbunmeri.

Amazingly Chambri rejoiced at this. Their selective logic recognized the decision in favour of Timbunmeri as restricting Timbunmeri rights to the land inside the boundaries adjudicated upon. The rest of the Island, in Chambri logic was therefore theirs. I pointed out that the only land that was clearly anyone's was the area the LTC awarded to the Timbunmeri Nyaulas. If there was still a dispute over other areas of the Island, I would arrange for the boundaries to be surveyed and lodge a fresh application with the LTC. When this was done the surveyor was stopped from going to Timbunmeri by Chambri people who claimed that there was no dispute...the land was theirs.

The Chambri Lakes population was pacified well before World War 2 and the Chambri grandfathers and ancestors who had fled into exile in the southern hinterland of the Chambri Lakes in the early 20th century were back to argue forcefully, as equals with the aggressive Nyaula invaders; something they would never have done before Australian field officers brought peace to the Lakes. In 1973 the Timbunmeri Nyaulas decided to provide the Chambri people with a reality check.

On the Chambri market day when the Chambri people would all be in one place, the Timbunmeri people charged ashore from fast motorized canoes that ran up onto the Island beach; warriors stormed ashore and attacked the Chambri. One of the weapons they used that day was lead fishing sinkers on the end of four feet lengths of fencing wire, which they swung around their heads like helicopter blades. The intent was to reinstate Chambri fear of the Timbunmeris and to cause severe pain and some non-fatal injuries.

The first I knew of this was when the police Sergeant from Pagwi reported to me in the Ambunti Sub District Office. He was in a state of great agitation and apologized profusely for what he was about to do, but after considerable thought he believed he had no alternative. The officer in charge at Pagwi had received a report of the Timbunmeri attack on Chambri, and proceeded, with police, to Timbunmeri Island by motorized canoe. The Timbunmeri men were all in the haus tambaran and they freely admitted conducting the attack, even identifying who was and who was not involved. The officer addressed the offenders, telling them they were under arrest and that they were to get into his canoe to be taken to court. They politely declined to do so.

The field officer and his police were out-numbered so the officer wisely decided to withdraw. At this point he should have explained to the offenders that it would be wise for them to come with him voluntarily, because if they did not, it was his duty to report to higher authority who would

return with a sufficient detachment of police to make the arrests by force if necessary...but he did not do that. He returned to Pagwi and failed to report the issue. Instead, he immediately departed on patrol into the Sepik Plains.

The Sergeant, left at Pagwi with heavy thoughts, was torn between his loyalty to the officer in charge, and the need for that officer's bad strategic decision to be rectified. I thanked the Sergeant and assured him that he had made the right decision by reporting the matter.

I pondered upon what action to take. I took into consideration the fact that this particular native officer found himself at a serious disadvantage at Pagwi as he was from the Sepik Plains and his people were the traditional enemies of the Nyaula Iatmuls who for centuries had hunted the Plains people for their heads. The Nyaulas at Timbunmeri therefore saw the officer as an inferior being. It would mean great shame for them to be arrested by a Plains man.

I assembled a small police detachment and with the Pagwi Sergeant proceeded down river and into the Chambri Lakes to Timbunmeri. The men were still in the haus tambaran and I went to them with the police to talk with them. The discussion was amicable and when arrested, the offenders did not resist and were taken back to Pagwi for court action. I was familiar with the Timbunmeri people and their problems and was relaxed in the knowledge that had they resisted arrest I could have talked them around. As anticipated, this was not necessary; neither they nor I wanted a Navuneram-like incident [see Sepik 5 Chapter 3] in the Chambri Lakes.

I was concerned about the failure by the officer in charge at Pagwi to properly perform his duty, but at the same time I understood the difficult position in which he found himself. A wider problem he faced was the probable use of sorcery against himself and his family if he took a firm stand in this, or any other case. His posting to Pagwi had been a mistake given his tribal background – but as an officer of the National Administration he was required to serve where ever he was posted. I outlined the issues in a confidential letter to the District Commissioner and nothing further was heard on the matter.

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Ambunti Patrol Report 6/1971-72 by myself as ADC Laurie Bragge summarised the Nyaula colonization at that time concerning The Islands of Lukluk and Arinjone :-

Traditionally it seems "Chambri" comprising Wombun, Indingai and Kilimbit, faced Garamambu to the west across the Lakes with Changriman & Mari making the third and southern corner of the triangle. The uninhabited islands of Timbunmeri, Lukluk, Arinjone [and Sambugundei] were in no man's land in between.

LUKLUK was colonized by fishermen from the Nyaula speaking villagers of Japanaut on the Sepik River, with approval from Garamambu. Chambri disputed Japanaut ownership. In order to reinforce its claim Chambri started a cattle project on the Garamambu side of Lukluk Island – Garamambu disputed the Chambri right to do this.

ARINJONE was similarly settled by Nyauarengai and had its ownership claim disputed by Chambri.

At the time of writing patrol report 6/1971-2 no LTC application for the resolution of the dispute had been lodged.⁵ The situation described by Cahill in 1949 concerning the status of these islands appeared to be unchanged in the early 1970s. With the passing of the years the uninterrupted occupation and the fact that Chambri will not challenge the Nyaula Iatmuls seems to favour the colonizers. In revising the census that year I made a point of looking for evidence of possible

mitigation of the dispute in Chambri girls marrying into the colonizers' communities or Nyaula girls marrying into the Chambri villages. There was not one such marriage recorded.

SAMBUGUNDEI Island was also colonized by Japanaut village Nyaulas. In 1942 Yabisaun of Sambugundeï accommodated the renegade police from Angoram after ADO Ellis' police attack on ADOs Taylor and Bates party, Ellis 'suicide and the murder of PO Richard Strudwick at Timbunke. Yabisaun led the renegades to murder the miners in the Salumei River area. [See Sepik 3 Chapter 17 and 19] After the annihilation of the renegades on Sambugundeï and others who were with them in mid-1942, further settlement of Sambugundeï was abandoned. No one lived there when I censused the Chambri Lakes villages including nearby Lukluk, Arinjone and Timbunmeri in December 1973 [Ambunti Patrol 5/1973-4].

Notes for the Chambri Lakes Map.

The Chambri Lakes as depicted give a deceptive impression of being a fixed body of water, like Lake Kutubu or Lake Kopiago. The Lakes and surrounds are a vast low lying area of wetlands which are so shallow that at the height of the dry season, the lake bed is dry marsh lands, with only the six access points – the Yau'umbak, Simbarak, Baluba, Tangimat, Au'ul and Kamilio channels - crossing it as dry or near-dry river beds. At the height of the wet season in February, the Sepik basin has an inundation area of up to 7,000 square miles of which the Chambri Lakes is a submerged portion several hundred square kilometres in extent.

North of the Sepik River for an average distance of six to eight miles the area of annual inundation does not allow sago to thrive. Beyond the inundation area are the Sawos language villages of Burui, Yanget, Vagiput, Bensim, Torembei, Yamuk, Nogosop, Gaikarobi Marap and others who are the sago producers and traders upon whom the Iatmul fish traders rely. In the early 1970's, the sago/fish market was organised on a three day trade cycle, which provided both Iatmul and Sawos with a balanced fish and sago diet.

End Notes Chapter 8

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 p387-8

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p75

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 5 Appendix E page 29 Ambunti Patrol report 5/73-4.

⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 5 Appendix E page 29 Ambunti Patrol report 5/73-4.

⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 4 Ambunti Patrol report 6/1971-2. Situation Report "Political" P 2

Sepik 4 Chapter 9 The Swagup Head-hunting Raid of February 1952

Background: A history of the origins of the Swagup people appears in Sepik 1 Chapter 21.

The status of Swagup in the post-World War 2 era was described in Ambunti Patrol report no 3/1949-50 of the Wogamush area by patrol officer J.Cahill who wrote in September/October 1949 :-

'SWARGUP (Sorgaba on the map) are the least friendly in outward appearance though the nearest to Ambunti [of the "Wogamush" villages]. Though quite a large place (22 houses) only 40 men, 38 women and 20 children were met. The reason for the small boys [being absent] was that they did not want them induced or forced away to work, a warning indeed if the area is to be opened up to recruiters.

These people are very isolationist in nature and never visit Ambunti. They are very suspicious and afraid of attack, judging from the elaborate watch towers they have on the approaches to their village. The trees around these watch towers are simply studded with arrows. These practices may be routine and sporting only. In the past the Kawiemi natives used to raid small parties but that source of attack is now out of the question. The Wogamush natives on the ship were loath to camp too close to Swagup, but one accompanied our canoe into the place.

The village is very old and possesses two haus tambarans outside of which were three or four old skulls, thrown into a dirt heap. It was noted that they have no really large canoes used by raiding parties. The prows of the old ones decorate the haus tambarans.¹

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Writer's Note: I first visited Swagup in 1973 and again in 1974. I observed that there were still signs of Swagup's former aggression to all outsiders. The most obvious sign of this was Swagup village's relative isolation. Swagup head hunting raids had pushed their neighbours away and even during the previous two decades of peace, no neighbour had been prepared to re-occupy their ancestral lands which were part of the vast vacant lands surrounding Swagup village.

My main contact in Swagup was Local Government Councillor Biko, one of the few pidgin speakers in the village. I believed that some of the elders understood some pidgin, but were happy to allow Biko to tell their story. They were very interested, listening closely and occasionally offering comments in Nggala language, which Biko accepted and apparently incorporated in what he told me.

My assessment was that Swagup's oral history was a much-told story and a matter of pride to everyone present. I was enthralled and felt privileged as they acquainted me with the tribal migrations that established Swagup in ancient times, the on-going state of war with, and eventual annihilation of their ancestral enemy Bodif, and the Swagup version of their attack on Messrs Doolan and Orwin's 1952 patrol. Biko and the elders said the following of the Swagup headhunting raid of 1952 and the patrol that came to investigate :-¹

¹ Brage Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 428-432

'It was a time of high water. Swagup people were going to Yessan to trade. They were in two large canoes which had personal names ULGITO and SUBENAWEI and eight small canoes. They met the Brugnowis on the lake we call NAMBAKWUL. It was decided on the spot to fight; the raid was not planned beforehand. [People from] all three Swagup residential wards were represented in the raid. The reason for the killings was that in the past they [Brugnowi] killed two ancestors of mine YIMBON and MANUWET on land called MUMBROP; this was the payback.

The market with Yessan was to be at a place called Gumai'inp. As they went they met two men SINOWI and MANGANABI and three women, whose names I do not know.'

N.B. Here Sambasau of Kauiembi was able to fill in some of the gaps :-

'The people killed were the Brugnowi Luluai MUNGUREBI and a man SANOWI, the Luluai's wife KAIMANK, SANOWI's wife WASANDA and another woman YAMBUNDIMANGA... Many other Brugnowis in canoes fled and escaped²'.

Biko of Swagup continues his story :-

'When they met on the lake the Brugnowis called out "Good morning, where are you from?" At first the Swagups lied saying they were from Yauenian. The Brugnowis replied "Please give us some betelnut". They called their women to paddle in close. Then one of our elders NAPAL said "No we are from Swagup". The Brugnowis called the warning "You women clear away – they are Swagups!" The fighting started then.

SINOWI went ashore in some bush called BARARO, his wife was with him and they ran into the bush. One of the big Swagup canoes went after them. Our elder NAPAL threw a spear which hit SINOWI in the leg [thigh indicated]. He ran on, or rather walked on with the spear embedded. His wife ran away naked; she had taken her skirt off and laid it on the track to stop the pursuers. This was a taboo sign [with an implied sorcery spell].

The Swagups veered around the skirt and ran to the side and followed the two. Our cousin [Kantiri] NABUSGOL and his small brother KAUWUN worked together. The older brother called a false warning. 'Brother come here SINOWI will kill me. I have thrown all my spears but they did not hit him. He will pick up the spears I threw and throw them back.' They had a large multi-pronged spear like the ones we use for fish, but this one was for men. The boy's father came and took this spear from them and threw it. It struck SINOWI in the back and he cried out

"Oh sorry brother – Why are you killing me?"

"You know. It is a payback for your killing at MUMBROP when YIMBON and MANUWET were killed. Why did you kill them? We have been worried about this. It is not as if we did not know! We must think of how the story will go in the haus tambaran [pride in payback] so now I am killing you."

They took the big axe he had taken to the lake and hacked him through the side of the neck and down the chest until the white of his liver showed, by which time he was dead. His wife had started to climb a tree. My cousin and my brother WOGIOWEI and YANGUR were standing there watching her. They waited for the big men because if they killed her themselves they would earn the right of black paint³ and they were afraid of that. They called out for my father GINA⁴. He went and threw a spear

but it did not hit her. She grabbed it and pulled and my father pulled and she dragged him up the tree before he dragged the spear free. He called my cousin "you come here and kill this woman."

She, in the meantime, jumped down and ran. They ran after her and she ran into the water. They grabbed her by the neck and back and held her under the water until saliva showed on the water around her head showing she was drowned.

MANGANABI and his wife remained on the lake and fought there. MANGEN fired arrows from the front of the Swagup canoe. MANGANABI tried to return the fight. He had a spear with a knife blade fitted into it. He threw that. SAMBUDEP in our canoe deflected the spear's flight with his paddle and it fell to the side. The Swagup canoe pursued the Brugnawi canoe but they were not gaining. MANGANABI's wife in the rear of the Brognowi canoe was acting as steer's person and second paddler. MANGEN aimed at the wife. The arrow hit her in the small of the back and came out below her navel. The canoe now did not run properly and it drifted. MANGEN shot MANGANABI in the shoulder with an arrow and as he felt the pain he jumped into the water and came to try and capsize the Swagup canoe. My in-law BURIMBO shot him in the jaw with an arrow and he cried why are you killing me?

[Swagups replied] 'You know the reason. We have the story from our fathers of the unpaid deaths if YIMBON and MANUWET...you killed them in our bush, they did not come to fight; they came to hunt crocodiles in our lake so now we are paying back'. They took his axe and cut him through the shoulder and down the chest until the white of his liver showed and he was dead. MANGANABI's wife with the arrow in her back was killed with an axe by DIVEI who was GASUP's younger brother. He killed her in order to earn black paint. He did it by cutting her chest open with an axe.

The final Brugnawi woman was killed by TIUO and SABIS who were called to do it by GASUP. They put her body into TIUO's canoe so he had the black paint rights. With all five of the Brugnawis killed they danced and sang their way back through the bush. It was high-water so their canoes could go. They came out onto the Sepik at Bonya passage. They brought their canoes around Winimbia point where my bush house on the Sepik is and they put the bodies there and cut the necks and removed the heads. The heads were put in the canoes and the bodies were left behind.

They brought the heads to the big place after going into an area of bush called KARANGARO and from there they sang their way to the village. All the men and women of Swagup saw their singsing. They had [played?] two wooden trumpets called UKUNOWI and YAMBUGUNAUWI and they danced and sang. The force that made them dance so strongly was that their stomachs were tight with fear and anticipation of the future repercussions of what they had done; their stomachs were boiling. They were thinking Will the Brugnawis come and pay this back? We did not just steal bananas or taro...; we have killed their people.

They sang and slept the night. They put the heads on a small platform and at dawn they took MANGAS [timber] and made fire and burnt the MANGAS and they took the black ash as paint and rubbed it on the killers. This was done by their cousins [kantiris]. They brought cassowary skins and cassowary feathers, shell rings, tambu and kina shells and decorated them, leg bands, pig tusk ornaments and the things we call SAM in our language and put them through their noses.

The singing was large and intense. The black paint ritual was finished at about 8am. They fired arrows at the three haus tambarans – at the paspas [bundles] at the peaks of the front roofs. Hand spears were not thrown, just arrows were fired. This was finished at 8am, but the singsing did not finish there.

The sing-sing was for the new homicides who were decorated by their cousins. This sing-sing lasted twenty days and only when the sing-sing ended were the homicides allowed to leave the haus tambaran and go to the married houses. If they had gone to the married houses the women there would have suffered. They would have developed sores or scabies because in the haus tambaran the homicides were eating strong ginger as part of the ritual. So there was a tambu. After 20 days they came out of the enclosed haus tambaran.

A month after [there was some discussion as to how much later it was.] They waited one month. They did not know if there would be repercussions – people wondered: Will the kiap come and gaol us? Or will he come and kill us. We know there is a Government law against killing. In anticipation they all waited in the village – people did not go far afield because this was our way in times of war.

Then a child died in the village. It was a time of very high water in Swagup. Only the ground at the present rest house was clear of water. So it was that they were having the death feast for the dead child. The ceremony was in my haus tambaran [called KAUKAUWUL]; the one that was upstream near the lake. The flutes ARU and BIB'BAKAP were played at the ceremony all of one night. All the men were there. No-one slept as it was a time of war and they were ready.

They started [the mortuary ceremony] at 8am and at 9am they sat down. My cousin provided food for the people present. At about 1pm a woman paddled down the channel to check her fish line and she met the Government ship coming up the channel. She came back and called out and all the men at the haus tambaran ceremony heard her. They took all their spears, weapons and shields and went into their canoes and they came. It was very black [ominous/ threatening]. Their decorations were beyond description; only their mouth was visible through the decorations. The fighting ginger was placed in the armbands. They called out 'The Government ship is coming' And the women replied. 'Yes the government ship is coming they are going to fight us'. 'The men replied Oh good, very good we are pleased.' They danced, ready to fight.

The ship came and anchored at the junction where the rest house and police barracks are. The kiap's ship tied up and the kiap put up his hands and said Sorry, sorry do not fight. We have come to be friends. This was the grease talk they used.

Two Kawiembi elders had been brought ABLAS and KILIPTAN had been brought by the kiap as they could speak to us. We did not speak pidgin then. GALAGALA was there too, he was the Tultul. These Kawiembis came outside and the Swagups lined up with spears and shields down both sides of the channel. It was extremely black. The Swagups were ready to fight but the kiap stopped them with friendship, He gave out salt and trade goods, razors, hooks, tobacco, matches and paper. It was all grease to get them into the gaol.

Then about dusk they wanted to take the prisoners, but it was nearly dark so he could not take the prisoners. He asked the people can we sleep here? The people said yes you can sleep here. So he slept there. The men of Swagup did not sleep. They stayed awake as they were dreaming and talking.

Some of the men were saying. 'Why try to sleep, the Government has not come here to play with us. He has come to fight...what do you think? Has he come to be friends or has he come to fight? We did not just steal bananas and taro from Brugnawi, we killed people and the Government has a big law about that'. Our people were bush kanakas. We had a Luluai but he was dressed in black paint and ancestor decorations and his Luluai hat was on top of it all. He walked around like that.

At dawn the ship moved and tied lines to the trees near the water near KOKOMBAUI haus tambaran. It was high water with a flow of water coming in from the Sepik so the ship turned around at their mooring so they were facing out the way it wanted to go. The haus tambaran opposite KOKOMBAUWI is called AMUWASI. The kiap called out:

'Hey you men who killed men, just you the ones with the black paint come here'. The Kauiembis called out – this was a mistake by GALAGALA and ABLAS also. The big men after hearing this realized what was about to happen and they said 'Do not go. Do not hear this grease of the Government. Ignore this talk. If you do not, they will finish us.'

So the men did not go. The second call was also ignored. By then it was about 10am. The sun was strong already when the men decided to go down to the ship. The people were in some doubt about the Government's intentions. Will they try to kill us or gaol us. Later we will know. If they try to arrest us we will fight and break the ship up. Thus they reassured themselves as they went. When the men were there the Government addressed the killers. You people come here and we will decorate you with paint. Red paint. Just you people who killed men.

They went down to the 'Osprey'. They all went down. They wanted to stand in their canoes but the Government said 'No come up onto the ship and we will paint you'. The men went aboard and then the Government said go down into the hatches and we will paint you. They heard this talk and they went down into the hatches. When they were in the hatches they were ready to attempt the arrests. When the kiap said hold them the fight and struggle started. People jumped into the channel. The killers threw the police off them and attempted to get out of the ship. An old man of ours called YANGUSUMEI took a spear and threw it at Constable ALU and hit him in the ribs and came out the other side with entrails showing – ALU fell. Another 'Crocodile' [meaning senior warrior] called MAGIWAU threw a spear which hit Constable AMBU [Ampu] in the back and he fell.

Both policemen were on the ship and fell into the ship, not off it. Both attackers had been standing in their canoes when they threw their spears. The Government saw this and took their rifles. They did not fire warning shots, they aimed at the men; their own men were hit so they fired at us. My Committee [member] here was shot in the thigh, but it did not hit the bone. Another was shot in the forearm, again without hitting the bone. One woman called NAGARAUWUS was killed. She was shot in the back of the neck, the bones were broken. Another sister was in a canoe. The bullet went through the canoe and through her thigh. She did not die and is still alive. Her name is NASIDWAROK.

Plenty of spears hit the ship and stuck into it. The ship went then. Three men were still on it as prisoners. Others of our people were injured to a minor extent – heads hitting canoes causing bruises and cuts. The people checked the situation and the elders were satisfied. The prisoners taken were

DIVEI, PIO and MASINUWAU². They were gaoled in Angoram and were away about a year and when they came back they came with knives, mosquito nets, tomahawks, blankets etc.

About our ancestors YIMBUN and MANUWAT; they were killed by Yambons and so the Brugnowis were killed for no reason. The ancestors were killed near a lake. They were walking back to the canoes when they were ambushed. They called out in local language to see if the attackers were Yessans but they got no reply. The younger of the two Swagups wanted to fight – he threw his spear and they dodged it and speared him. The older brother heard this and tried to fight as well but they killed him. So we thought it was Brugnowi. It was after the killing of the Brugnowis that we found out that it was Yambon and not Brognowi who killed YIMBUN and MANUWAT. The Swagups heard this and said “Sorry, but what can we do about it now?”

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The Swagup incident from the Administration perspective:

The first Administration knowledge of the head raid was reported by PO W. Crellin, the OIC of Green River Patrol Post :-

WKA. 14/1.
Sub District Office,
ANGORAM
3rd December 1951

The District Commissioner
WEWAK

MURDER OF BROGNOWI NATIVES.

During Green River Patrol No 3 [1951/2] of the Sepik River, I investigated the murder of five natives of Brugnowie [Brugnowi] Village.

Those massacred were Luluai MINGARABIMERI and his wife KAEMANGA, SUNEI (male) and his wife WOSONDUA, also female NIANBENDIOWI.

The deceased were members of a party fishing in KAMIEMU lagoon on the morning of 12th October last when six canoes each with several men dressed for fighting appeared; most of the Brugnowie people ran away, the victims being the only ones to remain. The Brugnowie woman MAGANTAWA hid fairly close by and was an eye witness to the spearing of Wosondua by a man who the other raiders called by the name of SIMBURAU; Magantawa could recognise some of them as Swagup men, but was not able to identify them all. None of the other Brugnowie people who escaped were able to identify the murderers.

The bodies of the victims were located about four miles from the scene of the attack and were identified by articles of clothing and other personal items present. The heads of all had been removed.

Men of the Wogamush hamlet WOSURIAN told that they had heard Swagup garamuts at that time making a singsing indicating a successful headhunting raid. The Wasurian Luluai claimed that

² The spelling variations with the names in the official reports below are the result of the writer's assumptions of the phonetic spelling of names heard during the interview.

none of his village was involved in the raid, however I suspect that some of the other Wogamush hamlets may have been involved although there is no concrete evidence to support this belief except suspicious behaviour and the reluctance to answer questions on the matter. The Wogamush also claim that the Swagups had sent out messages that they would restrict any attempts by the Government to bring the offenders to Court. It was also claimed that the raid was conducted in connection with initiation ceremonies and not in reprisal for anything the Brugnowie people may have done in the past.

On 5th November, together with Mr. Williams, I attempted to reach Swagup in the launch *Susu*. The village is some two hours up a small creek which was too low at the time for anything but a small canoe. Police and other natives who know the area said there is no other way in. Again on 20th November I entered the Swagup creek and was able to get up only half an hour before running aground. Several watch posts and fighting fences were seen but all the gardens and canoes passed had obviously been neglected for some time indicating that most of the people have probably gone into hiding in the bush. No men were seen although there were signs of recent occupation at the lookout posts.

Although I appreciate the staff shortage in the District, it is my opinion that it is of utmost urgency that an officer of D.D.S [Dept of District Services] be stationed at Ambunti to minimise the risk of further bloodshed and try to apprehend the murderers.

Sgd. W. Crellin P.O.⁵

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WKA. 30/5

Sub District Office, ANGORAM
18 February 1952.

The District Commissioner
WEWAK.

SPECIAL REPORT – PATROL TO SWAGUP.

Conducted by: L.J. Doolan. a/ADO

Accompanied by: R.G. Orwin. PO and 18 Members N.G.P.F.

Duration: 6th February 1952 to 16th February 1952

Reason for patrol: To apprehend those natives of Swagup who were responsible for the BRUGNOWIE murders on 12th October 1951.

Introduction: On the 5th November 1951, Messrs. POs CRELLIN and WILLIAMS attempted to reach the Swagup people, but the water was too low to enable them to proceed – vide WKA 14/1 of 3rd December.

During January, reports of unrest were received from Ambunti, and, in accordance with your instructions I began to make arrangements for a patrol to Swagup. During your visit to Angoram with Mr. Crellin, on Sunday 3rd of February, the matter was discussed and it was decided that a patrol would take place immediately to apprehend the natives responsible for the murders.

Arrangements were made with Mr. Gilbert for the use of his small pinnace *Nanagai*, which I had intended to take as it was thought that that the station workboat *Osprey I* would be too large to navigate the creek. On Wednesday 6th of February the patrol with 12 members of the N.G.P.F. departed from Angoram per *Osprey*, towing the *Nanagai*.

Report:

Ambunti patrol post was reached late Saturday [9th Feb.] and the following day was spent at Ambunti to allow Mr. Orwin, O.I.C. to land his personal effects which had been stored at Angoram during his absence on recreational leave. A police guard was placed on the river to see that no word of the patrol's intention would precede the patrol.

Soon after noon on the Monday [11th Feb.] we proceeded upstream to Brugnowie, accompanied by six extra police obtained at Ambunti. The writer disembarked with four police to interrogate the natives and Mr. Orwin went on to Yessan and posted six police to guard against word reaching the Swagup people, and to obtain interpreters. Mr. Orwin then returned to Brugnowie. During the interrogation of the Brugnowies, the names of five Swagup males who committed murders were obtained: - NABEIO, MASINWAU, KEIO, DEIVI and PEIAU.

At dawn, the patrol departed for Swagup, and collected the Yessan police and Tultul GARAGARA and native ABALAS of KAUYAMBA [Kaiembi], who were to act as interpreters. The entrance to Swagup was reached at approximately 2 pm and it was reported that the water was much higher than when Mr. Crellin and Mr. Williams visited. I decided to continue in the *Osprey* as far as possible.

After a 45 minute run our way was barred by a tree which had apparently been placed to prevent anyone going further. Portion of the blockage was removed and we were able to proceed further, a second blockage about 15 minutes on was also negotiated. As the water was still an even 10 feet deep I decided to continue on in the *Osprey* which offered more protection. As the creek was very narrow in places with large timber at the water's edge, a constant lookout was kept for ambush.

After one and a half hours travel a canoe was sighted in the distance and efforts were made to overtake it, but then two lean-to type houses were seen. Instructions were given as many canoes could be seen along the banks and some appeared to contain males holding spears and shields. Ablas was told to call out to them that we were friendly and for them not to start fighting. This apparently had some effect for one of the canoes came to meet us.

The *Osprey* was then made fast to a near-by tree and trade was offered to the natives who were most reluctant to come closer. While many continued to remain hidden among the trees, a number commenced circling the ship with their canoes. Each canoe, carrying one heavily painted male, was seen to have many spears and bow and arrows in the bottom. After some time a few were encouraged to accept presents of salt and hooks. When confidence had been gained with a number of the males we moved upstream to the village site – about 300 yards – and conducted a mock census, giving each native salt and hooks, to see if the alleged murderers were present. Five natives wearing homicide emblems and covered in black “paint” were noticed. After some time they were encouraged alongside the ship and it was found their names coincided with those supplied by Brugnowies. The Tultul, Garagara, confirmed that they were the murderers.

After the names of most of the males present had been obtained, it was decided to proceed downstream out of the village for the night, and, in the morning the names of any women could be taken. During the night the best means of apprehending the murderers was discussed and the following plan was decided -

The five natives were to be encouraged to board with trade and later down below listen to the radio and have their photographs taken. At a given signal 10 constables were to overpower and handcuff them. The boat crew was to start the engine whilst a constable stationed in the front hatch under cover was to sever the mooring line. It was hoped that the surprise move and the hurried departure would catch the population unawares and thereby avoid any fighting. All police were again warned against firing on the natives unless the writer gave such an order, in which case shots were to be fired into the air. Four constables were detailed to stand at each corner of the ship, while the remaining two were to be on the *Nanagai*.

The following morning, Wednesday 13th, we returned to the village and continued the mock census, obtaining the names of 43 women who arrived to get their share of the salt etc. It was noticed that the women in canoes would arrive in pairs and immediately upon receipt of the trade would return to the edge of the village amongst the grass. The majority of the male population – about 50 – remained in their canoes a distance away from the ship, still heavily armed. The obtaining of the female names...completed, efforts to encourage the wanted men aboard commenced. After some time the five reluctantly came aboard for promised tobacco. When suggested by the writer that they may like to visit Ambunti a couple became wary and made moves to leave the ship, but remained when promised a knife if they condescended to have their photo taken.

Having encouraged them into the ship, the pre-arranged plan was put into effect. Mr. Orwin gave the word, the mooring line was cut, engine started and the police attempted the arrest of the wanted men. Unfortunately there was a momentary hesitation on their part, enabling three of the Swagups to leap overboard. While Mr. Orwin and the detailed police attempted to halt the runaways, without success, I being kicked back against the engine housing. I then noticed that one of the remaining two natives appeared to be gaining the upper hand and went to assist, succeeding in placing handcuffs on his legs,

During the struggle I heard rifle fire. Some seconds later when the prisoners were secured I noticed blood streaming from a wound at the back of the left shoulder of Const. Alu. At this time I also noticed that many arrows were passing close to the ship, though I cannot recall seeing any natives firing them. I immediately gave orders for the firing to cease and noted that instead of making a hasty departure the ship was moving very slowly and that smoke was coming from the engine. On looking over the side I noticed four canoes across the bow of the ship which were evidently impeding progress. N. Minister, half-caste engineer had given instructions for the freeing of these canoes. We continued very slowly on account of the engine trouble.

I called Const. Alu into the cabin and after removing small pieces of spear from his wound, attempted to stop the flow of blood and dress the wound. Whilst so engaged, Mr. Orwin reported that Const. Ampu had been wounded in the stomach and appeared to be in a semi coma. On examination it was seen that a spear had struck him in the lower back, penetrating some distance into his stomach. Seeing there was nothing I could do, I returned and completed dressing Alu's wound.

The engineer then told me that the water pump impellers had burnt out owing to the cover cap being knocked off during the struggle. It was necessary to remove the intake pipe and water was fed in with a tin until we were well clear of the village, when repairs were affected.

With the use of the Ambunti tele-radio equipment which had been taken on the trip, Wewak was contacted at 3pm and was asked that an aircraft proceed immediately to Ambunti to take the injured constables to hospital. Ambunti was reached at 3.45pm after a very quick trip downstream. M.A.L. Dragon arrived at 5pm to evacuate the two constables. A hurried report was also forwarded.

The following afternoon Mr. a/ADO Reitano arrived to discuss the situation, and on Friday after statements had been completed, the writer departed for Angoram, arriving there at 1700 hours Monday 16th.

Conclusion

Statements made by the police show that three natives were presumably hit by rifle fire. This is most regrettable, although under the circumstances with two constables wounded and apparently in agony while others narrowly escaped injury...I find it hard to condemn the police for firing without orders.

It is believed that Constable Alu was the first to commence shooting, and then only after he had been struck. Both Alu and Ampu had been detailed to assist on the arrests and were so engaged when hit. As can be definitely stated there was no rifle fire prior to the two members being wounded, even though many arrows had been discharged at the party by this stage. No more than 15 or 20 seconds would have lapsed from the time firing commenced until I gave the order to cease fire.

It is my firm belief that had the party proceeded to the village in the *Nanagai*, as was intended, a serious situation would have resulted and many more if not all of the party would have been wounded. I consider it very fortunate that the low water prevented Mr. Crellin's patrol from reaching Swagup in the small P.H.D. Pinnace [*Susu*] as I feel they would have been very lucky to escape without great loss.

The writer's intention is to re-visit the Swagup people in a month to six weeks' time when it will still be possible to reach the group with the *Osprey*. During this time it is hoped, by good treatment, to have convinced the two prisoners, PEIAU and MASINWAU that no harm can come to them and that it is not the policy to fire upon natives, except when forced to self-defence.

Native DUVAI of Swagup who was standing with the five murderers when the arrests were made, was, in error, also handcuffed and is at present in Angoram. He is not being treated as a prisoner and should prove to be very useful during the next visit.

Attached please find statements of the police, with the exception of Constables Alu and Ampu who were in no condition to give their account. Also find attached Mr. Crellin's report, WKA 14/1. Photographs were taken and given time will be presented.

Sgd. L.J. Doolan a/ADO

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Director J.H. Jones had, until July 1942, been District Officer in charge of the Sepik District. His letter to the District Commissioner in Wewak left no doubt what he thought about the handling of the Swagup patrol. The letter reads :-

DS. 31-1-90 [file ref.]

Date not recorded.

The District Commissioner

WEWAK

Attack on Swagup Patrol

Your memorandum WK.31/1 of the 5th March 1952 refers.

It is fully realized that this affair preceded your own posting to the Sepik District.

Having regard to all the circumstances and the intelligence and boldness of these headhunters, the fact that the two European officers and 18 members of the Native Constabulary failed in their objective reflects no credit on this Department.

The whole affair seems to have been carried out with an absence of direction and briefing by the District Commissioner. The officers in charge of the patrol were not sufficiently experienced or trained for their task and in such circumstances the District Commissioner should have exercised closer supervision or alternatively, suspended operations until he could get better staff. It is inescapable that Mr. Doolan and Mr. Orwin were either over-estimated by the District Commissioner or else the native situation in the area was not properly appreciated.

The following points are made from the report :-

1. The patrol planned to accomplish its objectives by trickery and on a long term basis this plan was obviously destined to create distrust and contempt as well as an immediate problem of contact for the next patrol to the area. It was a foolish plan because it gave no thought to future relations and the natives may well now claim that we are not to be trusted.
2. The plan as reported states that even if success in the apprehension of the five natives, the patrol had decided upon a 'getaway' and immediate departure. For such a large party, this was something less than the traditions of the service expect.
3. No thought was indeed given to future contact.
4. The description of the plan and the affair as it developed shows that the Swagup natives made no attempt to conceal the killers and may readily have responded to honest demands for them to be given up. If indeed the killings had been for initiation purposes, which had been achieved, the fact that the men had attained their status by these murders may have meant that their own people would have been eventually willing to hand them over at a later date.

It seems obvious that the Swagup people made the patrol look ridiculous and readily accepted the gifts and presents in the knowledge that they had to contend with a nervous party. It was they and not the patrol who had the successful plan. They became more and more bold as the plan developed. They appear to have been confident of dealing with the patrol and of using force successfully. But the patrol started the fighting from the native angle by treachery.

5. There is some reason to believe that if the native police had not used their rifles the whole party might have been liquidated.
6. The only good thing was the original contact which was lost due to hasty action. Two weeks could have been usefully employed before any attempt was made to make arrests.

7. The original failure of the plan was due to a lack of resolution in the method of over-powering the five killers although the whole scheme was undesirable.
8. My intention is to dispatch another officer for patrolling in this area and he should be given every support.
9. While your local initiatives and discretion is relied upon, you are to ensure that no further tricks are attempted, that everything done is carried out with some regard to the future, and that while the matter is urgent, it is not urgent in the matter of time, if a long term plan means success...The original urgency was a possible cause of disaster.
10. I suggest that if reliable natives from a neutral area exist, there should be no immediate attempt to apprehend anyone. If the tribal area of these people is occupied in force for a protracted period you may find that the murderers will be handed over to the patrol officer after several patient weeks, if for no other reason than the Swagups will be glad to see such a large party go home.
11. Patient and lawful pursuit of these people need not necessarily mean more direct action than police and several canoe loads of carriers accompanying the officer in charge settling down to live with him in the area concerned. If some useful examples in Agriculture and house building can be set by these squatters, some indirect advantages may be achieved,
12. The expedition is not to be punitive in character; it is not to be hasty and is not to resort to any form of trickery. It is to remain in the area to resist force but never to initiate attack and is to eventually arrest the offenders concerned. The utmost patience and humanity will be required but the problem must be solved and every effort is to be directed to that end.
13. If you require more assistance, you should immediately communicate with this office.

J.H. Jones
Director D.D.S. &N.A.

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Meanwhile, presumably before Director Jones's above letter to DC Wewak reached Angoram, a/ADO Doolan received word from up river which caused him to initiate another patrol to Swagup. He reported it under reference WK 30/5 on 21st March 1952:

The District Commissioner
WEWAK.
SWAGUP PATROL SPECIAL⁶

Further to my WKA. 30/5 of 18th February, 1952.

Upon receipt of a radio from OIC Ambunti dated 4th March advising of a visit by a small party of Swagup people to Yessan, and after a radio conversation with myself it was decided that the writer should leave for Yessan to endeavour to contact the Swagups.

At 8am on Saturday the 8th the patrol departed from Angoram and after travelling through the night, arrived Ambunti at 3pm on Sunday soon after the arrival of yourself and Mr. Reitano, ADO

Wewak sub district, per M.A.L. Dragon. An aerial survey showed the Swagup area to be flooded. No natives were sighted.

On Monday morning the party, now including OIC Ambunti³ and extra police departed for Yessan arriving there at 2.30pm. Interrogation of L/Cpl Sauweni⁴ and four other constables who had been posted at Yessan to report any movements along the river revealed the following information :-

“That on Sunday the 3rd a canoe carrying four Swagup males arrived at Yessan, apparently to find out the movements of the Administration and its intentions. At no stage did they leave the canoe but kept about 15 feet from the bank. When asked as to the reason they murdered the five Brugnowie people they replied that two natives of Yambon village YABI and TUMAK, had prior to October last year, enticed a party of visiting Swagups including SUMURO, the then leader of the group to accept a decorated yam, two tomahawks and a knife as a challenge to kill some Brugnowie people, with whom Yambon were continually squabbling over land and sago rights. Sumuro accepted the challenge, though did not place the articles in the haus tambaran, but kept them in his own house. It appears that the matter was forgotten until after his death about last October, when those items were moved to the club house [i.e. the haus tambaran]. It was shortly after this that the murders took place.

Sauweni also learned of the intention of the Swagups to return to Yessan on Monday [the 10th] for trading. Also that when the previous patrol had been attacked last month that one woman had died as a result of a bullet wound and two others had been wounded, but no males were killed.”

The patrol departed for Wogamush on Wednesday [12th] when no sign of the Swagup trading party keeping their appointment. During Monday and Tuesday garamut messages were sent out by DUVAI, the Swagup native mistakenly arrested last month.

When the patrol was about six miles from Wogamush, a lone Swagup canoe was seen hidden in the pitpit [cane grass]. After some persuasive talking by DUVAI approximately 10 canoes appeared, a couple of which came alongside the *Osprey*. The presence of DUVAI and later the knowledge that the two arrested murderers held at Angoram were safe did a lot in gaining their confidence. It was arranged that the patrol would return on Friday when all the villagers could be present.

The patrol then continued upstream to Wogamush and anchored in the WASURIAN barat [channel] at 5pm about 15 minutes from the village site...After an hour or so eight canoes were seen about 100 yards away where they remained until dusk, intimating that they were frightened to come closer. It was not until the following morning that a native from Yambunumbu who had spent some time in Angoram, and recognised the police, was encouraged alongside.

Immediately the other natives approached in a friendly though cautious manner. Their cautiousness grew out of stories heard regarding the Swagup incident and for some reason believed that the same was to happen to them. Their confidence was quickly gained and the party left for Yambunumbu with many of the Wasurians aboard. While at Yambunumbu the patrol, was visited by

³ By deduction from later correspondence, this patrol party did not include DC Timperley of a/ADO Reitano

⁴ Some 18 months later Lance Corporal Sauweni distinguished himself by taking charge in Telefomin at a critical time during the Telefomin Uprising and preventing a bad situation becoming a potential disaster [Sepik 4 – Part 1 Chapter 17]

people from WONAKON and KUBKA villages. A friendly atmosphere prevailed throughout the day and arrangements were made for four youths to return with the patrol.

On Friday left for Swagup, calling in again on Wasurian to collect three who were desirous of visiting Angoram. At shortly after 10am the appointed meeting place was reached and the party was met by 12 Swagup canoes, whilst at least 30 others could be seen partially hidden along the river banks. They all appeared friendly and, after some small items of trade had been distributed attempts were made to ascertain the number of people injured last month. The stories were conflicting in that at first only one woman was killed and two injured whilst later on was changed to three having died. On no occasion was it said that any male had died as a result of the shooting although two pointed out where they had received slight flesh wounds which were more or less healed.

After some time four came aboard with spears and arrows explaining their wish to make peace. Holding the weapons with both hands above their heads they started a chant which was repeated by others in the canoes and when the singing reached its peak the weapons were broken and thrown to the deck. The writer then distributed more trade to seal the friendship.

Three youths readily accepted the invitation to visit Angoram – reported to be the first to leave their village. On our departure DUVAI was allowed to return to his village, apparently pleased with the treatment he had received, expressing a wish to return to Angoram next trip. The writer arrived back in Angoram on Saturday 15th.

From replies to questions asked it seems certain that two Yambon natives, Yabi and Tumak were the instigators of the massacre and, I feel that they should be dealt with most severely if the accusations are found to be correct. I am of the opinion that the next visit will take place in a friendly atmosphere and, that the party should visit the village to gain evidence to convict the two Yambon natives.

Sgd L.J. Doolan a/ADO

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When forwarding the above report to the Director Jones under cover of his WK,31-1 of 23rd April 1952, DC Timperley wrote in part:

‘On the 9th March 1952 I visited Ambunti and issued certain instructions to Mr. L.J. Doolan, Acting ADO Angoram. As a result, a patrol visited the Wogamush area and contact was made with the Swagup natives who attacked the patrol party in February 1952...

I visited Ambunti on 30th April 1952 and inspected the Swagup area from the air. I have reason to believe that the Swagup natives are desirous of abandoning their present village site and intend to build a new settlement on the right bank of the Sepik River upstream from Yessan.

It is my intention to consolidate Administration in the Swagup area by establishing a temporary Patrol Post. Patrol Officers J. Cahill and R. Orwin will receive detailed instructions in this regard.’

Sgd A.T. Timperley a/DC

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Director Jones replied to the DC in his 31-1-90 of 3rd May 1952:

‘It is pleasing to see you have personally visited Ambunti and I concur with the action that you have taken, which shows a full appreciation of the requirements needed for a proper administration of the area.

A perusal of Mr. Doolan’s report dated 21st March 1952 shows that he is now better informed regarding the native situation and the cause leading to the alleged murders than he was on 18th February when he submitted his first report.’

Sgd J.H. Jones Director DDS&NA.

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The proposed temporary patrol post did not eventuate. An ongoing history of Swagup from 1952 to 1974 can be gleaned from Departmental instructions and the several patrol report entries listed below. The first of these was dated 20th March 1952 [neither Mr. Doolan nor Mr. Orwin would have seen the Director’s letter as they departed on their second patrol to Swagup on 8th March and the outcome of that presumably over-rode Mr. Timperley’s instruction below]

When Acting District Commissioner A.T. Timperley forwarded the Director’s letter of scathing comments to ADO Angoram and O.I.C. Ambunti with a notation from himself :-

‘Under no circumstances whatever is the Swagup area to be re-visited. At the moment I am considering what steps should be taken to remedy this unsatisfactory situation’.

Mr. Timperley’s instruction had not taken affect when it was overtaken by events on the Sepik including Mr Doolan’s second and successful visit to Swagup as reported above. Never-the less Swagup continued to be treated with caution by patrols and the Sepik people alike.

The next recorded patrol to pass through that area in May 1953 patrol officer P. Wenke did not visit Swagup but he did manage to make effective contact with the Swagup people. He reported:-

‘One of the [Swagup] natives previously apprehended was taken along as a contact should any Swagups be met on the main river. This idea paid dividends⁷ as several males, including the Luluai were met on the upward trip, all being very pleased to see their kinsman in good health. The Luluai was invited and accepted to continue on the patrol upstream. On the way home some 50 Swagups were met at a pre-arranged spot. All very friendly⁸’

On 12th September 1958 patrol officer John Cochrane reported :-

‘This patrol took the first Swagup census since 1952...the Swagups have been a difficult crowd since 1952-53...no census as they took to the bush and made hostile moves to attack patrols. However over the past few months the Swagup natives have been visiting Ambunti office and hinting that they feel out of things as regarding administration activities. They were promised a visit.

A successful visit was made on 12th September 1958. The people were advised the patrol would return next day and stay overnight. On return to the village next day it was found that a rest house had been built overnight. A latrine and cook house had also been built. Census recorded 136 names as against 80 in 1952. Many are infected with yaws. All were given anti-yaws injections.’⁹

John Cochrane and Ross Allen again visited Swagup in October and November 1958. They reported:-

'The purpose of the patrol was tax collection in the Wongamusen area. 'Swagup exempted until next year as they have just re-entered the fold.'

Swagup's isolation policy has retarded this group. During the census revision it was noted that when any woman had to pass the men's house [haus tambaran] she had to walk on her knees or crawl past. [Swagup] prefers girigiri [Pidgin – small white cowrie shells], face paint and beads in trade, as against a decided preference for money up river¹⁰,

In September 1959 patrol officers Jack Mater and Arthur Marks visited Swagup. After a description of the 1952 attack in which...

'... two police were wounded and some Swagup people were shot of which at least five died.'¹¹ Since then there has been very little Government contact with Swagup people, and the people of the main river and in particular Brugnawi are very frightened of them.

Government relations with the Swagup were re-established in 1958 when a combined Native Affairs and Medical patrol visited their village, and a follow up patrol again went to Swagup about three months later. Both patrols received a friendly, cooperative reception. These Swagup people live on a channel; inaccessibility [results in] lack of regular patrols.

On about 12th August 1959 thirteen Swagups in six canoes came down the Sepik to hunt crocodiles in Tambisa channel near Yessan. The party included two women and was unarmed except for hunting weapons. However upon seeing the Swagups AVANDUGU of Kaiembi told everyone the Swagups intended to attack Yessan and Brugnawi. MIRIK passed the word to Brugnawi 'Brugnawi in grave danger of attack.' Brugnawis came to Ambunti for assistance. Hence [the reason for] the patrol.

Since the original scare rumours have started:-

- (i) AVANDUGU of Kaiembi put black paint on a yam and sent it to Swagup. This is a traditional declaration of war.
- (ii) MARAGEN of Swagup received such a yam and vowed to kill the Brugnawis – TANI, MAGAREGIA, KOMBALESU or KINGEI.
- (iii) MARAGEN spread false report tending to give rise to trouble between Swagup and Brugnawi.

None of these allegations can be proven beyond reasonable doubt – probably the result of a vivid imagination. CONCLUSION – nothing in it – increase contact with Swagup. The 1958 patrol made a big impression by eradicating yaws.¹²

Cadet Patrol officer Tim Gill reported in October 1962 :-

'Swagup last year intended to move to the Sepik, but few had moved by the time of the present patrol. Luluai is leading the move, people following gingerly. Luluai has purchased seed coconuts and with

some men was at Ambunti for the Administrator's visit. His report stated that 20% of Swagup's fit adult males were absent working on coastal plantations.¹³

In July 1963 Mr. Gill reported :- ‘For
the last few months a Seventh Day Adventist missionary has been at Swagup. *“How will he go?”*¹⁴
The Swagup migration to the river bank continues slowly...some houses marked for demolition,
people welcome this spring cleaning...Last year PO Hunter courted some 15 people for census
evasion. Get tough with Swagup is now possible (my [Gill's] observation.)¹⁵

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In 1968, exploration of the Frieda River copper/gold deposit was initiated by Carpentaria Exploration, a Mount Isa Mines subsidiary, with an airstrip established. A barge delivered the fuel on a regular basis to the fuel depot which was set up near the south bank of the Frieda River. The increased regular river traffic coincided with evidence of prostitution in places which had never been reported before. Patrol officer Murray Tomlinson wrote :-

‘Prostitution at Swagup. Two women complained that their husband was forcing them to have sexual intercourse with itinerant travellers moving along the Sepik, while he pocketed the proceeds. They claimed... *‘we are not a business enterprise the same as crocodile skins.’* The man was sentenced under Reg. 85 of the Native Administration Regulations.¹⁶

In the court case two wives of Baipwon/Bino of Swagup were forced to have sex with Laskompani employees (named). Payment was usually \$1 and one payment was 40c. The money was given to the women who then gave it to Baipwon. Baipwon had been previously warned by the Ambunti kiap but continued this – both wives were pleased to give evidence against their husband. Baipwon was given three months with hard labour.¹⁷

In July 1970 a report reached Ambunti that Baipwon was dead, having slipped while getting out of his canoe while holding a shot gun. The writer was the ADC at Ambunti at the time, and knowing Baipwon's history was immediately suspicious about this “accident”. As Coroner, I sent Cadet Patrol Officer Kevin Packer and police to exhume the body and investigate the circumstances of the death. Mr. Packer reported :-

‘Wagubutau/Baso, wife of Baipwon reported the accidental fatality to Local Government Councillor Biko. The exhumed body showed wounds indicating he was shot through the neck, just below the ears on both sides – [It was] impossible to have shot himself in this way. Further investigation showed Yaganau who had been at the scene had been having regular sexual intercourse with Wagubutau and each had been heard to say they would like to marry each other.

Wagubutau then said Yaganau went shooting with the gun and when he came back Baipwon was asleep so I asked Yaganau to come to the bush and have sexual intercourse. We went and then later returned. Baipwon was awake and he was angry with me but not angry with Yaganau. Then he and Yaganau went into the bush to go shooting; Yaganau was carrying the gun. I heard a shot and Yaganau came back alone. I asked where my husband was and he said “in the bush”. I then found the body.

Yaganau later confessed and in his statement said that he was a member of the Bababa [Cassowary] clan and Baipwon was of the Crocodile clan. The Crocodile clan had killed two Bababa clan's men and Yaganau paid back by killing Baipwon by shooting him with the gun. Yaganau was committed for trial and eventually convicted and sentenced in the Supreme Court to five years.¹⁸

Writer's Note: During my visit to Swagup on 9th and 10th February 1974, I made the following observations and assumptions :-

- (i) Concerning Gill's 1962/3 comments about the proposed village move from the Swagup channels out to the Sepik River, the village was still firmly located on the Swagup channels in 1974. My patrol diary indicates that it took 18 minutes by powered canoe after leaving the river before we arrived in Swagup.
- (ii) My 1974 research revealed that Swagup still had three residential wards and three haus tambarans – KOKOMBAUWI, AMUWASI and KAUWAUWUL.
- (iii) My assumption concerning the reluctance to move was that a community with such strong traditions could not easily abandon their sacred haus tambarans, associated traditions and history in order to reside somewhere new. This may well have been reinforced by Baipwon's murder and links to prostitution to service the passing river trade; indications of unacceptable "new" ways compared with former traditions associated with the village of old.

Industrious Swagup On the writer's previous visit I was surprised to see so much industry in this village. It was during a flood in which no ground was visible. *' Today [10th February 1974] I saw the following during a stroll [more correctly, a wade] around the village; canoe carving, weaving the fastening base around a spear head, pottery making, house building, sago processing, paddle carving. There were also numerous black palm spears in various stages of completion. A shield was seen with a painted outline to show where the carving would go. Everyone seems to be engaged in some traditional activity.'*

The Swagup people's continued conservatism was/is reflected by the following Councillor complained that the people would not plant coffee. The missionaries complained that the people would not accept Christianity. A Swagup man was trained as a pastor, but he ran away when a Swagup threatened to chop him down with an axe. He, the pastor, now lives in Wewak.

I was checking the Swagup economy with the crocodile hunters lined up and quoted their kills and the prices they had received for skins in 1973. An old man stood at the end of the line. He had no crocodile kills or earnings to quote, but took his rightful place with the hunters as he was credited by all with making the magic that called the crocodiles into the lake and waterways for the men to kill; as such he was a key to the success of Swagup's crocodile skin trade.

These people were originally contacted by the Germans [so in 1974 they had been in some form of contact with the outside world for six or seven decades]. Yet today they still get around with braided long hair and wearing traditional dress. Their resistance to change is tremendous. They have two outboard motors and eleven functioning radios and even the elders speak a little pidgin. The tourism potential of the place is huge; three haus tambarans and a waterway threading its way down the centre of the village makes it scenic apart from the [tourism attractions] of the people and their activities.¹⁹



As seen in 1974, Swagup men were seldom seen out of their canoes. Also shown is the water way on which n/ADO Doolan's patrol was attacked in 1952.

End Notes Chapter 9

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- ¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p77-78
- ² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 426.
- ³ The right to wear black face paint is earned when a life is taken and the youth credited with the kill qualifies for initiation.
- ⁴ Biko names two people as being his father; GINA and “my own father GASUP”. I therefore accept GUSAP with GINA being a close male clan relative Biko called “father”.
- ⁵ NAA: M3569, 31/1 PART 1 page 88 of 163
- ⁶ NAA: M3569, 31/1 PART 1 pages 60 and 61 of 163
- ⁷ P. Wenke’s reports indicate he was an observant and astute officer. His strategy of bringing a Swagup prisoner could have carried the risk of the Swagup people trying to free him. It is not difficult to imagine what Director Jones would have said of such an outcome.
- ⁸ Ambunti Patrol report 6/52-3 – Upper Sepik, Leonard Schultze and Wogamush Rivers in May 1953 by PO P. Wenke; in Bragge Sepik research notes Vol 20 p79
- ⁹ Ambunti patrol report no 4/58-9 in Bragge Sepik research notes Vol 20 p86
- ¹⁰ Ambunti Patrol report 8/58-9 – Wongamusen and Leonard Schultze –P.O.s J. Cochrane and R. Allen in Bragge Sepik research notes Vol 20 p87
- ¹¹ The figure of ‘at least five dead’ conflicts with Biko’s statement of one dead. Suffice it to say that a life or lives were lost but the number is unclear.
- ¹² Ambunti patrol report 9/59-60 P.O Mater Marks Swagup & Brugnowi in Bragge Sepik research notes Vol 20 p91.
- ¹³ Ambunti patrol report 5/1962-3. P.O. T. Gill – Wongamusen. in Bragge Sepik research notes Vol 20 p99.
- ¹⁴ Page 10 of Ambunti patrol report 11a/1973-4 states ‘The SDA mission originally had pastors in several villages but withdrew them in the middle and late 1960s through lack of support and interest from the village people.
- ¹⁵ Ambunti Patrol No 1/1962-3 Wongamusen – T. Gill – in Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 101
- ¹⁶ Ambunti Patrol No 6/69-70 Swagup and Paupe. PO M. Tomlinson in Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 113.
- ¹⁷ District Court case extracts - in Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 218
- ¹⁸ Ambunti patrol No 1/1970 – Swagup. K. Packer in Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 113, 116, 195 & 218.
- ¹⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 p 428.

Sepik 4 Chapter 10 The Yagisimari Murders – April/May 1952

Upon returning from a patrol to Yellow River, P.B. Wenke, patrol officer in charge of Ambunti was met with three men from the Mari area south of the Chambri Lakes. They were the Luluai of Mari, Tami plus Nargus and Narwei of Upper Mari, a hamlet which is also known as YAGISIMARI. They reported :-

Approximately four weeks ago the natives of Mari and Upper Mari [Yagisimari] were invited by the bush people behind Wagu and Yigei to meet with them for the purpose of trading. Twelve men and four women from the Mari villages proceeded to the proposed site. They stayed for a few days at the place apparently trading with the bush people.

At the end of this time, early in the morning and without evident provocation the “Wagu/Yigei” natives attacked the Mari party. The exact cause of the attack, the existing relations between these people and the manner in which the fight came about is not completely known at this stage. Also the group name “Wagu/Yigei” is used loosely. It is thought that the attack was made by nomadic people who live behind these people.

However from the report of the three natives who visited Ambunti, it seems that three Mari natives and three Yagisimari natives were killed. Three wounded are at present at Ambunti. Two wounded are at present in their villages and the three women abducted by the “Wagu/Yigei” natives have escaped and returned home.

Ambunti Patrol No 4/1952-3 led by PO P.B. Wenke preceded to “Wimas”¹ in the Korosameri headwaters to investigate and was able to add to the information provided earlier :-

During May 1952 while hunting in the bush, two Yagisimari natives came across some Inaru natives who invited the Mari natives back again to trade dogs for laplap [cloth] etc. Consequently the Maris went to the bung [market] site where they met seven Inaru natives. Relationships were friendly, the Maris being given the use of the market house for the night. At dawn the house was surrounded by unknown natives; arrows were fired and spears were thrown. Seven Maris were killed...the remainder escaped, two with arrows in their sides. The wounded eventually found their way to Ambunti where they were treated and they recovered.

The Maris at first reported their attackers to be Wagu Yigeis, but as this refers to all Bahinimo speaking Hunstein groups, it was determined the attackers were probably Inarus. High water prevented the location of the Inarus being identified, and the patrol returned unsuccessful in its attempt to investigate and arrest.¹

There is no record in the Ambunti files to indicate that the murders were ever investigated. On the evening of 16th December 1973, during Ambunti Patrol No 5/1973-4, I asked the Mari elders about these murders. An elder called Mawi showed me an old arrow wound on his ribs. He had been wounded in the attack. The village committee member Kensalu then spoke of what happened :-

Inaru, Bugiauwi and Namu tricked us into attending a market meeting. They were our enemies. Two of our men Nangas and his son Bedu were in the bush, up on the banks of the Salumei River, when they encountered a party of Inarus, Bugiauis and Namus. They stood there and our men stood some distance away from them. The enemy group held a dog up by

¹ “Wimas” is not a location defined in the Ambunti files.

its leg to show the two men. This indicated they had come to trade dogs with us. Nangas gestured agreement to trade. Then the two men came back to the village and told the people of the proposed trade. The Maris agreed to trade with them.

There was a day's delay while the Mari people gathered and the next day they went. We met the Inarus at a channel where they were waiting for us. No set place had been identified for the market; we just went and found them. I and others stayed at three bush houses we made at Kwokwia creek, which was back from the place for the market, which was Suamiti. My father took Mawi with him and left me; just the big men and elder boys went.

At Suamiti they made camp. If they had been on guard they would have taken note of one of the Inaru women, a sorceress who they met dancing and casting spells to block off their breathing. But they came on to Suamiti and stayed at the bush houses. But in the bush behind where the market was to be, the Inarus had a house, in which the line [the warriors] who would do the fighting. It became dark and they slept. In the afternoon the sorcery started to work causing light rain to drizzle down. It kept up until after dawn next morning.

At dawn my sister Medau went outside to urinate and a man waiting in ambush shot her with a bamboo bladed arrow which hit her just below her right breast. She cried out a warning and the fight was on. It became light and Mawi did not have a weapon apart from a tomahawk. Father Seia had just a steel blade spear [single iron] and he fought with that. Then he was hit in the side of the head with an arrow and he died.

Q: How many were killed?

A: Seven, all men – Seia, Monito, Bedu, Wama, Wasa, Samanga and Gibogis. The survivors were Mawi and Medau, both wounded with arrows. They came back to our camp and my big brother went back to fight, but there was no one there but the dead when he arrived. The Inarus did not take heads or eat the victims. They were left there to rot in the bush... We did not pay this back as the Government was here and we knew the law.²

Writer's Note 1: It is assumed that the girl Medau survived the arrow wound as she is not listed among the dead. The Mari people were still primitive when I talked with them in 1973. They explained :-

We [the Mari language group] used to have three places: Milae, Big Mari and Small Mari – [presumably Yagisamari or Upper Mari was now called Small Mari]. The kiap gathered us together. We built houses but we did not stay together because we wanted to be on our own land. We did not have a common unity apart from our language, but the Kiap called us "Mari."

Writer's Note 2: The nature of Mari social structure was a difficult topic; my informants were not sophisticated, and either they did not know all the clans involved or they were reluctant to name them. The discussion indicated that the divisions within Mari are on the basis of haus tambaran alliances. Big Mari people are all of the Korombos haus tambaran. Small Mari are of Kilimbit and Kabriman [are these haus tambarans or village names? – the writer assumes haus tambaran names.]³

The Inaru, Bugiaui and Namu people who attacked the Mari people are of the Bahenimo language group, which like Mari language is a member of the Sepik Hill language family.⁴

Nineteen years earlier, a headhunting raid at Kuvanmas, just twenty miles to the east of Inaru, resulted in the conviction and public hanging of five killers. It is a measure the changing times that

the public execution of murderers was no longer done after World War 2. The death sentences handed down by the Supreme Court were commuted to terms of imprisonment.

It also seems significant that although there were seven victims in the Yagasamari massacre and only five in the Swagup head hunting raid just months earlier, that the Yagasamari investigation was not pursued to finality. The significant difference may be that the Yagasamari incident did not involve the taking of heads.

PS. Chapter 46 describes the Ambunti patrol that was accompanied by the BBC/ABC film crew in 1971 spent time with the Inaru people before travelling south into the Salumai and April River headwaters to film *A Blank on the Map*. It was at Inaru where Sir David Attenborough acquired two of the three “Hunstein” masks that he donated to the National Gallery of Australia in 2016.

End Notes Chapter 10

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 79-80

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 369-370

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 19 page 369-370

⁴ Laycock. D.C. Sepik Languages, checklist and preliminary classification ANU 1973 P75

Sepik 4 Chapter 11

Establishment of Telefomin Patrol Post in 1948, and Events to Late 1953

Writer's Note 1: This chapter is slightly out of chronological order because it is important that it is grouped with Chapter's 12,13 and Attachment 2, all of which relate to Telefomin.

Writer's Note 2: Key to District Officer Niall's development of two remote Patrol Posts from Wewak involved three pre-war airstrips. The remote Patrol Post sites of Telefomin and Green River each had existing excellent airstrips waiting to have facilities developed around them.:

- As described in Sepik 2 and Sepik 3 -Telefomin strip had been built in 1936/7 by the Ward Williams prospecting party and upgraded to DC3 standard as an emergency landing strip during World War 2. The post was established in 1948 as described below.
- Green River strip was built by PO Hodgekiss and the Oil Search Party in 1938 on a bare limestone plain. The post was established by Patrol Officer A.C. Jefferies in 1950
- The third pre-war airstrip was Burui which, being the nearest existing airstrip to Telefomin, was maintained by the Patrol Officer at Marui and used in the uplift of personnel, stores and equipment to establish Telefomin Patrol Post.

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Part 1 – Telefomin 1948 – October 1953

Historic Background: Initial contact was fleetingly made with the Telefomin people in 1914 by German Explorer and anthropologist Richard Thurnwald. The Karius and Champion patrol crossing of PNG from the Fly River to the Sepik River in 1927/8, made good but hurried contact with the Min people as it passed through the region. [Sepik 2 – Chapters 17 and 30, 31 respectively] The Ward William's [Oroville] prospecting party built a small airstrip and stayed in the Telefomin area for September 1936 to April 1937 [Sepik 2 Chapter 44]. The little that is known of their contact with the Faiwol, Telefomin and Mianmin people suggests relations were generally amicable.

In 1938 Black and Taylor's Hagen Sepik patrol used the airstrip and accepted supply flights from Wewak. Black and his portion of the patrol clashed with the Bak village people before the patrol arrived in Telefomin ahead of Taylor's party, and considered Telefomin to be an earthly paradise.¹ Yet as the patrol moved northwards the Telefomin leaders failed to mention their expectation of a Mianmin attack on the patrol. This occurred with loss of life on both sides² [Sepik 2 Chapter 46]. Black's party also came under attack from Hewa people in the Lagaip River area on the return leg from Telefomin to Mt Hagen in early 1939.

In 1942 the Thurston expedition arrived in Telefomin from Angoram en route to Daru. They were desperately short of food and their relations with the "Min" people involved doing whatever Thurston determined was necessary to acquire food at a time when the "Min" people themselves were hungry. Odgers, an expedition member, noted in his diary as they left the Min area "*They have no cause to love us.*"³ [Sepik 3 Attachment B]

Between September 1944 and February 1945, Highlands explorer Michael Leahy, now with the rank of Squadron Leader, came to Telefomin to reopen and extended the airstrip as an emergency landing area. Opinions varied concerning this group's relations with the local "Min" people: Leahy reported :-

Local labour was recruited from the surrounding villages, some visitors came in from up to 3 days walk away, but inter-tribal wars prevented any large scale influx from these districts. However,

locals have done a good job and very much regretted our leaving.⁴ [M. Leahy as quoted in Sepik 3 Chapter 52.]. However historian Bill Gammage noted: *The glider men treated [leaders] Femsep and Nefinim as lackeys*⁵.

“Min” society differed from other PNG societies in at least four ways, none of which would have been evident to the field staff involved when Telefomin Patrol Post was established in 1948:-

1. All people of “Min” language groups and some non-Min groups recognize a single female ancestress, [Afek - also is known by other names throughout the region on both sides of the International border],
2. A central haus tambaran at Telefopip was recognized as the “Mecca” for all “Min” people; where rituals were performed to regulate the Min cosmos; in particular, initiation, soil fertility and the related control of drought, famine and entropy.
3. The principal social structure of Min groups is called “Miit”; autonomous groups which are not based on descent, but comprising random membership focused on building military strength - including women and children captured in inter-tribal raids and absorbed as members of their captor’s *miit*.
4. An incredible capacity for planning and secrecy across the whole community, not only in relations with Europeans, but also concerning traditional ritual knowledge within Min society.

Among the most important members of the 1948 Telefomin party was an individual called Sune. ADO Frank.D.Jones described him in 1955 as follows:

Sune is a Fogilmin native [Fogilmin, or Fogolmin is mlocated in Papua’s Fly River headwaters south of the geographic feature called the Hindenberg Wall.] ...After his father was killed in a tribal fight, a Telefomin native brought him to Terapdavip in Eliptamin where he was found by the Black-Taylor patrol of 1938-39. He was taken by this party to Madang and later Rabaul, and later brought back to Bogia [Madang District] by Mr. Black.

*On the Japanese invasion he accompanied Mr. Black through the Ramu to Goroka [Benabena] where he remained until collected by Mr. M. Leahy, whom he accompanied by glider to Telefomin as interpreter, to construct the present airstrip. On the completion of this work he returned to Goroka via Hollandia. He remained at Goroka until he was recruited by Clifton-Bassett and party to open the Telefomin station in 1948.*⁶

By 1948, while Telefomin had theoretically experienced 34 years of contact with the outside world, a more realistic observation would reflect five short interactions [six counting Champion’s two night stay in 1948] with Europeans; not all of which were amicable. The attitude of the Telefomin people to a permanent presence of outsiders in their valley and re-shaping the “min” cosmos, may be assessed as events unfolded.

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In 1948 the prewar Patrol Post at Burui was prepared and Burui airstrip was maintained for the airlift of personnel, stores and equipment for the opening of Telefomin patrol post. In preparation for this exercise, in June 1948, acting Director of the Department of DS&NA Ivan Champion and Civil Aviation Inspector Jim Glindeman were flown by Bobby Gibbs of Gibbs Sepik Airways from Hayfield to Telefomin. They landed successfully and unloaded the plane before Gibbs took off again, promising to return a couple of days later to pick them up. Champion takes up the story :-

A number of gourd clad men came to greet us. I...introduced myself as the man who had come over the range on the south twenty one years ago...My mission was to select a site for a Government post...in keeping with Australia’s pledge to the United Nations to bring social and

economic advancement and ultimately, independence, to the people of Papua and New Guinea...During the army occupation [1944-45] they [the Telefomin men] had picked up a smattering of pidgin...I did my best to explain...that we would build a station next to the airstrip. To these proposals they seemed agreeable.⁷

After two days in Telefomin, Champion and Glindeman were picked up by Gibbs, who flew them to Wewak. The instruction that followed from Champion's reconnaissance reads as follows ;-

DS. 1-2-16[2] P 71
Department DS&NA
Port Moresby.
26th August 1948.

Mr. D. Clifton-Bassett,
Acting. Assistant District Officer,
Port Moresby.

ESTABLISHING STATION AT TELEFOMIN.

You have been selected as officer in charge of the new station to be opened at TELEFOMIN. You will be accompanied by Mr. A.J. Zweck, and twelve [12] members of the Native Constabulary.

All stores and equipment have been requisitioned as per the list...Please check the requisitions with the Superintendent of Stores...to see all is correct before you leave Post Moresby. The Superintendent of Police will advise you when you are to pick up the police.

All stores and equipment will be assembled at Madang, and the District Officer at Wewak, has been requested to have his vessel at Madang upon the arrival of the SS "*Admiral Chase*" – **below** - for the purpose of conveying yourself, police and equipment to BURUI.



Upon your arrival at BURUI, please radio this headquarters, and the District Officer, Wewak, the date you expect to be in readiness for aircraft to lift your party to Telefomin... The new station area to be opened up will be administered by the District Officer Sepik District and future communications are to be directly to him at Wewak. The tele-radio installation has been ordered, airfreight from Australia, and will be dispatched direct to Madang. Please contact the Senior Technician R.T.C. at Madang, and ensure that the set is in good working order. The radio call sign for Telefomin is VL9FA.

You will leave PORT MORESBY by air for MADANG on 21st August 1948, and the good wishes of Headquarters go with you.

J.H. Jones Acting Director⁸

Mr. J.S. Arthur, Superintendent – Department of Civil Aviation planned the uplift as follows:

1. Implementation of the Telefomin Station is necessary before September, when the wet season starts.
2. To accomplish this, the only feasible means...is to use air transport in two phases:
 - a. Assembly at Burui of European officers and native police with equipment and food for 14 days. Movement into Telefomin by DH84 aircraft.

- b. To assemble at Wewak the remainder of the equipment, food and officers. Cargo assembled at Wewak to be dropped in para packs from C47 aircraft.
- c. Three pages of micro-management⁹ which are not relevant to this chapter.

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Desmond Clifton-Bassett went into the army in 1941, aged 19 years and later served in PNG. In early 1944 he joined ANGAU and attended the first School of Civil Affairs at Duntroon in January 1945. Next he was posted to Goroka and then as OIC Bena Bena Patrol Post. [the former headquarters of the Central Highlands District]. He joined the civil administration in 1946 and in July 1948 was selected to open Telefomin Patrol Post.¹⁰

The Instructions under which a/ADO Clifton-Bassett, PO Zweck and their successors operated were laid out in a Circular Memorandum relating to “Application of the Criminal Code” (a) Areas under the various degrees of Government Influence, and (b) Uncontrolled Areas, which states in part :-

(a) Areas under the various degrees of Government Influence

When uncivilized natives are being brought under control for the first time, it is desirable and expedient, in the early stages, to soften the impact of the application of our criminal code [and by implication, the Native Administration Regulations - NARs]¹ upon them, and District Officers will ensure that such natives receive due warning of the intention to enforce our criminal code before enforcing it. At the very beginning District Officers may, at their discretion, act ‘administratively’ by preferring no charges against the native offenders. But after that, charges should be laid and dealt with in a judicial way, not in an ‘administrative or pseudo-judicial’ way [e.g. homicides must not be charged as ‘common assaults’.]

(b) Uncontrolled Areas,

It is not uncommon for villages in areas under Government influence to be raided by natives from adjoining “Uncontrolled Territory” and when this occurs every effort should be made to apprehend and properly charge the offenders, firstly because it is our responsibility to protect the people in the areas under “Government influence” from such raids and secondly, it will act as a deterrent by demonstrating to the native people of the “Uncontrolled Areas” that they cannot destroy and plunder their semi-civilized neighbors with impunity.¹¹

ADO Clifton-Bassett and PO Zweck’s first duty upon arrival was to establish Telefomin station. The next priority was to commence patrolling in line with the policy above. The Telefomin patrol program commenced on 22nd January 1949 when D. Clifton-Bassett, a/ADO, conducted an 11 day patrol of “the Telefomin Tribal area.” [the Telefol language groups] - Telefomin Patrol Report 1/1948-49.

Patrol Officer J.M. Rogers [who we met at Maprik] replaced A. Zweck at Telefomin and conducted [at least] three patrols. Telefomin Patrol No 2/1948-49, a 26 day journey to the Telefomin villages and those of Feramin and Urapmin during March 1949. Rogers reported in part :-

At Urapmin village it was learned that the last skirmish that had occurred between the Urapmins and their enemies the Tifalmins had taken place on the 2nd March 1949 - the Urapmins losing four and killing thirteen Tifalmins. The Urapmins, however, admitted

¹ The Criminal Code relates to indictable offences heard in the Supreme Court. The Native Administration Regulations deal with summary offences heard in the Court of Native Affairs [Later the Local Court] or District Court.

between boasting, that the Tifalmins were the stronger of the two villages and that a lucky ambush was responsible for the disparity in the relative losses. It was also learned that the Urapmins and the Tifalmins are not hereditary enemies; intermarriage takes place between periods of sporadic fighting and that the fighting was generally over magic and women.

The patrol had to travel most cautiously after entering the Tifalmin area as sharpened stakes were found concealed in the footpad and the area bristled with ideal places for ambush. The Tifalmins stated that the reason why they had decided to attack any patrol entering their area was because, twice before, white men had entered their area and each time they had stolen food and pigs [these were Black of the Taylor-Black patrol and a Masta Bob, the native supervisor of the US airstrip construction.]

Joel Robbins [“Becoming Sinners” – University of California Press 2004] wrote :-

(Patrol Officer) Rogers immediately gave compensation to the owner of the pig and distributed salt for the food taken... People were quite satisfied to be compensated, even well after they had been wronged... Peace was made between the Tifalmins and the Urapmins... [I explained] the functions and purpose of the Administration to the influential men” and telling them that fighting and cannibalism must cease.

The Urapmin remember that they performed, with the Tifalmin, an exchange ceremony... Although this form of dispute settlement was traditional among them, they had never before undertaken them with their traditional enemies, with who there had previously been no way to end wars short of trading homicides until they were balanced.¹²

Telefomin Patrol No 2/1948-49 continues :- The patrol next visited Eliptamin [which Rogers spelt *Ilaptamin*].

The people of *Ilaptamin*...are a comparatively gentle and peaceful folk. A good number of young men have worked or are at present working on the station’s labour lines. The *Ilaptamin* are however continuously harassed by their neighbours the *Mianmin*. The *Mianmin* live five days walk away to the north. They are very much afraid of the *Mianmin* and with reason. In the last eleven years (time based on the period since the Hagen-Sepik patrol visited the area) the *Mianmin* have killed 138 men, women and children from this area.

The last attack by the *Mianmins* on the *Ilaptamins* occurred in mid-December 1948 (losses 1 man, 2 women and 2 children.) During this raid they abducted one young woman who later escaped...

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On 30th September 1949 D. Clifton –Basset commenced a 43 day patrol to the north west of Telefomin Station - Telefomin patrol report 6/1948-49 on 16 December 1949. He followed this Telefomin patrol No 1/1949-50 to the Urapmin area. His report noted :-

The Urapmin people have no timidity now and provided that contact is maintained, there should be no more fighting between them and the Tifalmin people.¹³

Clifton-Bassett also reported the following concerning local cannibalism :-

It is now desired to advise that the people of this area do eat human flesh. Hitherto it had been doubted and nothing definite had been reported. Until two or three months ago the people have said that their enemies ate their victims, but have always denied that they have ever done the same themselves...

During the last three months when the matter was casually referred to, the men here have admitted that they used to eat people killed in fights...It was asserted that adult men do not partake of the flesh because they view it as the "skin of man", the same as their own. The fighting men carry victims back to the village where the bodies are cut into pieces and cooked in stones the same as pigs are cooked. Taro and native greens are cooked at the same time and the feast is partaken of only by women and children of both sexes...

It seems that the custom is not bound up with any spiritual beliefs and that the eating of human flesh is something incidental to the fight. Intertribal fights are not fought merely for the procurement of victims and there have been no incidents since the establishment of the government station.¹⁴

These early patrols from Telefomin probed in various direction where there was reported to be people. The purpose was to engage with the immediate communities, make friendly contact, observe and report and, within the policy guidelines, to deal with any situation that arose.

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In late 1948 Interpreter Sune requested that he be returned to the Central Highlands after he spent six months in Telefomin. He explained that he had been living as a village native in Bena Bena for so long that he now regarded himself as a Bena Bena native. He had married three Bena women, divorced two and that he had his own land there. Clifton-Bassett explained to DO Niall in Wewak that Sune had been asked at the outset if he would like to bring his wife with him and he declined, stating he would not be away for long.¹⁵ On 21st June 1949 [letter reference 14/1] Clifton-Bassett reported that although Sune's self-imposed six months was now up, the trainee interpreters were not yet fully trained and that Sune would stay on.

ADO Clifton-Basset handed over the Telefomin Sub District to Patrol Officer H.W."Harry" West in early 1950. Harry West enlisted in the Australian army on 3 February 1942 and was discharged at Lae on 1st March 1946 as a Lieutenant in ANGAU. In 1944 he was appointed as a Patrol Officer within ANGAU and attended the School of Civil Affairs at Duntroon.² After his army discharge he was posted to the Central Highlands where he worked with ADO Jack Costello and Medical Assistant Gray Hartley. He was responsible for what is now the Chimbu Province, which at that time was classified as "uncontrolled" and the scene of rampant tribal fighting. In 1948-49 he attended the Patrol Officers ASOPA training course in Sydney. In later years he would be appointed District Commissioner of the East New Britain District at the height of the Mataungan Association unrest.¹⁶

In 1950 in Telefomin West made, in the writer's opinion, two timely adjustments in the nature of the patrol program, which reflected of the good progress made in Telefomin to that time by Clifton-Bassett and his staff :-

- Until the handover from Des Clifton Bassett, the patrols focused on contacting the local Telefomin communities and on pacification [where necessary]. After the handover, while maintaining friendly contacts continued, the administrative focus in the local Telefomin area was to consolidate the patrol work done to date. This was evident in recording of the initial census³ and the gradual application of the NARs [Native Administration Regulations] in the local area i.e. establishing the rule of law [see below].

² The School of Civil Affairs at Duntroon was established in 1943. In March 1946 the School was transferred to civil control and became the Australian School of Pacific Administration [ASOPA] [Ref. Wikipedia]

³ See File 14 10th October 1950 NATIVE MARRIAGES – in Chapter 7

Patrols to more distant tribal regions traversed by the Black and Taylor patrol of 1938-9 and the commencement of the friendly contacts with the communities there. These patrols included :-

- Telefomin patrol No 1/1950-51 Telefomin to the Upper May River. 24/5/1950 to 29/6/1950. This patrol visited the site of the Mianmin attack on the patrol on 17th December 1938, and made successful contact with the Mianmin, of whom West wrote :-

... That they are a warlike and aggressive group there can be no doubt; their gruesome exploits are a sufficient indication of this...The attack on U-artigin [Iuatigin] typifies the general pattern of warfare in which these people engage. A large number of Mianmin warriors attacked U-Artigin [Iuatigin] while all the men were away hunting and only one woman and four children were in the village. Together with the pigs, the woman and two male children were killed. Bisected and the segments of the bodies distributed...the entrails left in the centre of the village, which was looted and burnt. The girl and a male child were carried off, but as the boy could not be quieted he too was killed and his body cut into sections and his entrails left in the centre of the track...on the third day the human flesh was roasted and eaten.¹⁷

West also reported :-

So jealous are they [the Mianmin] of their numerical strength that when one of men was drowned, they set out and killed a Lower May River man to preserve the balance of power.¹⁸

- Telefomin patrol No 2/1950-51 visited all population areas in the Telefomin area from 07/8/50 to 22/11/1950. He wrote in part :-

The inhabitants of [Urapmin and Tifalmin] are now accustomed to government patrols and know that, should their rights be transgressed, they may seek redress at the Administration centre. Perhaps the main function of the patrol was to emphasize to the people that in return for the security, freedom from fear and other direct benefits such as the introduction of steel, seeds and medical attention, which flow from the Administration they have to face certain obligations, mainly to themselves as organized communities, and that they would from now on, be expected to undertake certain elementary development work such as cleaning villages and constructing patrol roads through their tribal lands. The population is of sufficient density to enable good patrol roads to be constructed and maintained without hardship to the people.

...I consider that the territory discussed above (which includes Urapmin, Feramin, Eliptamin, Telefomin and Tifalmin) with the possible exception of Tifalmin, should now be regarded as under government control and I intend to enforce certain provisions of the NARs from now on, especially in relation to acts or omissions which are both offences under the NARs, and repugnant to the native social and moral codes. Stealing is common, even wide spread, for such small communities. It has been necessary, too, to warn fathers against the practice of shooting an arrow into the thigh of a daughter who refuses to marry a man of the father's choice. Two or three cases have been reported where death has resulted from such wounds...

Another section of the NAR which will be applied following warnings given to all villages is that relating to the spreading of false reports. There can be no doubt that such reports, usually related to some action that the Administration is said to be planning, are

designed to cause fear and discontent, usually among people against whom the instigator or instigators bear a grudge. Nevertheless the source of such rumours is frequently difficult to isolate and as the natives gain confidence in the Administration, the damage false reports can do, will diminish correspondingly.

The notion of individual responsibility for crime is not clearly comprehended by these people who are accustomed to support from the group to which they belong when exercising their rights and to bring jointly held responsibility for the transgressive of any one of their group. Thus on several occasions, when a native from one village has committed a crime, such as stealing a pig from another village and it is thought that it had been reported to the Administration, the whole community has fled and remained away from the village for several weeks. Every opportunity has been seized to explain that the Administration imputes all blame to the actual culprit and under no circumstances will property be confiscated or hostages seized by way of retaliation...¹⁹

- Telefomin patrol No 3/1950-51 Country east of Telefomin 15/1/1951 to 21/2/1951. This relates to more densely populated Oksapmin and related regions via which Black and Taylor entered the Min country after they crossed the Strickland River from the Duna tribal country.

We also saw in Sepik 4 Chapter 7 that in May 1950, West corresponded with the Australian Baptist Mission Society, providing them with detailed advice as to what to expect when they came to Telefomin to set up their Mission station. This step towards establishing a stable outstation community was further supported by West's description of the 1950 Christmas celebrations :-

The native Christmas celebration at Telefomin commenced at 3pm on 9th January and continued until 9am the following morning. About 500 people attended from surrounding areas and the attendance no doubt would have been larger but for the heavy rain on the preceding two days. Various sporting events were held during the afternoon. A sing sing continued throughout the night and in the early morning pigs and native foods were roasted and distributed.

This was the second occasion on which Christmas celebrations were held at Telefomin and in spite of the relatively small attendance...it was evident that these annual gatherings are a useful medium for spreading goodwill among hitherto hostile groups. Visitors from Tifalmin however could not be persuaded to leave their weapons even to participate in foot races and competitors brandishing bows and arrows added a novel touch to some events...²⁰

Late in 1951 Harry West was transferred to Aitape and handed Telefomin over to Patrol Officer Laurie Doolan who had, until recently been the POIC at Dreikikir.²¹ Doolan's Telefomin patrol program for the 1951-52 financial year listed plans for four patrols :-

1. Inner Telefomin – 6 weeks: census revision and general administration.
2. Fogolmin area – 4 weeks: Examination of area and extension of Government influence.
3. Oksapmin – 6 weeks: consolidation of Government influence and with a view of finding a suitable airstrip site.
4. Mianmin – 5 weeks: extension of Government Influence.

PO Doolan's stay in Telefomin was short. He was transferred to Angoram as a/ADO. He handed over Telefomin to PO Laurie Nolan who was later warned by visitor Colin Simpson of a threatened night attack on Telefomin station in June 1952 [see below] and the inability of his investigation to find out what prompted the alleged threat. Simpson quotes Nolan as saying :-

*Doolan never got to the bottom of what happened last year [1951] when they came down and mustered in the bush over there.*²²

An old Telefomin file entitled 1948-1960 contains no report by Doolan concerning this incident. This is the sort of mystery occurrence which one PO would verbally cover in his handover of the Patrol Post to his successor as an indication that there may be reason to be watchful.

After the murders of 6th November 1953 [next chapter] a search revealed that the causes of Telefomin resentment of the presence of outsiders went back a number of years. Apart from what is recorded in this and the next chapter, the following seem very important, as they were not immediately obvious :-

1. Ruth Craig traces the origins of Telefomin resentment of Europeans to the devastating effects of dysentery and influenza epidemic, the first apparently brought by the Black and Taylor expedition which resulted in fatalities in most of the villages... During 1945 an alien sickness brought in earlier by the Australian/American airstrip building party was even worse... The Telefomin were at first dismayed, then terrified... West remarks that this epidemic killed about 20% of the Telefomin population. (Patrol Report 2/1950-51:15).²³
2. Some of the police who married Telefomin women did not pay bride price. In Telefomin custom it is expected that in addition to a small payment, a woman is also expected to be exchanged. Jorgensen states "...a woman given in marriage represents a loss to her kin...that can only be made good by the receipt of a woman in return...The ideal marriage arrangement is where two men exchange their sisters."²⁴

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Part 2 Telefomin 1952/53

Mr. Nolen conducted Patrol No 3 of Doolan's program by conducting a six week journey in February/March 1952 through the Eliptamin and Telefomin areas. Nolen appears to have taken West's stated intention of '*enforcing certain provisions of the NAR.s*' to heart and his report drew strong comments from the DC Wewak and the Director of DS&NA. Acting District.Commissioner A.T. Timperley wrote :-

Telefomin...is a new area and the OIC has been instructed to exercise patience in dealing with the people. Telefomin has been gazetted as a penal district but this does not require the prison to be filled to capacity.

Director J.H. Jones wrote, in his trademark scathing manner [see comments on Doolan and Orwin's Swagup patrol in Chapter 9], the following concerning Telefomin Patrol No 2/1951-2 in his response to DC Timperley's covering memorandum :-

We are in complete agreement with the opinions expressed in your covering memorandum. Please bring to the attention of Mr. Nolen that this headquarters does not share his apparent view that a stage has been reached when the law can be enforced without proper consideration of the relatively short period of contact. Four years is definitely not enough. Particularly when the quality and the experience of the staff available does not compare with that used to open up similar areas, and it should take at least 10 years to reach the stage that Mr. Nolen has in mind. Law and order must be maintained but there should be no over emphasis on the penal code; common sense is required. The greatest care is to be taken to ensure that the people do not come to regard the Administration purely as a "policeman" and that the government is not interested in the future development of the natives. If after four years the people feel that they are at a dead end, it is clear that that the speed with which they

have been brought under control has been too rapid and is the cause of any frustration which may exist...

It is noted that Mr. Nolen was appointed as a Cadet Patrol Officer in the latter half of 1949 and that he has served in Rabaul and Kokopo only and then proceeded on leave before being posted to Wewak. It would therefore appear that Mr. Nolen has as much to learn about his work, as the natives of Telefomin have to learn about Administration.²⁵

In terms of personnel management, Jones' style did little to get the best out of junior officers or to guide and encourage them to meet their full potential. Given the fact "*that Mr. Nolen has so much to learn about his work*" it seems surprising that three Cadet Patrol Officers were posted to Telefomin to learn from him. It probably follows that each Cadet conducted solo patrols in the Restricted Area, in apparent contravention of DS&NA Circular Instruction No 61 of 1947-8.

J.A. Gauci CPO Telefomin Patrol No 2/1951-52 3 day in August 1952 – Feramin

K. Graham CPO Telefomin Patrol No 2/1952-53 5 days in Feb 1953 – Timkamin
& Sepkialikmin villages. [Telefol villages north west of Telefomin]

G.B. Harris CPO was conducting a solo patrol in Eliptamin when he was murdered
and an earlier murder investigation in Eliptamin.

From a wider view point, two observations may be made :-

1. Jones estimate of 10 years for the Telefomin community to reach a stage where the law could be enforced without any special considerations concerning their stage of development does not correlate with the policy imposed by the Minister for Territories that all communities in PNG be brought under full control by 1955.
2. The apparent complacency involved with very junior staff patrolling in restricted areas had been previously highlighted by Robert Melrose, a/Government Secretary on 10th December 1946 [Sepik 4 Part 2 Chapter 1]. He concluded under the circumstances that using inexperienced staff on such tasks was a risk that must be taken, but that "all concerned at higher levels should be aware of it."

Author Colin Simpson extracted notes about *beet* sorcery from a patrol report by CPO Gauci's :-

Beet can be practiced by almost every male native, but he needs an accomplice. Typical *beet* procedure: Acquire a human skull, decorate it with red ochre and feathers of a type of eagle which is red-brown and white breasted. Acquire a quantity of "water" from the belly of a corpse or, failing human, a dead dog. This fluid is carried in a bamboo.

Armed with the skull and fluid, two *beet* conspirators go into bush, in day or by moonlight, and waylay the victim. A blow on the head renders him unconscious and he is punched in the eyes so that when he comes to, he will not recognize his assailants. He is tied to a tree. Chanting, the *beet* men drive a number of wooden [or bone] "nails" into his body. The dead-man or dead-dog fluid is forced down his throat.

The victim's body is then rubbed with salat stringing nettle which pricks him back to consciousness. He is told that he will die in so many days (one to six). His body shows no sign of the "nails" he wanders back to the village, but cannot tell what has happened to him as the "dead-water" has tied his tongue. As he moves about the "nails" pierce vital parts of

his body. He dies in the pronounced number of days – unless a *usong*, who can combat the power of *beet* sorcery, is called in and treats the man by sucking the nails out of his flesh.

As he sucks a nail out, the *usong* spits it, with blood, on the floor of the hut then throws the nail into water, and as it cools all the man's fever skin is supposed to cool and he recovers.²⁶

There were two post script sorcery cases documented in **Attachment 2** - #1 20/8/53 Nolen, and #28/9/53 2 Szarka.

Mr. Nolen is recorded as conducting three more patrols in Telefomin. They were :-
Telefomin Patrol No 4/1951-52 to Fegolmin [also spelt Fogilmin and Fogolmin] and Wapkeimin in the Fly River headwater, later administered from Olsobip Patrol Post. The duration of this patrol was 9/6/1952 to 28/6/1952.

In June 1952, Colin Simpson visited Telefomin and stayed some days with Mr. Nolen. Part of his writeup included this often quoted passage :-

Laurie Nolen woke me at 1.30am. He came in from the adjoining room...and said the Sergeant just woke him...He says the talk is on in the village over the mountain that they are coming down to do the station over...He married a mary from there and apparently her [his?] in-laws have arrived down and told him they cleared out because they do not want any part of it...Probably all hot air – some big mouth gets up and says they ought to throw us out, take all the axes and the pigs and play merry hell...There's no lock on your door. Shove your suitcases against it...I know that crowd – they haven't the guts to take us on. I'll get to the bottom of it in the morning.

In the morning the kiap sent for the local headmen...Femsep, Nifitamin [Nefinim as spelt by Gammage] and Deboming...Femsep seemed hurt that his loyalty to the Government should be questioned. Nifitamin protested that he knew nothing.²⁷

Mr. Nolen's Telefomin Patrol No 1/1952-53 to the Oksapmin area. This patrol was in the field from 10/11/1952 to 19/12/1952. This was followed by his Telefomin Patrol No 3/1952-53 to Mianmin and part of the "Wanifomin" area. In preparation for the "Mianmin" patrol, Mr. Nolen sought and was granted permission for CPO G.B. Harris to accompany it. As this would leave Telefomin station unmanned by DS&NA staff, permission was given for Baptist Missionary Aldridge to operate the station radio.

Mr. Nolen wrote that it was at least two years since the area was visited [by H. West] and he added :-

It is impossible to say beforehand exactly what the route of the patrol should be, but at this stage it is thought that an attempt shall be made to contact groups occupying the area between the Mianmin group and the junction of the May and Sepik Rivers [this is the reference to the "Waniformin" which is apparently a "Min" name for the Iwam.]. The patrol may make the return journey via the right May in order to contact the Akisim, vide Patrol Report by Mr. H. West...

The patrol departed from Telefomin on 14th April 1953. As planned, the patrol went beyond the Mianmin tribal area and into "Wanifomin" [Iwam] territory of which Mr. Nolen reported :-

Without Interpreters it was impossible to converse with the WANIFOMINS. Also although quite friendly, they were extremely timid and suspicious of the patrol. It was only the strong desire for steel and other trade goods that enabled the patrol to trade...and eventually purchase canoes.²⁸

At around this time a raft with Harris on board capsized and three Telefomin carriers were drowned. Also around this time another five Telefomin carriers fled in fear, through the enemy Mianmin territory. Mr. Nolen noted that the patrol made the return journey from the Wanifomin area by land and arrived back in Telefomin on 22/5/53.

The circumstances of this tragedy demanded recognition that in a warrior-based society such as Telefomin, if deaths are not compensated promptly, repercussions should be anticipated. The handling of the tragedy required immediate Administration empathy with the grieving Telefomin relatives and prompt and generous compensation for the loss of life. These things did not happen. Instead a painfully slow file of correspondence gradually accumulated as chronicled below:

22/5/1953. Patrol arrived in Telefomin and reported the tragedy.

22/6/1953 DETAILS OF DROWNED MEN. The drowned men were identified as:

#1. Wanameng of Misinmin, Eliptamin. His next of kin was his wife of only a few months, Onasimen but by custom property goes to the elder brother Kwotengim.

#2. Fafilmin of Utemtagin [Utemtigin], Eliptamin. His next of kin was his wife Atekamin. He had also a dependent female child of 6 months.

#3. Uramin of Abunkamin, Eliptamin. His next of kin was his mother Wanmogen.

25/6/1953 COMPENSATION – DEATH OF CARRIERS [those who fled but failed to reach Telefomin]

#4. Barupsep of Keiuvip? Urapmin. His next of kin was his wife, Tiksanip and he had a dependent daughter Arigaven aged 5.

#5. Tubuweng of Dimiduvip, Urapmin. His next of Kin was his wife Forein. He had an unnamed 2 month old daughter.

On 28th August 1953, A/Director A.A. Roberts notified DC Wewak :-

The Government Secretary has directed that, for purposes of compensation, the five carriers who lost their lives on this patrol are to be regarded as having been casual workers under the provisions of the Native Labour Ordinance 1950-52.

Will you please arrange for a Notice of Death (Form 15) to be forwarded in respect of each of the deceased natives, as required by Section 81 of the Ordinance; this should be followed up by appropriate action to have the compensation assessed by the Court, as provided by Section 83 of the Ordinance.²⁹

On 31st August 1953 a/DC A.T.Timperley's file reference WK 31-1/38 referred the a/Director's memo to OIC Telefomin: For your information and necessary action please.

The bureaucracy continued: **On 9/9/1953** Mr. Nolen replied to the DC's Memo :-

Please find enclosed forms covering carriers who were drowned. Forms supplied by you are insufficient to cover to allow a Notice of Death to be made out for the carrier reported to have been killed by the Mianmins. As the carriers were to have been paid in trade the portion requesting information on wages earned has been left open.³⁰

Shortly prior to this exchange of correspondence, a/DC Timperley sent acting ADO G.R.G. Wearne to Telefomin to conduct a Station Inspection in preparation for a visit by himself. George Richard Gluyas Wearne enlisted in the Australian Army on 29/10/1941. While it is not known when he joined the Dept. of DS&NA, he was stationed in Aitape in 1952-3 and was acting ADO Wewak in Mid 1953. He accompanied EMA Rhys Healley to Telefomin immediately word of the murders of November 1953 were received. In later years it is understood that he served as a District Magistrate. This information was provided by John Mowat Wearne [1965-66 ADO Telefomin] who as a CPO, met GRG Wearne in Wewak in 1953, and established that they were not related.

16/7/1953 reference WK1-2-4-11 GRGW.CHG addressed to District Commissioner Wewak – TELEFOMIN PATROL POST.

During my recent visit to the above station, the Officer in Charge made mention of the following points which are now referred to you for your information and necessary action.

During a recent patrol, some carriers were returning to their village before the conclusion of the patrol and travelling independently to their village. En Route, one was allegedly killed and eaten by MIANMIN natives. I informed Mr. Nolen that a full and detailed report should be submitted on completion of his investigation. Both he and I feel that some action should be taken against the offenders if his investigation proves that the carrier was killed and cannibalized, but, in view of the short period of contact with the Administration, he queries whether the full force of the Criminal Code should be brought to bear. Five carriers involved were deserters.

On 18/8/1953 Nolen elaborated: The native referred to deserted alone whilst the patrol was in the area inhabited by the TEMANMIN division of the MIANMIN tribal group. The other desertions were while the patrol was in the WANIFOMIN area. All enquiries have failed to reveal the fate of this native, but his family has accepted his death and his possessions have been distributed according to local custom. The people of his village have requested that the administration make some attempt to ascertain his actual fate and, if necessary, obtain some retribution. Your advice and direction on this matter would be much appreciated.

On 4/9/1953 GRG Wearne replied, signing on behalf of a/DC Timperley: It is obvious that the actual fate of the carrier would take many months and possibly years of thorough investigation by an experienced officer to bring to its conclusion a charge against any one or some persons, by proceedings under a section of the Criminal Code. What do you mean by retribution? If the meaning you imply pertains to local custom, please explain. It is obvious that the loss of carriers has had a most detrimental effect upon the native situation in the immediate Telefomin area and therefore, the policy of the Patrol Post should be one of consolidation in respect of the post, and, immediate environs.

It will be necessary, therefore, to organize follow up patrols to the Mianmin area and if food supplies permit the patrol should remain in the locality for several days. As the native people have had little contact with the Administration, the approach should be sympathetic. I will endeavor to recruit Sepik River natives for use as carriers in the Telefomin area. Twenty Five (25) should be sufficient to meet your requirements.

Another report of a murder in ELIPTAMIN group has been received at the station and I issued the same instructions as in para 1 above. This investigation is to commence during this month – as soon as Mr. Nolan's Patrol Report is completed – but the same query was again raised concerning the enforcement of the Criminal Code.

18/8/1953: Nolen. An attempt is still being made to apprehend a native of ABUNKAMIN village in the Eliptamin sub-division who is reported to have murdered his daughter in law with an axe and attacked a male native, inflicting wound in his side. The body of the female was inspected by the writer who is of the opinion that death was caused by the severing of the spinal cord. The wounded native has been successfully treated at the aid post at this station. Mr. Harris with a party of police, are now in the ABUNKAMIN area, but due to feat of sorcery, they are being given no assistance by the locals. The participants in a sorcery case are still being sought by Mr. Harris and party. A separate report will be submitted on this and a similar case.

Mr. Nolan referred to correspondence dated 9th January relating to a patrol to Kiunga. He claims this patrol was discussed with and approved by you. If you wish him to proceed with this patrol, Mr. Nolen stated his willingness to defer his leave which is due in October. However there is no record on file at this office that Mr. Nolen has made application for leave and, in the light of the Director's memorandum concerning leave applications for field staff in this District, I do not think any application by Mr. Nolen at this late juncture would be approved. Consequently, it would seem most likely that Mr. Nolen would still have ample time in which to carry out a patrol to KIUNGA. But I am inclined to the opinion that a period of intense patrolling nearer the Patrol Post should now be carried out with a view to consolidating Administrative influence.

On 4/9/1953 GRG Wearne on behalf of a/DC Timperley. I concur with Mr. Wearne in that a period of intense patrolling should be carried out with a view to consolidating Administration influence around the Telefomin Patrol Post. Under such circumstances a patrol to KIUNGA cannot be considered until the native situation shows a vast improvement.

What might be called a "minor insurrection" appears to have taken place following the loss of five carriers on Mr. Nolen's latest patrol. It appears that the MISINMIN. ELIPTAMIN people, who are not related to those five deceased natives, have razed the rest house and killed a pig imported by the Administration as retaliation for the five natives drowned. Mr. Nolen has visited these people and rounded up a dozen or more men who played a minor role in the affair. He is still investigating the matter and is biding his time to apprehend the ring-leaders. Reports received from native sources since Mr. Nolen's visit indicate that the people realize the rashness of their action and have commenced rebuilding the rest house and have volunteered a pig to compensate for that killed.

18/8/1953: Nolen. With the exception of one, the reported ring leaders of the MISINMIN incident are now being held on the station but, due to their conflicting stories, an accurate report cannot be given at present. None of the natives held are related to the drowned carrier and the drowning seems to have been used as an excuse rather than a reason. A recent visit to MISINMIN by the writer found the remaining men eager to cooperate with the Administration and very critical of the indiscretion of some of their fellow villagers.

On 4/9/1953 GRG Wearne on behalf of a/DC Timperley. It would appear the situation at MISINMIN has eased. Have the natives done anything towards re-building the rest house which was burnt down?

A wide range of topics was discussed with Mr. Nolen...and information has been supplied by separate memos – WK1-2-4-11/7 and WK25-1 each dated 7th July 1953. I was informed by Mr. Nolen that the land occupied by the Administration at Telefomin is native land which has not been purchased. If this is correct, then I respectfully suggest that Mr. Nolen be instructed to affect a survey and make initial arrangements for the purchase of the land.

18/8/1953: Nolen. The area actually occupied by the Administration has no separate owners, but is owned by the KIALIKMIN people as a group. The reason for this is that it is considered, by the KIALIKMIN, to be useless for gardening. The writer feels that the decision as to the boundary should be left for your visit.

On 4/9/1953 GRG Wearne on behalf of a/DC Timperley. I will decide station boundaries upon my visit to Telefomin.

Sgd. GRG Wearne
Actg. Asst. District Officer.

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Memoranda WK1-2-4-11/7 and WK25-1 of 7th July 1953 originated in Wewak and no copies were on file at Telefomin. In their place were Mr. Wearne's working document entitled MATTERS FOR DISCUSSION WITH THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER DURING HIS OFFICIAL VISIT ON / / which listed 15 headings – comments or note were brief with no added explanations :-

Police and Prisons - he listed the 15 members of the Telefomin police detachment of whom 13 were married; of these 9 were married to Telefomin women. Four of the police arrived in Telefomin with Clifton-Bassett in 1948 and an additional three in 1949.

Finance. With advent of Sepik line will need increase in advance. [given the loss of Telefomin carriers – the DC proposed sending Sepik carriers to Telefomin. It is presumed the Telefomins would no longer carry, and the Sepiks can swim.]

Missions. School – 2 hours per day for 3 days [per week?]. Mission land? Agreement?
Lands. Survey of station? Survey of mission land?

Labour. Local labour 28 - Interpreters 9 - Sepik Line – 3 Blankets. Packs to be issued from Wewak.

Native Affairs. Settlement of Mianmin affair?
Murder at Eliptamin.
Beet [Sanguma] at Telefomin
Raping of young girls by the mob? [the file contains no further detail]
Native agriculture.
Pigs issued to villages – loan or gift.

8th September 1953. Patrol Officer Gerald Szarka was transferred from Green River to Telefomin; of which he wrote to his parents :-

[Letter dated 13th September 1953] *I arrived here on the 8th September. The reason I was pulled out of Green River so suddenly was that the Patrol Officer I relieved here had been having trouble with his police due to the fact that that he was living with a Native woman in the house. It was embarrassing to feel the contempt they hold for him.*

[Letter dated 14th September 1953]...*There are 27 natives in the gaol here and I have spent most of the day sorting out where they come from...the previous officer had no court powers, so he kept them until someone could hear the cases – three months ago!...*

[Letter dated 3rd October 1953]...*I am learning more about the Dictatorship of the previous officer here who should be in Gaol...³¹*

Events described in the next chapter overtook the flow of activities planned for Telefomin. If the a/DC's planned visit to Telefomin or the proposed delivery of the Sepik River carriers actually occurred, there is no record of it in the Telefomin files currently available. Certainly the compensation for the deceased carriers was not paid until early 1954.

End Notes Chapter 11

Telefomin Part 1

- ¹ Gammage W. 1998. P 180.
- ² Gammage W. 1998. P 143-149.
- ³ Bragge L.W. – Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War* unpublished. Chapter 26 13/6/1942.
- ⁴ M.Leahy – Construction Emergency Landing strip at Kelafomin 18/2/1945 P4.– In Bragge Ref Vol 8 – item 261.P
- ⁵ Gammage W. 1998. P 231
- ⁶ Confidential memo of 2/5/1955 from ADO Telefomin to DC Wewak. – In Bragge reference Vol. 8 – item 265
- ⁷ Champion I.F. Across New Guinea – Lansdown Press Melbourne 1966 P 216.
- ⁸ Bragge Ref Vol 8 – item 262.
- ⁹ Bragge Ref Vol 8 – item 262
- ¹⁰ PNG Australia Association Vale December 1992
- ¹¹ DS 11.1.22 1st May 1948 Circular Memorandum: Application of the Criminal Code.
- ¹² Robbins J. Becoming Sinners – University of California Press Berkley 2004 P 55.
- ¹³ D.Clifton-Bassett - Telefomin Patrol Report No 1/1949-50 P 12, as reported on page 12 of Becoming Sinners by Joel Robbins – 2004.
- ¹⁴ Correspondence a/ADO Telefomin to DO Wewak file 14/1 dated 16th December 1949 NATIVE CUSTOMS – CANNIBALISM.- Bragge reference Vol 8 item 266
- ¹⁵ Correspondence DO Highlands 801/37-2-8/48 of 9th December 1948, WK 1/2/4/11 of 18th December 1948 from acting/DO Sepik [H.R.Niall] and 14/1 of 21st January 1949 from D.Clifton-Bassett a/ADO Telefomin – Bragge Ref Vol 8 item 265.
- ¹⁶ Keith Jackson & Friends: PNG Attitude – *Harry West honoured in Queen's Birthday awards*. Internet.
- ¹⁷ J.Sinclair – Kiap – Pacific Publications [Australia] 1981 P 141
- ¹⁸ H.West quoted by Colin Simpson – Plumes & Arrows Angus & Rebertson 1953 P362
- ¹⁹ H.West – Telefomin patrol report No 2 1950-51 P 11, as quoted by J.Robbins 2004 p 57.
- ²⁰ Correspondence Ref 14 – 10th January 1951 from H.West OIC Telefomin to District Commissioner Wewak. Bragge Reference Vol 12 item 413.
- ²¹ Sinclair J. Sepik Pilot. Lansdowne Press Melbourne 1971 P112
- ²² Simpson C. Plumes and arrows Angus & Robertson 1953 P 373
- ²³ Craig B. The Telefomin Murders: Whose Myth P125 in Children of AFEK 1990.
- ²⁴ Craig B. The Telefomin Murders: Whose Myth P146 in Children of AFEK 1990.

Telefomin Part 2

- ²⁵ As reported in J.Robbins *Becoming Sinners* 2004 P65.
- ²⁶ Simpson C. Plumes and arrows Angus & Robertson 1953 P 371-2
- ²⁷ Simpson C. Plumes and arrows Angus & Robertson 1953 P 370-2
- ²⁸ Telefomin file TEL.14. of 3rd September 1953 addressed to DC Wewak and entitled *LOSS OF PATROL CARRIERS*
- ²⁹ A.A.Roberts a/Director DS&NA reference NLB.33/35/694 1105 – 20/8/1953 tp DC Wewak *REPORTED DROWNING OF PATROL CARRIERS – TELEFOMIN*.
- ³⁰ File ref 14 9/9/1953 OIC Telefomin to a/DC Wewak *DROWNING OF PATROL CARRIERS*. – Bragge reference Vol 8 Item no 269.
- ³¹ Craig B. The Telefomin Murders: Whose Myth P 123 in Children of AFEK 1990

Sepik 4 Chapter 12

The Telefomin Uprising of November 1953, and Aftermath

When the writer was posted to Telefomin in early 1966, I asked to read the confidential report on the murders of Gerald Szarka, Geoffrey Harris and Constables Buritori and Purari. ADO John Wearne took a file from the confidential safe and before handing it to me, he said that I needed to understand that these murders happened a long time ago and much had changed since then.

The confidential report was entitled THE TELEFOMIN MURDERS OF THE SIXTH OF NOVEMBER 1953 by Frank D. Jones Assistant District Officer, O.I.C. Telefomin 7th October 1954. I read it with interest and handed it back; it was not a document to be left lying around! In the 21st century this document is circulating in the public arena, as are other accounts by such people as Mr. Justice Gore, W.A. Lalor, Jim.Sinclair, Barry Craig, Paul Johnson, Ivan James, Phil Fitzpatrick, Bill Brown, Tim Flannery, Paul Quinlivan and others.

I accept the consensus that it is easy to speculate after the event, and that such speculation is pointless.¹ F.D. Jones account was written at the time and to my eye describes the events and what was known of the causes in an excellent manner. It reads as follows :-

“ The first hint of the Telefomin massacres was received at Sepik Headquarters, Wewak at 11.00 am on 6th November 1953 when an air-radio message transmitted by the Rev. N.W. Draper of the New Guinea Baptist Mission at Telefomin reached the then District Commissioner Mr. A.T. Timperley. The message quoted a report which stated that a patrol led by Cadet Patrol Officer Geoffrey Brodribb Harris, aged 22, had been attacked by natives at the village of Terapdavip, in the Iliptamin [Eliptamin] Valley. Nothing was said of the patrol led by Patrol Officer Gerald Leo Szarka, aged 30, Officer-in-charge of the Telefomin Patrol Post, for the reason that at the time nothing was known of the fate of this patrol

Cadet Patrol Officer Harris and Patrol Officer Szarka, both of the Telefomin Patrol Post...had been conducting census patrols of the Iliptamin area. Szarka had taken over from Patrol Officer L.T. Nolan [Nolen] as Officer-in-charge of the Post in September 1953. Harris had been stationed at Telefomin since March, 1953.

The Iliptamin Valley is adjacent to the Telefomin Valley, where the patrol post is situated at 4,800 feet. The valleys are separated by a main range of mountains, the Mittag range. The Iliptamin area embraces an area of approx. 200 square miles with considerable variations in terrain. The western extremity of the valley is narrow, steep and heavily wooded, mainly rain and moss forest country. The mountain peaks vary between 8,000 and 9,000 feet. Hamlets have been built on razor back ridges running off the main ranges, and rarely consist of more than a sprinkling of houses.

Altitudes vary between 4,000 and 5,000 feet. Garden areas, where the natives spend much of their time, are located some distance from the hamlets. The approaches to the hamlets are not easy to other than the mountain bred inhabitants, as the roads do not follow the contour of the ridges, but cut straight up the mountain sides. The eastern end of the valley is more lightly timbered, with patches of grassland.

On 27th October, 1953, Cadet Patrol Officer Harris set out to make a census patrol of the eastern end of the valley. He arrived at Terapdavip Village on 4th November, where he set up his headquarters at the Terapdavip Rest House, and from there took the census of the surrounding groups for whom this was the community rest house.

Patrol Officer Szarka departed from Telefomin on 3rd November to patrol the North-west end of the Iliptamin Valley. Both young men were apparently quite unaware of the undercurrents and activities which these two separate patrols caused among the leaders and people of the two valleys. Szarka, it appears, had been warned that there might be trouble, but had discounted the suggestion.

In the Supreme Court, it was said by Constable MULAI, that rumours that the patrol was to be attacked were circulating the Station before Szarka and his party set out. In cross examination MULAI said the police had asked Szarka about these rumours and he had replied that he considered the natives were "gammoning". [lying]

In any case the natives living in the vicinity of the station took a keen interest in the complement and strength of each patrol, and in the number of police who were to remain at the Patrol Post. It now appears that a plot to eliminate all non-Telefomin influence, that is, the Administration and the Mission, had been in existence for several years. This will be discussed in greater detail later.

At the time of the patrols, messengers went from group to group and it was agreed that this might be the awaited opportunity. Meetings of the leading men were held. Headmen of the Iliptamin area visited the headmen at Ankeivip in the Telefomin valley. SITKUNINGIM, headman of Terapdavip, and KALMAFAGEGIM, also of Terapdavip went down to Ankeivip, saw the leaders KORESIP and DUMAROGIM and returned to their villages. Shortly afterwards a messenger from Ankeivip was sent to NOVONENGIM, a leading man of the Okfekamins in the Iliptamin Valley, telling him that he and his people were to arrange the killing of Szarka and his party, while the natives in the vicinity of the Station were to wipe out the non-Telefomins there. NOVONENGIM remarked that the messenger was only a youth and that he would go down to Ankeivip and check for himself. Accordingly, he set out for Ankeivip accompanied by the native SENEMNOK of Okfekamin.

Later he attended an important meeting in the men's house at Ankeivip on Thursday 5th November. Present were DUMAROGIM, KORNSEP, leaders of the Ankeivip, KABARAMSEP, headman of Telefopol, and other natives, three of whom were sent out as messengers.

NOVONENGIM told the headmen at Ankeivip that he had received the message, but had wanted to find out for himself. The headman KORNSEP, as the leading spokesman, told NOVONENGIM that the following day had been set for the attacks. The natives in the vicinity of the Station would attack the Patrol Post, first taking their quantities of taro, ostensibly for sale in order to mislead the Station personnel as to the true nature of the gathering, and to lull any suspicions. Szarka and his party was to be killed in NOVONENGIM's area, at Inantigan if they were there or at Misinmin should they have gone on. Harris and his party were to be killed at Terapdavip. Three natives, OKMANSEP, NEMISEP and FORIT GIM², all of whom were married to women of the Iliptamin area, and who could approach Terapdavip without arousing suspicion, were sent with a message to YA MIN and SITKUNINGIM, headmen of Terapdavip. NEMISEP is the son on KORNSEP, second headman of Ankeivip.

At the Supreme Court hearing the three headmen KORNSEP, DUKAROGIM and KARARAMSEP hotly denied that they had directed the killings to take place. They said that NOVONENGIM had come down to Ankeivip and stated that the Government was always interfering with them and he wanted to kill the "Kiap"...they said they had told NOVONENGIM that if he wanted to kill the Kiap he could do so; it was his concern. They said they agreed to take taro to the Station, but they had no intention of attacking the Patrol Post and that their statements to the effect that they would do so had been made only as a joke.

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HARRIS.

The three men from Ankeivip arrived at Terapdavip on the afternoon of 5th November, and delivered the headman's message to SITKUNINGIM and...in the Terapdavip men's house. A number of other natives were present at the time Y M and SITKUNINGIM dispatched two messengers, AVUTOK and OBKUNINGIM to the nearby village of Korborenmin. To tell the leaders there that tomorrow was the day for the killing and that the Korborenmins should come to Terapdavip in the early morning to assist. The Korborenmins sent back word of agreement.

Meanwhile in the Terapdavip men's house, details of the plan for the killing of Harris and his party were discussed. It was a well thought out plan, in contrast to the other three killings, and only a very slight balance in the scale of fortune prevented it from resulting in the extinction of Harris' entire party.

Details of the plan as laid down by the two headmen were:

- a. In the early morning a pig would be taken by SITKUNINGIM to the Rest House area, to lead the Administration party to believe that the natives were coming to sell food to them and to prevent any suspicion arising as to the reason for the large gathering of natives, beyond the number which would be required to act as carriers to enable the patrol to return to Telefomin station that morning.
- b. The killings were to be carried out with axes, but not everyone was to go armed, as this would arouse suspicions. Some natives would gather unarmed in the immediate Rest House area, while others, armed with axes and bows and arrows would hide in the cane thickets which surround the cleared area.
- c. Those who were in-laws and close friends of individual native members of the patrol party were to approach these members and be the first to seize them. Other natives armed with axes would be in hiding and would then emerge and kill the patrol members. Axe bearers were selected. Everyone present was told what part he was to take in the proceedings. As an example, Police constable PAHEKI's brother-in-law was detailed to seize PAHEKI, and in fact he did. The patrol interpreter SINOKSEP, a native of Tagatemtigin, a village only a few miles from Terapdavip was to be held to prevent him from carrying word for assistance.

Harris' party consisted of native Constables MUYEI of Sapa, Waria Valley, Morobe District; PAHEKI of Mumuni, Popondetta; KOMBO of Palimbiri, Mt. Hagen; a native Medical Orderly called BUNAT of Moim, Sepik River; SINOKSEP of Tagatemtigin, the Telefomin native interpreter; TEGORI of Oksivip, Harris personal servant, also a Telefomin native, and 10 Telefomin patrol carriers.

After checking the census of other groups, Harris arrived at Terapdavip about noon on Wednesday, 4th November, and took the census of the Terapdavip natives. The following day natives of Korborenmin paraded for census check. This completed the patrol's programme. Harris told the members of his party and the local natives that the patrol would commence the return journey to Telefomin Patrol Post on the following morning, Friday. The attack on Harris commenced about 7.30am on the Friday.

Harris was in the Rest House which was about 20 paces away from the Rest House Police Barracks. A few yards from the Rest House was a small casuarina tree, to which, according to plan the pig had been tethered. A number of Terapdavip and Koroboremin natives had gathered around the pig, while concealed in the bush and long grass were armed axe men and bowmen.

The servant TEGORI lit the fire in the Rest House kitchen to heat shaving water for Harris. Constable PAHEKI went from the Police Barracks and looked into the Rest House bedroom to see

whether Harris' stretcher was available for dismantling. He saw that Harris was still in bed and returned to the Barracks, where he and N.M.O. BUNAT packed their belongings ready to move when Harris gave the word to depart. The police rifles were on view, with the exception of KOMBO's. The interpreter SINOKSEP was sitting by the fire near the door of the barracks.

KOMBO when he got up, for some reason, or possibly no reason, left his rifle under his unfolded blanket on his bed. This action changed the entire fate of the native members of the Harris party and through them, of the Telefomin Patrol Post and all non-Telefomin people in the area.

KOMBO and MUYEI strolled out to look at the pig, which the natives, who had been joined by the patrol carriers, told them had been brought for the Administration party. MUYEI told them to wait until the Police master [CPO Harris] came outside, when they would be paid for the pig. He then walked around the back of the Police Barracks and warmed himself in the morning sun. KOMBO stood among the people. He took a lighted stick from the fire and lit a cigarette. His back was to the gathered natives. The foregoing sets out the relative positions of the members of the party when the attacks commenced.

One of the patrol carriers, DAMUGIM of Misinmin, holding an axe, entered the Rest House by the kitchen and entered the bedroom. As Harris was getting out of bed DAMUGIM struck him in the face with his axe. Harris rose from his bed and got as far as the doorway of the Rest House, where he was seized by UFELSEP of Terapdavip, and the struggles of the two men took them through the doorway of the Rest House. The other waiting natives moved in. SAMENDEBOMNOK, a leading man of Korborenmin, grabbed Harris by the leg. Harris kicked out at him and SAMENDEBOMNOK fell. He got up and again seized Harris by the leg, this time tripping him.

KALMAFAGEGIM of Terapdavip (who died of illness before he could be brought to trial) hit Harris across the forehead with his axe. DAVAKSEP of Terapdavip struck Harris at the base of the skull, and the youthful KALBEROK of Korborenmin struck Harris on the back of the head with the reverse side of his tomahawk.

Harris had gone down fighting and his struggles took him down a sharp drop outside the Rest House to the main track which passed the door. While he was on the ground NEMISEP, (son of KORNSEP, second headman of Ankeivip), one of the three messengers who had brought the word to Terapdavip pranced up with his bow drawn, calling out "Clear, clear." NEMISEP then fired a bamboo bladed fighting arrow into Harris' solar plexus. The other natives were moving in for the kill when a shot rang out.

About the time DAMUGIM entered the Rest House simultaneous attacks were made upon the other members of the party. KOMBO, as he stood smoking his cigarette was seized from behind by a number of natives. He fell forward onto his knees and was struck several times by a native holding a piece of wood. KOMBO struggled to his feet and lashed out with his elbows at the men holding him. They released him and stood back as immediately FAGEGIM of Korborenmin directed an axe blow at KOMBO and struck him in the right shoulder blade.

KOMBO ran into the Police Barracks, obtained his rifle from where he had left it under his blanket. The other rifles had already been taken by the natives, as well as most of the cartridges, but KOMBO had his three in a bag under his pillow. These he loaded into his rifle and went outside with it, holding the weapon in front of him. FAGEGIM, his attacker, had followed him to the barracks door and was waiting with Tomahawk raised, immediately to one side of the door for KOMBO to come out again. However, when FAGEGIM saw the muzzle of the rifle preceding KOMBO through the doorway, he took to his heels and fled.

KOMBO saw Harris being held and attacked outside the Rest House. Although his right arm was by then numb from the tomahawk wound in his shoulder and loss of blood, KOMBO held the butt of the rifle against his abdomen with one hand and managed to raise and fire the weapon. The bullet struck DAMUGIM in the shoulder as he stood with axe raised over Harris.

When the first shot was fired, the natives who were gathered around Harris attacking him immediately ran away. KOMBO then fired his other two shots and all the natives ran from the Police Barracks and Rest House area. Constable PAHEKI, the N.M.O. BUNAT and interpreter SINOKSEP were attacked inside the Police Barracks. SINOKSEP was seized by YANMAKALININ, the headman of Terapdavip.

PAHEKI was seized from behind and around the neck and pushed under a bed (bench). The natives called for an axe and then pulled him out from the bed preparatory to killing him. During the struggle, PAHEKI managed to draw his bayonet and stabbed one of his assailants in the back. He then stabbed another native. The bayonet caught in the native's woven cane waist band. In their efforts to escape after KOMBO's rifle was fired, the natives broke through the flimsy walls of the house and ran away. The native with the bayonet in his flesh went with them.

Constable MUYEI was at the back of the barracks in the sun, when he was attacked. Two natives, close friends, one from Terapdavip and one from Korborenmin, came and sat on either side of him. MUYEI suspected nothing. Suddenly the natives seized him and called for an axe.

They were joined in the attack by one of the carriers. MUYEI, a sturdily built man, who threw off his attackers and ran into the Police Barracks, to find that his rifle had gone. He entered the guard room of the barracks in time to see BUNAT being held back against a wall, the headman SITKUNINGIM being amongst his attackers. A native raised an axe and struck at BUNAT's head. BUNAT was able to avoid the full impact of the blow by jerking his head to one side. He received a flesh wound on the left side of his head. Seizing a piece of wood MUYEI hit out at BUNAT's attackers, who quickly disappeared.

Harris, after his assailants had run from KOMBO's rifle fire, managed to get up and stagger towards the Police Barracks. He was a tall, strong, active and healthy young man. BUNAT and MUYEI went out and assisted Harris into the building and laid him on the native bed (bench). KOMBO, in the meantime, having fired his cartridges, returned to the barracks, and was at last beginning to feel faint due to his wound. PAHEKI took the rifle from him and went and stood guard in the doorway.

BUNAT and MUYEI hurried to the Rest House to get Harris' patrol canvas bed-sleeve, and came back with the medical kit and bedding. N.M.O. BUNAT had used all his bandages on native cases in the various villages during the patrol. He spoke to Harris, who by this time was lying on his canvas bed-sleeve, and said, "*Master. I have no bandage to bandage you and KOMBO. May I tear up one of your bed sheets?*" Harris, although shockingly wounded was able to reply. "*Yes. Tear one up.*" And the native accordingly tore a bed sheet into strips and dressed Harris' and KOMBO's wounds with flavine. BUNAT then boiled a hypodermic syringe and gave first Harris and then KOMBO injections of 2CCs of penicillin each. Harris asked for water, and BUNAT gave it to him out of a patrol bucket, which was kept in the barracks as the Police drinking water container.

Shortly afterwards a native named TINKUKUMINING of Tagatemtigin, the interpreter SINOKSEP's village, accompanied by SINOKSEP's wife came into the Police Barracks. TINKUKUMINING, who was SINOKSEP's uncle, expressed himself most concerned at what had taken place, and agreed to assist in getting carriers to move the wounded men to Telefomin. He returned to his village of Tagatemtigin to gather some natives to assist in the carrying. After he had

gone the attacking natives began to gather again. TINKUKUMINING returned with a small band of Tagatemtigin natives, including the headman. Harris was placed on a stretcher and the party set out for Telefomin. With great courage KOMBO elected to walk.

Sometime before the party set out, they were joined in the Police barracks by TEGORI, Harris' servant. TEGORI had been in the rest House kitchen and had seen DAMUGIM strike Harris in the face with the axe. He said he went to get the officer's shotgun, which should have been in the kitchen, but it had disappeared. Fearing for his own life, he had hidden under the kitchen table. (TEGORI was originally one of those charged with the wilful murder of Harris, but the charge was withdrawn by the Prosecution at the conclusion of its case in the Lower Court proceedings.)

KOMBO send TEGORI to try to get through to Telefomin Patrol Post with the word of what had happened, telling him that even if they, the patrol party, were killed at Terapdavip, other members of the Administration would return to take their places. MUYEI went with TEGORI to the main track by the Rest House and saw him on his way. TEGORI went for a short distance along the road to Telefomin and then turned into the bush. This was before the Tagatemtigin carriers appeared. About an hour later, the patrol party carrying Harris attempted to march to Telefomin. Before they left, SINOKSEP outside the barracks said to PAHEKI "*The natives are coming back to fight.*" The natives could be seen gathering.

The party, with the Tagatemtigin natives carrying the stretcher, advanced along the road to the edge of the clearing, a distance of about 30 or 40 yards from the Barracks. The hostile natives then blocked the road and began to discharge arrows. They shouted threats to kill the Tagatemtigin carriers as well as the Administration party. Feeling that it would be hopeless to try and continue, the party returned to the Police Barracks, where SINOKSEP and his five relatives remained outside, issuing warnings as necessary, and PAHEKI stood guard in the doorway with the rifle. He had five cartridges which he had concealed in his haversack, and which had been overlooked by the natives when the rifles were taken. This attempt to retire to Telefomin Patrol Post took place between 10 and 10.30am approximately.

The natives now gathered at a distance of about 50 yards, surrounding the area, concealing themselves in the grass and cane thickets. They were armed with bows and arrows. With fighting yells and threats they began to loose their arrows in the direction of the Police Barracks. Some were fighting arrows, others, incendiary arrows. The latter type was a multi-pronged bird-hunting arrow, into the prongs of which was thrust a live coal, wrapped in a dry leaf, The early morning dampness had evaporated, leaving the leaf thatch of the roof in a dry, inflammable condition.

PAHEKI remained on guard with the rifle in the doorway. SINOKSEP and his near relatives stood about 12 yards from the barracks. Seeing that it was hopeless to carry Harris from Terapdavip the other Tagatemptigins had returned to their village, taking some of the patrol gear for safekeeping.

SINOKSEP warned the occupants of the barracks of each renewed attack, and eventually of the fact that the roof had caught fire. It was then decided to move to the Rest House. With the assistance of the Tagatemtigin natives, BUNAT and MUYEI carried Harris and KOMBO (who could no longer walk), over to the Rest House, while PEHEKI covered their progress with the rifle. The natives continued to fire arrows at them during the move but SINOKSEP warned them when the arrows were discharged, and they were able to dodge.

The Police Barracks burnt to the ground. In the Rest House PAHEKI stood guard with the rifle at the kitchen door and MUYEI watched from the other entrance. BUNAT looked after the two wounded men in the Rest House bedroom. SINOKSEP and his near relatives once more stayed outside and reported the attacker's activities, thus providing invaluable help.

When the attack concentrated at the end of the building watched by MUYEI he would call PAHEKI, who would appear in the doorway with the rifle, thus deterring the attackers. Then, when the attack threatened the kitchen end, PAHEKI would return to the kitchen door. The Telefomin natives fortunately were terrified of the power of the rifle. Arrows, including the incendiary type, continued to be fired at the Rest House. PAHEKI was wounded in the flesh of the left forehead with a bamboo headed arrow. He pulled it out and continued to stand guard.

At about 2pm the occupants of the Rest House were warned by SINOKSEP that the leaf thatch of the building had taken fire from the incendiary arrows which had rained upon it. There was now only one refuge left to the party – a small pig pen about twenty-five paces from the Rest House. The pig pen had originally been constructed to house Administration pigs. It consisted of strong upright stakes, enclosing an area of about three or four square yards. It was erected against a tree of about thirty feet in height. The stakes of the pig pen were about five feet high, and were from three to six inches in diameter and set close together.

PAHEKI watched with the rifle, while MUYEI and BUNAT carried KOMBO to the pig pen and laid him on the grass outside the pen. Then they went back for Harris, while SINOKSEP, nearby, called to them when arrows were coming in their direction, so they were able to dodge. Harris was placed on his canvas bed sleeve inside the pig pen, and KOMBO was then also laid inside the pen. SINOKSEP and his relatives stood a short distance away, and continued to give warnings. The loyalty of these few Telefomin natives was truly remarkable; the temptation to leave the “foreigners” to fend for themselves must have been overwhelming.

The attackers yelled to the Tagateminins, saying that when night fell, they would have nowhere to go, and they would be killed along with the Administration party. The attacking natives fired arrows at the pig pen. Some of the arrows stuck into posts, others went between the spaces and stuck into posts on the other side. The natives did not venture very close, still being afraid of the rifle. Harris asked for water, but BUNAT had to tell him the bucket had been destroyed in the building.

Late in the afternoon, one of the attackers managed to creep close to the pig pen, under cover of a fold in the ground and the smoke from the burning Rest House. PAHEKI saw him just as he drew his bow and fired a shot at him. The shot missed the native who dodged down. However, the besieged party then heard two shots fired in reply from the distance. Help was on the way. At the sound of these shots the attackers turned and fled. They did not return.

Harris, who had survived the ordeal for nearly ten hours, despite loss of blood and cerebral fluid, called each member of his loyal band by name, and said, *“Go and find the District Commissioner, tell him what has happened, and ask him to write to my mother and father.”* Shortly after, he quickly died. BUNAT, who held his hand, felt his pulse and spoke to him, but there was no sign of life. This was about 5.20pm. Shortly afterwards Constables YENDABARI and LEGO who had been sent out by the Corporal in charge at Telefomin arrived. They brought with them their own and two other rifles and a webbing pouch of cartridges.

With the help of the loyal Tagatemitgin natives, a litter was quickly constructed for KOMBO and the entire party set out for Telefomin, carrying the body of Harris and the wounded constable. It was almost dark when they left. Before the party had gone very far a severe thunderstorm broke over them, accompanied by strong winds. The party camped the night in a small native shelter known to the Tagatemitgins in a secluded spot off the main road. They were without food, light or warmth, in fact they had not eaten since early morning.

The next day they set out again, with infinite labour crossed the Mittag Range, and arrived at Telefomin Patrol Post at 2pm. On their way, they were met by Mr. G.R.G. Wearne Assistant District Officer from Wewak, and Mr. Rhys Healey, European Medical Assistant, who had been flown to Telefomin. Mr. Healey examined Harris' body. KOMBO was given medical treatment. The following day Harris' body was flown to Wewak for post-mortem examination and burial in the cemetery there.

The native members of Harris' party could have escaped to save themselves after the attack on Harris, but did not. In his summing-up in the Supreme Court on 17th August, 1954, Mr. Justice Gore referred to a "*story of heroism resolution and loyalty, which, even in the cold marshalling of facts in a judgment, must appear sublime.*"

SINOKSEP/MEBUNISEP of Tagatemtigin was awarded a Loyal Service Medal. The citation reads in part ... *Sinoksep joined the Administration in 1950, and showed outstanding bravery in 1953 when he was an interpreter with an Administration patrol. The patrol was attacked and Cadet Patrol Officer G. Harris was killed...* Sinoksep is now employed as a Labour Foreman with the Department of Native Affairs at Telefomin and is a member of the Sepik District Advisory Council."³

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SZARKA

By contrast with the Harris killing, the murders of Patrol Officer Gerald Leo Szarka and Constable BURITORI, of the Waria Valley, Morobe District were not carefully planned. They were somewhat hastily arranged, but strangely enough, only two members of the Szarka patrol party survived.

As has been stated earlier, Szarka's patrol set out from Telefomin on Tuesday, 3rd November, to patrol the North-west end of the Iliptammin Valley. With him the patrol officer had three native Constables, BURITORI; PURARI of Buna, Papua and MULAI of Kalilo, Talasea Sub-district, New Britain; and Administration interpreter, ARGARMING of Komdavip, a Telefomin native; Mr. Szarka's personal servant SKOLDI (LUDWIG), a native of Muschu Island near Wewak, and 15 patrol carriers, all Telefomin natives.

The patrol camped the first night at Okfekamin¹, where the census was checked the following day. It camped again at Okfekamin and then moved on to Inantigan on the Thursday. The natives were slow to gather for the census, and by evening not all were present. The patrol camped that night at Inantigan.

The following day Szarka sent Constable PURARI (known as BUKA, a derivation of BUNA) and the interpreter ARGARMING ahead to Uguntemtigin (Misinmin) to tell the people there to prepare for the census check. By the time the patrol arrived at Uguntemtigin it was to find that only a few women had gathered. Most of the natives were apparently working in their gardens, some distance from the village. Szarka moved into the Uguntemtigin Rest House to wait for the people to gather. He sent PURARI and ARGARMIN to the latter's villager of Komdavip to tell the people there of the forthcoming census check.

Shortly after Szarka's patrol reached Uguntemtigin, roughly about noon, NOVONENGIM and ASEMENOK, both of Okfekamin, arrived, with other natives who had been recruited on the way. They had first gone to Inantigan, expecting to find the patrol there, in which case the killings would

¹ Okfekamin is the spelling used by ADO Frank Jones on page 21 of *Report on the Telefomin Murders of the 6th November 1953* – report dated 7th October 1954. There is a suggestion that the spelling should be "Okfektaman."

have occurred at Inantigan. NOVONENGIM told TOBARONSEP, the headman of Uguntemtagin, and other local natives in the men's house of the decision of the headman at the Ankeivip meeting, how the natives of the lower valley (Telefomin Valley) would that day kill the non-Telefomins in the Station area, and that the people in the upper valley (Iliptamin) were to kill the Admin. personnel in their area. TOBARONSEP replied, "*All right, we will go and kill the Kiap and his party.*"

The Rest House and Police Barracks at Uguntemtagin were built along the top of a narrow ridge, which was about twenty-five feet wide where the Rest House stood. The natives went along the ridge on which both the village and Rest House were situated towards the Rest House where Szarka was. They met Szarka and BURITORI on the crest of the ridge between the men's house and the Rest House, which was higher up. Szarka and BURITORI stood a short distance apart. MULAI had gone to collect timber for barracks bed posts.

TOBARONSEP said something to Szarka. At a prearranged signal, KAIORENGAL, who was standing behind the officer, seized him, pinioning his arms to his sides. At the same time NOVONENGIM seized BURITORI. KAIORENGAL and Szarka, in their struggles, rolled over one side of the ridge, while NOVONENGIM and BURITORI went over the opposite side. The natives OLSIKIM of Inantigan, IRINSIMNOK of Inantigan, TIGIMNOK and WARIMSEP, both of Iwartigin, ran down to where KAIORENGAL was struggling with Szarka a short distance down one side of the ridge. Szarka was held down and an axe was called for. This was brought by the native TIMENGIM of Uguntemtagin, and TIGIMNOK ran up the slope and took it from him.

Unlike Harris, Szarka therefore had time to realize what his probable fate was to be, even if he did not understand what the natives were saying. His feelings during those moments of delay are hideous to contemplate. While the others held him down on his back, TIGIMNOK raised the axe and struck at Szarka in the throat, completely decapitating him in a very few blows. Then TIGIMNOK cut Szarka's body through at the waist into two parts. OLSIKIN took the axe from TIGIMNOK and cut off both Szarka's legs.

The axe used was described as having a blade of approximately ten inches in depth and a width of three and a half inches. The long handle fitted into the head through a fairly large round hole. It was an old-fashioned type of axe, said to have been obtained through the Fogolmin people along an ancient trade route from the south-west. The axe, after the Supreme Court sittings, was taken to Port Moresby by Mr. Justice Gore.

While Szarka was being slaughtered, women and children of Uguntemtagin were pillaging belongings and patrol gear from the Rest House and Police Barracks, from which the two patrol rifles also were taken.

The pieces of Szarka's body were left at the foot of the ridge, and the murderers returned up the slope, dancing the killing dance of their people and mouthing a primitive chant. TIGIMNOK was holding the bloodstained axe in both hands above his head. However, shortly afterwards word of TEGORI's arrival at Telefomin from Terapdavip got through to Misinmin, and it also appeared that no attack had, after all taken place at the station. In addition, Harris' Misinmin carriers came and reported that a rifle was still being fired at Terapdavip. The native dispersed and took to the bush, eventually abandoning the village.

Writer's note. The description of how Mr. Szarka's was dismembered is reminiscent of the descriptions of how Mianmin warriors carry off human meat for cannibalism. So, was Mr. Szarka eaten? Ivan James stated: *Szarka's remains were not recovered for several days, and it was heard that he had been eaten.*⁴ On the other hand, Mr. Jones report indicates, possibly not. Mr. Jones report continues:

The native TIMENGIM states that he disposed of the lower half of the trunk of Szarka in the Rest House latrine, to save it from the ravages of pigs and dogs. However, it is significant that this disposal of the body took place after the above news arrived from Telefomin and Terapdavip. All the pieces of Szarka's body have not so far been recovered.

When the patrol led by the then District Commissioner, Mr. A.T. Timperley, arrived at Uguntemtigin, ten days after the attacks, a search was initiated for the bodies of Szarka and BURITORI. Native Constable BAGINGO of Hago, Finschhafen Sub-district, Morobe District, recovered from the Rest House latrine a section of a human body, which consisted of the lower half of a trunk (from the waist down and including portions of both thighs). It was partially covered by remnants of khaki trousers. BAGINGO also found small pieces of bone. The search continued, and in the Police Barracks latrine BAGINGO found a portion of a human leg. It was the lower part of a leg and included a foot. No trace was found of the head or other portions of the body. Szarka's remains were sent to Australia for burial at the request of his parents.

BURITORI

When NOVONENGIM seized BURITORI from behind, TOBARONSEP went to NONONENGIM's assistance and they forced him to the ground. A native WAVENASEOP of Iwartigin aimed at BURITORI with a stone, but accidentally struck NONONENGIM's elbow, temporarily numbing the arm. NONONENGIM slackened his hold on BURITORI, who managed to break away from him and TOBARONSEP. BURITORI started to run down the side of the slope, but was struck between the shoulder blades by AROLENGIM of Inantigan, with an axe. BURITORI ran for a short distance, the axe in his back. Then it fell, to be picked up by SARTENGIM of Inantigin, who, with other natives, had given chase. BURITORI ran on, but finally was caught and thrown to the ground. While ASEMENOK, NONONENGIM and TOBARONSEP held him, SARTENGIM struck BURITORI a blow in the throat with the axe, almost decapitating him. Then KANKESAP fired an arrow into his solar plexus. His body was left where it lay, and the natives returned up the slope.

BURITORI's body was found by the same patrol which found Szarka's remains. As the native policeman who found BURITORI's body approached, a large pig ran from the vicinity of the body. The prints of dogs and pigs marked the earth about the body. The left arm was not with the body, nor were the fingers of the other hand, presumably as a result of ravages of animals. The head was doubled back under the shoulders. The flesh had decomposed, but part of a tattoo mark "Buritori" was still visible on the chest. The body was taken back to Telefomin and accorded a service funeral there, two days later.

MULAI was the only Constable of Szarka's patrol to survive.

After assisting the unpacking of the patrol gear in the Rest House and the Police Barracks on arrival, he had gone to the bush to locate timber for bed posts, which had to be cut there. While he was searching for the bed posts he heard the sounds of the native outcry from the vicinity of the Rest House. MULAI states that suspecting nothing, he hastened towards the Rest House. On the way he found a bush knife lying beside the track. He picked it up.

Arriving at the Rest House he saw no sign of Szarka or BURITORI, the personal servant SKOLDI of the patrol carriers. The belongings had all disappeared from the Police Barracks including the rifles. MULAI thought the patrol might possibly have gone on to Komdavip. He looked along the road but saw no sign of the patrol. He was watched by two natives who were near the Rest House, then he saw three natives approaching him from the direction of Uguntemtigin village, armed with bows and arrows. While he was watching them, he heard a rustle in the dry cane thicket behind

him, and turned in time to see a native with raised tomahawk. MULAI held up his bush knife and stared at the native, who retreated over the edge of the ridge.

MULAI continued that he now realized there was something very much amiss, and kept on the way he was headed, along the road to Okfekamin. Natives approached him and closed. MULAI defended himself with a piece of cargo-carrying pole, but in doing so he dropped his knife. The natives retreated. MULAI left the road and climbed a small ridge to a track leading to a stream. There he met Szarka's personal; servant SKOLDI, who had been sent by Szarka to launder his clothes at the stream.

SKOLDI had heard the native outcry from the Rest House, and was on his way back there when he met MULAI. SKOLDI wanted to know where Szarka was and MULAI replied that he had not seen him. They returned to the road and ran along it for some distance. Armed natives were following them. SKOLDI, exhausted, turned into the bush, while MULAI, who was ahead of him, ran on. SKOLDI remained hidden until he recovered his breath. Later he managed to find his way back to the main road to Telefomin and returned to the Station. He reports that he saw no hostile natives on the way.

MULAI says that he wandered in the bush all that day. At night, drenched with rain, he slept under an abandoned house. The next morning he continued on. He met three natives armed with bows and arrows who pursued him closely over several mountain ridges endeavouring to trap him. Throwing them off finally, MULAI found himself in Komdavip country, the scene of the killing of PURARI (a fact of which he was unaware at the time.) Seeing a number of armed natives, he managed to avoid being seen by them and went on. However a woman working in a garden saw him and called out. MULAI hurried away.

Shortly afterwards he was found by a native armed with a bow and arrow, who gave him a message from TOVIPNOK, a leading man of Komdavip, the father-in law of SUNE, Administration interpreter, asking MULAI to go with him. MULAI made the native walk in front of him to Komdavip where TOVIPNOK and his wife BINAMINIP and other natives were waiting. These two told him to sit and gave him food. He was unable to eat, owing to his exhausted state and asked for water which he drank. The friendly natives conducted MULAI through the main village of Komdavip to the hamlet where TOVIPNOK and his wife lived. They took him into the house and barred the door. That night TOVIPNOK slept across the doorway. When he slept his wife stood watch. They were both elderly.

At dawn TOVIPNOK said they would take MULAI to Telefomin before news of his whereabouts reached the Misinmin people. They were joined by TINABIRENGIM the second headman of Komdavip, who had been sent for. Five other natives were in the party. Before setting out the woman BINAMINIP ceremonially broke an arrow into pieces and wrapped it in the leaves of the plant *aetsia fruticosa*, known as TANKET in Pidgin English to show that the party moved in peace, and that MULAI was a protected person and not to be killed. Carrying this symbol before him, they set out for Telefomin. On arrival there, they found native Police on guard and MULAI was recognized.

PURARI.

Constable PURARI (or BUKA), a native of Buna in Papua, married to an Ankeivip woman, was sent by Szarka, with interpreter ARGARMING on ahead from Uguntemtgin to Komdavip, a distance of one and three quarter hours' walking time. On arrival, they found that men and women had already gathered in anticipation of the census check.

Through the interpreter, PURARI told the people that the Rest House needed repairing, and sent natives to cut cane thicket for the roof thatch and bush timber for a rough table. PURARI and ARGARMING left their belongings, including PURARI's rifle and bayonet, in the Police Barracks.

When the cane thicket leaves were brought ARGARMING climbed to the Rest House roof to mend the holes caused by wind damage. He was assisted by a youth, DIBOMANSEP of Komdavip. PURARI went inside the Rest House, and with the assistance of some of the local natives, commenced to construct a table of bush poles, for Szarka's use. Natives were coming and going from the Rest House, bringing materials.

While they were at work three messengers arrived from Uguntemtigin and went into the Komdavip young men's house. Here they spoke with a small number of Komdavip natives. They told them that the Misinmin natives had killed Szarka and BURITORI and that TOBARONSEP and KAIORENGAL had sent word for the Komdavip natives to kill constable PURARI (BUKA). The Komdavip natives present agreed to do this.

On the way up to the Rest House from the village to carry out this deed, NASIMNOK of Komdavip told the second headman TINABRIENGIM of the arrival of the Misinmin men, and of the intention to kill BUKA. TINABRIENGIM was very much against the suggestion, and warned the natives that by committing such an act they would risk Government reprisals and warned of the power of the rifle. However HASIMNOK and the other natives did not listen to this advice and went on up to the Rest House.

PURARI was seized as he worked on the table. He was heard to cry out "*ARGARMING, ARGARMING*". ARGARMING climbed down from the roof and after a quick look into the Rest House, ran to the Police Barracks for PURARI's rifle and bayonet. They were gone. He ran back to the Rest House in the hope of assisting BUKA. BUKA was struggling with his captors. He was tall for a native, approximately five feet ten inches, and very powerful. His assailants were IVASIMNOK, MONIAKSEP, FOBONENING, NASIMNOK, ARINENING, ASOGONING, DIGIMENING and ANINGAPNOK, all of Komdavip. PURARI fought back, but in the ensuing melee he was axed in the throat, the left breast, in the right thigh and in the back.

After killing PURARI, the eight natives left him lying on the blood spattered floor of the Rest House, and returned to the village, taking with them the bloodied axes. Immediately after the murder, the three messengers from Misinmin went up to the Rest House, where one of them struck the body with a piece of timber apparently to be certain of death. Then, taking PURARI's loin cloth, which was lying loose under the body, they returned to Misinmin and reported the success of their mission to KAIORENGAL, who was preparing to vacate the village.

Meanwhile in Komdavip some of the murderers returned to the Rest House with a pole, to which they lashed the body of the dead policeman, took it to a nearby waterfall, and threw it over. Nearly two weeks later the body of PURARI was taken from where it lay on the stones at the bottom of the waterfall and carried into Telefomin by Tagatemtigin natives sent from the station. PURARI was given a service funeral and buried at Telefomin.

TELEFOMIN.

At Telefomin Patrol Post, the forces gathered but no attack was made. Doubtless, more details of what occurred there will be revealed as time goes on. Certainly as arranged, a great number of natives went to the Station that morning. Some of them, including women, took taro with them. The men hid their arms in the grass before entering the Station area.

Some hold the view that the unexpected arrival of an aircraft at Telefomin airfield delayed the attack. Next Harris' servant TEGORI, who had run all the way from Terapdavip, arrived with the news that the attack on Harris' party had not been wholly successful, and that a rifle remained in the hands of the Police.

TEGORI reported to Lance Corporal SAUWENI, who was in charge of the Station in the absence of the Administration officers. The Rev. Draper of the Baptist Mission, was operating the Station radio at the time, and in communication with DCA, Wewak, in connection with the recently departed aircraft. SAUWENI immediately informed Draper of TEGORI's news, and Draper transmitted a message to the District Commissioner, Wewak.

When the news of TEGORI's arrival and the story spread, many of the natives on the Station abandoned their taro and took to their heels. Their disorderly departure aroused the suspicions of SAUWENI. The sum total of Police remaining on the Station was five, including the Lance Corporal himself. SAUWENI says he asked Mr. Draper, who was standing by the wireless, what he thought of the idea of sending two Police Constables to the assistance of Harris' party. Mr. Draper apparently left the decision to SAUWENI, who, courageously, in view of his limited forces at the Station, decided to send out the two Constables; LEGO and YENDABARI.

The Corporal posted his remaining force of three around the Station, armed two Native Medical Orderlies and the Administration interpreter SUNEI with rifles and they stood guard. Two Constables, KUSIMNOK and OWISIMNOK, natives of Telefomin, were on leave in their village. SAUWENI sent for them to come in (they arrived the next day.)

Later that morning SAUWENI sent SUNEI to the Misinmin area to tell Szarka what had happened. The Corporal gave SUNEI a rifle and ammunition to give them to Szarka. SUNEI set off. He states that he was followed by natives armed with bows and arrows, who had arrived at the Station that morning. SUNEI threatened them with the rifle and they went back the way they had come. When he reached his destination he did not enter the village of Uguntemtigin, but kept under cover. He saw no sign of Szarka or members of the patrol. Some natives were gathered together talking. He saw among them KAIORENGAL (the first one to seize hold of Szarka). SUNEI returned to Telefomin Station, arriving the next morning and reported what he had seen to SAUWENI.

As to whether the two Telefomin Police were involved in, or knew of the plans is an open question at present. The interpreter ARGARMING of Komdavip, in his evidence in the Lower Court, said that after killing PURARI, IFOROBENGIM, a leading man of Komdavip, said to him. *"You did not kill the Policeman. We killed him. You take his rifle and go down and stand guard at the aerodrome. All the Administration interpreters have rifles now. You go down and with the Telefomin-born constables KUSIMNOK and OWISIMNOK, stand guard at the aerodrome. Then, when the aircraft come and attempt to land, shoot them in flight, so that the occupants will be killed and they, including policemen, will not be able to come and shoot us."* On the other hand, the two Constables were not at the Station on the critical day – in fact, as already mentioned, they were sent for by Lance Corporal SAUWENI.

As to the Chief Headman of Ankeivip, FEMSEP, who was absent from his village on 6th November, any part FEMSEP might have had in the plans for the massacres has thus far been kept secret by the natives concerned. When he realised that trouble was afoot SAUWENI took the three headmen, FEMSEP (whom he sent for) KABARANSEP and KORNSEP into custody, and kept them at the Station as an earnest of good faith on their part.

Lance Corporal SAUWENI has since been promoted in the field to Corporal and has been recommended for admission to a course at the Police Depot for promotion to Sergeant.

The Telefomin interpreter SUNEI was orphaned as a child by tribal fighting and was adopted by the Taylor and Black Hagen-Sepik Exploration Patrol of 1937 [1938-9]. He was taken back to Rabaul and was brought up under the guidance of Administration Officers (chiefly Mr. J.L. Taylor). During the Lower Court and Supreme Court hearings SUNEI was the principal interpreter from Pidgin English to Telefomin. Despite the fact that much of the evidence he translated was directed against so many important men, with their accompanying aura of taboos and threats of sorcery and of retributive violence, SUNEI never faltered in his exhausting and nerve-wracking task. His attitude was truly admirable. His interpretation remained unbiased throughout. It will also be recalled that it was his father- and mother-in-law who saved Constable MULAI's life at Komdavip.

Sune was awarded a Loyal Service medal "*for his outstanding service given over the years and particularly for the fine work done in the difficult period after the murders of the Europeans and Police in November 1953*". This followed a recommendation from ADO Jones dated 2nd May 1955.⁵

SUBSEQUENT ACTION.

When the Rev. Draper's message previously mentioned was received at Wewak at 11 am on Friday 6th November, the then District Commissioner, Mr. A.T. Timperley, arranged for the Acting Assistant District Officer at Wewak, Mr. G.R.G. Wearne and Europeans Medical Assistant Mr. L.R. Healey to be flown into Telefomin Patrol Post immediately.

The Noresman aircraft remained at Telefomin overnight. With Mr. Timperley's permission from Wewak, Messrs. Wearne and Healey returned to Wewak the following day (Saturday) to collect patrol equipment and additional police.

At noon, the same day they returned to Telefomin, accompanied by Cadet Patrol Officer, B.A. Ryan, and commenced preparations to set out from the Station. However, at 2.10am Harris' body was carried into the Patrol Post by a party of Tagatemtigin natives. Also carried on a litter was constable KOMBO, with a severe shoulder wound. On foot were Constable PAHEKI, with an arrow wound in his forehead, Native Medical Orderly BUNAT, with a tomahawk wound to the side of his forehead, and Constable MUYEI and the interpreter SINOKSEP. These were the survivors of Harris' patrol. With SINOKSEP were his five close relatives. Also with the party were Constables YENDABARI and LEGO, who had escorted them from Terapdavip, and Constable LANI who had been sent with extra carriers to assist, and who had met them on the road on the Telefomin side of the Mittag Range.

On Friday 6th November, Patrol Officer Szarka's servant SKOLDI of Muschu Island, Wewak, reached the Station unaccompanied from Misinmin in a heavy downpour and thunder storm at dark. Probably due to the downpour he had encountered no natives on the way.

At 2.20pm on Sunday 8th November, Constable MULAI the surviving Constable from Szarka's patrol was escorted into the Station by Komdavip natives. It was on account of the return of SKOLDI and Constable MULAI and Szarka's continued absence that his death together with the deaths of his other two Constables was finally presumed. MULAI's escort, with the exception of SUNEI's father-and mother-in law, was taken into custody, as many of its members, it turned out later, had taken an active part in the killing of PURARI.

At 7.45am Monday 9th November. Mr. Timperley, accompanied by Acting Assistant District Officer B.R. Corrigan loaned from Minj for this purpose, arrived at Telefomin. Preparations were completed for a patrol to proceed to Misinmin (Uguntemtigin). At 11.15am on 10th November, Assistant District Officer W.B. Giles from Madang arrived to take over the Telefomin Patrol Post.

At 7.40am on 11th November, a patrol led by Mr. Timperley, with Messrs. Wearne, Corrigan, Healey, 32 police, 86 carriers and two interpreters set out from Telefomin. No natives were sighted that day. At 11pm the OIC's Telefomin house was burnt down, with practically nothing saved. It was an accidental fire.

The following day the patrol camped at Inantigan, which they found be deserted. On 13th November at 8.10am they camped at Uguntemtigin (Misinmin No 1). Here the remains of Szarka and the Policeman BURITORI were searched for and discovered. The patrol set out for Telefomin with the two bodies, arriving at the Post on 14th November. BURITORI was given a service funeral at Telefomin. Mr. Timperley flew to Wewak the same day with the remains of Szarka.

On 15th November, he flew to Port Moresby with the remains in a sealed coffin for onward flight and burial in New South Wales. Mr. Timperley returned to Telefomin on 19th November. The same day Constable PURARI's body was brought in to the Station by Tagatemtigin natives sent out for the purpose. PURARI was given a service funeral at Telefomin.

Messrs. Timperley and Wearne made a short patrol to the Eastern end of the Iliptamin valley between 26th November and 1st December. Some contact was made with natives in the area. Terapdavip, Korborenmin. Afogovip and Bolvil villages were abandoned. It was decided to establish a base camp from Telefomin at the site of the destroyed Teradavip Rest House.

Mr. Timperley proceeded to Australia on leave after being relieved by Mr. S. Elliott-Smith, until then District Commissioner Madang. In conjunction with the Director of District Services and Native Affairs Mr. Elliott-Smith directed immediate action to apprehend all concerned in the massacres in place of a policy of waiting for hunger and disease to drive the people from their mountain fastness...

The planned base camp at Terapdavip was established on 29th January. It was known as the Iliptamin Base Camp and was established on the site of the original Terapdavip Rest House and Police Barracks. Patrol Officer W.W. Crellin established that camp, with Patrol Officers A. Zweck and L.T. Nolen. Assistant District Officer F.D. Jones was at this time Officer in charge Telefomin and Mr. Giles had returned to Madang. Mr. Corrigan had returned to Minj in the New Guinea Highlands. The two officers Crellin and Zweck had just completed the two years ASOPA course and had agreed to assist in the apprehension of the murderers and the clearing up of the Telefomin situation...

Under the generalship, guidance and drive of Mr. Elliott-Smith the efforts of these officers and those of Mr. Jones at Telefomin, resulted in the apprehension and transport to Wewak of 165 natives from the Telefomin and Iliptamin areas. The last two of the wanted men, who managed to evade capture for many months, were brought in late in July. They were the headman SITKUNINGIM and a native DAVAKSEP, both of Terapdavip mentioned earlier, for whom warrants of arrest were in connection with the killing of Harris.

The two men were captured by a special patrol led by Assistant District Officer Jones, the plans for which were kept carefully secret, as the element of surprise was essential. Ever since last November the two men had managed to evade capture by moving through the unfrequented areas of the Om and Ilaptamin Valleys, making occasional contact with their own people. At scattered points in the uninhabited areas they established small garden plots and visited them at intervals to get food.

Two days out from Telefomin ADO Jones' party of specially selected native police and carriers took up position under cover, on the left bank of the Om River. As dusk was falling they saw smoke from a cooking fire rise from a cliff face opposite their position. Jones studied the cliff-face

through binoculars and realized that it would be impossible to raid the position in daylight. The party waited for nightfall and made a raid by moonlight. Access to the camp was to be had only by climbing the face of a landslide with the assistance of a cane rope hanging down the face of the slide..

The party took the camp completely by surprise at midnight and DAVAKSEP was arrested in company with his family. A particularly interesting point is that the patrol found that the camp was also a fortress. It consisted of seven houses enclosed by two fighting barricades each containing loopholes for the discharge of arrows. This most probably, was the fortress to which the people had retired after the murders, and rumours of which had been heard by earlier patrols.

SITKUNINGIM was arrested by Police the following day in a garden on the Om River, after a long forced march to catch up with him. When called upon to give himself up SITKUNINGIM struck and injured one of the Police party with a piece of palm. The terrain covered was rough, forbidding and exhausting.

COURT HEARINGS.

Thirty-five Telefomin natives were committed for trial on wilful murder charges in connection with the two officers and their police at the Preliminary Hearings at Wewak during the months of April and June 1954. The Magistrate was Acting District Officer John Preston White. Sub Inspector John Grainger prosecuted and District Services Officers SS Smith and Merton Brightwell appeared for the Defence.

At the recently concluded Supreme Court Hearings before Mr. Justice Gore at Wewak, eight death sentences were recorded and twenty-six pronouncements of the death sentences were made. The headman TOBARONSEP and NOVONENGIM were sentenced in connection with the killings of both Szarka and BURITORI. One native TIMENGIM of Uguntemtigin, who was alleged to have agreed to bring the axe for the killing of Szarka when called for, was acquitted. He certainly brought the axe, but Justice Gore found that there was insufficient evidence to prove that he had done so by pre-arrangement for the purpose of the murder of Szarka.

The following nine natives were sentenced to death for the murder of Harris. NEMISEP of Ankeivip; ...SEP of Terandavip; DAVAKSEP of Terapdavip; YANMAKALININ of Terapdavip; SAMEUDEBOMNOK of Korborenmin; SITKUNINGIM of Terapdavip; FAGLGIM of Korborenmin; KALBEROK of Korborenmin and DAMUGIM of Misinmin.

The following ten natives were sentenced to death for the murder of Szarka. TIGIMNOK of Iwartigin; OLSIKIM of Inantigan; KAIORENGAL of Uguntemtigin; DUMAROGIM of Ankeivip; KORNSEP of Ankeivip; NOVONENGIM of Okfekamin; WARIMSEP of Iwartigin; IRINSIMNOK of Inantigan.

The following seven natives were sentenced to death for the murder of BURITORI: NOVONENGIM of Okfekamin; TOBAROSEP of Uguntemtigin; ASEMIMNOK of Okfekamin; SARTENGIM of Inantigan; WAVENASEP of Iwartigin; KANKOSEP of Inantigan and AROLENGIM of Inantigan.

Death sentences were recorded against the following eight natives for the murder of PURARI: ASOGONING, DIGIMENING; ARJ...GIM. FOBONENING; MORIAKSEP; IVASIMNOK, NASIMNOK and ANINGAPNOK, all of Komdavip.

The death sentences of all of the above natives have since been commuted by Federal Cabinet to imprisonment for ten years hard labour, the sentences to be served in the gaol at Wewak.

Coronial Enquiry

Coronial enquiries into the deaths of the four men which occurred in November were held after Mr. S. Elliott-Smith took over the District in January, 1954, this was one of the aspects investigated by the Director of District Services and Native Affairs during his visit to Wewak in early January. It was arranged that inquiries would be instituted without further delay. The Coronial Enquiries were then conducted by Mr. G.R.G. Wearne at that time Assistant District Officer, Wewak.

CONCLUSION

In considering the situation which had developed in the area administered from the Telefomin Patrol Post, one important factor must not be overlooked. That is the extreme isolation of the area from the outside world. It is situated in the central New Guinea mountain mass. The Post itself is forty miles east of the border with Dutch New Guinea, which is the 141st Meridian at that point.

The only visible means of communication to the native eyes were the visits of aircraft and the radio, as represented by the Station aerial masts and the loudspeaker. The natives never saw more than a few Europeans at one time. They appear to consider that not many existed.

Many of the Telefomin natives seemed to be under the impression that by the wiping out of the European field staff, the Police and Missionary group at the Patrol Post, and by closing the airstrip and the destruction of the Station wireless channel, other Europeans would be discouraged with Telefomin and would give up and not re-establish themselves, thus permitting the natives² to return to their own ways. Officers, during their investigations, closely questioned natives as to the probable reasons for the attacks. Many reasons were given, but these seem to relate to localized incidents and not ... the straws which at last broke the camel's back.

As was stated earlier, it now appears that a plot to eliminate the non-Telefomin influence in the area had been in existence for several years. The natives resented the changes which the arrival of the Administration brought with it – such changes as the cessation of raids and murders, the inculcation of village hygiene and maintenance and development of roads. The natives claimed that since the arrival of the Administration the quality and quantity of taro in their gardens had become poorer. Most of all, they objected to what they felt was Administration interference with their way of life.

Apparently, it had been understood for some time that the Administration officers and the Missionary and their staffs would be wiped out – it was just a question of waiting for a suitable opportunity. All this suggests that the reason for the massacres lay simply in the presence of the Administration itself. At the hearings, the grievances against the Administration all seemed to emanate from one area – Misinmin (Uguntemtigin and Ifalan).

TOBARONSEP, the headman of Uguntemtigin, was chosen by the Defence to give evidence in the Supreme Court. He told how the previous headman, UNAREPNOK had died. His statement was supported by evidence of a Police Constable AUTAU, in a later hearing.

PURARI, the Police Constable killed at Komdavip, accompanied by Constable AUTAU had been sent (prior to Szarka's arrival in Telefomin) to supervise the work of cleaning up the Uguntemtigin village. When they arrived there were no natives in the village. They searched the

² While the word "natives" may be offensive to the Telefomin people of the 21st Century, I have used it, as "natives" was used by ADO Frank Jones on Page 42 in his October 1954 report on the Telefomin Uprising and this chapter closely follows that report.

bush and brought some of the inhabitants back to the village. The following day the headman UNAREPNOK arrived. Apparently the village had not been kept clean and grass had been permitted to grow. AUTAU (on PURARI's instructions he claimed) tied UNAREPNOK's hands around a small flagpole in the village, after which PURARI hit him seven times with a cane. Later TOBARONSEP arrived and was given similar treatment. A day or so later UNAREPNOK died, and TOBARONSEP became headman. The natives of the area appeared at the trial to consider the death of UNAREPNOK to be due to the action of PURARI.

Another incident concerns a native named WANAMNOK, also of Uguntemtigin and a relative of UNAREPNOK, who was drowned with four other natives while rafting down a river, as patrol carriers for the Administration officer known as "the husband of BINATANG." This reference is to Patrol Officer L.T. Nolan, who was in charge of Telefomin Patrol Post before Szarka took over approximately two months before his death. Nolan had a native mistress, who was known as BINATANG. Harris accompanied this patrol as junior officer to Nolan.

The grievance over WANAMNOK was that no compensation was received for his death, which followed that of UNAREPNOK. TOBARONSEP told the court under cross-examination that some of the Misinmin people had gone to the "husband of BINATANG" and asked for compensation. He had replied, "*Wait until I go down to Wewak and I will bring back some money and tomahawks*". The natives had returned to their village. On the 20th August 1953 the then District Commissioner was authorized to proceed under the provisions of the Native Labour Ordinance and to effect payment of compensation to the relatives of the five carriers lost in the May River.

The Director of District Services and Native Affairs, while in Wewak in January 1954, found that no compensation had been paid prior to the attacks. He found that the instruction had been minuted to the Office-in-charge Telefomin, for necessary action. The fact that the Officer-in-charge Telefomin did not have the power to conduct a District Court had apparently been overlooked at the District Headquarters. Resentful at the slowness of receiving compensation, the Misinmin people burnt down the Uguntemtigin Rest House and killed and ate a pig given them by the Administration for breeding purposes.

TOBARONSEP said in Court: "*Not long after we burnt the Rest House and killed the pig the Administration Officer and party came to my village. They took ten pigs, some of which they killed and ate at the village and some they took to the Government Station and later ate. These pigs were not paid for. We received no pay. The Government party also imprisoned eleven men and took some taro from the gardens...The men were kept in gaol for a long time, it may have been four months. We were released (I was one of the eleven) from gaol one month before we killed BURITORI.*" They had been released by Szarka sometime after he took over the Station, and returned to their village "with presents."

Whether the plan to attack the patrols originated in the Iliptamin Valley or the Telefomin Valley is somewhat obscure, although the weight of evidence thus far available suggests the Telefomin Valley. NOVONENGIM and TOBARONSEP, SITUNINGIM and AN...NIN lay the blame at the door of the Ankeivip and Telefolip people (Telefomin area), While KORNSEP, DUMAROGIM and KABARAMSEP have stated it was the wish of the Highland (Iliptamin) people.

Mr. Justice Gore, in his summing up in the case of the wilful murder of Szarka, says: "*The general motive (for the murders) was conceived some time before. It was born in the Councils of the headmen of the Tamboran which controls the clans. This plan was to wipe out all the European Officers and the establishment generally. This plan had gone forth to the various clans. Apparently it only waited a propitious time for execution. The time came and the order went forth, when it became known that the patrols were leaving the Station. The general plan was not particularly to the*

incidents at Uguntemtigin. I believe it was discussed before those incidents occurred. It seems to have been engendered by the wish to be relieved of the white man's control altogether, which control was interfering, to their way of thinking, with their pleasurable existence."

Undoubtedly, as time goes on, more and more facts will emerge which will; throw a greater light on these tragic events. At the moment we are still rather too close to see the whole affair in its final perspective.

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An archive file with the reference number 4.1 "Telefomin 1945 to 1960" fills in some minor additional detail, which I present here in chronological order. This material follows on from a similar chronology in Chapter 16:

18/11/1953. ADO Giles, who took over as OIC Telfomin on 10/11/1953 provided DC Wewak with a statement of cash and postage stamp advances at Telefomin.

23/11/1953. DC Timperley responded that this reconciliation left a total of 14 shillings and eight pence halfpenny unaccounted for. Treasury was to be requested to write this sum off.

25/11/1953. A restricted areas permit was issued by DS&NA Director A.A. Roberts to Mr. Osmar Egmont White for the purposes of "*collecting journalistic material and taking photographs of the Telefomin area*". The permit was endorsed with a condition that "... *Owing to the present conditions, movement beyond the immediate Station area is not authorized. This permit not to come into force until countersigned by the Officer-in-charge at Wewak.*"

16/12/1953. A memo DS 14-4-1(46) from Director DS&NA to DC Wewak, entitled Permits to enter Restricted Areas Telefomin.

1. According to records, ten (10) permits to enter the Telefomin...are still current, having been issued to the Australian Baptist Foreign Mission. It is known that all permittees have not proceeded to Telefomin. Will you please advise the names of Missionaries who are residing at Telefomin at the present time?
2. It is also to be noted that permits have been endorsed permitting holders to enter into an area having a five mile radius from the Mission and Administration Station. Owing to the present conditions, all persons now within the area at Telefomin are to present their permits to the Officer-in-charge, Telefomin, in order that they may be endorsed limiting their movements to the precinct of the Administration Station.
3. All permits, other than those held by persons, residing at Telefomin at the present time, are suspended until further notice of by separate advice.
4. The permits issued to Mr. Osmar White, Journalist, are not affected by para 3 above.
5. Please forward a copy of this memorandum to the Officer-in-charge, Telefomin for, his information.

A.A.Roberts
Director DDS&NA.

"After a year of enforced absence the Baptist Missionaries returned (in February 1955 Norm Draper and Don Doull re-opened the mission.)⁶

24/2/1954. A Confidential memo from ADO Telefomin to DC Wewak entitled Special Report states in part:

During the recent weeks I have spent a good deal of time interrogating local people and making inquiries which might assist in the final capturing of the murderers still at large in the area. I have also made inquiries regarding the head of P.O. Zarka (decd.) [Szarka], and two visits have been made to local spirit houses because of rumours that the head had been installed in the large house at TELEFOLIP. These rumours proved groundless.

On Friday 12th February I was informed by Interpreter SUNE that he had heard from OFEKAMIN natives that some MISINMIN natives had made an attempt to recover the head of Zarka from the bush near the rest house at MISINMIN. On further inquiries it became probable that the head had been placed in MISINMIN rest house. Interpreter SUNE was then instructed to attempt to obtain the head which was said to have been very badly broken by pigs and dogs.

On Saturday [13th] SUNE went to OFEKAMIN village and stayed overnight with an aged relative TOVIPNOK of KOMDAVIP... TOVIPNOK states that on Sunday 14th Feb after leaving SUNE at OFEKAMIN he visited MISINMIN village and rest house and found the remains of the head and a book on a bench in the rest house. The bundle was not closed but open so the contents could be seen...He handed the bundle to the Sgt. i/c, who placed it in the office where it was handed to me...

The remains are a piece approx. 5" x 3" of a human skull extending from the centre to above the left eye and encompassing portion of the left eye socket, and extending back to above the left ear. Another piece is approx. 2" square and appears to come from the top of the skull. The remainder of the remains are small chips of bone. The native who knows of the matter reports that recently when inquiries were made, the MISINMIN people returned and searched for the skull and found these remains and placed them in the rest house...

Although the remains held at this office are said to be the remains of the skull of P.O. Zarka, I feel that it is better not to lose sight of the fact that another skull may have been substituted in the hope that the original can be retained for use in the spirit house in the future. The pieces of skull appear to be reasonably new and still show remnants of lead mould and earth adhering to it. This would be consistent with the facts as known to me...

February/March 1954. Compensation was finally paid to the relatives of five carriers who died during the Mianmin Patrol of April/May 1953. An example of the compensation paid was documented on 8th March, 1954. Onasimen, widow of Wanameng of Misinmin received: 1 x three quarter axe, 1 tomahawk, 2 x 18" knives, 2 x 12" knives, 3 x 8" knives, 2 blankets 1 x 40 yards Calico, 6 spoons, 6 Enamel Plates, 1x 6 pint Billy can and the residue in cash of the 25 Pounds of the compensation spent on the above goods, being 13 pounds one shilling and three pence. ⁷

June & July 1954. Correspondence between Telefomin and Wewak indicates that there was a spate of accusations and anonymous letters accusing members of the Telefomin police detachment and others of adultery [a criminal offence under the NARs] and other sexual offences.

On 2/7/1954 ADO Jones under confidential cover outlined the situation to the DC Wewak as follows:

'There have now been five members of this detachment who have been given gaol sentences for their conduct with married women in this area, and there have also been four instances where local natives who have had connection with local married women.

There has already been a little ill feeling between the old members of this detachment and the new members who were brought in to assist in apprehending the natives concerned in the attacks on patrols in Nov, last year, and it is my opinion that one of these members who had been promised promotion may be disgruntled and be attempting to cause unrest.

As mentioned in an earlier memo from this station it is almost impossible to keep the women of this area clear of the station, and while they continue to have complete sexual freedom, and continue with their invitations, it is virtually impossible to stop sexual relations between station members and the local women. However, every effort to stop relations with married women is being made, and members of the staff have been repeatedly warned of the consequences of these illicit relations...'

18/9/1954. Director A.A. Roberts' file reference 21-1-4 to The Government Secretary, Port Moresby. Compensation 6092, Const BURITORI (decd.)

The abovementioned native was killed at Telefomin on the 6th November, 1953, whilst accompanying the late Patrol Officer Szarka. Attached please find assessment of compensation as recommended by the Assistant District Officer, Telefomin, and the District Commissioner, Sepik District. In accordance therewith, compensation should be distributed as follows:-

- i. 20 Pounds, DDS & NA as trustee for BONA (m), of Sapa, Morobe District.
- ii. 20 Pounds, " " " " " " " TUAPUP (f), of Telefomin.
- iii. 20 Pounds, " " " " " " " YAMBO (f), of Telefomin.
- iv. 40 Pounds, Deceased's relatives at Sapa Village, Morobe District.

The normal delegations to out-station Field Staff will be made in respect of (i), (ii) and (iii). (iv) should be forwarded to the District Commissioner, Morobe District, for distribution. Information exists that BURITORI's blood brother lives at Sapa Village, and is the guardian of BONA.

It is further recommended that, of 6 Pounds leave-pay owed to the deceased (vide Flw170), 2 Pounds be paid to each of the children as at (i), (ii) and (iii) above.

A.A.Roberts Director

4/12/1954, ADO Telefomin sent a query to DC Wewak – file reference 30-1-1, PAPUAN FLY RIVER PATROL.

Local natives reported to this office that a patrol consisting of 2 Europeans, and 12 police arrived in the FEGOLMIN area at the head of the Fly River approximately on 20th November.

One camp site used by this patrol was a site used by L. Nolen on a patrol to the area... This camp site can be reached in one day from Telefomin by a native travelling alone. With cargo it can be reached in two days. ...It would be much appreciated if this matter of the patrol would be checked at the earliest as there is just a possibility the patrol may have come across the Dutch border...

17/12/1954, Director DS&NA to DC Wewak reference 30-4-167 FLY RIVER PATROL.

Mr. K.W. Kent⁸, acting Assistant District Officer and Mr. D.R. Jacobs, Patrol Officer, have just returned to KIUNGA Patrol Post after being engaged for over two months on an exploratory and contact patrol in the little-known country well to the north of that Post...

The patrol was if possible to explore the region in the vicinity of the Star Mountains and Upper Fly River system. When the report comes to hand, I will see that a copy is sent to you for your information and that of the officers at Telefomin.

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By 1966, there were two lessons that kiaps posted to Telefomin never forgot :-

1. **Never split your patrol.** Former PO Bill Brown points out that Harris and Szarka did not split their patrol; they were conducting two separate patrols. The issue was patrol security in restricted and similar uncontrolled areas.
2. **The capacity of the “Min” people to coordinate large scale complex plans and maintain secrecy over a long period of time** was regarded as unique is the PNG experience of most of the old hands. In 1962/3 the Administration again feared the worst for Missionaries at Tekin in the Oksapmin area east of Telefomin. Missionary Keith Bricknell told me in 1966 that CPO, John Stobart and party came to Tekin to provide security. John looked to be severely worried, yet he would not say what the security concern was; it was far too confidential for missionaries to know! Of course, the story was soon revealed:

Rumour had it that on Christmas Day 1962 the Tekin valley people would descend en masse offering a pig for sale. As the unsuspecting missionaries would all be killed as they gathered to look at the pig. The mission now declined protection; they felt they knew their congregations well enough to be safe.

With the protection gone - on Christmas Day many Tekin Valley men approached the mission carrying a large pig. With trepidation, the missionaries went outside to face whatever was to happen next. The Tekin spokesmen said they wanted to sell their pig. It was actually intended for the Kiap at Oksapmin, but that was a further six miles away! If the missionaries would buy it they could all go home. The relieved missionaries bought the pig, and the grateful Tekin people went home.

End Notes Chapter 12

¹ Sinclair J. Kiap. Pacific Publications Sydney 1981 p 107

² The individual names in this para of Jones' report appear with these gaps..

³ Administration Press Release No 18 8th February 1965 LOYAL SERVICE AWARDS

⁴ James I. From Murder to Reconciliation. *The story of the 1953 uprising in Telefomin, Sepik District, New Guinea* P23

⁵ Jones F.D. – Confidential memo of 2/5/1955; LOYAL SERVICE RECOMMENDATION – SUNE OF TELEFOMIN.

⁶ James I. From Murder to Reconciliation. *The story of the 1953 uprising in Telefomin, Sepik District, New Guinea* P18

⁷ DC Wewak's WK 9-1-4/82 of 8th March 1954

⁸ Jim Kent was the ADO at Kundiawa who oversaw the writer's custodianship of Gumine patrol post in 1962.

Sepik 4 Chapter 13

Quinlivan's Important Discovery of the "Min" Ancestress Afek

Paul J. Quinlivan was the Crown Law prosecutor in the Telefomin willful murder trial described in the previous chapter. From his experiences with the case he published *Afek of Telefolmin: A fabulous story of New Guinea which lead to a strange tragedy* in the September to December 1954 issue of *Oceania* [Vol 25 pages 17 to 22.] What follows are extracts of that article. The footnotes except where otherwise noted are from the *Oceania* article.

"...As the slow investigations progressed an interesting and unusual story emerged from the mass of clever stories and counter stories told with the effect of confusing the already confounded hearers. It was a story of cohesion and of a common enterprise carried out with secrecy on a grand scale which is most unusual in the annals of the Territory.

These short and wiry people who live in the two main valleys¹ near the Administration post at Ifitamin call themselves Telefolmins², and claim to have a common genesis, despite the fact that they also claim to belong to a number of different clans which have branches in neighboring enemy lands. And there is nothing that can better tell the story of the background of these killings than this story of the genesis of the Telefolmin people.

In the beginning, after the waters of the Sepik River had broken through the landscape which had dammed it, and after the lake that had thus formed drained away, the Lower valley was a desolate sultry place of dead and stunted trees where no man or animal lived, bird flew or grass grew.

Into this lower valley came a woman from an unknown land. Even her name is lost, so she is called Afek, which means "The Old Lady". She came by way of the land of the Oksakmins [Oksapmin] where, after creating the Oksakmins, she built a Tambaran House.³ She brought with her a younger brother with whom she settled at Irintigin near to where the present day village of Ankeivip⁴ stands, and there she built her house.

When Afek came to the Telefolmin valley, others came into the neighbouring lands, so that there were other people in the world who looked just like the different kinds of people living today. In particular the Feramin and Tifalmin peoples lived in their lands.

As time wore on and the other peoples grew in number, Afek tired of food without fire, land without people, life without war and the grassless sultry desolation of Telefolmin. So it was one day that she decided to change the existing order of things and went down to the Ifal River and a great storm sprang up and the sun was darkened. But when she reached the Ifal River the storm abated and the sun shone clear and she found a Tifalmin man.⁵

This man had been fishing with others in the Ifal River when the storm sprang up and he was the only one who did not run away then in fear of the elements. Afek beat him over

¹ The two valleys peopled by the Telefolmin people are called the Telefolmin or Main or Lower valley and the Iliptamin or Upper Valley.

² "Telefol" is the name of their language "Min" means people. Over time "Telefolmin" became "Telefomin."

³ Spirit House or Temple.

⁴ Ankeivip is to-day the second largest housing settlement in the two valleys; the seat of the numerous Kialikmin clan of Telefolmins.

⁵ He was said to have been named Tirisim, but some say Tirisim's body was also said to have been muffed and kept for generations. This is in doubt.

the head with a billet of wood until he was unconscious and tied him with vines and carried him back to Irintigin and there hung him in a tree.

Then Afek went to Abemtok (which is near to where the present day village of Telefolip⁶ stands) and in a tree there she saw another man, this time a Feramin, and she called him “kusai” (which has no meaning known now) but he did not reply. Then she took a billet of wood and struck the trunk of the tree and the Feramin fell out of the tree and she killed him with the billet of wood and tied his body with vines and started off for Irintigin carrying his body; but since night was approaching she rested on the way. She placed the body under an overhanging rock, where she spent the night squatting beside the body chanting over it. Next morning she continued her journey with the body of the Feramin man to Irintigin.

Then, near Irintigin she built a pyre of logs and brush (although at the time there was no such thing as fire), and cut the body of the now dead Tifalmin down from the tree and laid it beside that of the Feramin and disemboweled them and ate portions of each. Having done this, she entwined the two sets of entrails and laid them aside and placed the two eviscerated corpses on the pyre. Leaving them there, she took the entwined entrails down to the Ifi Creek and washed them.

Suddenly as she was at the Ifi, the sky grew dark and, looking up, Afek saw many points of fire coming towards her from the Mountain then known as Uwuntigin or Uwuntaman, which is now called Ituru. As Afek stood there and the points of fire came closer, finally passing her on their way up to the pyre on which the two bodies lay, she saw that they were flames carried by dogs and rats and stones and trees and marmots. They set fire to the pyre and the bodies were destroyed and the fire escaped setting the whole valley on fire.

When the fire had ceased to rage it was seen that the dogs and rats and stones and marmots which had brought the flames had turned into the guise of men, and some (who had not brought the flames but had merely come with the flame carriers) became women. And, after the fire grass grew in the valley and the climate became mild. And, of course, the Feramin and Tifalmin peoples became the traditional enemies of the Telefolmin.⁷

As Afek stood contemplating the effect of what she had done, one of the newly converted men introduced himself as Atemkiakmin and said “*Since you had no fire I got the Demkeltans (Demkelmins) from Mt Uwutigin to bring it so you can cook your food and eat without vomiting. Since we have no women among us, I brought the Korborenmins who alone have women.*”

And so from them are sprung the Telefolmin people. And Afek with the new people built Telefolip and she herself made the Tambaran house there.⁸

⁶ Telefolip is the largest housing settlement of the Telefolmins and is a mixed village of several clans – Tumanmins, Atemkiakmins, Ukurenmins, Bogelmins and the seat of the Tambaran House.

⁷ This all-embracing story of the creation is known only to the very restricted core of inner initiates. The majority of the people have a story that Afek merely had natural children, although they seem to have no theory of who fathered these children.

⁸ This is the only real Tambaran house of the Telefolmin people. A generation or so ago a second Tambaran House was built with the approvals of the Masters at Telefolip, on the site of the former Kisimin (Irigimin – now more commonly spelt Iligimin) Tambaran House at Utemtigin in the Upper or Iliptamin valley (which by right of their annihilation of the Kigimin the Telefolmin settled). This seems to be more in the nature of a convenience and is very secondary to that of Telefolip, although Masters are said to be personally the controllers of very powerful spirits.

Now the grass grew in the valley Afek laid down laws forbidding the eating of certain foods⁹ by those who were not initiates of the Tambaran house¹⁰ and she laid the duty of maintaining these laws on the headmen, for the sanction upholding them was not that an offender would be visited by some ill, but that the whole of the taro crop of the entire Telefolmin people would be diminished both as regards quantity and quality.¹¹

And since the Feramins and Tifalmins had now been created enemies of the Telefolmin¹² Afek placed in the Tambaran house several sacred objects, the most important of which was the mummified body of her dog. She put it on a platform raised on four legs about seven feet above a fireplace in the section of the Tambaran house devoted to the art of war and marksmanship, and she gave to the Masters of the Tambaran house power to perform rites beneath the dog which would make them invincible and their aim sure.¹³

Then Afek did a strange thing – she killed her brother¹⁴ who had come with her from Oksakmin and the headmen of the various constituents of the Telefolmin people and their now thriving villages came to her and said to her: “*What do you intend to do now that you have killed your younger brother, and where are you going to go?*” and Afek replied that she

⁹ i.e. Wild pig; the species of opossum locally known as Dabol and as Tinbiok; a species of the furry tree climbing wallaby locally known as Kuyami; and certain species of banana and eel.

¹⁰ i.e. women and uninitiated males. Uninitiated males are known as “Youths” which is a grossly misleading term because full initiation takes place over a period of many years. The number of fully initiates is probably amazingly small, and there seems to be no guarantee that any man will ever join this band. Thus headmen and grey bearded old men are often called “youths.”

¹¹ There is a magico-religious ceremony which, performed by a Master of the Telefolip Tambaran house with certain of its relics, is said to be the only method which can be used anywhere in either valley to rectify this (but see *infra*). Taro is the staple of the people.

¹² To be an enemy does not mean that the parties are implacable, or that their enmity is continuous through all time. In fact, the only time the various components (i.e. the Tumanmins, Atemkiakmins, Kalikmins etc., etc.) of the Telefolmin people join to do war against an enemy (except where a true war of attrition exists - see *infra*) was after a successful harvest. The war over, their passions satisfied, children would be handed over to cement their friendship. Thus, at the present day four of the most powerful Telefolmins are sons of Feramin women.

Writer's Note. Three decades after Mr. Quinlivan's article was written, anthropological research demonstrated that “Min” social groupings were not based upon “clans”, but “miits” which were not primarily based upon descent. Within the meanings and nature of “miit” social groupings it is not surprising that some Telefolmin men have Feramin mothers, but it is more likely the mothers were Feramin “spouses” captured during Telefolmin raids than children handed over as signs of friendship.

¹³ The rite was in two parts and is said to have been performed since the Administration established its station in the area. The first part of the ritual is secretly performed by the Master of the Tambaran house in charge of war. He builds a fire under the enracked dog, the fire to burn the aromatic roots of a schrub which they call Winatirok and the leaves of the casuarina tree which they call Ulakon and when the smoke goes up to the dog he makes the following invocation “*Afek, Afek you said that if we burnt Ulakon and Winatirion, so that the smoke went up to your dog, and through the smoke we passed our bows and arrows you would make our bows strong and our arrows shoot straight. You cannot forget this promise. We are about to go and shoot... (stating intended object). Make our bows and arrows shoot straight.*” The second part of the ritual is performed in public, those who intend going on the foray wave their bows and arrows through the smoke. It is curious this is only used for bows and arrows, and the story is that when Afek gave this power they had none of either although they had axes. (A point the significance of which they are fully aware.) It may also be noted that the older men are said to be unusually fine archers.

¹⁴ His name is not known, and he was killed by “sorcery”. The reason given that he had eaten a bird in Afek's presence. It does not appear that this conduct was *infra dig.*, [i.e. beneath one or demeaning] but simply, since he did not offer her a share of it Afek got angry. The method of sorcery used was rather unusual. Afek obtained a remnant of the bird her brother had been eating and put it into a small purse she especially wove for the purpose, together with a number of particularly voracious stinging ants and sealed the purse and placed it in her vagina. As the ants ate the meat her brother died. (people nowadays personally disclaim the use of sorcery, though it is probable that the area is one in which the people are ever conscious of the alleged presence of evil spirits, both in nature and under the control certain human beings.)

must go into new lands and found new peoples and establish new Tambaran houses so that her Telefolmin people would have friends in the world, and so that they could provide them with the wood which is necessary for them to have before they could make bows, the one essential thing she had not as yet been able to give them. And so Afek left

Telefolmin and went to a distant place and, where Bultem now is she established a Tambaran house and the Opkenmin people and after that she went still further away to another place and there she founded another Tambaran house and another people called the Unukmits, and it is from them that the wood comes from which the Telefolmin bows are made. And from the land of the Unukmits she went still further and was never heard of again.¹⁵

Writer's Note: In the 1960s the Highland "Min" people of Telefomin and Oksapmin traded with Kiunga people of the Fly River to obtain Black palm [the wood from which bows are made]. Black palm does not grow in the Highlands.

After Afek left, two events, one actual and the other probably historical, occurred which bring the tradition up to date.

The first of these is the legendary war of the annihilation of the Kigimin or Irigimin who inhabited the Upper or Iliptamin Valley. It is said to have taken place over a period of continuous years over a century ago [ie during the 19th century], and in the early stages the tide so went against the Telefolmin that the Kigimins got down into the Telefolmin valley and burnt the Tambaran house at Telefolip to the ground with all that was in it, and also much of the then large settlement of Telefolip. But as time wore on, a fake of the mummy of the dog had been installed in the Tambaran house at Telefolip and the story given out and fostered that it was in truth the original dog put there by Afek, miraculously saved from the otherwise all-consuming flames;¹⁶ then too the tide of war turned in favour of them and they destroyed the Kigimin Tambaran houses at Branteivip¹⁷ Utemtigin¹⁸ and Ipteivip¹⁹ and annihilated the entire Kigimin population and settled the Upper or Iliptamin valley themselves.²⁰

The second event of importance is the arrival of Europeans in the area and the extension of Administration control. Concurrent with this has been the clandestine spread of the story that, since the advent of the Administration, the staple food - taro - has been steadily diminishing both in quality and quantity year by year and that the cause of this major catastrophe is simple and solely the presence of the Administration and the Mission²¹.

¹⁵ There is a pious fable (said by the enlightened to be without foundation) that after her death in an unknown land, Afek's skull was brought back and kept in the Telefolip Tambaran house.

¹⁶ The dog seems to have been the only sacred object that they made a fake of, though there is of course there may be others. One thing, the mummified body of the Tifalmin man which was reputed to be the protector of the fabric of the Tambaran house was not replaced.

¹⁷ The site of this haus tambaran remained vacant for generations until a government rest house was built on it. Despite the internecine fighting between Korborenmin and Terapdavip it generally seems to have been Korborenmin land but, since it is close to the village of Terapdavip, it is called the Terapdavip rest house. It was here that Cadet Patrol officer Geoffrey Brodribb Harris was killed.

¹⁸ Two generations ago a second Telefolmin Tambaran house was built on the old site, and a skull, said to have been sacred to the Kigimins, is said to have been given pride of place in it.

¹⁹ This place is quite near Utemtigin. In fact the three Kigimin Tambaran houses were very close to each other.

²⁰ There were very definite and important lines of commerce and dependence between the villages of the Upper valley and the older parent villages in the Lower or Telefolmin valley. There was also some duplication in the Upper Valley of the names of parent villages of the Lower valley.

²¹ It is difficult to determine whether the taro has in fact deteriorated. The story smacks somewhat of ...cont

... *cont-* propaganda. The Master of the Tambaran house knows that neither the Administration or the Mission has adversely affected the crop. He says that it has failed, if at all, because the people persist in replanting, year after year without a spell, land which in the beginning was not suitable. It would also appear that the magico-religious ceremonies which the Master of the Tambaran house has to perform in order to rectify such a catastrophe are not being quite as successful as they should. It is also possible that headmen, as the enforcers of customary law, are not as powerful as they may once have been.

- 22 The plan also provided for the non-return of the foreigners. The radio was to be destroyed, all buildings demolished and the airstrip put out of commission by strewing the buildings and boulders and trees over it and a sort of House Guard was to be formed. Armed with the rifles of the foreigners to shoot down and approaching aircraft and kill the invaders.

Gradually a master plan for the removal of such outside influences has spread (allegedly formulated and fostered by the leaders of Telefolip and Ankeivip) through the two valleys. A propitious time for it to be put into operation was awaited, so that there could be no possibility of an attack failing to annihilate the foreigners.²²

On Sunday, 1st November 1953, after the church service at the Mission Post near the Administration Station, the Master of the Tambaran house elicited the particulars of the probable whereabouts of all foreigners during the coming week. It was obvious that they would be in five different places at one time. The area was peaceful and relations were more obviously friendly than ever. Messages were carried from Telefolip and Ankeivip to headmen in the Iliptamin valley and meetings were held.

On Friday 6th November 1953 forays under the guise of trade missions were made against the five groups of foreigners. Two were abortive and three were successful. Four men, two Europeans and two native constables of Police, were killed. The miracle was that all were not killed.”

Sgd. Paul J. Quinlivan

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The information concerning the importance of Afek Myth's in “Min” cosmology was presumably presented to the court in the form of an antecedent report to inform the Judge of the pre-existing cultural motivations and beliefs so he was better informed when determining appropriate sentences.

Anthropologists have since researched the “Min” belief in Afek and her mythical role in their creation. Not surprisingly the Afek myth which equates to the traditional “Min” Book of Genesis is more detailed than what Mr. Quinlivan discovered and reported in 1954. The best account of Afek's myth that I have seen was published 34 years after Mr. Quinlivan account by Robert Brumbaugh in his – *Afek Sang - The Old Woman's Legacy 1990*¹ My Chapter 34 in Sepik Book 1 quotes extensively from this 1990 account.

Clearly Mr. Quinlivan had no doubt about the existence of a master plan for the removal of all outside influences from the “Min” world. This is all the more compelling because the evidence of it was collected at the time in the course of the murder investigations.

End Notes Chapter 13

¹ Brumbaugh R. *The Old Woman's Legacy – In The Children of Afek*

Sepik 4 Chapter 14 The continued exploration of the Upper Sepik 1953 =>

Sepik Chapters To date have described exploratory events and conflicts involving the Kauiembi, Wogamush, Palai-Maimai, and the Telefomin tribal groups. The current chapter describes the additional sequence of Upper Sepik patrols and the discoveries made during the post war decade.

The Angoram Monthly report for May 1949 mentions that a patrol was made in the MV *Poseidon* as far as Yellow River and that contact with the populations from Kubka [Kubkain] to May River.¹ During Ambunti Patrol no 3/1949-50 in November 1949, PO Cahill took the opportunity to travel aboard the BGD boat *Mubo* to May River. The following notes are summarized from his report:-

‘Kubka [Kubkain]. When the landing party went ashore it appeared that the natives were not sure of our intentions. Throughout our visit a large number of men remained detached. Towards the end of the visit this reserve broke down somewhat. Seventy men, 35 women and 37 children but no young women were seen. An initiation ceremony was in progress.

Yauenian [Hauna] 110 men, 60 women, 75 children seen... They were all very wary. They construct peculiar houses with an enormous centre pole with thatch descending like a draped parachute. Women unlike those immediately downstream wear very long skirts made from banana fibre.

Some Yauenians were prepared to go to Ambunti but they are afraid to pass the Kubka area. On the May patrol some canoes followed the *Poseidon* down but hastily returned when approaching Kubka. [no copy of the Poseidon report was available]

Chenap [Chenapian] Two Yauenians acted as guides into Chenap, which is an extremely old village. There was great consternation when the patrol first appeared...the Chenapians formed into a solid group; the men in front and the women and children grouped in the houses or at the edge of the bush.

The writer advanced with a knife as a present for the apparent leader and offered it. It was accepted and he in turn called to his daughter who brought a dog as a reciprocal present. After some more similar exchanges, the natives grew more friendly and showed the patrol the whole village. 80 men, 60 women and 58 children were seen.

It was interesting to note that a young woman advanced and indicated she was a Masenian, which is a Wogamush clan. Some from Yauenian made the same claim. These were probably children of captives of previous times and have retained their old clanship. The people sometimes refer to themselves by their clan and sometimes by their village. The Wogamush who travelled to Angoram were amazed by and appreciated the freedom with which the lower river natives move on the river.²

A.D.O. Ormsby's comments on this patrol were :- Prior to the war, Wogamush was regarded as something of a show place. The Administrator had defined a policy that no serious attempt was to be made to bring the natives under control and there is no record of any patrol ever having gone ashore there. Vessels anchored off and traded with canoes which came out. I do not know of any cases of serious attacks on vessels.

During the war closer contact that formerly was established with the Wogamush and for some time they were of great assistance to army patrols under Mr. J.L. Taylor and others. After the attack on Lieut. Barracluff's party there was no further Australian contact but one of these villages was burnt by the Japanese as a reprisal for the alleged killing of some Jap soldiers.

The first postwar contact was by a War Graves party which was endeavouring to recover the body of Lieut. Barracluff...they were met with hostility and it is alleged that two Wogamush were killed in the affray. Following this a patrol by DO Niall established contact after some initial difficulties and later patrol in May of this year was very well received.

This [the present] patrol by Mr. Cahill is the first genuine administration contact with the families and houses of the warriors previously contacted, and marks a very definite landmark in the progress of these people. To sum up I would say that although exceptionally good contact has been made with these people, it will be some years before they can be regarded as under complete control.³

In August 1950 patrol officer A.J. Zweck made peaceful contact with all groups Cahill visited and in addition visited Iniok. His patrol objective was to investigate an alleged raid by Bugibugi [Begapuke] natives. The raid had not taken place, but the Wogamush village of Yambunumbu feared that it might.

Ambunti Patrol No 2- 1952-3, in May 1953 PO Wenke reported on situation in Kaudiembi [Sepik 4 Part 1 chapter 5] and Swagup after their 1952 head hunting raid and clash with Doolan's patrol [Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 13] and also reported the following observations :-

Kubkain clothing. 50% wear nothing. The rest wear a flying fox wing or a phallocrypt. Women have grass skirts five inches long in front and a long tail going nine inches short of the ground at the back.

Chenap Difficulty was experienced lining these people [meaning census]. No attempt was made to run away but both males and females had an exasperating habit of sitting in their canoes about ten feet off the bank and when the officer motioned for them to come ashore they simply shook their heads. However the natives did not object when the police boys literally worked like sheep dogs, shepherding them into a group. It was considered that sympathetic action was the only line to adopt.

Leonard Schultze River villages

WALIO people did not run after seeing their Yauenian friends aboard and presented the P.O. with a large pig, reciprocated with tomahawks. Some meat was given to the Wario chief...'deal clinched.'

NA-IN Friendly firepower demonstration done on a shield – impressed.

KWOSMI upstream of NA-IN, these people, about 80 all told, were the most timid and wary when contacted...No information was gained, but the skulls and bones hanging from trees indicate another tribe somewhere in the vicinity.

BALU Nomadic group from between the Leonard Schultze and Wogamush Rivers. They are also known at Biaga.

Sepik River villages

OUM on the Sepik is now split into two villages – two Luluai's appointed. Until last year they fought with Yauenian, Fighting has now stopped.

INIOK & TAURI these are the most advanced in the area. Iniok last year took canoes to Angoram

Reports noted small nomadic populations met by Europeans in the April River area during the war. These are reported to be difficult to track down.

Anthropological Notes.

The patrol officer was amazed at the size of male genitals particularly among youths. It was explained that nearly every day 'salat' [stinging nettles] was rubbed on genitals causing intense irritation and swelling. The ultimate aim is to enlarge the member.

Females when near puberty are severely cut about the back with bamboo knives. No design results. This is required to be done before womanhood is reached.⁴

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On Ambunti Patrol No 1/1954-54 in October 1953 PO P.B.Wenke made a 19 day overland journey from Ambunti to Yellow River. Upon leaving the area that was classified as under control, he went from AMAKI to WARASAI then through MAIMAI to Yellow River. He reported :-

Some Yau natives seen but village not visited Wasei (Warasai) friendly, but village barricaded at both ends. They state however that all fighting has stopped and some men have been away at work. Initial census conducted. Wasei [Warasai] should be controlled from MAIMAI patrol post when it is re-opened.

There appears to be quite a large population centred on Yellow River. Hamlets of five or six houses were passed through on several occasions. A base camp at the old Yellow River Police Post site would be the only effective way to patrol this area.

The Yellow River natives commonly construct houses 20 to 30 ft. above the ground to get away from mosquitoes and for defense. A few crudely constructed tree houses with retractable ladders were observed around the Yellow River area. There were human and crocodile jaw bones decorating the men's houses at Maimai and Yellow River

[The patrol] traded with Mowi natives at the mouth of the May River after they at first seemed hostile and melted into the bush. Left trade items on a stump and shortly the natives paddled after the patrol to trade. Mowi is greatly feared by INIOK and ABRIAMI [Yellow River group].

Undoubtedly the Maimai [established 1938] and Yellow River posts [Feb 1936] will be re-opened again someday, but until then these people can remain more or less as they have for centuries.⁵

Two events during the 1950s were to change the administration of the region :-

1. The Telefomin Uprising and Murders of November 1953, and
2. The establishment of May River Patrol Post in 1956.

End Notes Chapter 14

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 39

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 77

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 77-78

⁴ Ambunti patrol 1/53-4 Ambunti to Yellow Rv – P.Wenke in Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 80

⁵ Ambunti patrol 1/53-4 Ambunti to Yellow Rv – P.Wenke in Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 80

Sepik 4 Chapter 15

Petroleum & Minerals Surveys in the August and Upper Sepik Rivers

Writer's Note: Petroleum exploration in the Sepik commenced with the examination of a petroleum seep by German authorities in a creek at Matapau in 1910. The Matapau seep is close to the beach on the Sepik coast, midway between Wewak and Aitape. Geological surveys were conducted during the AN&MEF administration in 1917 by Captain P.H. MacIntosh. Further work was conducted jointly by the Anglo Persian Oil Company and the Commonwealth Government between 1920-1929. Anglo-Persians' final report on the areas examined was not encouraging. OSL/APC continued Petroleum Exploration in the Sepik, as described in Sepik Book 2 Chapter 41.

D.O. GWL Townsend took a strong interest in petroleum exploration, particularly from the perspective of the explorer's accurate mapping of portions of the Sepik District. Sepik 2 Chapter 45 describes Townsend's joint patrol with OSL's Harry Eve which explored part of the Sepik Plains. Later he allocated PO Jim Hodgekiss to work with OSL, in order that the petroleum exploration could extend into country that was not under Administration control. The Hodgekiss/OSL joint patrols established Yellow River Police Post and airstrips at Maimai and Abau [Green River].

Petroleum exploration ceased during World War 2, and when it recommenced post-war it was not surprising that the area of interest was the best prospect identified pre-war. This was adjacent to the Dutch New Guinea border south of Green River where the Sepik and August Rivers emerge from the mountains onto the plains.

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Background:

In ancient times the waterways which would eventually become known as the Sepik, August and Idenburg¹ Rivers eroded the mountains of what is now the New Guinea central dividing range. For millions of years these rivers deposited sediments and organic material into what was then a very deep ocean which lapped the foothills where these rivers emerged from the mountains onto what became the open plains of today.

Petroleum experts know that at great depths over immense periods of time, the organic material in deposited sediments are subjected to immense heat and pressure which can cause the organic matter to change into a waxy material called *kerogen*, and then with more heat and pressure convert into liquid and gaseous hydrocarbons – oil and gas. Then there are three conditions that must be present for a crude oil reservoir to exist.

1. A source rock, containing organic sediments, buried deep enough for subterranean heat to cook it into oil and gas.
2. A porous and permeable reservoir rock in which the crude oil and gas can accumulate.
3. A cap rock to trap the crude oil to prevent the oil and gas escaping to the surface.

Within the reservoir, the trapped fluids typically layer themselves with gas at the top, sitting over crude oil, which in turn floats on water. Once a prospective reservoir is identified, it is drilled in order to assess its potential, and then, in rare cases, the trapped oil and gas may be extracted. In the case of the August and Sepik prospect area, the first reservoir conditions appeared to be met. Four

¹ Adjacent to and immediately west of the Sepik headwaters in then Dutch New Guinea

petroleum surveys in the 1950s sought sufficient evidence of three conditions to justify drilling. This was not achieved.

The APC survey of the early 1950s:

APC – Australian Petroleum Company - was formed in 1938 by Oil Search Limited [OSL], Anglo-Persian and Stanvac [Standard Vacuum of New Jersey].¹ At an unspecified date in the early 1950s, APC conducted a seven-month field survey from a base camp at the junction of the Sepik and August Rivers. The party consisted of about 50 people including seven Europeans and was escorted by Adrian Geyle, patrol officer in charge of Green River.² Nothing is known of their accomplishment except that Brightwell's 1954 report stated "*I understand that APC did not conduct operations beyond the foothills no matter how promising the geological prospects*".³

The Enterprise of New Guinea Gold and Petroleum Development No Liability – Geological survey of the Upper Sepik and August River area. The 1954 expedition:

Ambunti Patrol report 2/1954-55 September to December 1954 – 100 days by Patrol Officer M. Brightwell describes the expedition as follows :-

*This patrol was a failure. It was a failure firstly in that it did not reach the area in which it was planned to carry out the principal survey, and secondly in that there was very little opportunity for the patrol escort to carry out any native affairs work.*⁴

Brightwell described the expedition in more detail in Ambunti's five-page confidential report of 12th January 1955.⁵ The highlights included :-

The purpose was to carry out a survey of geological prospects in the area of the upper Sepik and upper August Rivers. The Upper Sepik means from its source to the mountain gate including its tributaries. The upper August is where the August River flows slightly north of west towards the mountain gate. On some maps it is called the January² River [this is the northwesterly extremity of the Mianmin tribal area]

The party was led by Mr. A Jentsch of Wau and consisted of nine Europeans including Brightwell. Between the Melbourne and Wau management of the company two diverging philosophies existed which Brightwell saw, in their substitute for planning, as primary cause of the failure. These philosophies were :-

The Melbourne directors consider "***nothing impossible***" and Party Manager Jentsch stated to the directors "***we meet our problems as we come to them.***"

In the latter stages of the expedition Brightwell had to intercede on behalf of the native labour to ensure that the minimum provisions of the Native Labour Ordinance were adhered to. For their part the labourers told Brightwell they would never again work for this company. The standard of New Guinea experience and pidgin speaking capacity to among the Europeans was poor, and in Brightwell's opinion such things should be enquired into before permits were issued to enter Restricted Areas.

Security: The combination of broadly scattered work groups, European inexperience and uncontrolled tribal communities left Brightwell '*always a little apprehensive.*'

² Named by the Ward Williams expedition in 1936/7 – Their amphibian aircraft landed on the Upper August not knowing where the river came out. It being January 1937 they named it the January River

He clarified that ‘uncontrolled’ was “...*not in the sense if you cross the line you can expect an arrow ...but in the sense that we have no control there...that what we say will be taken little note of or more usually ignored*”⁶. There were three perhaps four incidents.

1. A party of natives...six (?) boarded the *Tiare* at about 1.30 one morning. The *Tiare* was moored out from the bank of the August River. They swam out to her and went aboard making sufficient noise to wake the Europeans sleeping aboard. They awoke and flashed touches and the intruders leaped overboard and swam ashore where there were more natives. They did not act threateningly or interfere with moorings.
2. There was a raid on the camp store by about five natives. The camp had often been visited at night by natives who stole steel goods from the store. These natives were working in conjunction with friends and relatives in the labour lines and I am convinced that such thieving had been going on for some time. The policeman who was on guard in the store caught one of the intruders...I arrived next day...after talking to him and collecting a little information, he was given a rather impressive demonstration of firepower, in the most friendly and informative manner and in the late afternoon was sent off to convey to all and sundry the foolish risk being taken by raiding the company store...The incident took place at the Owin base camp, which is about 11 miles up the August from the Sepik.
3. The third incident was at the most forward camp about 25 miles up the August River. It merely amounted to a warning given by local people to the party not to proceed further and indicating there would be consequences if they did. As no interpreters for this language could be found all this was done by signs. However, this was sufficient to cause the labour to panic and from that time on desertions were great. I was not at the forward camp when this incident took place and later things quietened down.
4. There was a rumour of a raid planned for the Gwin camp when Mr. Williamson was alone there. This rumour was traced back to an inexperienced policeman who admitted he was thinking about the recent police and kiap killings in nearby Telefomin

Conclusion: The survey failed because of lack of leadership, the lack of administration organization within the party re duties and responsibilities and the unsuitability and inexperience of the European personnel for the task at hand.

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The District Commissioner’s comment on Ambunti Patrol 2/1954-55 was that the Company was disorganized and ill-equipped and that Brightwell was its mainstay.⁷

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The Enterprise of New Guinea Gold and Petroleum Development No Liability – Geological survey of the Upper Sepik and August River area. The 1955 expedition:

The second expedition included eight Europeans of whom only four had accompanied the first and it was noted that criticism of the first expedition – the party being light on Territory experience and heavy on round-the-world adventurers, was avoided. The new leader was the company geologist Sep. Paterson. John Frawley, patrol officer in charge of Green River patrol post acted as party escort from 6th July to 7th August when Brightwell arrived and took over escort duties. The information on the expedition, as reported here, comes from Ambunti confidential report of 14th September 1955.⁸

Government Gazette 25 of 6th May 1954 granted a permit under the Petroleum (Prospecting and Mining) Ordinance 1951 to :-

All that land commencing at north-west corner by intersection of 4th south parallel of latitude and 141st east meridian longitude³ and bound on the north by easterly direction of thirty miles and east by southerly direction of 55 miles and south by westerly direction of 30 miles and thence northerly to the north –west corner along the 141st east meridian.

The one-year permit was extended until 26th October 1955 by Government Gazette No 22 of 5th May 1955. The second expedition had the advantage of being acquainted with the area and the difficulties to be overcome. Only the western portion of the permit – the August and Sepik Rivers were examined. Relations between Europeans on the second expedition were better than on the first except that a four week visit by Dr. Sturmfels, a consulting geologist :-

Although he had never been in the Territory before...he brought to bear such disrupting and irresponsible influence on party affairs that Paterson had, as party leader, to intercede with him otherwise the writer would have come into conflict with him. More later.

Paterson's plan involved two base camps. One at the August/Sepik Junction and one far up the August where the August and Sepik rivers come within a mile of each other. This was Labin base camp – 55 miles up the August River [this is close to where Yabsiei patrol post was established in the 1970s].

Some of the surveys infringed into Dutch territory. company representatives were warned that if there was a complaint the company would have to explain its actions to the Commonwealth Government. Dr. Sturmfels refused to take cognizance of the 141st Meridian of longitude. He departed for Melbourne leaving instructions for Paterson to complete the work on the Dutch side of the border. This Paterson refused to do. Then on 17th November a radio message was received from Melbourne in plain language. In part it said.

'...Board concurs proposal (to enter Dutch territory) but required additional traverses west of Sepik between latitude 4 degrees 10 and 4 degrees 30 to establish the thickness of sediments stop

Brightwell continued :-

On any map this is in Dutch territory. Naturally it was explained to Paterson that any future hopes that the Company may enjoy in the permit area would be seriously prejudiced by such irresponsible unauthorized entry into Dutch territory. The following was pointed out:

1. *The party is in the area only on an Administration prospecting permit.*
2. *The party is in the area only on an Administration Restricted Areas Permit.*
3. *The party is in the area only under Administration escort,*

Therefore, any complaint by the Dutch of territorial infringement would not only place the Administration in a most embarrassing position but under the circumstances it would be held responsible for such violation. Without difficulty Mr. Paterson realized that any attempt to implement the rather grand plan of traversing Dutch territory laid down by Dr. Sturmfels would meet with instant action on my part.

Mr. Paterson sent a radio to his Board in Melbourne pointing out the foolishness of their instructions and I understand a reply was received...I received every consideration and co-operation from Mr. Paterson. He was most conscious as was the writer, of the difficulties that his directors and their consultant were creating for him, and consequently themselves. He

³ The 141st East line of longitude is the international border with [then] Dutch New Guinea, now Indonesian NG

was in the unenviable position of having to do the wrong thing by someone and chose his short sighted employers and senior colleague.⁴

I bring this out to show the necessity of having one man with whom the Administration deals and who can be held responsible for all party matters. I think that the directors should realize that when they put a man in the field, he runs the show and that a consultant must come under him and not cut across the work of the field leader.

The patrol had a police escort of Corporal 4215 NABUNDAMERI, Lance Corporal 2198 SIMON and ten Constables: 5112 LARI, 6541 LANI, 3926 JANGE, 6093 MUYAE, 6737 LANGA, 1877 WANSKIN, 3896 ALU, 4175 BUNAUA, 7937 KARAI, and 8419 KIMBU. Brightwell continues :-

The survey was carried out without incident of any sort...As was done last year the writer regarded his first duty to be the security of the party and all other matters secondary. Consequently, from the native affairs side the patrol might be regarded as depressing.

This survey was a much better undertaking than that of 1954. It can by no means be regarded as perfect, but it did what it set out to do without incident...

*Sgd. M Brightwell
Patrol Officer
Escort to Enterprise of New Guinea Geological Survey 1955*

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Not surprisingly there were urgent messages from Wewak and HQ which Brightwell answered with his confidential memo dated 24th January 1956.⁹

ACTIVITIES OF ENTERPRISES OF N.G. PERSONNEL IN DUTCH TERRITORY.

“...Firstly it must be understood that the Government members of the Enterprise party (Mr. J. Perry, Relieving Resident Geologist, WAU and the writer) did not accompany the parties that proceeded into Dutch territory. What follows...has been obtained from questioning the Europeans and native carriers concerned.

Mr. Perry did a traverse of the October River accompanied by Mr. E. Harridge and this may have, and probably did, enter Dutch Territory. Also Mr. Perry, Mr. Paterson and the writer when traversing up the Hoffnungs (Hope) River probably preceded a mile or so into Dutch Territory

Apart from these two occasions, movement into Dutch Territory by Enterprise personnel was undertaken five times and these are detailed below. Two of these were, No 1 and No 4, were merely movements, respectively up and down the Sepik River itself – there was no activity on these two trips away from the river itself...

The Sepik itself flows out of Australian Territory and at its most westerly point is about three miles inside Dutch Territory – it then continues northwards, bearing east and re-enters Australian Territory at about the junction of the West and Sepik Rivers. Consequently, when it became essential to have a large motor canoe for crossing the upper Sepik, in Australian Territory, Dutch Territory was violated. Canoes had been made on the upper Sepik for crossing but the river is too fast and dangerous to be crossed in this manner, and after losing two canoes it was decided to move a large single high

⁴ This is the actual wording of the report. While the wording could have been better, the intent is clear.

powered canoe up the Sepik. Trip No 1 was this movement up the river to the crossing in Australian Territory and trip No 4 was the return of this canoe down the Sepik to the August/Sepik store camp.

1. Dr. Sturmfels and Mr. McGrath left August/Sepik Store Camp on 24/10/55 and proceeded up the Sepik by motor canoe, through Dutch Territory, and continued on to Australian Territory and the point just below Zyeifel Gorge where the party needed to cross the Sepik for the Hoffnung's traverse. They arrived at the crossing on 26/10/55.
2. Dr. Sturmfels and Mr. E. Harridge left LABIN Base Camp, on the August River on 27/10/55, crossed the Sepik River and carried out a geological traverse of mountain streams in Dutch Territory returning to base on 2/11/55. At a guess penetration might have been about 8 miles.
3. Mr. D. Probert and Mr. E. Harridge left LABIN Base Camp on 8/11/55, crossed the Sepik River and carried out a geological traverse from the Sepik and into Dutch Territory returning to Base Camp on 13/11/55. Penetration may have been 10 miles possibly less.
4. Mr. D. Probert left the Sepik crossing camp on 15/11/55 and proceeded down the Sepik by motor canoe to the August/Sepik Store Camp arriving there the same day.
5. Mr. S. Paterson and Mr. D. Probert left the August/Sepik Store Camp on 17/11/55 by double canoe to do a river traverse of the West River and part of the Sepik upstream of the West. Probert returned to the Store camp, sick, on 19/11/55 and Paterson returned on 21/11/55.

As explained in the confidential report, these traverses were not done without the writer's knowledge and belief that they were necessary for the purpose of the survey. It was also considered that they were discretely carried out and reasonable in extent...

Regarding native contacts during these traverses, naturally the writer cannot speak first hand. However, the Europeans and carriers were questioned. The main informant was Mr. Harridge:

On trip 1 and 4...river traverses. Natives were seen on the banks and in some places contacted. They were quite friendly and co-operative.

On trip 2 the party came upon some natives who were surprised and ran away but as the Interpreter with the party (Yaburu village Hauser River) called to them and was able to communicate, at least partially they returned to the party and were friendly and unafraid.

On trip 3 a rather similar experience to trip 2, but on this occasion, the natives contacted, expert fast water canoe men apparently, brought the party back across the Sepik in their canoes. They remained with the party and came back along the Sepik as far as the temporary camp which had been established at the crossing place on the Sepik. Good initial contact with unafraid, friendly and co-operative natives,

On trip 5 the natives contacted were in Sepik villages and had been contacted by patrols from Green River. Some of these villages have Luluais although it is fairly certain that they are in Dutch Territory. These natives were also contacted by the previous Enterprise survey when the writer proceeded up the West River. It was to this area that the MV 'Osprey' proceeded in 1936, and that the Karius & Champion was met by MV 'Elevala' (I think) after crossing from the Fly

The natives contacted on the above trips were river people and, possibly because of this, appear to be accustomed to meeting other natives and making friendly contacts; as opposed to the very suspicious, unfriendly and parochial attitude of the mountain people of Wogarabei and Hoffnung River regions. All these contacts were good and there were no incidents at all.

A note of "what do the Dutch know about these activities and what are they likely to find out?" is, perhaps mistakenly, detected in the Director's enquiry. It is almost impossible to answer on the intelligence available to the writer...the following is submitted:

Trips 1 & 4 may be ignored for this purpose.

Trip 5. These people would have seen several Europeans over the past 20 years, and little could be judged from them.

Trips 2 & 3. These are the important ones as they were the only inland traverses carried out and where the greatest penetration was made. There are more than reasonable grounds to say that these natives hadn't seen Europeans before...their reported interested amazement and curiosity in the Europeans indicated this. From their reaction it is doubtful if there has been any European Dutch in the area – they were certainly not accustomed to Europeans.

As the writer knows nothing about the Dutch Administrative set up or the methods employed, nothing can be added to the above observations.

M.B. OIC AMBUNTI

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Ambunti files had no indication of what if anything happened next. However two internet entries contribute to some circumstantial conclusions.

THE GEOLOGY OF THE UPPER SEPIK-AUGUST RIVER AREA, NEW GUINEA.¹⁰ by S.J. Paterson and W.J. Perry

Abstract: The study area, former Petroleum Permit No 21, lies in the Upper Sepik region adjacent to the International Boundary between Indonesian and Australian New Guinea.

The north-eastern and southern parts are occupied by complex mountain ranges formed of metamorphic and igneous rocks. The north western part is a southern trending embayment of the northern geosyncline of New Guinea. The greater part of this embayment is blanketed by alluvium and volcanic rocks, but a composite thickness of 9,320 feet [2,840 metres] of sediments has been measured in scattered outcrops. These range in age from Upper Cretaceous to Pliocene.

Gravity traverses across the sedimentary zone indicate a major anomaly which suggests the presence of about 15,000 feet [4,572 metres] of sediment. The field work was carried out between 1954 and 1957.

The area lies between latitudes 4.00 and 4.50 south and 141.00 and 141.27 degrees east adjacent to the International Boundary between Indonesian and Australian New Guinea, 500 miles (by River) from the mouth of the Sepik River. It is accessible from the mouth of the Sepik River and from Green River airstrip. Vessels of up to 6 feet 6 inches' draft were used to establish the base Camp at the mouth of the August River, and single and double outboard powered canoes were used within the area. These were taken upstream as far as the Zwiefel Gorge. Few tracks exist and cutting was necessary for movement by foot. Corduroy surfaces were built for the gravity traverses through the swamps.

The first Europeans to visit this area were members of an expedition led by Dr. Leonard Schultze-Jena that mapped the Sepik River and the then German-Dutch Territorial Boundary in 1910 (Schultze 1914), Schultze work was followed up in 1912/13 by Dr. Behrmann who mapped most of the lower Sepik and its tributaries. Thurnwald, a member of Behrmann's expedition visited the upper Sepik region in 1914 (Behrmann 1923)

The area was not visited again until 1927 when Karius and Champion, officers of the Papuan Administration, crossed Papua New Guinea from south to north. Members of a gold prospecting expedition led by J. Ward Williams prospected the headwaters of the Sepik and the lower Bridges and Hoffnung Rivers in 1935-36. The party named the upper August River the January River in error. Geological reconnaissance of adjacent areas has been carried out by geologists of the Australian

Petroleum Company (1961). G.A.V. Stanley mapped from the Hauser River to the border Mountains in 1938 and the Telefomin valley was mapped by W. Sykes in 1954.

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Enterprise of New Guinea Gold and Petroleum Development No liability was delisted from the Australian Stock Exchange on 20th June 1966.

Circumstantial conclusions:

Whether Paterson remained an employee of Enterprise of New Guinea Gold and Petroleum Development No liability or not after disobeying orders, his professional integrity as a geologist shone through in his and Perry's 1964 article.

Given Paterson's mention of field work from 1954 to 1957, it seems there was at least one expedition after that of 1955. I can find no evidence of it in the Ambunti files, but the fact that it apparently happened suggests another extension of the Prospecting Permit, and a fresh Restricted Areas Permit were granted. Such permits grants would not have happened had there been remaining concerns about breaching the integrity of the Dutch Territorial Boundary in 1954 and 1955.

Finally, the fact the company was delisted in 1966 suggests that the 1954-57 surveys did not provide a commercially sustainable petroleum project to keep it in business. There are no oil wells in that region today.

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Petroleum Exploration of the Sepik Basin:

As described in Sepik 1 Chapter 1, the Sepik River valley, also known as the Sepik Basin, and the Mamberamo valley/basin were formed by the infill of sediment washed down from the New Guinea Central mountain range into a giant ocean gulf between the Central range and distant offshore mountain ranges – now known as the Prince Alexander, Torricelli and Bewani Ranges to the International border.

The same mountainous northern edge of the Gulf extending into Dutch/Indonesian New Guinea with the Cyclops Mountains and other ranges further west. The ocean gulf now consists of mirror image valleys; the Sepik flowing from west to east in PNG and the Idenburg/Mamberamo flowing from east to west in Indonesian New Guinea. The Sepik Basin also extends further to the east to take in the Ramu valley and basin.

In 1984 Shell Oil Company's exploration Co Pecten acquired prospecting rights over 33,000 square kilometres, covering most of the Sepik river valley. The first exploration step was to define where the sedimentary section was thick enough to allow hydrocarbon generation to take place and to obtain a better idea of the stratigraphy [the order and relative dating of rock strata]. Approximately 1300 kilometres of airborne gravity and magnetic data were surveyed and extensive field studies were carried out. These were followed by seismic surveys of the most promising areas and eventually by the drilling of a well called Nopan 1.

Nopan 1 encountered from the surface – 600 metres of terrestrial sediments and clay stones of Mio-Pliocene are; 1250 metres of Upper-Miocene open marine clays with thin sands; 450 metres of Mid-Miocene turbiditic silty and sandy clay stones and 50 metres of epidote-chlorite schist (at total depth). Although some indicators of hydrocarbons were encountered, the well was devoid of potential reservoirs.

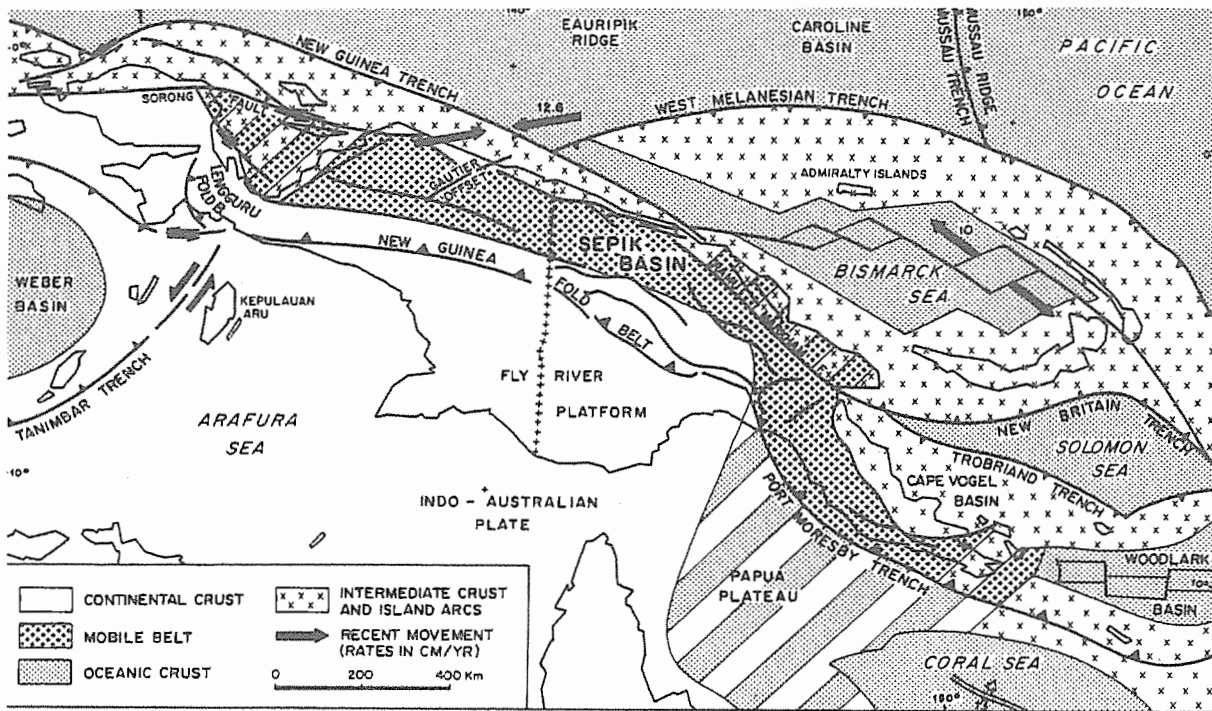


Figure 1. Papua New Guinea Plate tectonic framework. New Guinea lies along a complex boundary zone of island arcs and marginal seas between the Australian and Pacific plates. Since Oligocene time, island-arc terranes of this zone have been accreted to the leading edge of the Australian continental block, forming the axial mobile belt of the country. The Sepik Basin overlies this mobile belt. Map compiled in part from Dutch (ed) 1981 and Hamilton 1979.

No further possibilities were apparent in the basin and the exploration campaign was terminated at the end of 1986.¹¹

Writer's Note: The total depth of Sepik sediments drilled in Nopan 1 was 2,300 metres [7,546 feet] before basement schist rock was encountered

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There were at least four further petroleum exploration campaigns in the Sepik Ramu region towards the end of the 20th century - the writer had some involvement in each of them.

1. Anderman-Smith's PPL 120, based in Angoram. The writer served as field manager for the seismic portion of this from mid-to the end of 1991. A drilling program followed, in which the writer was not involved. The drilling failed to identify commercially exploitable petroleum.
2. Mobil. 1991/2 PPLs 144, 145, 146 - 10,000,000 acres of the Sepik and Madang Districts from the Indonesian Border east to Madang. The writer was field manager of this complex survey which involved 15 specialists working in multiple locations -from May to July 1992 from Indonesia to Madang.
 - a. Mobil acquired Pecten's 2000 km of seismic data from the mid-1980s and re-evaluated it using the latest computer programs. This indicated there were more promising drilling options than the Nopan site. The writer was asked to undertake field work to examine the possibility of developing road access to possible drilling sites south of Lumi. However these instructions were cancelled before the date when the field work was due to commence.¹²
3. Louisiana Land and Exploration PPL [LL&E] took up Mobil's Sepik Leases. The writer served as field manager for this exercise during 1992. No petroleum development resulted from the survey.

4. Ramu Niugini; Geologist Ramsay Barrett resigned from Mobil and with the Wold Family of Wyoming obtained a prospecting authority over the area that had been covered by PPL 144. Ramsay was excited by the huge Banam anticline, which he described as the largest undrilled anticline on earth. There was gas escaping from vents. No commercial development resulted from Ramu Niugini's further exploration of the Banam anticline at that time.

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Sepik petroleum exploration explorations subsequent to Shell/Pecten's Nopan well appear to support Shell/Pecten's conclusion that there are no further petroleum possibilities apparent in the Sepik basin. It was difficult not to be caught up with Ramsay Barrett's enthusiasm for the Banam anticline and Mobil's re-appraisal of the Nopan seismic information.

With this in mind, after I joined Chevron in 1993 I asked why there was so little corporate interest in the Sepik basin. The answer given was that to date commercial petroleum in PNG had been discovered only in association with limestone structures. The Sepik has little limestone and consists primarily of clastic structures¹³ in which commercial petroleum has not been found in PNG.

End Notes Chapter 15

¹ Rickwood F The Kutubu Discovery Book Generation Pty Ltd Glenroy Vic 2000 p 57

² Geyle A. PNGAA library Mannerly men of the Upper Sepik in Una Voce Dec 1999

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 22 pages 103

⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 81

⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 22 pages 103-107

⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 22 pages 106

⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 81

⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 22 pages 108-120

⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 22 pages 121-122

¹⁰ Journal of the Geological society of Australia Vol 11, issue 2. 1964

¹¹ Doust Harry – Geology of the Sepik Basin, Papua New Guinea – in Petroleum Exploration in PNG – proceedings of the 1st PNG Petroleum Conference 1990. Page 461.

¹² Verbal instructions from Geologist Ramsay Barrett

¹³ Wikipedia: **Clastic rocks** are composed of fragments, or clasts, of pre-existing minerals and rock. A **clast** is a fragment of geological detritus,^[1]chunks and smaller grains of rock broken off other rocks by physical weathering.^[2] Geologists use the term **clastic** with reference to sedimentary rocks as well as to particles in sediment transport whether in suspension or as bed load, and in sediment deposits.

Sepik 4 Chapter 16 The Yellow River Massacre of August 1956

REPORT OF INVESTIGATION OF MASSACRE OF YELLOW RIVER NATIVES – AUGUST 1956. – by ADO M. Brightwell.¹

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

“This is the complete and it is hoped final report of the investigation of the incidents which resulted in the deaths of 29 people (See Appendix “A”) from four villages in the YELLOW RIVER area on 9th August 1956.

A preliminary report was submitted in September. This preliminary report should now be ignored entirely as it was completed before relations were re-established with the native groups responsible for the killing and contained much hearsay and many inaccuracies as to details. Its main purpose was to accurately establish the number and identity of victims and more generally the culprits rather than the facts and background. The present report will be complete in itself – it will cover the whole field – and ignore rather than correct the preliminary report.

GEOGRAPHIC BACKGROUND.

Some 386 miles from the mouth of the Sepik it is joined by a large right bank tributary called the May which flows from the Thurnwald and Landslip Ranges. Along the banks of the May are scattered hamlets of IWAM (or as the Yellow River people call them AJARU). The nearest of these hamlets to the Sepik Rv. is WANAMOI which is located 18 miles from the mouth of the May at the junction of the May and Waniap rivers. It has a total population of approximately 160 and is the village responsible for the massacre.

A further 50 miles up the Sepik from the May junction; the Yellow River flows into the Sepik draining swamp lands fed by TORRICELLI [mountains run off]. In this junction area are numerous small scattered hamlets and the victims of the massacre, who came from four of these settlements. The four hamlets concerned are those nearest the IWAM group and about 10 miles downstream of the Yellow River junction but some 30 miles within what is regarded as Yellow River territory.

HISTORIC BACKGROUND.

According to the Wanimoi people their hamlet had been visited only four times by Europeans. These four are considered to be by ADO “Sepik” Robby Robinson before the war, the *Thetis* party in May 1942¹, Mr R.C. Mackie, a recruiter, in April 1953 and ADO Brightwell in May 1956. However it is felt that other Europeans, miners particularly, have passed along the May but no record is available here. The little contact they have had has been very brief and seldom.”

Writer’s Note: Sepik 3 Chapter 51 tells of an ill-fated Japanese patrol of six men being welcomed in a remote settlement. They saw human bones scattered around and their hosts fondled their arms to test the amount of meat on their bones. One badly wounded soldier escaped when their hosts attacked; he told his story to the Japanese officers at Brugnowi before he died. The Japanese launched a reprisal against the innocent Wogamush people. Karandaman of Malu who was the senior village official appointed by the Japanese in the Upper Sepik, believed the Japanese were attacked by an unidentified IWAM group.

¹ This relates to the Thurston expedition which is fully documented in Sepik Book 3. *The Sepik at War*; Chapters 18 and Attachment B of which cover their travel through the May River region to Telefomin then down the Fly River to that River’s mouth.

Karandaman described gaining the impression that the IWAMs were cannibals when he accompanied Mackie on a recruitment trip 'immediately after the war'. He said Mackie's party was accompanied into the May River area by INIOK people from the Sepik and this gave them protection². Mackie was well experienced, having served in ANGAU as a Sergeant during the Sepik campaign.

Mr. Brightwell continues: " At one time between 40 and 50 years ago, the Wanimoi people lived on the Sepik at the mouth of the May, but this is now beyond living memory. From the Sepik site they moved 18 miles to the present site on the May/Waniap Junction. Why they moved is a matter of conjecture but without doubt one of the elements was the enmity and raiding between themselves and the Yellow River people. Each side recognizes the other as a traditional enemy and each can give hazy and mutilated reports of past killings and retributions as related by the old men. Some stories relate to as many as twelve people being killed at a time, while other old men say they could not count how many had been killed in their lifetime as the killings formed a continuous process.

Sometime during the latter half of 1953 a group of Yellow River men (See Appendix "I") came down the Sepik into IWAM territory and surprised a small party of IWAMs at a point just above the May Junction and killed KWASO of WANIMOI, one of the IWAM men. Three days later KWASO's body was recovered and taken back to WANIMOI.

In March 1954 twenty IWAMs, eight from WANIMOI, were offered as labourers to Mr R.C. Mackie who was on the Sepik just below the May. They were sent to work at TOMLABATT plantation, Kavieng [New Ireland]. A few weeks later Mr Mackie returned to the area and visited WANIMOI village and recruited a further eight IWAMs of whom three were WANIMOIs and these were sent to NUMANUMA plantation Sohano [Bougainville]. On this occasion the skull of KWASO was given to Mr Mackie and he brought it back to Ambunti where it was left in the office. At this time there were no Native Affairs officers at Ambunti. The writer took over AMBUNTI in June 1954 but did not have the opportunity or facilities to follow the matter up until April 1956 and at that time regarded the skull as coming from the Yellow River area.

All of these IWAM labourers were repatriated in April 1956 and, as during that month MV *Mala* was attached to Ambunti, a visit was made to all the upstream River villages, to, and including WANIMOI. The intention being to work on the little foundation that these returned labourers represented.

At WANIMOI (4th and 5th May) the repatriates were told to return the canoes that had been loaned them from AMBUNTI. They returned these canoes to Ambunti on the 9th of May and with the exception of one member they commenced the return trip the same day. NARI/NUMO who seemed to have some initiative and spoke better (but still not intelligible pidgin) than the others was held back on the station in an endeavor to improve his pidgin. The intention was to send him back to the village with a Tultul's hat as a first step in control. Other natives from other villages visited were on the station for the same purpose.

An IWAM canoe visited the station (The first time this had ever happened) on 29th May and NARI, although not much improved was allowed to return to WANIMOI on 2nd June. He was not given a Tultul's hat because the only one available was absurdly large.

THE INCIDENT.

Shortly after NARI arrived back in WANIMOI an old man named NAHI/MIGU, a clansman of the murdered KWASO, brought to the attention of the young men that KWASO's death had not been avenged during their absence and it was about time that something was done about it. NARI advised the villagers against this and suggested they forget the whole thing. He told them that the

Yellow River people were more advanced than the IWAMs and that such action would make the Government cross and lead to trouble – just what sort of trouble he did not know as he had not been advised further than this at AMBUNTI.

At this indication of non-support NAHI turned to NARI and told him that he, NAHI would never give up the obligation to avenge KWASO and that he knew nothing about Europeans or Government Officials; and if NARI knew so much about these things then he should go to AMBUNTI and let the Government Officials adopt him and look after him. This remark caused NARI great shame and he made no further opposition and appears to have thought it necessary to do something to re-establish himself. Whooping cough which was moving through the area then struck the village, causing five deaths, and nothing was done about avenging KWASO.

On 30th July NARI decided to vindicate himself by making contact with the Yellow River people, by going right to their village if necessary, and under the guise of friendship arranged a meeting with them at which the AMUNO clan could avenge their clansman KWASO. He discussed this plan with AUSA and GWAINA and both agreed to accompany him. By the time they departed on August 2nd the party had snowballed to 14 (See Appendix “J”) in two canoes. After leaving WANIMOI the party fished its way down the May and slept the night at NANWEI. The next day they entered the Sepik and proceeded upstream sleeping in the bush at a place called SARAWI.

The following morning the 4th of August they left SARAWI and in the early morning sighted two Yellow River canoes with 12 people on board (Appendix “J”) This contact was made at YURI or WIDJARO, just above WANIBE River.

The Yellow River canoes upon sighting the IWAM canoes made off upstream but NARI called out to them in his Pidgin that they need not be afraid or run away; that he wanted to shake hands with them and be friends. The use of Pidgin overcame all the traditional distrust and the Yellow River canoes came down to the sand bank where the IWAMs were waiting. NARI spoke Pidgin to one of the Yellow River men called IROLAI saying that all the fighting of the past was finished and they should all now be friends as they all had native officials and had progressed from the old conditions. Spears were broken as tokens of friendship, betelnut and food was exchanged and consumed.

Then NARI was told by an old man to “*gris im gut*” NARI then spoke to IROLAI about forgetting the past and becoming friends and living in peace with one another. He suggested that this should be done in a big gathering of both groups in a proper fashion. This was agreed by IROLAI. Tangets (day markers) for five days were made, but it was agreed that the meeting would be held on the fifth days after they returned to their respective villages – this both would do on the following day. The meeting was to be held on a sand bank a little downstream of where they then were known as AUSIN, YORO and DARE – this place being selected by the Yellow River group. IROLAI told NARI that they would come down to AUSIN on the third day and make shelters and prepare food for the IWAM’s arrival on the fifth day. Both groups then left for their villages arriving the next day the 5th August.

After the two groups parted the Yellow River party proceeded up the Sepik and spent the night at AUJOK. The following day they continued on their way as far as IBWANA where the party remained except for four men (PAIDEI, BAILELI, WUNIBEI and YOUNERI) who proceeded on to TIPAR to advise the villagers of the proposed meeting. On the 7th the Yellow River party left TIPAR and proceeded downstream collecting those who had remained at IBWARA and continued on to O’GWAIBIRA where they slept the night. The following morning, they continued on down to AUSIN, YORO where they built shelters and started making sago and fishing. The next day the 9th they were occupied with these activities when 12 IWAM canoes, which were not expecting until the next day, arrived.

After the contact meeting the IWAM party proceeded down the Sepik, entering the May and spent the night at NANWEI. The next day (5th) they arrived at WANIMOI in the late afternoon. They went into AMUNO clan's men's house where a number of men were gathered (see Appendix "J") and NARI said to them *'You are always crying over the death of KWASO and bemoaning the fact that he has not been avenged – alright now I want to know how many you want to kill to avenge him – one or two.'* Some young men in the group answered that they wanted to kill one to even the score however the old man NAHI disagreed and said *'I am against that, I want them all killed. They are always killing us off – if we only kill one or two they will continue to kill us – I want them all killed and that will finish the matter and we will be free from further attack.'*

The old man NAMI told NAHI of where they had been and what they had done and AUSI showed them the target and outlined his plan which was to arrive on the fifth day and if it was to be as NAHI said kill them all. However, NUMNIA suggested it would be better if they went a day earlier than they were expected, as then the nearest Yellow River people who were their enemies would be there; ... the next day the more distant Yellow River people with whom they had not fought would also be there and may outnumber the IWAMs. These two points seemed to have been accepted by all present, that they would arrive early and kill everyone.

On the day following this meeting (6th) food was prepared and on the 7th the WANIMOI party of 44 men and 2 aged women left the village in 12 canoes. They proceeded down the May to NANWEI where they spent the night. The next day they followed up the Sepik and spent the night at SARAWI which was a short distance below AUSIN/YORO. On the following morning, the 9th before the party left SARAWI the old man NAMI told them all he would give the signal to commence killing by saying to NAKUNO *'NAKUNO, I want to eat sago now.'* They proceeded on to AUSIN/YOKO during the early morning.

Upon seeing the IWAM canoes arrive the Yellow River people were surprised and apparently embarrassed because they had not prepared their food. The IWAM canoes were grounded on a sandbank on the right bank and the IWAM called to the Yellow River people at their camp on the left bank to come across and shake hands. This they did, men women and children. NARI then spoke of their new friendship. Spears were broken and also lime gourds as a token of friendship.

NAMI then told NAHI and the others to pair off with the Yellow River men but did not mention women or children. The Yellow River people did not have food with them so they were taken by their IWAM partners and provided with food. Many of the Yellow River people were sitting on IWAM canoes with their IWAM partners tending them. Food was distributed to the Yellow River men who shared it with their women, NAINI/ IMWANO gave some Yellow River women some sago and fish and then these women returned to their camp on the other side of the river. The two old IWAM women fraternized with the Yellow River women, but took no further part. There were many IWAM men without a partner and were left standing about.

WORIPA, a Yellow River man and the child WITUMEREI got into a canoe and started to pull upstream – they were going to O'GWAIBIRA to bring back some Yellow River men who were working there. NARI, seeing this told his pidgin speaking partner IROLAI to tell them to come back as their moving off might make the IWAMs suspicious or afraid. IROLAI called them and they came back to the sandbank but this seemed to indicate to the IWAMs that there were other Yellow River men nearby and that they would have to make haste.

While the eating was still on NAMI gave the arranged signal *'NAKUNO I want to eat sago now.'* NAKUNO did not reply but speared his partner, NERU then speared his partner and all the IWAMs fell upon their victims. Some of the Yellow River people tried to escape through the long grass, and get into the bush however all but three were killed. The victims of NAKUNO, MOM and

NAIWO fell into the river and were taken by the current. Some were killed on the sandbank and some died in the long grass.

The massacre being completed the IWAMs were most anxious to be off as they were afraid that more Yellow River men might appear or that talk might go upstream and they might be overtaken on their way home by the Yellow River force. The bodies of 12 victims and the heads of two others were quickly bundled into the IWAM canoes and two canoes belonging to the Yellow River people and the IWAM hurriedly departed at speed. They pulled [paddled] without easing until they entered the May River and arrived at WANIMOI village about 5pm.

They went to the AMGWAP men's house and the bodies were lined on the ground outside – the village drum was sounded and the villagers who felt so inclined inspected the bodies of the victims. The heads were removed from the bodies and the bodies were then carved up and distributed to all the villagers who later consumed their portions. The heads were taken up into the men's house and cooked. Sacred flutes were blown and a general singsing took place in the men's house. The flesh from the heads was later consumed by the men and the whole show finished at dawn. The skulls were hung up in the open to dry and were later decorated by each victor.

At the scene of the massacre there were nine women in the Yellow River camp. They heard the rumpus and when they saw their men folk being killed, they took to their heels and hid in the bush. The IWAMs made no attempt to pursue them or to loot the camp – they were in too much of a hurry to get away and did not cross the river at any time; having killed they were only interested in getting away as quickly as possible.

Only three men escaped from the sandbank, the actual site of the massacre. They were TAIGWE, WUNIBEI and YOUNERI, the first two being wounded in the arm. TAIGWE made his way from the scene while the other two remained hidden in the vicinity. After the IWAMs departed they came out. The two women AIYENALI and YEGIEI joined WUNIBEI on the sandbank and viewed the bodies there. The bodies were those of :-

AIBA was headless and had a spear wound in the back.

OWINAWAKI had a spear wound just below the ribs and through the stomach.

WARISO had an axe wound through the back of his neck but had died of a spear wound which was not noticed as he was wearing a shirt. MOM inflicted the axe wound later.

PALEI had a deep axe wound under the left ear.

MARANI had been beheaded and must have had a spear wound, although witnesses could not recall any.

YEMIEI was speared through the chest but as the body was lying on its back the witnesses did not notice an axe wound in the back.

The women then returned to their camp and broke and burned their possessions in their grief. The survivors then left the scene and slept the night at O'GWAIBIRA, the next night (10th) they slept at AUJOK. The following night at IBWARA and arrived at TIPAR on 12th August. During this trip they were slowed by rain.

The bodies of OWINAWAKI and her son WARISO were taken from the sandbank by PAGROBO of TIPAR and NAWANIAUI of ABIRAMI and placed in a house at O'GWAIBIRA where they were viewed by the Coroner. Of the remainder none were removed from the sandbar. The

rising river carried them away. What is believed to have been the body of ABAI was recovered from the Sepik at Yamanumbu (175 miles below AUSIN) on the 14th August before the report of the massacre had been received. Other bodies are reported to have been seen drifting past INIOK but were not recovered.

AFTER EVENTS

On the 17th September relations were re-established with the WANIMOI people including those responsible for the massacre. This was done through the repatriated labourers.”

Writer's Note: The investigation techniques used in the Yellow River massacre case had clearly taken on board the lessons learned from, and scathing Departmental criticism of, the 1952 patrol which was attacked while investigating a head hunting raid by the people of Swagup – see Chapter 9.

Mr. Brightwell continues: “Eighteen skulls of the massacre victims were recovered from the village and brought to Ambunti. The remaining two skulls taken to WANIMOI were destroyed, one being burnt and the other broken and thrown in the river. From this date onwards natives involved were brought to Ambunti until the 1st December when the last native required was taken into custody.

EX-LABOURERS INVOLVED IN THE INCIDENT.

Of the ex labourers involved in this affair, six worked at TOMLABATT plantation New Ireland and two at NUMANUMA plantation Bougainville for two years. There were twenty IWAMs working at TOMLABATT and 8 at NUMANUMA.

It was remarked upon at the time these repatriates were landed at Ambunti how little they had learned whilst away at work – there was not one of them who spoke reasonable pidgin – the best was a broken rather crazy and rather unreliable grasp of the language, whilst the majority of them could not talk even mutilated pidgin. It was remarkable that they had learned so little and regrettable that better use had not been made of the two years. However, the matter can be understood when the background is appreciated in the case of the TOMLABATT group.

These men were taken out of the village as ‘raw kanakas’, brought to AMBUNTI by ship and flown to Wewak where they spent three nights and then flown to Kavieng; there they remained overnight and then proceeded to TOMLABATT by ship. During their stay on the plantation, (according to the IWAMs) there was only themselves and five LUMI labourers. The IWAMs did not talk with the LUMIs. The twenty IWAMs collected and prepared their nuts for smoking which was done by four LUMIs whilst the fifth was the cook. The LUMIs did not have anything to do with the IWAMs of whom they appeared to be afraid and regarded, correctly, as ‘bush kanakas.’ The IWAMs and LUMIs had separate sleeping quarters, and apparently the IWAMs being of sufficient numbers formed much the same unit on the plantation as they would have had they remained in the men’s house in the village.

The DC of New Ireland was requested to advise on certain matters relating to the IWAM labourers and TOMLABATT plantation and the following is quoted from his reply :-

The labourers, as a rule, work as a team, except for foremen, and as the Iwams as far as I am aware worked as part of a team. The labour house is split into three sections and the Iwams occupied two of these sections. The only opportunity for Tomlabatt labourers to visit large centres during their period of employment would be on arrival and departure from Kavieng as the TABAR [Islands] group, as you are aware, being somewhat isolated and a distance of some 80 miles from headquarters in this district.

The property permits of fairly good conditions of employment, and the employer/employee relations have, up to date, been quite good. Mr Spenser is a manager of much experience in the Territory, and knows the Sepik area fairly well, and has had many lines of labour from there.

The TABAR do not have much intercourse with the foreign labour working on plantations in the group, and it is quite probable that the Iwams lived much among themselves. Amenities provided consisted of hunting and fishing and some football, the latter restricted by the nature of the property contours.

Apparently the IWAMs had little more contact with Administration and more advanced natives than they would have in their own village, and the effect of these conditions was most apparent on their repatriation; they had learned little, some nothing.

The movement of their repatriation was TOMLABATT to KAVIENG where two nights were spent – then by aircraft to Manus where another night was spent due to weather – the following day they arrived in Wewak where three nights were spent before moving off to Ambunti.

During the period of engagement, they did not leave the plantation, let alone the island. This lack of real contact with Administration and other natives by the IWAM ex-labourers possibly explains the feeble to negative resistance they exerted in opposition to traditional village thought and conduct.

From the beginning of the inquiry, considerable assistance has been given by these ex-labourers. Only two, GWAINA and INIA, have caused difficulty, whilst another two, NARI and MUNA, have given every assistance and cooperation and have made the task of the writer a lot easier than it might have been. The remaining four have cooperated to their ability.

In conclusion it might be said that this unfortunate incident happened just ahead of Administration influence – and had normal planned visits to this area not been circumvented by it, it is quite probable that such an incident could not have happened today.”

Sgd M.Brightwell ADO Ambunti. 2nd January 1957

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The Appendices listed in the report above appear in NOTES.

Ambunti quarterly report for August 1956³ mentions fighting in the restricted area and the reported deaths of 29 Yellow River people. It went on to say :-

As a result of the report...the Director of Native Affairs arrived at Ambunti from Moresby, a patrol under ADO F. Jones left Lumi for Yellow River area to link up with a patrol from Ambunti under ADO Brightwell. The MV 'Thetis'⁴ departed from Wewak with District Officer Aitchison for the May River area on the 27th August and accompanied ADO Brightwell in the MV 'Mala' to link up with ADO Jones at Yellow River and carry out investigations into the incident.

Post Script 1: Ambunti Patrol No 3/1956-7 during which the investigation was conducted consisted of seven short patrols conducted by ADO Brightwell – a total of 58 day between late 1956 and early 1957. Details of these seven patrols :-

Patrol 1 To establish the number and identities of the victims.

Patrol 2 To contact the WANIMOI and bring some of the repatriated labourers and through them to influence the others involved in the murders.

Patrol 3 Took [Patrol Officer] Redmond to select a site for the Patrol Post, ex labourers accompanied the patrol.

Patrol 4 Take stores to May River and bring any prisoners back.

Patrol 5 Deliver stores, check on WANIMOI and change police.

Patrol 6 Supreme Court case was held in Wewak in February 1957, patrol returned the witnesses and interpreters home. Delivered stores. Inspected Patrol Post. Changed police.

Patrol 7 Acquaint relieving ADO with area & problems. Deliver stores. Inspect patrol post.

Without mentioning the Swagup incident of 1952 Brightwell, clearly reflected upon criticism of the Swagup patrol tactics when he stated :-

The patrol was frank and honest about its intentions at all times. No deceit was used at all. Policy paid off. Thirty-nine men were removed from the village and relations between WANIMOI and the admin remain very good.⁵

Post Script 2: Ambunti Patrol No 2/1957-8. May and Upper Sepik Rivers. September 1957 to January 1958. P.G.A. Conroy Patrol Officer⁶

“This post [May River Patrol Post] was originally the base camp of Ambunti Patrol No 3/1956-7 during the apprehension of the Wanimoi men responsible for the deaths of 29 Yellow River people in August 1956. The present buildings were erected at that time. From 1/11/1956 the post was manned by Mr. A.L. Redwood P.O...Sgt. Sauveni and members of the RP&NGC were on patrol until May, the month of Mr. P.O’ Sullivan’s arrival. He remained in charge until 28/9/1957 when the writer was transferred to May River Patrol Post.

Mr.O’Sullivan advised...’On 13th July 1957, while he was at Ambunti two police arrived from May River with word that a report had been heard through the villagers of Tui, Waniap and Wanimoi that people known as UMI-OM supposed to be from the SAW-TOOTH range area had come down to the mountain ridges close to the station, with the intention of wiping it out and then commencing hostilities with the IWAM. Attempts to contact the UNI-OM did not succeed and nothing came of the threat

IWAM settling down well – visiting the station with sick for treatment and selling food. WANIMOI most cooperative as they rely on us [for security] until their menfolk return... Kwainas of WANIMOI had threatened sorcery against anyone having relationships with the ‘grass widows’ under his care.”

End Notes Chapter 16

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 60-70

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 57

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 45

⁴ Sepik 3. Chapter 29 reports Neptune Blood sinking the ‘Thetis’ in December 1942 in Madang. Presumably the ship mentioned in 1956 was “Thetis 2”.

⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 177

⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 151

Sepik 4 Chapter 17

Aitape & Green River Patrols Along the Dutch New Guinea Border [the 141st Meridian] – August/September 1956

Writer's Note: The 1956 patrols described in this chapter took on special importance when Indonesian troops invaded Dutch New Guinea in 1962, defeating and replacing the Dutch colonialists.

Historical Context: The establishment of what became the border between Dutch New Guinea and PNG dated from 1660 when the Dutch recognized the Sultan of Tidore's sovereignty over New Guinea. New Guinea thus became notionally Dutch as the Dutch held power over Tidore¹ as part of the Dutch East Indies. [The Dutch East Indies became the Republic of Indonesia in 1949]. The Dutch retained control of West New Guinea. The geographic extent of Tidore's influence extended eastward along New Guinea's north coast to include the magnificent harbour in Humboldt Bay. The border itself was a line of convenience following the 141st meridian southwards through the unexplored interior.

With the exception of occasional contact with Bird of Paradise hunters and traders, the inhabitants of the interior remained oblivious of the outside world, let alone an obscure line someone drew across their tribal lands.

Returning now to 1962 - Border liaison between the Dutch and Australian administrations had been a low-key casual affair consisting largely of notes sent back and forth between the Patrol Officer in Vanimo in "Australian" New Guinea and the District Officer in Hollandia in Dutch New Guinea. This changed when the Indonesian authorities took over. The remote West Sepik border region now become an area of strategic international importance. From 1962 onwards the once obscure line on the map required border surveillance which was facilitated by the establishment of new Patrol Posts dotted along its length. Vanimo Patrol Post suddenly became district headquarters of the newly established West Sepik District which was created primarily to monitor border issues.

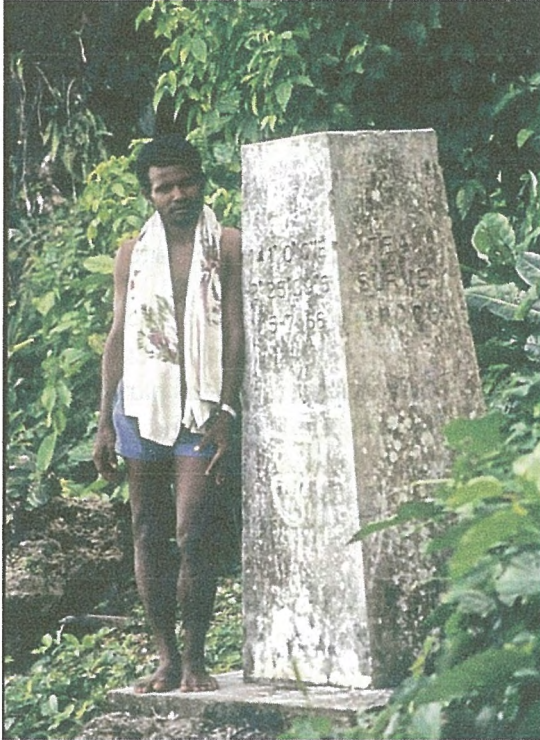
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Meanwhile back in 1956 - with recognition that the political situation was changing in Dutch New Guinea, the Sepik District Officer Thomas Aitchison¹ decided that the PNG Administration needed to know more about the villages along the Dutch New Guinea Border². Whereas the Dutch were active in the northern border communities, which were adjacent to their capital Hollandia on the shore of Humboldt Bay, most the Australian side of the border was unexplored. Under Aitchison's instructions two patrols set out in August 1956 with instructions that read :-

1. Patrol the Dutch border from Green River to Vanimo.
2. Ascertain, as far as possible, the villages on the Australian side of the border.
 - a. Contact the native peoples living in these villages.³
3. Obtain geographical and other data.⁴
 - a. Locate a suitable pass through the Bewani Mountains from the Sepik to the coast falls.

To these instructions Mr. Aitchison added ... *There is no reason why you should not enter Dutch Territory during the progress of the patrol, as the Dutch authorities have been contacted on the matter of border establishment.*⁵

¹ We met Mr. Aitchison in Kainantu [then known as Upper Ramu] in 1933 as a CPO in Sepik 2 Chapter 47 *The Case of Ludwig Schmidt*. We met him next in the Sepik in 1942/3 as a Patrol Officer and ANGAU officer.



Each patrol was instructed to light a large bonfire at 9.30am each day during the first week of the patrols and at 10.30am after the first week. Daily flyovers would then identify map references for each patrol.

Opposite - 1964 photos of the Wutung Obelisk and part of Wutung village – ***below***. Photos L.W.Bragge



The acting ADO W.T. Brown of Aitape accompanied by P.O. Barry Ryan, OIC of Vanimo Patrol Post, set out from the north coast border obelisk, 400 metres to the west of Wutung village, visiting adjacent villages on both sides of the border en-route. The second patrol was led by P.O. Robin Calcutt, OIC Green River Patrol Post, who sought to follow the border from west of Green River northwards to meet Brown & Ryan coming south.

Mssrs. Brown & Ryan's Aitape patrol No 3/1956/7 ADO Brown reports :-

Introduction. The plan proved to be over ambitious and the patrol diverted to KAPALEMOU, four miles inside Dutch Territory, as the laden carriers were unable to scale the coral cliff faces of the OENAKE Range approximately half a mile south of Wutung.

From KAPALEMOU the patrol returned to the border and after positioning on the last concrete datum point, (141. 00' 13" 005 [east], 2.40' 34".34' [South], the patrol continued generally south to the Bewani Ranges, visiting the villages of KAPOU, (Dutch New Guinea [?]) SEKOPRO and SEKOTCHIAU en route.

Two attempts were made to cross the Bewani Ranges at points five and ten miles inside the border, but the route again proved impossible for carriers and the patrol returned to Vanimo...

Diary [extracts]

Friday Aug. 17 1956. Proceeded to Wutung...Inspection of border obelisk and concrete survey datum (141 00' 13"005')... obelisk cleared of all vegetation...

Sunday Aug. 19. Departed KAPALEMOU and proceeded east to north east to a taun tree blazed by the Dutch Administration thus

X 111 1 Y

L 11 0

Continued east for approximately 400 metres to the Australian cement survey datum (141 00'13"005, 2 40'34"34')...

Tuesday Aug. 21 ...to KAPOU...The Dutch flag was flown by the villagers and the patrol was afforded an extremely pleasant reception. I calculate the position of this village to be one mile inside Dutch territory. No aircraft was seen during the day

Thursday Aug. 23 [after a day in KAPOU] patrol headed generally south east, and then south... made camp in a blinding thunder storm.

Friday Aug. 24 ...moving southwards. Heavy rain...limestone crags, outcrops and sinkholes, swamps and waterlogged rainforest to the flooded PUIAN [Tami] river. Eventually bridged it and camp made on the left bank.

Saturday Aug. 25 ...to the village of SEKOFRO

Sunday Aug. 26 SEKOFRO – 3 hours and 7 minutes to SEKOTCHIAU. The SEKOTCHIAU villagers in temporary exile at SEKOFRO, returned with us to the village and apparently not having been issued with a Dutch flag, displayed a coloured photo of the Dutch Royal family,

Wednesday Aug. 30 ...to SEKOTCHIAU and from there to ELLIS village 1 hour 40 minutes, then south east to WOMA [AINBAI] 1 hour 30 minutes

Saturday 1st Sept. & Sunday Sept 2nd Attempted two routes over the Bewanis but both impassable to carriers.

Wednesday Sept. 5th Departed Woma following the established KILMERI patrol route to ISI. Then via AIRO and SAUSI arriving VANIMO Saturday 8th.

Border Villages

The near-border villages of WUTUNG, KAPALEMOU, KOPOU, SEKOFRO, SEKOTCHIAU and ELLIS were visited by the patrol.

WUTUNG 400 metres east of the border.

KAPALEMOU 4 miles west of the border

KOPOU calculated to be 1 mile west of the border, but survey aircraft on Aug 20 indicated the village in on the border

SEKOFRO 2 miles east of the border. The village is administered by the Dutch and is patrolled at six monthly intervals by a non-European officer at WEINBI. A Koranou [village official roughly equivalent to a Luluai] has been appointed and a Dutch flag, which was flown on our arrival, issued.

SEKOTCHIAU. SEKOTCHIAU had been referred to in previous correspondence as PAULPAUL and PAWPAW. The latter two names are slightly derogatory and in no way correct. The village was assessed by the patrol to lie six miles within Australian Territory. ...the village is administered by the Dutch and patrolled at six monthly intervals by a non-European official from WEINBI.

The SEKOTCHIAU village Koranou was [named] IORANOL and the Mandol [Dutch village official roughly equivalent to a Tultul] was [named] WESCON.

ELLIS and WOMA [AINBAI] were not commented upon in this section.

Writer's Note: WOMA was the base camp from which Sgt. Stavermann and his "Dutch" party tried to reach the vicinity of Hollandia in late 1942 in order to send back intelligence information. They were betrayed, and killed by the Japanese. The surviving party member, Sgt.

Siffleet and Indonesians Pattiwael and Reharin were captured and taken to Aitape where they was interrogated and beheaded.⁶

General:

The villages along the border fall broadly into three linguistic groups:

#1. KAPOU, KAPALEMOU and WUTUNG speak the language of the Vanimo West Coast Census Division.

#2. SEKOPRO and SEKOTCHIAU speak a language that apparently extends westward into Dutch New Guinea.

#3. The ELLIS [Elis] people belong to the KILMERI linguistic² group.

Writer's Note: Analysis of the language groups met by the Aitape and Green River patrols appears at the end of this chapter.

Mr. Brown's report continues: Malay is spoken fluently by the majority of the people of WUTUNG, KAPALEMOU, KAPOU, SEKOPRO and SEKOTCHIAU and by a very small percentage of ELLIS. Some individuals of the Dutch administered villages can hear Pidgin when convenient but decline to speak it.

Natural affiliations tend to follow the linguistic groups but some inter-groupage marriage has taken place. In the SEKOTCHIAU area this intermarriage between people of SEKOPRO and PAGI has been contrary to public opinion and has resulted in some antipathy. The peoples of both groups have previously managed to evade punishment for any illegal activity due mainly to the border³. On this occasion the SEKOTCHIAU people accompanied the patrol to ELLIS and differences were settled amicably.

Six natives of PAGI village, KILMERI Census Division, who appeared before the Court of Native Affairs at ELLIS on charges of riotous behaviour, were convicted and adjudged to be imprisoned for the term of seven days. This action arose as a result of a marriage of a PAGI girl and a SEKOTCHIAU man, and the unfortunate behaviour of the PAGI people later.

I feel that both groups now realize that it is immaterial whether they are administered from Hollandia or Vanimo that if they misbehave, liaison between the two administrations is such that retribution will justly and surely follow.

[Indigenous] land boundaries have not been affected by the International Border and the natives themselves recognize the ownership rights of MUSU and WUTUNG people to land in Dutch New Guinea and the ownership of KAPALEMOU, KAPOU, SEKOPRO and SEKOTCHIAU people's land in Australian territory.

Should the administration control of KAPOU, SEKOPRO and SEKOTCHIAU people change I feel that it is extremely possible that these people will move to their land west of the border in Dutch Territory as their economic development is linked with the Dutch projects and the facilities are more accessible to the west.

² Laycock classifies Elis as Pagi speakers.

³ The "Border" in this case clearly refers not to the 141st Meridian, but to the *effective* boundary of the Dutch and Australian administrations.

Roads:

From Wutung an old trading route extends south west to KAPALEMOU. The track is used fairly constantly by hunting parties and is well defined...From SEKOPRO well defined native pads lead to SEKOTCHIAU, ELLIS and WOMA. From Woma native hunting pads and river beds can be followed to the foot of the BEWANI Ranges...

Previous patrols by Mr. Hochkiss [Hodgekiss] and the late Mr. W. Hook, like this patrol, were unable to cross the Bewani Ranges in the border vicinity.

Writer's Note: The border region described north of the Bewani Mountains is primarily the watershed of Tami River, which enters the Bismarck sea east of Hollandia in Humboldt Bay and just west of the International border. Tami River access to the interior played at least two significant roles in Sepik history:

1. The bird-of-paradise plume trade – described in Sepik 2 *The Winds of Change 1886-1941*. Chapter 6.
2. The route sought by the ill-fated “Dutch Party” of coast watchers in late 1942 – Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War 1942-45* Chapter 31.

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Mr. Calcutt's Green River patrol No 2/1956/7 P.O. Calcutt reports:-

Introduction.

After describing the problems of terrains and estimating the patrol's position in relation to the Dutch border, Mr. Calcutt discussed the problems of Interpretation :-

As far as Auing-galif the [Green River] station interpreter was in his own area. After that, as far as Mamburu, a different language was found....From Fong-gwa to Ivera; a little Malay spoken by two of the carriers was used to supplement sign language and scrape of native dialect. From Ivera to Simog...the only method of communication was by sign language, as another unknown language was encountered and the natives knew no Malay. From Simog onwards, Pidgin or the Bembi dialect of some of the other carriers was sufficient. It is suggested that any subsequent patrol moving near the Border get a good Malay speaker from the Vanimo sub-District.

The reception accorded the patrol...ranged from enthusiasm to indifference. The only hint of hostility was received at Fong-gwa, where the catechist warned the patrol against moving northwards into the area inhabited by natives known as “Waris”, who were reported to be very savage and to have inflicted casualties on a Dutch patrol passing through their area some years previously.

Patrol Diary [extracts]

Friday Aug.17. 1956 Left Green River station at 9.10am and walked west across the kunai plain for 1.5 hours to Green River. Followed bank of river upstream then crossed to the west bank and made camp.

Saturday Aug. 18 ...crossed [and re-crossed] Green River to follow a track to come out again on the north bank of the River opposite Paugiribimik hamlet of Kambriap...

Sunday Aug. 19 & Monday 20 ...followed Green River upstream for 5 hours...ascended a steep spur to hamlet of Auing-galif...very steep limestone ridges about 2,500' high. Landslides have scarred their

face with white streaks. Natives friendly but...with some reservations. No women or children seen. A Dutch Catholic mission station called Amgotro was reported to be located 3 days walk to the north-west.

Tuesday Aug. 21. Again set fire at 0930 and waited for plane, which did not come. Left Auinggalif...arrived at Fong-gwina [Fongwinam] hamlet of Tegirabu [Tengirabu] village. Bought food from natives who were not at all cooperative.

Wednesday Aug. 22 – Friday 24 days were then spent in extremely rugged limestone country, before reaching Tengirabu hamlets.

Saturday Aug. 25 ...arrived at a hamlet of Worugera...kept going and made camp at 2.30pm. Sunday 26th observed.

Monday Aug 27 Left camp at 11.30am and followed a track to NW. 15 minutes from camp the patrol met two Dutch appointed village officials. An hour later the patrol arrived at Fong-gwa, where they met a Dutch native mission teacher. Set up camp on a ridge overlooking the village and mission area.

Writer's Note: Although the village names do not correlate, the patrol had apparently reached Kamberatoro mission station in the Dera language area.

Tuesday Aug. 28 Left Fong-gwa...heading NW for 2 hours to arrive at twin villages Weiga and Monggau [Menggau], both flying flags with Dutch appointed officials. Then NE for an hour to reach Mamburu. [Mr.Calcutt's map has Mamburu to be just inside Dutch territory]

Wednesday Aug. 29 ...slightly S of E for 2.5 hours to Divu village – deserted. N from there I hour to Asung – also deserted. After 2.5 hours walk we reached Ivera [Iafar?], where a singsing was in progress, with many people present. No flags were seen, but a Dutch appointed official guided us further east to a small village Kumol.

Thursday Aug 30 ...walking generally east reached Kumak – deserted... Side tracked by a maze of pads. Police sent out to find the track. No natives seen all day.

Friday Aug 31 12 natives came to camp at 7am. Six natives guided us to Prufarn village. Spent two hours trying to persuade natives to guide us further; they would not. Followed a track seeking Simog where there is a Luluai. Track ended at a creek. Made camp. Sent police to find the track.

Saturday Sept 1 Police returned – their trip was in vain. Moved along a creek to the NE until it veered NW and away from Simog. No natives seen all day. Made camp.

Sunday Sept. 2 Left camp and followed river and various native pads until we found recent foot prints - followed these upstream until found some Simog natives. These guided us to Simog village. Camped in the rest house.

Monday Sept. 3 ... rested.

Tuesday Sept. 4 ... good track generally E to Watapi with a rest house and police barracks. At 12.15pm heard Norsman aircraft flying south, some miles west of Watapi.

Wednesday Sept. 5 5.5 hours walk to Kilifas

Thursday Sept. 6 Followed the Yenabi River and tributaries upstream for 2 hours and 35 minutes, than a 40 minute climb to the crest of the Bewani Range. Followed creeks down the north side of the range to Sumunini.

Friday Sept. 7 – Sunday Sept 9 Sumumini to Imprininis to Imbio, thence via the Pual River to the coast from where a 3.5 hour walk brought the patrol to Vanimo Patrol Post..

Dutch Penetration.

...It can be stated that the villages from Mong-gorovei, Fong-gwa, Divu, Asung, Ivera [Iafar?] , Kumol, Wamu, Kumak, Yauwula, Weiga and Mong-gau, which are all believed to be in Australian New Guinea, are under the control of the Netherlands administration, by virtue of their having uniformed village officials, and by their flying of the Dutch flag. The villages of Oguk, Worugara and Tegirabu are not under the same degree of Dutch control, but it is reported that they have unofficial village officials who have not been issued with flags or uniforms.

In addition...it was noticed that at both Fong-gwa and Weiga there was a Dutch flag flying near the house of the resident native catechist...

It was possible to obtain information regarding only one Dutch patrol, and unfortunately that was sketchy. It would seem that some years ago, a Dutch patrol, with a European officer and native police penetrated as far into Australian Territory as Worugara, appointing village officials and carrying out routine administration as it went. This was apparently the patrol reported attacked by Waris natives mentioned previously.

The villages of Auing-galif, Kambriap, Panang-gan, Fong-gwinam, Prufam and Iamtibi are believed to have not been visited by Dutch officers, nor has Dutch control been extended to them indirectly. Oguk, Worugara and Tegirabu have unofficial [Dutch]Village Officials... Of the villages mentioned only Auing-galif is believed to be in Dutch New Guinea. Kambriap and Pan-angan were initially patrolled by the writer in July 1956, when a census was carried out. – Green River patrol No 1/1956-57.

...At Fong-gwa, where the patrol camped overnight, the patrol personnel were amazed by the fact that in a village quite some distance from the nearest Dutch station, and a long way from the coast, apparently every male native was wearing a shirt or singlet and trousers. It is stressed that despite their apparent sophistication, these natives are only in the first stages of contact, which makes the fact of their apparent abundance of clothing even more remarkable. Some natives, to put on a good show, were even wearing two pairs of shorts. The women wore long sarongs, fastened below the arms.

Native Affairs.

The natives met between Green River and Simog are in the first stages of contact with European civilization, although those in the Fong-gwa-Weiga-Mamburu region have reached a somewhat higher level of sophistication...No hostility was directed towards the patrol, although this may have been influenced by the fact that, with 10 police, the patrol was quite strong.

In those villages where Dutch influence was strongest, the natives gave the patrol every assistance. Some of the more primitive villages, however...would not provide guides through the maze of inter-village tracks...As previously stated the natives from Simog to Vanimo are comparatively advanced and assisted the patrol where they could...

...There are, no doubt, a number of so far uncontacted natives living to the east of the route taken by the patrol [this refers to the area where Amanab language group Patrol Post was established in 1959-60].

The only village officials encountered between Green River and Simog are those appointed by the Dutch Administration. These natives wear jacket and trousers of khaki drill, the lower sleeves being

embroidered with two white rings. The Dutch equivalent of our Luluai, the “Korano” also wears on his left breast a badge about 4 inches by 3, striped red, white and blue diagonally, and overprinted with a large “j”. The Tultul, or “Ilipasa”, wears a small gilt crown on the left breast. There were in addition two other main officials ... dressed in Khaki drill, but with no badges, who apparently carry out the functions of village councillors.

Villages and Housing

In the Border Mountains, villages as such do not exist; the natives live in garden hamlets of one or at the most two houses. These houses are fairly large communal dwellings into which about 30 people of all ages secure themselves at night and remain there until the morning.

A second type of house seen was in those villages where the Dutch influence has been strongest, namely Fong-gwa, Weiga and Mong-gau, where the type of house found on the coast in the more advanced areas is seen. The houses raised some three feet from the ground on posts, are arranged in the form of a square, thus presenting a general appearance of order.

Then thirdly, there are villages of the type described by Mr. P.O. McCabe in his Green River Patrol Report No 1/ 1952-53. These are sited on a ridge or knoll and the houses are set in a circle on the edge of the ridge or knoll, their doors facing outwards over falling country, and their blank rear walls, loopholes for arrow shooting, facing inwards. Such villages comprise the bulk of those visited and include Worugara 1 & 2, Mamburu, Divu, Asung, Ivera, Kumol, Kumak and Pruferr.

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Comments on Green River Patrol Report 2/1956-57 from the writer's experience as OIC Green River, 2 1/C Amanab and OIC Imonda in 1964 & 1965.

Changes in Border Administration.

In 1956-57 the stations on the Australian side of the border were Vanimo on the coast, Green River and Telefomin, if the latter could be considered a border station being 10 days walk or 45 miles east of the 141st meridian. By 1964 the following additional border stations had been established in the Trust Territory of New Guinea:

Wutung in 1963

Pagei in 1963 [later renamed Bewani]

Imonda in 1962 – in the Waris enclave.

Amanab in 1959-60 – declared a sub district in mid 1962.

Atbalmin base camp – early 1960s & replaced by Yapsie in early 1970s

The main contributing factor in the increased strategic importance of the Border region was the Indonesian confrontation with the Dutch and resulting takeover of West New Guinea in 1962 – see Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 31

The route taken by Mr Calcutt.

The villages of Kambriap, Fongwinam, Panangan and Tengirabu are all located in what became the Iuri census Division. The patrol's contact with Dutch appointed officials north of Tengirabu was mainly in the Dera language area, which became the Dera census Division. By achieving the patrol's aim of following the border, the patrol passed to the west of most of the Amanab language group; visiting only Iafar and adjacent villages in the northwest corner of the Amanab tribal area. In 1964 some 30 Amanab speaking village communities had a population of 2,706 people.⁷

Mention of the aggressive “Waris” people who attacked a Dutch patrol some years before Mr. Calcutt’s visit in fact referred to two enclaves of Dutch influence, which would become two separate census divisions.

1. “Waina Sowanda”, consisting of the villages of Waina, Sowanda 1, Sowanda 2, Umuda, Wiala and Punda.
2. Imonda Local Division with 15 villages in the shadow of the Bewani Mountains. The Waris language also has 10 known villages west of the border around the Dutch, now Indonesian station called Waris.

It was the Waina/Sowanda people who attacked the Dutch patrol, and in 1964 boasted “*We beat the Dutch and we can beat you*”. Green River patrol 2/1956-7 passed to the south and east of both these enclaves before reaching Simog and other known villages and departing the area by the Kilifas gap through the Bewani Mountains.

The confusion of names in the Amanab area.

The fact that the village names Mr. Calcutt recorded after Tegirabu [Tengirabu], with few exceptions were unintelligible to the writer [who patrolled this whole area just eight years later] is attributed to :-

1. The problems Mr. Calcutt mentions experienced with interpretation.
2. A customary practice the writer observed in 1964-65 of settlements being abandoned and new ones establishing after a death in the village.

Analysis of indigenous languages encountered by Aitape Patrol 3/1956-7 and Green River Patrol 2/1956-7 – Reviewed from south to north:

Dr. Laycock’s preliminary analysis of Sepik languages⁸ indicates that the 11 languages encountered by the Aitape and Green River patrols of August and September 1956 belong to four separate language phyla. This gives us a brief glimpse of the apparent complexity of the ancient history of the border region.

Abau language of the Sepik-Ramu language phylum: is spoken by the people of some 30 villages in the Green River local area surrounding Green River Patrol Post – none named in Mr Calcutt’s report. Laycock also indicated eight Abau speaking communities exist west of the border

Yuri [Iuri] language [as yet unclassified]: is spoken in the mentioned villages Kambriap, Fongwinam and 5 others not visited by the patrol. There is believed to be no mention of Iuri speaking communities west of the border.

Anggor language of the Trans New Guinea language phylum: is spoken Tengirabu, Panangan and many villages located east of Mr. Calcutt’s patrol route in what would become the Nai-Faringi census division. There is no mention of and Anggor speaking villages west of the border.

Dera language of the Trans New Guinea language phylum: is spoken in 11 villages in TNG including Kamberatoro, Mamambra, Menggau, Mongorovei, and four villages west of the border including Amgotro.

Amanab language of the Trans New Guinea language phylum: is spoken in 33 villages in TNG and one west of the border. Mr Calcutt’s village names Divu, Asung, Ivera [Iafar?], Kumol and Kumak appear from geographic location to be Amanab language villages.

Simog language of the Trans New Guinea language phylum: There are only two villages in this language group; Simog and Watapi. Both were visited by Mr. Calcutt's patrol.

Fas [Bembi] language of the Kwomtari language phylum: Of the Fas language villages Mr. Calcutt visited Kilifas and Sumumini. Another 15 or so Fas languages exist in the Rhaimbrom [Piori] River area and behind the Sissano lagoon to the east, and Utai south of the Bewani Mountains

Pagi Language of the Trans New Guinea language phylum is spoken in 10 villages of which the patrols visited and/or mentioned Ainbai, Elis Imbio and Imbrinis. No Pagi communities are listed west of the Border.

Manem [also known as Manam and Wembi] language of the Trans New Guinea language phylum: is spoken in seven villages all of which, except Sekotchiau, are west of the border. The other Manem village visited by Mr Brown's patrol was Skofro [spent Sekopro in Mr. Brown's report].

Wutung [Ungang] language of the SKO language phylum: is spoken only in Wutung and Musu villages; both mentioned in Mr. Brown's report. The villages Kapalemou or Kapou, which from Mr Brown's report might be assumed to be of the Manem language.

Vanimo language of the SKO language phylum: is spoken in four coastal villages east of Wutung and Musu villages

Dr. Laycock's notes on the various language phyla applicable to the Sepik border with West New Guinea

TRANS NEW GUINEA PHYLUM

The history of the Trans New-Guinea Phylum is almost the history of linguistic classification in New Guinea...The number of languages now included in it now totals 422 (Wurm 1971)...this paper is primarily concerned with Sepik languages within the phylum ...The [Sepik] languages themselves are clearly members of the Trans New Guinea Phylum, though they also show considerable resemblance to languages of the Sepik Ramu Phylum.

KWOMTARI PHYLUM

...This group shows no clear relationship with any other in Papua New Guinea, although there is a certain amount of obvious lexicon borrowing from the Trans New Guinea Phylum languages (especially the Border Stock).

SKO PHYLUM:

...it is now known...that the SKO- Sangke languages are not part of the Torricelli Phylum. It is apparent also that the SKO phylum languages cannot be associated with the Tami [watershed] Languages, and at present we have to regard the group as having no obvious relatives in the New Guinea area...It may not be too far-fetched to try to find a South-West Asian origin for speakers of SKO Phylum languages. Firstly, they use large sea-going canoes – Tacking canoes, whereas the rest of Melanesia use the reversing⁴ canoe only. Secondly they speak a language that is highly tonal, with complex verb morphology and extremely heterorganic consonant clusters – a feature duplicated in Burmese...^{9]}

⁴ "Reversing", in this context means that the canoe must travel always its outrigger to windward, counter balancing its weight against the force of the wind on the sail. Therefore, to go back the way the canoe had come necessitated reversing the position of the sweep oar [rudder] to the other end of the canoe – thereby leaving the heavy outrigger to windward

The Table of Border languages

The table was compiled from Dr. Laycock's *Sepik Languages Checklist and Preliminary Classification* [ANU 1973]. **Yellow** backfill has been used to show villages adjacent to western side of the border, and no backfill for villages adjacent to the east side of the border, and **Green** for villages sufficiently far to the East not to be regarded as border villages.

Before the existence of the border became known to these village communities, they conducted village life and social interaction such as gardening, marriages, religious festivals and occasional limited aggression within their language group and occasional warfare with adjacent language speaking communities.

After the existence became known the pre-existing social interaction continued, except that government authorities on either side of the border sometimes involved themselves in what the communities saw as their internal village affairs. This "involvement" intensified when the OPM [Free Papua Movement] began using villages east of the border as safe havens from which to raid Indonesian establishments west of the border. This topic is discussed in detail in Sepik 4 Chapter 30 and Sepik 5 Chapter 11.

End Notes Chapter 17

¹ Wikipedia

² PNGAA Vale – Robin Calcutt January 2010

³ Added clarification 2a and 3a of instructions by T.Aitchison in his comments dated 1/10/1956 on Green River Patrol 2/1956-57.

⁴ Cover of Green River Patrol report No 2/1956-57 R.A.Calcutt, Patrol Officer

⁵ T.G.Aitchison – WEW. 1-2-9/1301 7th August 1956 – para 3

⁶ L.W.Bragge Sepik 3 – the Sepik at War 1942-45 chapter 38 [unpublished]

⁷ Amanab Patrol No 2/1964-65 *recommendation for the establishment of Amanab Local Government Council* 21/9 1964.

⁸ Laycock – Sepik Languages checklist and preliminary classification ANU 1973

⁹ Laycock 1973 Language group 61 – P 17-18 & 57

Map Scale – **below** - approx. 1" – 9 miles

Sepik 4 Chapter 18 Exploration of May River 1956 – 1973

Introduction - The recording of history usually starts at the beginning and goes through to the end; if indeed there is an end. Usually in the chronology of events, someone finds time to pause and describe the “big picture”. May River’s big picture was progressively sketched in a series of patrol reports – first by John Cochrane in 1958, and expanded by G.J. McIntyre in 1962/3. May River’s “big picture” defined the **Mianmin** in the South, the **Iwam** along the May River and some tributaries, with the remainder of the population classified as “**Hill people**” or the “**Birua**” [enemy] as they were the enemy of both Mianmin and Iwam and to some extent, were a buffer between them. Tony Pitt further analysed the “Birua” in 1963/4 as more became known of then.

May River Patrol Post, on a small hill in the May River swamps on the right bank of May River, was originally established as a base camp for Ambunti Patrol No 3 1956-7, which investigated the Yellow River massacre [Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 20]. P.O. A.L. Redwood, under the guidance of ADO Brightwell, established the post. The original primary focus was to make arrests in the investigation of the massacre of 29 Yellow River people by the Iwam people of Wanimoi. The life of the post was then extended in order to provide protection against payback killings of the weakened Wanimoi population while their menfolk were in gaol. By the time the writer was posted to Ambunti in 1970, May River patrol post’s continued existence was assured by the fact that officers there were required to investigate new murders on a very regular basis.

Ambunti patrol No 3/1956-7 actually consisted of seven short patrols as described in Chapter 16. Soon after the Yellow River murders, two men with Telefomin experience found their way to May River. They were Sergeant Sauweni whose leadership immediately following the murders of Szarka, Harris, Buratori and Purari left him in charge at Telefomin and earned him recognition and promotion from Corporal [his name is spelt Sauveni in May River reports]. The other person of note was Patrol Officer Paul Conroy, who accompanied Ron Neville, Geoff Booth and Medical Assistant Allan Kelly on the patrol into Mianmin to investigate the Atbalmin massacre of 1956. Conroy’s Ambunti Patrol Report 2/57-8 fills in some historic background of the May River status quo as it existed between September 1957 to January 1958 :-

“ From 1/11/1956 until 18/1/1957 the post was manned by PO A.L. Redwood. Redwood was replaced by PO Peter O’Sullivan, who remained in charge until 28/9/1957 when Mr. Conroy was transferred to May River.

Prior to the period of concentrated patrolling commencing late last year [1956] the area had very little contact. In all five visits have been recorded since 1943¹. In 1953 PO. Laurie Nolan visited the Iwam village of Burumai from Telefomin; in 1954 Mr. R.C. Mackie, recruiter and two visits by ADO Brightwell – Ambunti Patrols No 3/55-6 and 7/1955-6.

...No really suitable airstrip sites have been found. May River patrol post is administering from Yauenian [Hauna] to Yellow River [along the Sepik River] and the May River and its hinterland.

Mr. O’Sullivan advised that on 13th July 1957, while he was at Ambunti two police arrived from May River with word that a report had been heard through the villages of Tui, Waniap and Wanimoi that people supposed to be from the Saw-Tooth Range area had come down to the mountain ridges near the station, with the intention of wiping it out and then to

¹ 1943, presumably should read 1942 – reference to the Thurston expedition [Sepik 3 attachment B]. There was also a visit to the Mianmin area in 1937 by the Ward Williams gold prospecting party which landed their Sikorski amphibian on the May river approximately 10 miles above Burumai and spent some months there. Sepik 2 Chapter 48.

commence hostilities with the Iwam. Mr. O'Sullivan returned to the station and through Waniap tried to contact the Tui people (presumably either Augot or Nesiap) who could act as go-between with the Saw-Tooth Range people (they called Umi-om) and the Administration. His arrival in Waniap caused a major part of the population to take to the swamps, and attempts to reach Tui were thwarted by these swamps.

Again, on 11th August, 1957 Minu of Paikwe [Pekwe] informed the station that he had heard from Waniap that the Umi-om had again moved down to the ridges... since then none of the warnings or threats have been repeated... It is believed these threats were born in the Waniap men's house and sent to the station... to see the reaction... [Otherwise] after contact with Redwood why did they run at the sound of O'Sullivan's motor?

Iwam. Settling down well, visiting the Station with sick for treatment and selling food. Wanimoi most cooperative as they rely on us until their menfolk return. Waniap least cooperative – see above.

Kwainas of Wanimoi had threatened sorcery against anyone having relationships with the 'grass' widows under his care. Nausa from Obagaisu wanted to marry one of these, Geku; she made the overtures.

Mowi. (Mowi, Ibu, Wanium and Auom). Mowi is more advanced with some pidgin speakers. The people of this group maintain that they lived around the banks of Mowi Lagoon on the left bank of the Sepik, nearly opposite the mouth of Saniap Creek.

The Auom people evacuated their home ground near the ZWEIFEL GORGE [Upper Sepik/August River area] and came down the Sepik to settle with them. Later, for reasons lost in obscurity, the Lagoon village split up and the Waniums moved to the head of Saniap Creek, the Auoms settled between Ibu and Wanium while Mowi formed a village about two hours from the mouth of the Saniap. After a period on this site Auom moved to its present site on Lake Warangai (Wahap) due to the unavailability of sago and gardening land, building materials etc.

Sepik River Villages. In April May 1956 Brightwell conducted 'an ordeal of a census'. These people are progressing well. Crocodile shooting is increasing over the last year and in improving the standard of living of the people.

Hill people. None visited to date. An attempt to reach the Mianmin was thwarted by canoes smashing and stores lost. Gifts were left in shelters. A party of Mianmin ventured down the May River in February last, but could not be induced to visit the station. The names of hill villages and relationships are contradictory and confusing. Seven people from Aimi and Aibrumi met Conroy at Burumai but were too timid to go to the patrol post.

Sorcery. Neino of Aumi 'killed' a girl Nabaru by placing a knotted vine across her path, she stepped over it and died. He did this as she was betrothed to him and her father took her away from him until she reached puberty. He did this to spite his father-in-law to be. The father then performed a ritual after which he dreamed that Naino was the sorcerer. This was the basis of a complaint against Naino for sorcery."

The next patrol officer in charge of May River was John Cochrane. His 48 day May River Patrol No 6/1957-58 was visited by uncontacted hill people at Burumai and at Arai. They agreed to

accompany him back to May River and stayed for three days. At that time no hill villages had been visited. In another show of trust the Waniam [Waniap?] left eight male children at May River Patrol Post with sleeping baskets and food, in order that they might learn Pidgin English. Also reports were received of killings in uncontacted villages upstream of Waniap.

Mianmin: May River Patrol No 3/1958-9 reported that in the beginning of July 1958 word was received at the Patrol Post through Iwam people from Burumai and Arai, that a party of Mianmin had sent word to be passed on to the Patrol Officer that they wished to meet him at Burumai. Word was sent for the Mianmin to set a date. In due course two Iwam men from Pekwe arrived back from Burumai with word that the meeting should take place in about ten days' time. Cochrane informed the District Officer and gained permission and met the Mianmin on 25th July 1958 at Burumai. The Mianmin were a party of eight men led by Kasikauwa of Youa village. He spoke a little pidgin and acted as interpreter in the recent trial in Wewak [the Suwana murders – Sepik 4 Chapter 24]. Others in the group were previously uncontacted. More Mianmin came in but did not meet the PO for fear of being arrested.

Presents of food and trade items were given to the Mianmin to take home to their fellow villagers. The visit was judged as being a success because Mianmin traditional enemies – Aimi and Shu-warmo were also at the meeting.

Hill people – the “Birua”. Cochrane reported :-

“For want of a better name I shall continue to call these people “Hill people” [even though] all groups contacted except Aimi and Augot are not on hills. These groups appear to have no names...All settlements are small; the reason being, according to the interpreters that over a long period they have subjected to attacks from Mianmin and other tribes and these attacks have reduced their numbers. Also, food shortages have forced them to be small groups leading a semi nomadic life.

They are gourd wearers, but wear nothing else around the middle [whereas the Mianmin wear a cane girdle]. A few of them from Aimi village, closest to the Mianmin, wear head buns similar to the Mianmin, but the majority wear their hair long like the Iwams, rolled in mud and pig fat. The Hill people seem to be a real middle man or buffer state as they bear the brunt of fighting, and their dress is in some ways like the styles of the Iwam and also the Mianmin.

Aimi. One fortified house on a hill. Their allies are Shu-warmo and Burumai. – Enemies: Mianmin. The old man in charge of the settlement, Sauwaua, stated that in his youth there were many Awai people. Awai was a term he used to describe the group – but they had all been killed off over the years. He added that in his youth Tarogow was a big village of theirs, situated south of Aimi close to the Mianmin, but now that place had ceased to exist; his family being the sole survivors. Similarly Imali-ei had been wiped out – supposedly in his lifetime.

Their house has three thicknesses of wall, a door that could be closed and a ramp leading up to the floor level. The house dimensions are 50ft square.

Shu-warmo – This settlement, one hour inland from Burumai, also consisted of one fairly large house, but of entirely different design to that of Aimi. This place was built on stilts about 20 feet above ground level. The walls being of double thickness only. The main post of the house was a big tree stump. It looked a very spidery affair, but actually was quite solid.

The people were not very healthy due mainly due to food shortages. They had very ornate arrows, but no fighting weapons were seen. The population seen was 7 adult females, one female child, 7 male adults and 5 male children.

Uniaku-bi - one long frail house close to the May River. Two families of which only one was seen.

Augot – Two settlements ten minutes apart. Mokobi [settlement] has one house and Aupronuno has two houses. They have ornate spears – no other weapons. Six families.

Wauwu – two houses.

Breen-u-gu village was not visited. Eleven Breen-u-gu men visited the patrol in two relays. They state this is the total male population.

Iwam Progress is still good; Paikwe [Pekwe] is best and Waniap is worst. Waniap fled from a census patrol. It was explained that they feared the anti-yaws injections, so ran away. When told they did not have to have the injections, they came back. Thirteen still accepted the injections...Iwam housing is of the old conical style.”

In this way, May River Patrols gradually explored the region and made friendly contact with the Birua and the Mianmin while continuing to extend influence Administration among the Iwam. These patrols included May River reports:

1/1958-59 J. Cochrane – initial contact with some Birua peoples – report not seen.

Ambunti patrol 17/1958-9 Iwai and Iwam areas – J. Mater PO and PIR Lieut. Adamson. In the Waniap creek initial contact was made with Tigi and Asuwi and while there the patrol was visited by uncontacted Uda and Wianei people.

The patrol then followed the May River up and took the Wahab channel beyond Aimi to Suwana hamlet which was deserted following a recent Mianmin attack. The patrol also passed by Neiyepi, a small Burumai hamlet. A Mianmin party destroyed Neiyepi gardens in May 1959. Initial contact was made with Amasu, which is located inland from the Arai River and Mater’s report noted:-

...a large group of men were seating on the verandah of one of the communal houses when the patrol arrived. They seemed nervous. Gifts were given to an elderly man who seemed to be the leader and the people seemed to relax.

Ambunti Patrol 1959-60. B.H. Mulcahy went from May River to Green River to resupply Mater’s August River patrol. A Mr. J.B. Schmidt was interviewed about entering the restricted area without a permit.

Ambunti Patrol 7/1959-60. DO Dougherty Green River to Ambunti – station inspection at May River.

Ambunti Patrol 15/1959-60 ADO Dougherty to upper May River

Ambunti Patrol 16/1959-60 B.H. Mulcahy - Mention of a murder at Augot, but river conditions prevented investigation.

Ambunti Patrol 11/1959-60 B.H. Mulcahy – Wongamusen and May River. Tax collection in Wongamusen villages apart from Swagup.

There were three patrols between August 1958 and 1960-61 that were different:

1. Ambunti Patrol 4/1958-9 saw John Cochrane proceed to Burumai to meet up with ADO Len Aisbett and CPO Jim Fenton's patrol from Telefomin. This meeting was done with ceremony in order to demonstrate to the Mianmin, Iwam and others that Administration influence was broad and extended all their areas.
2. As if to give a lie to the influence of the meeting of the May River and Telefomin patrols in 1959, the Mianmin conducted the Suwana massacre. See Sepik 4 Chapter 24 which describes Ambunti Patrol 13/1959 – 60 by Patrol Officers Jack Mater and Jim Fenton.
3. Ambunti patrol No 1/1960-61 A 56-day patrol from Telefomin via May River to Vanimo was conducted by Tony Trollope, Bernie Mulcahy and Lieut. Farry of the PIR in June and July 1960. The purpose of the patrol is assumed to provide the PIR with a reconnaissance of the area. Some of the patrol notes included:

Mianmin We should avoid the possibility of complacency in our dealing with these people. As Mr. Aisbett states...There is always a possibility that if the Mianmin sensed the chance of a victory, they would attack.

The report indicates that an unsuccessful attempt was made to arrest Orosak of Temsenmin, wanted in relation to the Suwana massacre in 1959. The patrol went via Petaineri to assist PO John Corrigan who was reported to be in difficulty.¹

Ambunti Patrol 4/1960-61 B.H. Mulcahy – May River Census Division. Aug/Sept 1960:

Recently the first four natives of Wanimo detained for the 1956 murders of Yellow River people returned. Another 24 are to be released in October. They appear to have settled back into the village quite satisfactorily...

Two murders were reported but the culprits were not apprehended; the first at Imiom where a married woman was shot with an arrow by a youth who fled into the bush and has not been seen since. The second at Nakunuwa, an uncontacted village between Waniap and Tipas, where two Iwau men were killed by five men with axes in a house while discussing a sago dispute.

May River Patrol No1/61-62 B.A Downes May River Local area. The report mentions the de-restriction of the May River area and also.

...after Mr. Mater P.O. contacted and departed Amasu village in December 1959, the people discussed the Administration policy and aims and decided they would rather retain their old customs and habits, but this, no doubt will change with closer Administration contact...

Alleged killing at Tigi ...a woman was thought to have been killed in the vicinity of Tigi...Investigation was not possible as access was impossible through flooded swamps.

Wanium troubles. During the last two months, two raids have been carried out by Nediom Hill people against Wanium food gardens...denuded of food. Two Nediom villages – Ni'a and Um which are thought to be about two days walk inland...During the past few years Wanium and Nediom people have had friendly contact...with occasional exchange visits.

Missions. There are no missions in the area. A catechist is living at Iniok, but he has very few followers.

Ambunti Patrol 10/1961-62 Rocky Peak and Upper Sepik. D.Martin and Tim Gill – May '62

May River Patrol 1/1962-63 Noel Walters and David Emery – May and Yellow Rivers via the Sepik. The report noted in part :-

...Attempted to settle a dispute over a lake between Wanamoi and Tipas...not resolved, Brugnowis are at Tipas at the invitation of Tipas...felt their presence had sparked the old dispute [Chapter 16] back into life. Also reviving the dispute was the return of Wanimoi prisoners, and the rise of the crocodile skin industry. Brugnowis there for skins.

Ambunti Patrols No 8 1962-63 Jim Hunter and District Inspector Harry West – to May and Yellow Rivers. Investigated claims that Brugnowi natives had stolen crocodile skins and cheated Tipas and Panewai people on prices. These allegations were not proven and a ruling was given that Brugnowi men are to cease acting as general carriers and to avoid future trouble. Threats of attacks on travelers through this area and theft of sago from a house by returning indentured labourers were investigated. It was also noted that local people do not want outsiders hunting for crocodiles in their area.

Writer's Note: Chapter 30 of Sepik 2 *The Winds of Change* describes the Japandai migrations and massacre of 1923/4. The third Japandai migration established Japandai survivors at Brugnowi where they lived for years in dispute with their neighbours and developed a reputation as tough, crafty and sometimes unscrupulous dealers who lived by their wits.

May River Patrol 2/1962-63 Walters and Emery – to Usage [Mianmin] Initial census, excellent relations established. People accompanied the patrol back to May River Post.

May River Patrol 3/1962-63 May River Census Division Sept-Dec 1962 62 days.

The population of the area patrolled consists of three groups, the Iwam, the Birua and the Mianmin.

IWAM consist of Abagaisu, Arai, Aumi, Auni. Auom, Burumai, Iabrem, Ibu, Iniok, Mowi, Painu, Pekwe. Wanimoi, Waniap and Wanium [plus Tauri] – 1,400 people

The Iwam are essentially river people, unable to match the Birua on land, their means of survival is flight by canoe; unable to match their foe so live by their wits. So now they are alert, open to suggestion and intelligent. Each place has a headman, more or less elected.

Singsings with all groups present are regular. Politics are discussed with leaders thrashing out attitudes towards missions, traders etc. Thus the uniform approach adopted is not accidental. Groups are therefore democratic. Sanctions and lack of cooperation are used against opposers to the general rule. The population can be divided into traditionalists, ex-prisoners and ex-labourers.

Ex Prisoners – educated by their time in gaol, they now carry influence and with the traditionalists push for advancement in the education and economic spheres.

Ex-Migrant [Indentured] Labourers – They go to plantations, do not see beyond the plantation. They are billeted with other Iwams and do not mix with others. They see Labour Inspectors as Administration representatives. They come back with little knowledge and a distorted view of the Administration and its aims. Their attitudes are that patrols may be tolerated once in a while and even then it is too often. They try to show that they know it all. Their increasing numbers makes them a force capable of taking over society and giving it their distorted slant on life.

Iwam Marriages – formerly on the basis of child marriages. Death for the wife was the penalty for adultery. Now bride price has been introduced to replace sister exchange. Adultery may now be compensated, but some violence [still] occurs. Absentee husbands, undesirable marriages and new marriage systems lead to an amoral society, some evidence of prostitution is now evident.

Missions – Catholic, Assemblies of God and Seventh Day Adventists show signs of entering the area. Catechists have now ceased ridiculing other denominations and thus are causing less trouble. Some time ago representatives of all three missions were looking at the area with a view to establishing mission stations. At that time...the indigenous servants of the various churches became overzealous and publicly ridiculed such matters as confessions, transubstantiation, “Holy Water” distributed by a local Catholic Mission rep which was supposed to improve soil fertility, morals within mission compounds and eating of “unclean” flesh and theatrical evangelism. Ex-labourers with some contacts with Missions took sides and added to the confusion.

The representatives of the Churches soon retired to more profitable clines. The people are now apathetic towards the Missions. SDA still have four catechists in the area.

Subsistence –There is no inherent interest in agriculture. Formerly large gangs of men, alert for enemies went into the swamp, cut sago logs and rolled or floated them back to the village with no loss of time. Seeds were hopefully thrown into the ground. With peace, more interest is being shown in gardening and more use of water as a food source [fishing] and more hunting of pigs etc.²

MIANMIN These notes appear in Chapter 24 – The Suwana Massacre of 1959. May River Patrol No 2/1962-63 led by G.J. McIntyre in March April 1963 provided a good coverage on the Mianmin: Hotmin, Amarumin, Wamanmin and Usalenmin reside in the May River area. Some Temsenmin and other southern groups reside with these people.

All four groups seem to have occupied their present sites about fifteen years ago. This time factor is calculated by ages of captive survivors or entire Birua groups that were isolated and exterminated by the Mianmin when they came in force. They admit exterminating over twenty settlements in the May and Frieda River areas. The last was Suwana, in which all four groups took part. These four groups were sighted in 1958 by a patrol. In 1959 fifteen Hotmin and Temsenmin were imprisoned for four years for the Suwana massacre. In 1962 a patrol was well received there, and a few months later the prisoners were released.

Usalimin told the patrol they made friendly contact with the Germans from whom they obtained steel axes.² But generally they are a warlike people. They attacked Taylor’s patrol pre-war, thinking the noise from the rifles was the sound of burning bamboo.

Since the station was opened they went and worked at Telefomin, or claim to have, keeping their identity a close secret.³ They took part in the 1957 Atbalmin massacre and also a massacre in the Strickland (perhaps the Om Branch). Writers Note: This was probably the raid on the Eliptamin village of Iuatigin described by Harry West in Sepik 4 Chapter 11.

There seems to be little internal strife between Mianmin groups; quarrels quickly being settled through intermarriage.

² While the Behrmann party proceeded well up the May in 1912-13 and may have met Mianmin people, my understanding of the bringing of steel axes to Mianmin was done by the Ward Hunt expedition in 1936/7

³ Mianmins going into enemy Telefol country to work and not being detected? I do not think so

The prisoners returned expecting to find aid posts, schools and industry, but they found no change except that neighbouring groups had tried without success to seduce their women and steal their pigs. They decided to fight and then decided against it and held festivals and exchange visits and tried to establish themselves as area leaders. They brought patients to the aid post at May River.

The Usalimin did not agree with this change and planned to raid Birua villages and to eat the PO...They asked Hotmin to take a party down to May River to look the place over. Usalimin sent threats re patrol safety if a patrol visited them. Hotmin arranged a Mianmin carrier line when the PO pointed out that Iwams would become a liability in an emergency situation. The patrol found only old men and the sick at Usalimin, but the children quickly came in. Finally, it was only the men fearing arrest that did not come, a circumstance brought about by their own boasting. Since the carriers were Mianmin they had an excuse not to attack the patrol.³

BIRUA. May River Patrol Report 3/1962-3 [G.J. McIntyre] stated :-

Relations with the Iwam are now good with trade for food etc. heavily in Iwam favour. For reasons that are not clear, the Iwam concealed the existence of some Birua settlements. Birua settlements consist of one enormous communal dwelling, partitioned off into a hall, separate sleeping quarters, sentry turrets etc. These houses are on ridge tops in defensive positions. Each group is basically a lineage with migrants married in, plus various in-laws etc. The head of each lineage is the undisputed head of the settlement. The settlements are continually changing, as does the composition of each settlement, with people moving out or moving on.

Fighting was mainly between individual settlements, generally over sago stands etc. Peace now exists between the Birua and the Iwam, but defences are still maintained against the Mianmin. The Birua do not know the extent of their language group [actually seven languages – see below] and were pleased and surprised to learn of the range of their language...⁴

Mianmin Language Notes. Laycock 1973 Page 50 lists 18 Mianmin “villages” and 13 Wagarabai (Blimo) “villages”. The border between Mianmin and Wagarabai is not known. The two languages resemble each other closely. There is a differentiation made between the Mountain Ok, which includes Mianmin and Telefomin and the Lowland Ok which is further to the south.

Iwam Language Notes. There two dialects of Iwam. Sepik River downstream dialects are shown in **Green** and Upstream [May River and tributaries] dialect is shown in **Yellow** – see below.

“Birua” Language Notes. This sub phylum consists of eleven languages in the relatively little-known area around the left tributaries of the May River. Wordlists from most languages obtained from SIL survey teams, but have not been published. The exact locations of the languages are not at present clearly defined...Most villages are in the newly defines census divisions of Abei May, Arai May, and Waniap May. There is no doubt about the family-level relationship of the languages making up the Left May Phylum; however, they do not show clear relationships with any other languages in New Guinea. Relationship with Sepik Hill languages is suspected. The villages in **Blue** – below - have apparently been abandoned since 1965.⁵

Linguistic evidence⁶ that expands the Mianmin – Iwam – Birua big picture.

| Phylum | Super stock | Family | Language |
|---|------------------------------|-------------|------------------------------------|
| | | | Telefol |
| | | | Mianmin |
| | | | Wagarabai (Blimo) |
| | | | Tifal |
| | | | Kati Ninati |
| | Central and South New Guinea | Ok | Kati Metomka |
| | | | Ninggerum |
| Trans-New Guinea | | | Yonggom |
| (in Sepik region) | | | Faiwol |
| See Chapter 21 for more information on related languages | | | Bimin |
| | | | Kauwol |
| In the border areas between Green River and the north coast | Eastern New Guinea Highlands | West Cenral | 7 languages that are Sepik related |
| | Oksapmin | Oksapmin | Oksapmin |

Iwam.

| Phylum | Stock | Family | Language | Village |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--------|-------------|----------|
| | | | | Oum No 1 |
| | | | | Oum No 2 |
| | | | | Tauri |
| | | | | Yauenian |
| | | | | Abagaisu |
| | | | | Aumi |
| | | | | Auni |
| | | | | Iabrem |
| | | | | Ibu |
| | | | Iwam | Painu |
| | | | | Pekwe |
| | Upper Sepik | | | Wanium |
| | | | | Wanamoi |
| | | | | Auom |
| | | | | Iemombui |
| | | | | Iniok |
| Upper Sepik Super Stock | | | | Mowi |
| | | | | Arai |
| | | | | Waniap |
| | | | | Burumai |
| | | | Amal [Amel] | Magaleri |
| | Cont. next page | | | |

| | | | | |
|---------------|------|---------------|-------------|------------|
| Cont from | | Cont from | | Wongamusen |
| Previous page | | previous page | Wongamusen | Chenapian |
| Upper Sepik | | | | |
| Super Stock | | | Abau | Abau |
| | Ram | Ram | 3 languages | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| | Tama | Tama | 5 languages | |

| Phylum | Stock | Family | Language | Village |
|----------|----------|----------|--------------|--------------|
| | | | | Abi-aboa |
| | | | | Apaka |
| | | | | Asowit |
| | | | Waniabu | Boropa |
| | | | (Neinbonei) | Kauvia |
| | | | | Nasiap |
| | | | | Tigi |
| | | | | Wobaru |
| | | | | |
| | | | Bero | Amu |
| | | | | Inagri |
| | | | | Samo |
| | | | | Yei? |
| | | | | |
| | | | | Ananali |
| | | | | Iteli |
| | | | Yimibu | Ienewe |
| | | | (Rocky Peak) | Laro |
| | | | | Warumoi |
| Left May | Left May | Left May | | Yekeku |
| | | | | |
| | | | Nakwi | Augot |
| | | | | Didipas |
| | | | | Murupra |
| | | | | Naukwi-Amasu |
| | | | | |
| | | | | Aimi |
| | | | | Nimo-Aboyemo |
| | | | Nimo-Aboyemo | Unani |
| | | | (Birua) | Wasuai |
| | | | | Yuwaitiri |
| | | | | |
| | | | Po | Sori |
| | | | | Umirita |

Some further quotes re the “Birua” from May River report No 3/1962-3.

Investigations re Patrol Report 1/1961-62. The alleged killing at Augot in 1958 – suspect Nosa fled long ago...and went deep into the swamps. The group feels it had incurred Administration wrath – sent word of an amnesty, and will visit Augot later.

Re the alleged killings at Amasu and Wasuai in 1961; investigation revealed there was no inter-group fight. At Amasu there was a dispute over a woman. One man threw a spear into another's back, the wounded man then turned and killed the other man in self-defence. The first man wounded survived.

Cannibalism The Birua claim to eat only Iwam or Mianmin dead.⁷

With the cessation of hostilities in 1958, some Birua gave gifts and women to the Iwam to show their good will. No gifts or women were given in exchange. There could soon be trouble, particularly over land, as the Birua cease to be over-awed by their more sophisticated and socially advanced neighbours

Some Birua have recently learnt the Mianmin language and it seems hostilities have ceased between these groups. Under prodding from Burumai, some Birua now claim the Mianmin are occupying land that belongs to them.

[This patrol] made initial visits to the settlements of Boutabei, Iwewe and Tobei from Wasuai. The reception was good. All the men stood in line and gave left handed handshakes. But some settlements are still hidden.

Near Waniap the settlements of Abi, Aboa, Asuwi, Tigi and Itauwa were visited – all good receptions except at Itauwa where the people had hidden.

An effect of the cessation of hostilities is that whereas the people used to all sleep in the communal house at night, they now spend more time away in the bush shelters and lead a more scattered nomadic life.⁸

The Iwam are casting covetous eyes on some [Birua] sago stands that they want. It is their policy to hinder or obstruct the Administration by passive means from getting to know the Birua lest it marks land boundaries or halts the usual Birua migratory movement.⁹

The District Commissioner's comment on this reports mention of Birua movement onto new lands and the lifting of the Mianmin threat was this :-

*There should be kept in the forefront of the mind of any officer stationed at May River the fact that both the Tipas [Yellow River] and the Suwana massacres depended a great deal on their success on the lulling of the normal natural caution...through the belief that the attackers were under the effective control of the Administration.*¹⁰

Writer's Note: The explanatory notes of the language tables on the previous page suspect a linguistic relationship to the Sepik Hill languages. The life style of the Birua also appears to closely relate to the Hewa and Sepik Hill life style which Professor Hatanaka and the writer documented in *Isolation Habitat and Subsistence Economy in the Central Range of New Guinea – Oceania* 44. 38-57; an article which describes hunter gatherer communities with a significant element in their life style relating to cannibalistic, women acquiring raids conducted against them by Telefol people – exactly as the Mianmin raided the “Birua”.

With pacification the life style of the Hewa/Sepik Hill people changed [Sepik 4 Chapters 37 and 42] and it appears that the same thing was beginning to happen with the “Birua” from 1960 on. The land parcels owned by each group presumably remained unchanged, but the shifting residential

patterns took the people to now safer, more remote corners of their lands in the pre-existing hunter gather style.

The frustration with “villages” being “abandoned” is a reflection of misleading Western assumptions that villages were sedentary. Hunter gatherer settlements change so regularly as a normal result of their life style, that when the writer was preparing for his patrols into the Sepik Strickland divide, he did a flyover first to see where they were located that year.

Also, in this timeframe May River patrol reports indicate an increase in the number of murders reported and investigated. It is suggested that, apart from murders related to Mianmin raids, that the murder rate among the “Birua” was probably little changed, the difference being that now the Administration, with better contact with Birua groups, was hearing more about it.

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With increased knowledge of the so-called “Birua” Tony Pitt made an attempt to categorise them into sub groups [see table below] :-

With some variations the groups categorized by Pitt are recognized by Laycock as follows:
“Warumoi” coincides with Laycock’s “Yinibu”/Rocky Peak language.
“Waniabu” is recognized by that name by Laycock.
“Naukwi” is recognized as Laycock’s “Nakwi” language
“Awai/Arai” is recognized as Laycock’s “Nimo-Wasuai” Birua
“Ariap/Saniap” included some Bero language villages.
Ariap/Saniap was later known as “Owiniga”

| “WOIMAU” | “WANIABU” | “NAUKWI” | “AWAI” – “ARAI” | ARIAP – SANIAP |
|--------------|-----------|----------|-----------------------|-------------------|
| Amafu and | Wabaru | Naukwi | Tobai | Samo |
| “Rocky Peak” | Ama | Amasu | Iwewe | Fauri |
| groups | Boropa | Didipas | Boutabei | Fausakimin |
| | Kauvia | Kwanio | Kukabin | Breen-u-gu |
| | Mumuruva | | Nimoni | Inagri |
| | Aboa | | Aboyemo | Maram |
| | Yeima | | Unani | Dabumirimo |
| | Abi | | Aimi | Am |
| | Blessiki | | Augot | Naman |
| | Lehei | | Wasuai | Yei |
| | Itauwa | | Dabugwi | Oro |
| | Asuwa | | | Erau |
| | Tigi | | | |

Pitt’s settlement names do not include the settlements listed as speaking Laycock’s “Po” and “Iye” languages. With regard to “Iye” Laycock notes that these are listed as a separate language in John White’s Ambunti Patrol report No 1/70-71; perhaps however this is the same language as Waniabu or Yinibu.¹¹

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The House of Assembly Elections 1964 – May River area

With the approach of PNG’s initial election of the House of Assembly throughout the country, field staff was involved in the preparation of the community for this event. At May River, this task fell to the then Patrol Officer in charge – A.D. [Tony] Pitt. His May River Patrol No 1/1963-64 reported:

In the people's eyes the Government is represented by the "kiap". It is he who makes the plans as to what will happen in the area, but his main task is to stop people doing certain things. As a sideline, medicine is provided for the sick at the Patrol Post. But anyone who is really sick is better off to stay in the village as there is no accommodation for them at the station. Occasionally he will hand out presents such as pipes and tobacco and perhaps feed them for a day or so,

Political education. It is necessary that the House of Assembly election be explained in simple terms:

1. The idea of a meeting deciding on a policy to do what is best to maintain a peaceful and happy community.
2. A representative elected by the people to be in that meeting.
3. How that representative was to be elected.
4. The idea of electing Europeans in special electorates

The people were interested and discussed these talks, but little is known of how much they understood. The people will turn up on polling day and select a candidate. The papers will be marked by a Presiding Officer as no one at May River is literate.

The election itself was conducted by May River Patrol No 2/1963-64 by Tony Pitt for the Wongamusen and May River areas. The election covered the villages from Burumai down and included some Saniap Creek groups as well as the Sepik River villages. Pitt reported :-

78% of the people votes. But of the people in the villages the percentage was in the high 90's. Generally the women came forward to vote after the men had finished. Only one candidate visited May River, but three visited the Sepik villages in the May River Administrative area.¹²

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During the election period a woman called Iyam was killed with arrows because she was believed to be a sorcerer. The husband of the deceased reported the killing to May River Patrol Post, bringing with him a severed hand from the deceased, as proof of death. Tony Pitt took a patrol into the "Waniabu" area in the Birua region to investigate.¹³ This was first of a number of murders the Patrol Officers at May River investigated in what seemed to be the norm among the "Birua" communities.

May River Patrol 4/1963-4 to the Arai River area. PO AD Pitt and ADO McCabe investigated reported murders and cannibalism as follows :-

Patrol proceeded to Naukwi Amasu area and arrested 13 accused men without difficulty [for the murder of four people]. The patrol informed the community that the accused were not to be harmed or beaten. But as the patrol was leaving [with the prisoners] the supporting string on one man's penis gourd broke and as he became agitated, all the men tried to make a break for it, but were held. Further discussions held and there was no further trouble... A further 7 arrests were made at Amasu.

[The incident investigated] related to the killing and eating of a victim which was part of a complicated payback: The people of Mumuvura hamlet of Amasu had an outstanding killing to settle with Naukwi. Naukwi had an outstanding killing to settle with Amasu and Wanimoi. In order to cancel out the killings between Mumuvura and, Naukwi, those two villages joined forced to attack a Wanimoi village. The combined raiding party went out seeking an unprotected settlement and once having found one, attacked it. It is noted that not

only did the attackers not know the names of their victims, they did not know the name of the settlement; which was Amiufa.

The people killed were: Three women – Onai, Kaniai and Senu, plus Onai's daughter Imso. One woman's body was taken away and eaten. There were a number of men between the ages of 18 and 22 years in the killing party. Each of them fired arrows into the victims. The child was held by Woimau, the leader and each man stabbed the child with a cassowary bone dagger in a manner suggestive of a ritual.

A singing followed attended by both groups. All the men who ate human flesh shaved their heads. The size and part of the flesh eaten depended upon the eater's importance. Woimau was given the greatest portion from the buttocks, while others had smaller portions from the hands and arms. The body itself was given to the Didipas community who took no part in the raid. The Naukwi raiders arrested were: Woimau, Sumo, Nikiam/Gabuai, Nikiam/ Wabusa, Nikiam/Savavai, Imare, Diari, Imauwa, Imari, Imo, Kerari, Yabuti and Imamo. The Mumuvura raiders arrested were: Suwuinau, Imei, Yamo, Imare, Weiko, Imauwa and Soiya.¹⁴

From May River Patrol 4/1963-4 through to May River Patrol No 10/1972-3, forty patrols were conducted in the May River area by: Tony Pitt, Tony Plumber, Alan Cresswick – accompanied by Dr. T. Schwartz [American anthropologist], Algernon Besasparis, Bernie Maume, Murray Tomlinson, Peter Gall [patrol from Telefomin], David Pennefather, John Corrigan, John White, Dennis Mahar, Livai Binjari, Geoff Payne, Tim McNichol, David Stevens and Peter Walsh. The following highlights only are recorded :-

May River Patrol 2/1964-5 Tony Pitt to the Usage Mianmin area :-

Mianmin/Iwam relations are good at present, but the Mianmin are gardening further and further down the May River and the Burumai [Iwam speakers] further up all the time. Burumai claim all the river banks even as far as Usage. This may have been so 20 years ago. But Mianmin claim the land by right of conquest. The Burumai claims only came to light after the fighting stopped.

Murder Investigation: Utip of Usage accused Kasikova of Usage of having sexual relations with his wife. Kasikova became ill and went to the Fiak River where he died. Kasikova's brother, Gubiri, said Utip had made sorcery to kill Kasikova. Utip was planting taro near the Usage rest house and left his bow and arrows in the rest house. When he came back, Gubiri was there with Totinep. Gubiri hit Utip with an axe, killing him. May River Patrol Post was unmanned at the time. Fifteen months passed and when finally called upon to come in and give themselves up, they fled.

May River Patrol No3/1964-5 – Tony Pitt – Saniap Creek, the Owiniga "Birua" area. The patrol visited the previously unvisited settlements of Arioro, Merabo, and Basri. The Owiniga [language] group's southern boundary is the foothills. The people do not venture that way for fear of the Telefomin threat [presumably from Nenatumun].

The patrol was received coolly at Inagri, with the people remaining in their houses for some time after the patrol arrived. Wounds seen on the people were investigated and revealed that a fight took place with Samo about a week ago.

A woman of Inagri who was married at Samo was taken back when no bride price was paid. A fight developed. The dispute was settled by the exchange of a woman from Samo. The

Inagri were apprehensive because they thought Samo had reported the fight and that the patrol had come to arrest them. The patrol took no action.

A patrol led by Tony Plumber some months later made 20 arrests in this area, but all were released on a Nolle Prosequi – the case could not be heard because of a lack of interpreters.¹⁵

May River patrol 1/1965-66 Warumoi area – Tony Plumber

A helicopter survey pinpointed the population centres in the West Range. The patrol visited the settlements of Ananari, Inawei, Pau, Wanarisin and Italinu, with a total of 246 people being initially contacted. The ceremonial house at Italinu was round in shape with a diameter of 40 ft. with a large central post, 20ft high. There were two entrances. The ceiling was made of bark paintings in red black and white. The people told the patrol that they no longer paint. The paintings depicted animals, fish, birds, snakes and a part of pigs – back bones tusks etc.

Post Script 1 entry from the Ex-Kiap Web site.

Tony Plumber found himself stationed at Green River Patrol Post in the West Sepik District in 1968. There was word of a massacre in the West Range area – near the border between East and West Sepik, brought District Commissioner John Wakeford to Green River. Wakeford was keen for a West Sepik officer to upstage their East Sepik counterparts from May River. Plumber continues:

I was out ahead of the patrol with one policeman when a man confronted us on the track. His bow and arrow were pointed at us. The policeman ran back to warn the patrol and I assume the man fled to warn the village. We arrived at the hamlet, made camp and eventually convinced the people to come in from the bush...seven were arrested after a minor scuffle. The victims were a family of three.

May River Patrol 5/1965-66 Algernon Besasparis – Owiniga area. The Owiniga people were reported to have settled in five settlements Amu, Samo, Inagri and Yei.

Post Script 2 Bragge FOJ entry 4th March 1964 – House of Assembly election patrol at

IDAM. Night asked village officials about uncontacted people in the ranges behind here. Learned of three groups near AMTO with common language. WOSINAI – 30-40 people, WAIARO, 40-50 people, MUSAN – all located on WOIRU Creek which enters the Sepik near MAHA. All these groups have been recruited as labour. Also learned of three groups near IDAM with common language: BORU – 20-25 people, TABERU – 40-50 people and KOROMARU stated known population 17 people is on YIUAP creek which flows into the Idam river. BORU and TABERU are on the BORU and TABERU Rivers which flow into the August River. All these places are in the foothills of the West Range. A larger population of cannibals reportedly lives further back in the range. Yet another place is YIGIRU in the August headwaters – little is known of it. Application was made for Bragge and EMA Peter Rooke to take a patrol into the West Range to contact these people. Rejected – low priority

Soon after this, the map of the May River administrative region was divided into four census divisions; the Sepik/May, Central May, Waniap May and the Upper May. Sometime later again, the Upper May was broken into the Abei May and the Arai May, relating to the Right May River and the Left May River headwaters tributaries respectively.

Writer's Note: While conducting a station inspection at May River Post in 1970, I was amazed at the depth of the pit latrine of the Patrol Officer's residence. I was told, when I asked, that pit was dug on instructions from P.O. Algernon Besasparis. When he went to Ambunti for an expected short visit, his instruction was to keep digging until he came back. His absence was unexpectedly extended and the pit became very deep. The floors of latrines over time rot and fall in. Such a fall at May River could be fatal for the unfortunate toilet goer!

Telefomin patrol No 4/1968-69 of part of East Mianmin by ADC P.S.Gall. The ADC was instructed by the District Commissioner in Vanimo to investigate a report received at May River. The report read:

While a man called Wakimsep was absent working as a plantation labourer, his wife in the village, Totobo gave birth. Luluai Yessim of Usage [in the May River area] alleged that a man called Tofup was the father. Tofup denied this. When Wakimsep arrived home he demanded that Tofup's wife Baikep should have sexual intercourse with him as compensation for Tofup's alleged adultery. The demand was supported by Luluai Yessim; a relative of Wakimsep's. Tofup at this time, was himself away working on a coastal plantation.

The woman Baikep was unwilling to go with Wakimsep, but Tofup's relatives ordered her to go with Wakimsep, so he would no longer be upset. As a result of this Baikep went with Wakimsep, who kept her for three days before releasing her. Some days later, on or about the 13th September 1968 Wakimsep is alleged to have killed his own wife and the child. He warned the people against reporting these killings and fled to the Temsapmin area

Later when Tofup arrived back and learned of this and threatened to fight with his relatives who made Baikep go with Wakimsep. He was prevailed upon to take his complaint to the kiap. Three men were gaoled for inducing Baikep to have sexual intercourse with Wakimsep. Wakimsep was also arrested, but the file makes no reference to his court appearance.¹⁶

May River Patrol 4/1968-69 M. Tomlinson – Upper May. This report stated in part :-

The Naukwi-Amasu is at peace with Iwam and Mianmin. But they fear any encroachment upon Itelinu land will be met with armed resistance. People are fully occupied with their own politics and not interested in Nation elections [i.e. the 2nd House of Assembly election -1968]

While in Mianmin it was reported that a rumour is circulating that Local Government Councils had passed laws advocating free love; that men could have sex relations with any woman they chose. A youth commenced this rumour, stating that he heard it from a PIR patrol in 1967, As a result a woman admitted to her husband that she committed adultery several times because she believed the law to be true. The irate husband reported it to the patrol

May River Patrol 5/1968-69 – Sepik May. Murray Tomlinson.

A Local Government Council survey was done in 1968, but now all plans for Councils have been deferred. This is the most politically advanced Census Division, but knowledge is limited. The area benefited from visits by Nauwi Sauinambi MP.

The Paupe people [from the middle Frieda River] had a dispute about Iniok people being on Paupe land; now settled. Carpentaria Explorations Company [CEC], Mount Isa Mines exploration arm had employed Inioks, who pass through Paupe land to get to the Frieda Copper prospect. Paupes were also employed, but proved to be no good as labourers.

May River Patrol 3/1969-70 J.C. Corrigan ADC Ambunti.

The main reason for this patrol was as a result of a dispute over sister exchange [marriage] between the headman of Amasu, Nigiau (alias Imamo) and Yamo of Naukwi. Nigiau became dissatisfied with Yamo's sister as a wife (he already had another two) so he divorced her and called for Yamo to return his sister. Yamo refused to do so, on a number of occasions, and Nigiau, incensed at this perceived violation of his authority as headman of the Naukwi-Amasu group, decided to lay in wait and ambush Yamo, hoping to dispatch him with an arrow. Fortunately no one was seriously hurt.

After the skirmish Nigiau decamped into the swamp with his family, warning his fellow villagers he would kill anyone informing the Administration on him. He was pursued and gave himself up and was indicted for unlawfully attempting to kill. This report made the first mention of the Seventh Day Adventist Mission establishing a mission station and airstrip at Ama in the Waniap Creek area

May River Patrol 4/1970-71 Abei May Division – John White .

Two Usalimin men [Mianmin] went to Tafiawi hamlet of Sori [Birua] and abducted three women and a child. The patrol arrested the two men and also took two of the women into custody. The Provisional Luluai Mekilim had custody of the child and was also arrested. In due course both accused and one woman escaped. The women stated that they were at Usalimin of their own free will.

The establishment of Ama Patrol Post.

A long standing problem with May River Patrol Post had been its isolation, being 168 miles upstream of Ambunti – three days in a work boat against the current, or a very big day by powered canoe. Over and above its remoteness, May River was nothing more than a small hillock of dry land in an endless swamp. It was such an extremely miserable place that when I was in charge at Ambunti, I tried to change staff out every six months or so.

When the SDA Mission built an airstrip at Ama in the Waniap May area, the opportunity was there to reduce the remoteness of the region with a regular air service. Ama also had what appeared to be fertile soils for gardening and good access to Waniap Creek from where powered canoe access of the remainder of the May River administrative area. I made a case to close May River and open Ama as the administrative centre of the May River area. This was approved.

Dennis Mahar opened Ama patrol post on May River Patrol No 3/1971-72. December 1971- January 1972. Although patrols were done from Ama, there was a period of confusion about the numbering of Patrol Reports, with the "May River" and "Ama" name suffix to the report number, being interchangeable. May River Patrol 5/1971-72 Arai May D.J. Mahar reported :-

A girl called Isosi of Naukwi was to marry Nikiu/Womo of Augot and [by sister exchange marriage] Nikiu's daughter was to marry Isosi's brother, Sanio. But Nidusa/Urabusa of Naukwi persuaded Isosi to be his wife and she went and slept with him on 23rd March 1972.

As a result of Nidusa's action, four men, Obu, Naponduma, and Siou of Augot and Sanio of Naukwi went to take Isosi back. There was no objection from Isosi and she said she did not want to stay with Nidusa. After a discussion at Naponduma's house, about the marriages Nikiu left the house. But Nidusa, unknown to the others had followed them and when Nikiu was 20 yards from the house he had just left and 7 yards from where Nidusa was standing

behind a tree, Nidusa fired an arrow which struck Nikiu in the right side; Nikiu replied immediately and his arrow hit Nidusa in the back of the neck and came out of his mouth.

Nikiu pulled the arrow out, but he was in great pain. Siou pulled the arrow out of Nidusa and both men slept the night... Two weeks later Nikiu died. Nidusa went and hid in the bush, but gave himself up to the Patrol Officer as he still needed medical treatment. Nidusa was presumably charged with Wilful Murder – No record on file concerning the court proceedings.

During patrol 5/1971-72, Dennis Mahar investigated another murder incident :-

In June 1971 Warisa of Wasuwai approached Sauwisi, a woman of Wasuwai with a proposal that she commit adultery with him. They were in the bush at the time and she refused. In response he attacked her with a knife, attempting to drive the blade into her vagina, he succeeded only in cutting her inner thigh. [No doubt in fear of death] she then agreed to have sex. Sauwisi's husband (Wuape) then heard of this and attacked Warisa with an axe. The matter was investigated, arrests were made. Wuape was sentenced to six months hard labour and Warisa to nine months hard labour in Ambunti.

Sauwisa was pregnant and gave birth to a girl in February 1971. When husband Wuape was released from gaol, he claimed the child was not his and threw the infant out of a high house window onto the ground below where three Nimo youths, Autobio, Yemaki and Boiya were instructed by Wuape to kill it. They beat it with sticks. The dead child was buried.

Wuape and the boys were arrested. There was a lot of debate in the Supreme Court case whether the fall from the house or the beating actually killed the child. The boys were acquitted and Wuape was convicted.

May River patrol 6/1971-72 Dennis Mahar and Tim McNichol Arai May division:

At Momufra hamlet in the Arai river headwaters Awasairo/Wasa told Sorino he was going to take his wife [Imali] away from him and an argument followed. A week later Awasairo fired an arrow into the back of Sorino's right thigh and repeated his wife stealing statement. A week later again Imali and her child, were stolen by another man, Imari. Both Imari and Awasairo were arrested.

ADC Ambunti made a file mention of the monotonous regularity of murders and related incidents among the "Birua" peoples of the May River hinterland.

Ama Patrol 8/1972-73 Central May by David Stevens. In commenting of this patrol report ADC Ambunti wrote on the issue of the New Tribes Mission entry into the Ama area. The SDA Missionary at Ambunti mentioned that he considered this a direct reprisal for the SDA mission setting up a Mission at an airstrip which had been established by the New Tribes Mission in the Wonenara area of the Eastern Highlands.

Ama Patrol 9/1972-73. Sepik May division – Peter Walsh

Nyarawen of Brugnowi visited Tipas and other Yellow River villages and is alleged to have been told to move along after having adulterous relationships with married women there. He came to Panewai accompanied by his own wife and started an adulterous relationship there with the wife of Amiapowi. He took Amiapowi's wife back to Brugnowi with him.

At the request of the OIC Ama, the ADC in Ambunti located Nyarawen and the woman in question and moved them back to Ama. OIC Ama asked Amiapowi if he wished to charge Nyarawen with adultery, but Amiapowi said he just wanted his wife back, so no charge of adultery was heard. The Panewai party went home. Nyarawen was told by the OIC Ama to wait at Ama for transport back to Brugnowi.

However Nyarawen went to Panewai and hid in the bush there. He was caught in the process of propositioning Amiapowi's wife early one morning near her latrine.. He died after being struck by six arrows. Amiapowi fired an arrow which struck the deceased, who started running but was intercepted by Ami and Wauno and was further shot. He continued running with 6 arrows in him. They found him dead at a ridge some hundreds of yards behind Panewai village and they buried him there.

The three then reported to Luluai Pinia and asked if he would take their weapons. The Luluai told them to keep the weapons while he went to get the kiap. The men then took their weapons and retired to their houses. When the kiap arrived, the three killers quietly gave themselves up and handed over the murder weapons.

At their trial defendant Aimi spoke to the Judge, beginning his statement with "*It was not as though we killed him without reason...*" When Weimo stood to make his statement he looked at Aimi for reassurance then told the Judge "*It was not as though we killed him for no reason...*" Amiapowi was last to speak and he commenced his statement with "*It was not as though we killed him for no reason...*" The defence Council's summing up..."*Your Honour, I submit that it was not as though they killed the deceased for no reason...*" This brought a wide grin from the Judge's Associate and a wintery glare from Justice Raine. Each of the defendants were convicted and sentenced to five years and four months each.¹⁷

End Notes Chapter 18

¹ Verbal communication between WT Brown and J. Corrigan 5/7/2014. Mr. Corrigan was at that time responsible for the establishment of Amanab Patrol Post.

² May River Patrol 3/1962-63 G.J. McIntyre. Bragge Sepik Reference notes Vol 20 p161-2

³ May River Patrol report 5/1962-3 – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 P 164

⁴ May River Patrol 3/1962-63 G.J. McIntyre. Bragge Sepik Reference notes Vol 20 p162-3

⁵ Laycock D.C. 1973 P 44

⁶ Laycock D.C. Sepik Languages – checklist and preliminary classification. ANU 1973

⁷ May River Patrol 3/1962-63 G.J. McIntyre. Bragge Sepik Reference notes Vol 20 p163

⁸ May River Patrol 4/1962-63 G.J. McIntyre. Bragge Sepik Reference notes Vol 20 p163

⁹ May River Patrol 5/1962-63 G.J. McIntyre. Bragge Sepik Reference notes Vol 20 p165

¹⁰ Bragge Sepik Reference notes Vol 20 page 165

¹¹ Laycock D.C. 1973 P 45

¹² May River Patrol 2/1963-63. A.D. Pitt. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 165

¹³ May River Patrol 3/1963-63. A.D. Pitt. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 165/6

¹⁴ May River Patrol 4/1963-63. A.D. Pitt & B.McCabe. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 166

¹⁵ May River Patrol 6/1964-65. Tony Plumber – Owiniga area Bragge Sepik Research Nitisol 20 p 167

¹⁶ Telefolin Patrol No 4/1968-69 – East Mianmin PS Gall. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 P 168-169

¹⁷ Ama Patrol No 13/1972-73 Abei May Division. Peter Walsh. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 P 176

Sepik 4 Chapter 19 The Mianmin Raid on Atbalmin in 1956

In July 1956 Atbalmin tribesmen killed four visiting Mianmin men. ADO Telefolmin Dave Wren in his letter referenced 30-1 of 10th August 1956, which was a covering letter of his Telefolmin Patrol No 1/1956-57, stated that it was imperative he be allowed to take a patrol to maintain the peace with the Mianmin. There was no answer to this letter and the recommended patrol was not undertaken.¹

On 5th November 1956 reports reached the Telefolmin¹ Sub District Office that the Mianmin people had two days before, retaliated by killing four of the Atbalmin tribe in response to the Atbalmin killing four Mianmin in July. A patrol left Telefolmin on 8th November in order to settle the disturbance. Telefolmin No 2 1956/57 was led by acting ADO Ron Neville [Wren's successor] and was accompanied by Patrol Officer Geoff Booth, twelve members of the RP&NGC and a medical orderly. Neville's report reads :-

The Mianmin people live in very rough mountainous country around the headwaters of the May River and across the range back towards Telefolmin. The tribe is split into five sub-tribes; the Sogarmins, Temelmins, Termanmins, Temsenmins and the Urapmins. These five groups all occupy separate areas, have their respective headmen and keep to themselves except in times of large scale fighting.

European contact has been made with some factions of this tribe, not however with this particular group with whom we are concerned. They being the ones who organized this last raid. First European contact was made by Karius and Champion. In 1938, Black and Taylor penetrated into the Thurnwald Range area and were attacked. Some of the attackers were killed. In 1951, two patrols went into the vicinity from Telefolmin and both 1953 and 1955 patrols visited the area, receiving friendly if wary reception.

Until the advent of the Telefolmin patrols, the Mianmins had made many murderous raids upon their neighbours. Gardens were destroyed, men were killed and eaten and women and children abducted. The Eliptamin and Atbalmin peoples took the brunt of these attacks. So virile and aggressive were the Mianmins, and because of their numbers, they would move some three or four days walk into enemy territory looking for prey. The Eliptamin and Atbalmin, being terrified of the Mianmins, made no effort to carry the fight into enemy territory, but were content to remove themselves as far away as possible from Mianmin boundaries.

As soon as patrols had persuaded the Mianmins to cease their raids, instructions were given to the Eliptamin and Atbalmin people that they must not retaliate for past atrocities committed by the Mianmins. This order was easy to police in the Eliptamin, but not so in the Atbalmin.

The Atbalmin area lies between the Papuan border and the Sepik River. Its full extent is not known. The people live in small isolated settlements and patrols have seen few of their people. Thus it was that in early July an uncontacted Atbalmin group known as the Atemkismins killed four men of a friendly Urapmin-Mianmin party of nine. The bodies were cut up and distributed throughout the entire Atbalmin area for feasting.

¹ Neville used the spelling **Telefolmin**, which was later abbreviated to Telefolmin. Telefolmin is technically correct and it means the Telefol language speaking people

During late July, a patrol [vide report No 1/56-57] visited the area and ascertained the full details of the murders. Word was sent into the Mianmin area that they should not retaliate. However during late September, a large Mianmin party went to the Atbalmin and killed two women, one man and a girl. The bodies were half cooked, cut up and taken away for feasting. A further party destroyed all nearby gardens,

These raids had a most unsettling effect upon the Eliptamin people who have, since 1951, lived in relative harmony with the Mianmins. The Eliptamins feared that their former enemies would recommence raids upon all and sundry. So it was that the patrol left here for Mianmin as soon as possible after news of the recent raid was reported. Nevertheless, it was thought that on this occasion the Mianmins had some excuse for their raid and that a warning only would be given, friendly relations established and a patrol will go off to Atbalmin with similar words of counsel within the very near future. As quite an area of the country traversed is new to patrols, the diary is necessarily long for both yours and our edification.

Highlights only of the diary are included here.

The patrol left Telefomin station on the 8th November at 1.40pm and camped the night at Opek River. On the 9th the patrol reached the Eliptamin village of Inantigin and stayed overnight. Next day the patrol crossed the Elip River and on the 11th the patrol crossed the Donner Range and camped on one of Black & Taylor's camp site. On the 12th the patrol crossed the Fuk River and ascended to 3,325 feet ASL before making camp – guards were posted.

On the 13th the patrol reached Mianmin gardens at 10.10am. The patrol reached Abouvip village at 10.25. The village was deserted. Mr. Neville continues :-

Established contact by calling out, situation very touchy - eventually induced three Mianmins into camp. One was the nephew of the head man; enticed him to stay so that he could call off those who were encircling us with a view to cutting off our retreat. Later got two headmen into the camp and had successful talks with them...on the purpose of our visit. Gave a demonstration of firepower with a rifle – they were impressed. Further word sent out for them to call off their guards who were spoiling for a fight. They still had the several roads blocked. This was done. [We] managed to get one of the headmen (Dogomin) and his son to spend the night in camp with us, thus assuring us of a peaceful night. Heavy guard posted.

14th November. A large line from Tamanmin from across the ridge had heard that we had shot up this particular group of Mianmin and had travelled through the night to close off our retreat. After hearing that we were friendly they came into the camp...had a long talk with some 75 men including two head men...All agreed to stop fighting with the Atbalmin...All went well until 3.20pm when carriers and some police were collecting firewood and water. ...An Inantigin native of our party, while felling a dead tree for firewood had managed to kill himself...incident made locals rather nervy...Headman again slept in camp.

15th November. Many people into camp today – further tales. Once again all agreeable to stop fighting? Attitude very friendly, further demonstration of firepower with a rifle...Locals stayed till just on dark. Guards posted – quiet night.

16th November. Departed 6.50 am. Headman Damsogin showing road...
The return journey saw the patrol arrive in Telefomin at 11.20am on 20th November 1956.

Native situation.

...these instances of raiding between the Mianmin and the Atbalmin have been going on over a number of years, and on this occasion it was the Mianmin who had been wronged in the first place, they having lost four members of a peaceful party which was visiting the Atbalmin area. The Mianmin retaliated by killing four Atbalmins, but it was thought that the Mianmin would want to further revenge their loss as they are considered to be and have been the strongest fighting group in this area, and that they would not be content to rest on their laurels of having killed "only" four. Therefore the patrol got under way with utmost haste for the Mianmin area to tell them to be content with their revenge and "bury the hatchet". Moreover, because they had been initially wronged, and had hitherto remained reasonably peaceable during the last few years, it was felt in this instance good counsel and warning would suffice; and having extracted their revenge, they should now live peaceably with their neighbours. The Atbalmin had already been told to do this during patrol No 1 of this year.

Upon our arrival in the area, we were naturally considered potential enemies and were more or less surrounded within an hour, for the pangs of conscience must have pricked them, they having seen or rather heard of Government patrols to the nearby vicinity, were aware of the Government's role as protector of all and sundry. After a few touchy hours, per media of two and sometimes three interpreters calling out to them, we were able to establish that we had come in peace and not as enemies. Having won their confidence, we were able to entice several into the camp. The headmen were forthcoming very soon after the preliminary negotiations. Then we were able to get down to the matter of further winning their confidence and respect and open up discussions as to the whys and wherefores for discontinuing their fighting.

I was reasonably impressed by their headmen Damsogin and Dogomin who proved to be friendly and helpful. Unfortunately both these men are very old, and I feel are not the men who crack the whips when pertaining to fighting, these powers have been assumed or delegated to their sons who are, or appear to be powerful and energetic warriors. Nevertheless, they also were included in the discussions and appear to be suitably impressed and agree to discontinue their raiding.

They were told that the Atbalmins had also been informed of our wishes prior to my arrival at Telefolmin, and for my own satisfaction they understood the situation, a patrol would once again be sent to their area as soon as practicable.

Having discussed this proposition at length, unanimous approval seemed to be apparent, it being indicated by much nodding and interpreted by our interpreters. It must be realized however, that neither of our station interpreters spoke or understood their particular language...communication was difficult and nor were we sure that everything was understood by them or ourselves. Nevertheless, the apparent agreement was further cemented by an effective demonstration of the firepower of a .303 rifle and that of an automatic rifle. They readily admitted that they could neither sustain the rapidity or the power with their meagre arms. They are however remarkably good bowmen and they displayed some particularly nasty arrows which had all been newly sharpened.

As a result of the "show" they became easy in their relations with our party and adequately supplied us with food. Several women were seen in the camp – a good indication. Salt and beads were sought after, and of course steel. A present of a knife each was given to the headmen and in return, they accompanied us on our homeward journey showing us a track which was alleged to be less difficult than that of our coming. This unfortunately was not so,

but nevertheless the implied compliment was there? The headmen and some fifteen others accompanied us for two days and carried food for the patrol with which to help us on our way.

The Mianmin people...are a sturdy and warlike people, and could in other circumstances prove to be a nasty enemy. Moreover, the difficult terrain in which they live would prove to be to their utmost advantage. As a result of this visit I have hopes that they will respect our wishes and duly accept our invitation to visit the station and see a little of the happenings outside their own domain...

Conclusion.

Having seen these impressive Mianmin people, while I would not guarantee that we have heard the last of their warlike activities, I feel that at least the aim of the patrol was accomplished and that was to give peaceful counsel for the discontinuance of raiding, and have, I think given them food for thought. Further, the patrol was able to establish friendly relations and in the advent of another patrol to their area, such a patrol will have a basis upon which to establish further opportunity to get to know the area which will be useful should disturbances occur.

Should the Mianmin choose to disregard our wishes and continue to murder people of neighbouring tribes then I consider that serious thought should be given to discouraging their activities in the strongest mode, or, on the other hand, because of their distance from the station and their comparative lack of contact, leave them well alone until the closer areas have been consolidated. Then move out gradually and at the same time encourage the recipients of their fury to withdraw as close as possible to the Government station. This latter course had already been taken by the Atbalmins, but is somewhat of a negative approach to the problem. We must however remember that on the first occasion of these recent killings it was not the Mianmins who were at fault.

..... Sgd R.T.Neville a/ADO.

Mr. Neville's covering letter submitted with his patrol report reads :-

I would like to draw your attention to our letter 30-1 of the 10th August, 1956, which was Mr. D. Wren's covering letter to his patrol report No 1 of this year which was written before your taking over duties as District Officer Wewak. In this letter Mr. Wren pointed out that as the killings were the first of its kind in this particular area for a number of years, it was imperative that he be allowed to do this patrol which I have just completed, before leaving Telefolmin. There was no answer to this letter. As he foretold, the MIANMIN did retaliate which resulted in this patrol and the one which is now in progress to the ATBALMIN area. It is to be hoped that the MIANMIN will be satisfied with their endeavors.

This may or may not be so, for I found them to be somewhat smoldering at the insult of having lost four of their number at the hands of the weaker and 'insignificant' ATBALMINS. We now have to wait and see as to what importance the MIANMIN place on the instructions that this patrol has given them, and just how highly they estimate their own capacities and strength against all and sundry. Though they gave ample manifestations of their willingness to drop their grudge, that is, while we were in the area, I do not think that this is the conviction of the young bloods of the group. They heartily cherish and look forward to their feastings of human flesh which they regard as a more succulent meal than pig. This may sound rather morbid but is, I feel, true.²

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As mentioned, a patrol was sent to Atbalmin area from 30th November to 3rd December 1956, to inform them that on no account was similar retaliation to occur. The day after that patrol left the Atbalmin area, the Mianmin made their second successful raid on the Atbalmin. It was later learned that the Mianmin came upon the tracks of the departing patrol and that this nearly deterred them, but they agreed to continue with their raid³.

Telefolmin Patrol No 4/1956-57 .

The information on the patrol report cover indicates that the patrol, party consisted of a/ A.D.O. R.T. Neville and 3 Europeans, [PO Geoff Booth, PO Paul Conroy, EMA Alan Kelly] and 160 natives including 33 police.

The Objectives of the Patrol were:

1. To apprehend and arrest as many as possible of those concerned with the recent ATBALMIN massacre.
2. Stop tribal fighting.
3. Contact MIANMINS and explain reasons for arrests and Government views on killings.
4. Extension of Government influence.

Introduction:

Much of the matter contained in this report has been obtained under difficult circumstances. Quite a deal of it has been obtained from the defendants themselves, who were at first wont to tell stories varying greatly in truth and logic. Quite often, descriptions of incidents and facts had to be re-checked an astonishing number of times to arrive at a conclusion which was accurate.

Added to this was the ever present difficulty of interpretation. Fortunately a number of such difficulties were recently alleviated. On my return from patrol we obtained the services of interpreters, who are, in fact ATBALMIN men who were abducted by the MIANMIN when they were children and reared as TIMELMINs (MIANMINS). They fearing for their safety at the hands of the MIANMINS after the recent arrests were made, ran away from TIMELMIN and duly arrived at the station. They have proven to be most helpful. Previously, although we could converse with the MIANMINS, interpretation was a long and sometimes very involved process.

(a) Geographical background

The MIANMIN people live in very rough and mountainous country approximately 20-25 miles North and Northwest of the station. Their landholdings, which are extensive start from the north bank of the FUK (Clear) River and extend northwards as far as the junction of the AWAI (May) and the IWAR Rivers, being bounded in the west by the SEPIK River and to the East by the mountains forming the watershed for the NENA (Frieda) River.

The MIANMIN tribe is divided into a number of sub-tribes, each controlled by their respective Headman. These sub-tribes usually occupy separate areas and keep to themselves except in times of large scale fighting. Previous patrols by Messrs. West, Nolen and Jones named the number of sub-tribes as five – SOGAMIN, TIMELMIN, TEMANMIN, TEMSEMIN and URAPMIN. All previous contact with these groups indicated that the TIMELMIN were the largest body and the most aggressive. This patrol discovered the existence of three additional sub tribes – KARENMIN, EVIPMIN and SOMEMIN. Considering the gardens seen and visited by this patrol, it would appear that the KARENMIN group is as large as the TIMELMINS if not larger. The previous estimated population of one

thousand people seems to be much under the actual figure. I would estimate that the area would contain double that number...

Having vast areas of land under their control, the MIANMINS move from garden site to garden site as the mood takes them. It is not possible to state definite areas in which people would be located continually. At present the TIMELMIN and SOGAMIN groups garden near the UK River. The river flows into the FUK River. The TIMELMINS previously gardened near the AWAI and IWAR Rivers, whilst the SOGAMINS were in the Mt STOLE are the head of the IWAR River. The URAPMIN, TEMANMIN and TEMSEMIN now garden along the SAN River, but periodically shift to the WAMU and FIAK Rivers. The KARENMIN group; a group unknown before this patrol, have gardens spread from the headwaters of the SAN River across the TAWU [also known as the TABU] River and the THURNWALD Range to the Sepik. The EVIPMIN [also known as IVIKMIN] and SOMEMIN groups, also unknown before this patrol, have gardens in the TAWU and AKI Rivers...

...To state that this area is the roughest and wildest in the territory is a bold statement until one has seen and struggled over the land within these boundaries...

The ATBALMIN area lies between the Papuan Border and the Sepik River. Its full extent is not known. The people live in small isolated settlements and patrols have seen few of their numbers. Thus it was that early in July, 1956 that an uncontacted group ATBALMIN group known as the ATEMKISMINS killed four men (Appendix A to Attachment 6) of a friendly URAPMIN (MIANMIN) party who were visiting the ATBALMIN area in order to carry out trading. The bodies were cut up and distributed throughout the entire ATBALMIN area for roasting. It has been definitely established that the reason for this action was out of revenge for the numerous past atrocities committed by the MIANMIN against the ATBALMIN before the advent of patrolling from TELEFOLMIN.

During late July, 1956 a patrol (vide Report No. 1/56-57) visited the ATBALMIN area and ascertained the details of the murders. Some ATBALMINS were brought back to the station for corrective training and then allowed to go back to their village. It was some two months after this event that Mr. Wren A.D.O. was transferred to AITAPE and myself to TELEFOLMIN.

In retaliation for these killings, an URAPMIN (Mianmin) party organized by DAMSOGIN, who had lost a son in the first killings, raided the ATBALMIN during the late September 1956 and killed one man, two women and a girl (See appendix B of Attachment 6). The bodies were cut up and taken away for feasting.

These raids had a most unsettling effect on the ELIPTAMIN people who have, since 1951, lived in relative harmony with the MIANMINS. The ELIPTAMINS feared that their former enemies would recommence raids upon all and sundry. So it was that a patrol left here on the 8th November 1956 for the MIANMIN area as soon as possible after the news of this second raid was reported. It was thought that upon this occasion, the MIANMIN had some excuse for their raid and that a warning only would be given, friendly relations established and another patrol got off to ATBALMIN with similar words of council within the very near future. This latter patrol visited the ATBALMIN area from the 30/11/56 to 3/12/56 and informed them that on no account were similar retaliation to occur...It was the day after this patrol left the ATBALMIN that the MIANMINS made second successful raid...

Diary.

Monday 14th January, 1957.

Departed station at 1.25pm and camped at the [MISINMIN?] rest house at 4pm.

Tuesday 15th January

Departed camp 7.40am...arrived INANTIGIN 11.25am...quite good gathering of friendly people. This was encouraging when considering that it was only some two years² since these people...killed two patrol Officers and two Police. A meeting was held and talks given on the futility of such escapades. The people were very impressed and listened attentively. Much advice was given as to the warlike nature and treachery of the MIANMIN ...all wished us well, a successful trip and speedy return with numbers intact. The portable radio was set up in the open and TELEFOLMIN contacted – Locals much impressed.

Wednesday 16th January

Departed INANTIGIN 7.12am...arriving at ELIP River at 8am...crossed the River per a new bridge the locals had constructed...arrived at an old garden site (now abandoned due to fear of MIANMINS) at 12.10pm. No water further up the ridge, so made camp. Contacted Wewak, wireless working well.

Thursday 17th January

Broke camp at 7.25am...reached the top of the [Donner] range at 9.55am (7,300 ft). Descended steeply, passing through West's old camp site at 11.30am and arrived at an old ELIPTAMIN village site at 2.25pm. Camped.

Friday 18th January

...Got away at 7.40am...arrived at DUM River 8.15am (2,300 ft)...at 10.05am hid surplus food and equipment well into the bush. Left at 11.55am and arrived at FUK River (1,600 ft) at 12 noon. Water low, crossed and made camp...minor disturbance...Interpreter fired an arrow at a pigeon...arrow fell into camp - PANIC!! Sent home forty carriers with police escort. Spoke to District Officer [by wireless] Guard posted.

Saturday 19th January

Once again lined police and carriers and gave them a talk on what I wished them to do should the patrol be attacked. Set off at 8am following the BANA and BOLKIN Rivers... arrived at my old site at 10.15am. Decided it would be impossible to arrive at the MIANMIN villages using caution until late afternoon...better to camp and arrive in plenty of daylight...Camped (3,325ft) – guard posted.

Sunday 20th January

Got away at 6.10am...over very difficult up and down track...Reached an old village site at 7.27am. Numerous guard houses passed en-route, but none occupied...waited every quarter of an hour for all to catch up. Arrived at junction of two MIANMIN tracks at 9am. Followed the newer looking road until arriving at ABOUMVIP (3,900 ft), which was an old village site, arriving at 10.10am...village now deserted, but houses remain intact. Made camp and cleared bush. Unable to establish contact...people seen moving in some clearings on opposite site of valley...would not answer our calls. Village a good camp site for defence with a fall on all sides except one. Spoke to the District Officer. Strong guard posted. All well.

² November 6th 1953 – to 15th January 1957 = 3 years and 2 months

Monday 21st January 1957

Started off the day by making contact with DAMSOGIN, another man and two women. They came into camp and were given presents etc. and told a little as to the purpose of our visit. This is an old ruse of primitive people of sending women and old men into the enemy's camp to ascertain its strength. Having had long dealings with primitive people, it has been my experience that the primitive mind tends to discount the loss of women should the enemy care to take them. They know the enemy is not anxious to obtain or kill old men and women and therefore will not show their hand by interfering with their emissaries. At the same time the women and elderly people who enter the camp and later (when they return) report back to their fighting men the numbers they can expect to encounter etc.

This being the case, plans to attack or otherwise can be formulated accordingly. DAMSOGIN and the others were not allowed into the actual camp site itself. We sat with them on the outskirts, for with the above in mind, we wished to determine the temper of the people, and, as usual allow them to take the initiative and then act accordingly. After much talking, doctoring of their sores and backslapping on DAMSOGIN's they went off and brought us in a little food for which they received payment. During all this time DAMSOGIN was within the precincts of the camp he was taking particular note of our position and strength. However at this stage we felt certain that DAMSOGIN was the instigator of these last killings despite previous warnings to him. They later went off saying they would return. Strong guard posted.

Tuesday 22nd January

All quiet early...later in the day a large party of 150-200 fighting men carrying an array of bows and arrows were seen to be surrounding the camp. In attempting to apprehend those present for questioning, for by this stage it was obvious that they would not submit to us voluntarily, a skirmish developed and one of the MIANMIN warriors was killed. However sixteen of them were captured and fortunately none of our party was injured except for a minor wound in the hand suffered by a Policeman.

After this, their party broke up quickly and we followed but this proved to be impossible in such difficult and heavily timbered country. Fifty four sets of bows and arrows and ten fighting shields were found abandoned to allow for greater speed on the part of the owners. The dead man was carried to a point as close as possible to where his relatives could find and collect him. In this way he could serve as a warning against further indiscretions on their part. Prisoners were interrogated... heavy guard posted. – quiet night.

Wednesday 23rd January

Prisoners further interrogated...nothing was seen or heard of the locals who nevertheless heard all we had to say per media of the prisoners. Decided to sit down and wait. A strong scouting party of Europeans and Police sent out for five hours – nothing seen of people. Contacted Wewak and passed message for stores to be relayed from TELEFOLMIN to FUK River where they will be collected.

Thursday 24th January

Re-established contact – locals have us surrounded and have our retreat cut off but we do not intend to use it. They answered our calls saying they would bring in the people responsible for the killings and also food. Their party came to the foot of the hill upon which we were camped. They remained some three to four hundred yards away. It was of no advantage to sally forth – would destroy their faith and the possibility of obtaining more of those whom we were after.

Moreover many obstacles lay between them and us. Party with extra supplies left TELEFOLMIN for the FUK River today.

Friday 25th January 1957

Morning spent calling out to the locals and telling them what we wanted of them. Contacted them during the afternoon. They came again to the bottom position on the hill and left a little taro for their prisoners and a pig for us. Nothing would entice them into the camp for more intimate talks...However did get across to them the reasons for our presence and actions and told them that it resulted from them ignoring our previous instructions...for them not to kill any more ATBALMINS. They said they would be off and bring DAMSOGIN and the others directly concerned. But from their actions and tone I hold out little hope of this. However, no more aggressiveness noted and they have discontinued surrounding the camp.

Saturday 26th January

A strong party consisting of Messrs. Booth and Conroy, nineteen Police and eighty carriers left for the FUK River at 8.30am to meet with the party from the station and collect supplies previously hidden in the bush. All well with party – no shots heard. A dreary day spent calling out and waiting to hear from the locals. Nothing heard. Rained heavily. Contacted WEWAK and TELEFOLMIN...quiet night.

Sunday 27th January

Contacted WEWAK and TELEFOLMIN. Nothing heard from the party at the FUK River. Appears their wireless (ATR4A) not working. Had long discussions with prisoners. Had them call out to their friends. Contacted the latter at 1.45pm. Once again told them to bring in the ring leaders – again they said that they would. They left the bottom of the hill at 2.30pm. Messrs. Booth and party arrived back with the supplies at 4pm. Learnt that their radio had blown up when switched on. Guards posted. Quiet night.

Monday 28th January

Quiet day given to rain. Strong party of Europeans and Police sent out to do reconnaissance and see if any tracks, denoting movement of people. Nothing seen. Day spent charging batteries with charger sent from TELEFOLMIN.

Tuesday 29th January

Now it appears certain that the locals do not intend to come forth – time to move further into their territory and seek them out. Left eight police and twenty carriers in camp to look after heavy gear left behind. Remainder of party left at 7.40am, for the opposite side of the valley where further villages situated. Descended...to SAMAL Creek. Walked along it until reached SAN River...Walked up SAN...to SAN/AFAL junction...climbing and arrived at an old village site at 10.50am...arrived at DRONSAVIP village at 12 pm. This a new village – one of DAMSOGIN's villages – deserted. Found a new ceremonial house which had 35 skulls in it as well as numerous new arrows. These collected. – village not a good site for camp – defence a little awkward and clearing small for large party. Mr. Booth scouted and found better site handy. Left DRONSAVIP at 1.30pm and walked down the slope to KAVORAVIP village arriving at 1.40pm...Village site... well cleared of surrounding timber. Camped – good site – further cleared. Nothing seen or heard of locals – guards – quiet night.

Wednesday 30th January 1957

Contacted WEWAK and had conversation with D.O. explained the situation. Scouting party led by self, Messrs. Conroy and Kelly set out to look at surrounding area and look for suspects,

nothing seen of menfolk. Found DAMSOGIN's aged wife, his child and her child in a garden house. The two former were crippled and could not move. Talked with them and discovered that their menfolk had visited them the day before, giving threats that if they (the women) were touched that he (the husband of the younger woman) would come back and avenge them. The elderly woman was suffering from a large and very bad tropical ulcer. Treatment given and both women and the child were carried back to the camp for further treatment, interrogation and presents given. Three very large gardens were also found. Party returned to the camp. Another party sent off to collect the police and carriers left at the last camp site – returned – trip uneventful – guard – quiet night.

Thursday 31st January

A party led by Mr. Booth out during the morning – much of the area seen, but nothing of the people. Another party out during the afternoon. Self took statements from the crippled woman and she being reassured, was able to give us a fairly clear picture of the events and happenings culminating in the last raid by the MIANMINS. She also identified all of the prisoners as having as having seen them set off to participate in the raid. Prisoners... endeavouring to establish contact with their people. However they appear to have taken off, especially those implicated in the killings. Am now satisfied they had no intention of bringing in further culprits, nor giving help, but merely trying to get back their relatives from me.

Friday 1st February

Smoke seen in the KAREMIN area – Messrs. Booth and Conroy with a strong party set off to investigate, but discovered by guards long before they got near the area – unable to apprehend anybody. Their villages sit astride a hill and when a party reaches the area below the villages the men (for the women have all moved off) are warned well in advance by guards and by the time the patrol reaches the village those who may have been present have fled and have a considerable start.

Self and another party off to the east of the camp. Booth and Conroy back at 5pm. Spoke to the D.O. during the afternoon.

Saturday 2nd February

After re-arranging cargo Messrs. Booth and Conroy got away for the KAREMIN area at 8am, together with seventeen police and fifty carriers. Self and Mr. Kelly broke camp at 8.20am and left for TEMANMIN. Going very slow with prisoners and battery charger...crossed DUAMORIN creek...continued until striking a garden. Here we saw four MIANMIN men collecting taro... We endeavoured to encircle them, but their guard discovered us... They ran off very quickly. We continued until arriving at YESARAMAVIP village at 11.30am. Camping unsuitable. Discovered another village KARUASARAVIP - much better for camping... arrived at 11.45am. Made camp and cleared area. Guards posted – quiet night.

Sunday 3rd February

Messrs. Booth and Conroy at KAREMIN. Contacted TELEFOLMIN...spoke to Norseman pilot giving him information as to our whereabouts...requested him to look for us on return trip – country so broken that we are unable to fix ourselves on the ground in respect of any known points. Pilot did so and found us by means of us lighting fires and making smoke. He found us to be due north of the Sepik Gap or 230 plus or minus 10 from Mt. Stolle...no further signs of people.

Monday 4th February 1957

Got away to an early start for gardens and surrounding areas. Came across a garden which was well concealed on a steep slope. Three men in this garden but again guards well posted and unable to get near them. All these people have gone off to either KAREMIN or TIMELMIN.

Returned to camp late afternoon. Time spent questioning the two women previously contacted and still receiving treatment for ulcers. Also with prisoners. Gave firepower demonstration with a rifle. Women very impressed. Gained more information from women with regard to roads etc. and impressed upon them our desire for them to go back and tell their menfolk that the government did not want to hear of any more tribal fighting but that they were to remain peaceful – tend to remaking of gardens, their women folk, children, pigs etc. Gave the women presents of beads, salt and other small odds and ends – quite friendly and agreed that fighting was unsettling to say the least...

Tuesday 5th February

Contacted TELEFOLMIN. Got away with party to local area. Messrs. Booth, Conroy and party arrived back from KAREMIN during the afternoon. Reported that they had seen tracks but no sign of people, also that from a distance a number of gardens and houses were seen, population appears to be quite dense. Late afternoon spent re-arranging cargo – preparing to move off to TIMELMIN tomorrow

Wednesday 6th February

Left camp at 7.50am and crossed the junction of the DU and AIK rivers at 8.50am...very heavily timbered broken country...DEGA River at 1.30pm...and arrived at my old camp site at 2.35pm. Made camp in rain...

Thursday 7th February

...Uproar at 2.30am when guard called out that the prisoners were endeavouring to escape. All turned out and put a cordon around the camp. Prisoners quickly gathered and once again camp settled down. Broke camp and departed 7am...junction of the OROBU and AMOIU Rivers 8.50am. Self and Mr. Booth with a party of Police moved off ahead to attempt to find people in the TIMELMIN villages...climbed steeply...arrived at TIMELMIN hamlet (TARAPKAVIP) at 9.50am. Women were heard in one of the gardens but we were unable to contact them. Scouted around and found a better camp site at DAVANIP village. Arrived DAVANIP 10.30am. Camp made and site cleared...contacted some of the locals during the afternoon, but only at a distance – guard posted – quiet night.

Friday 8th February

Carriers busy further clearing adjacent to the camp. Locals came in close to the camp – unfriendly. Party went forth and made arrests of five men suspected of having taken part in the killings. No casualties on either side. Six women were also brought into the camp. Interrogated those taken and established that all the males had been present on the raid. After long discussions with the women two were allowed to return to their people. They were asked to bring in the woman KOGOMKAN who had been abducted on the recent raid. She arrived in at 3.30pm limping rather badly from an arrow wound in her leg. She had been shot in the leg by the TIMELMINS to prevent her escaping. Some more of the TIMELMINS came in close to the camp. The afternoon was spent shouting back and forth, the reason for our presence and the arrests. No hostility by them towards us. They listened quite patiently to our reasoning. Spoke to the D.O. during the afternoon and arranged an airdrop of torch batteries, handcuffs and European food stuffs...strong guard posted quiet night.

Saturday 9th February 1957

...Morning spent clearing the site and the building of two large bonfires...Cessna aircraft arrived overhead at 11.40am, did one circuit of the camp, very high – dropped too high. Supplies landed some half mile from the camp, but recovered. Europeans spent the day

interrogating prisoners. The woman KOGOMKAN valuable as a witness. Using her we have been able to establish the part played by those held.

Sunday 10th February

...Due to the shortage of food, accentuated by the large numbers we have to feed and the difficulty of holding prisoners – have decided to split the patrol. The major portion of carriers and prisoners are to return to the station. The largest section to go to KAREMIN and visit those whose presence we have only recently established. Held long talks with the four women during the afternoon. No further sign seen of the TIMELMINS.

Monday 11th February

Strong party sent out early. After talks with women allowed another to return to her people to tell them not to be unduly alarmed – that their menfolk would be eventually returned unharmed and that on our next visit we wished to become friends. She was given numerous small presents as tokens of friendship. Talked with the D.O. and informed him of my intention to split patrol. Rained very heavily during the afternoon. Guard posted.

Tuesday 12th February

Strong party sent out in an endeavor to contact the TIMELMINS and SOGAMINS. Nothing seen of them. More long talks held with the women and prisoners. The afternoon spent in re-arranging the cargo for the patrol to be split on the morrow...

Wednesday 13th February

Self and Mr. E.M.A. Kelly with fourteen police, seventy carriers, nineteen prisoners and witnesses departed for TELEFOLMIN at 7.15am. Messrs. Booth, Conroy and twenty five police and carriers remained in camp with most of the stores. Travelling very slow with prisoners and battery charger and carrying one heavy carrier, who had broken his leg... Arrived at FUK River at 11am. River flooded and had to construct a bridge. Crossed and camped in bush...Rained.

From this date onwards Mr. Booth's diary covers the remainder of his section of the patrol.

Thursday 14th February

Broke camp 7am...climbed at a very steep rate...reached the top of the range at 1.15pm (6,950 ft). Carriers had had enough. Called it a day. Made camp in rain.

Friday 15th February

Departed camp 7.20am. Arrived at ELIP River 10.30am. Here we were met by the MISINMIN and KOMDAVIP people who had just completed construction of a bridge for our use...The MISINMIN people had prepared and cooked food for the carriers. This was eaten and it was decided to camp. People very happy to see us...

Saturday 16th February

Broke camp 6am...climbed up to MISINMIN arriving at 8.10am...climbed to the top of the range arriving 10.30am (7,200 ft). Descended...reached the station at 1.30pm.

End of diary for this section of the patrol.

Native situation.

From what has been gleaned, the MIANMIN (especially the URAPMIN sub-tribe), despite the fact that the patrol had warned them that no further killing would be tolerated,

immediately commenced planning to extract retribution from the ATBALMIN people for their killing of four MIANMIN (URAPMIN) men in July of that year.

All people questioned, state, and he himself admits that DAMSOGIN of URAPMIN brought the matter to a head by holding a meeting in his village AKANAVIP, to which he called the relatives of the URAPMINS killed in July. Present were his sons DIRPSEP and AMTAMNING (his son and their brother DIRAPSEP had been murdered by the ATBALMIN earlier that year), NEMEKAP, UABOFOL and NOKBUL (whose sons WANANAPSEP, BILUWENGAP and UKBUP, respectively had been killed at the same time as DAMSOGIN's son.) Also present were WAPNING and DOPMURAP of URAPMIN. This meeting was held four days after the departure of the patrol i.e. 19/11/56.

Possibly the matter of further revenge had been thought about by isolated MIANMIN people but it was DAMSOGIN who solidified the idea, placing it before the other elders, and when they agreed the raid proceeded to play a major part in its organization.

At the meeting DAMSOGIN said that despite what the Government had said, he did not consider the matter closed. The MIANMIN had retaliated after the ATBALMIN had killed four of their men, by killing one man and three women (See Appendix "B" of attachment 6). This was insufficient, and DAMSOGIN felt that further steps should be taken to

- (a) Avenge the deaths of their tribesmen, and
- (b) Prove to the ATBALMIN that "Government or no Government" the MIANMIN were still supreme.

He suggested that word be sent to the KAREMIN group in order to hear their views on the matter. If the KAREMIN were in agreement...steps would be taken to arrange a large raiding party to proceed to ATBALMIN.

Three men WAPNING, DIRAPSEP and GWIVEK (who had previously been into the patrol's camp, GWIVEK in particular being noted as an arrogant hothead) were sent to the KAREMIN group (KINAVIP village) to call the KAREMIN elders and able bodied men down to AKARAVIP to hear DAMSOGIN's talk. They departed the same day 20/11/56 arriving the same day...At KINAVIP they met several men, some of whom are now prisoners. To these men they outlined the discussions of the previous night. It was decided that NENIMAP and TEMANAMNOK would take the word westward the next day; over the watershed of the SAN River and into the TAWU [TABU] River Valley. On the 21st November NENIMAP and TEMANAMNOK departed for BIRAPTIVIP. They arrived the same day and addressed those present, namely NEMARIMAP, YETEMAP and his wife, NEKEREMAP, TERENGAP and his wife TARANGAP, WAFABIAR, NANDEMA, UMKEN, SIRIFUP, BENOSEP, TAWAIEMA and his wife. Word was sent out to those people in gardens nearby. On their arrival further discussions were held. On the 22nd of November two men from the area in company with NENIMAP and TEMANAMNOK crossed to RIKAVIP.

By the evening of the 23rd November, quite a large party had converged at AKANAVIP. At the meeting in the men's house that night DAMSOGIN reiterated his former statements and pressed that there should be a raid. All present agreed. It was decided that the other sub-tribes be informed of the plan and asked to support. DAMSOGIN and TAPMING chose BAIYEP and TIMNING to bring the news to the TIMELMIN sub-tribe. They departed the next day (24th November) proceeding east down the valley. En route they called at KARAPTIVIP, assembled the population and brought one man down to BENGAVIP with them. At the time of their arrival

at the BENGAVIPS were baking taro on hot stones. While the taro was cooking the men talked. When it was ready they all ate and continued talking into the night discussing the plans for the raid. BAIYEP said that DAMSOGIN had sent him; they (the URAPMIN AND KAREMIN) had decided to raid the ATBALMIN and that he had been sent to ask these people to join the raid.

Among others DIRIPFUP spoke. He supported the idea of the raid and invoked the TIMELMINS to go with the party. At the close of the evening, it had been decided that the TIMELMINBS would participate. DIRIPFUP chose WATEMAP and SINALDIMAP (his son) to take the word to the SOGAMINS.

On the 25th November, while BAIYEP and TIMNING remained at BENGAVIP, WATEMAP and SINALDIMAP went to SOWAMVIP a SOGAMIN hamlet. Here they spoke to a gathering, giving details of the intended raid and the number who had agreed to take part. The SOGAMINS agreed to assist in the raid. A young man SERA was sent by SASARAP to the next settlement KARAPOMAVIP. He passed the word to those present, and thereupon they also decided that they would participate. The following day the KARAPOMAVIPS, after collecting sufficient food, went to SOWAMVIP. Here the TIMELMINS and SOGAMINS collected over the next two days. The 28th November saw this party of TIMELMINS and SOGAMINS leave BENGAVIP fully armed and with sufficient food to bring them to the ATBALMIN area.

In the period from the 24th to 27th of November word was also sent to the TEMANMINS; carried by TIMITAP and ERAKIM, on DAMSOGIN's orders. It is known that by the 27th November a party of TEMANMINS approximately fifteen strong was in the ANANAVIP area in company with strong parties of KAREMINS and URAPMINS. Together this combine moved off for the ATBALMIN area on the 28th November. Crossing the SAN valley, they reached the junction of the FAK³ and BANA Rivers on the evening of the same day. Here they made camp and waited for the TIMELMINS and SOGAMINS to arrive.

This latter group left BENGAVIP on the 28th November and followed the UK River down to its junction with the FAK River. They slept en route. The next day they joined the party at the prescribed waiting place.

All and sundry in the vicinity of 100 left the rendezvous on the 30th November and slept that night on a hill called DANBEL. The following day the party reached the Sepik River where they slept. The 2nd of December was spent bridging the Sepik. On the 3rd the party crossed and proceeded into ATBALMIN territory. Here they struck the tracks of the TELEFOLMIN patrol that was visiting the ATBALMINS. They were reassured when they saw the tracks were leading away from ATBALMIN. From their position they heard the sound of trees being felled and saw smoke rising from a garden. Immediately they surrounded this garden and rushed in to attack.

Those first into the garden seized the surprised ATBALMINS, others pursued those endeavouring to escape. As more and more MIANMINS arrived upon the scene they formed into groups around the captured ATBALMINS, assisting in the killing of those still alive and mutilating the bodies of the newly dead. When all had been dispatched, only one young girl

³ Throughout this report Mr. Neville has spelt this river FUK. His use on this occasion of FAK is the spelling in common usage in the 1960s, as the pidgin "A" is pronounced as in "After" where as "U" is pronounced "oo" as in cook.

had managed to escape (two women of marriageable age were being held), the task of cutting up the bodies was commenced. Others took taro out of the garden and burnt the houses in the area. Among those houses were those that had recently been constructed by the Government patrol. The whole action was estimated to have taken approximately some four and five hours. It can easily be seen that they had no fears as to their safety at the hands of the ATBALMIN.

They left the garden site late in the afternoon, returning to their camp of the previous night, cutting the bridge they had constructed en route. Most of the party was seen by the women witnesses to be carrying loads of human flesh in their string bags. The women had ample time to notice these details during the two days in which they travelled back with the party. The assassins retraced their steps back to the junction of the FAK and BANA Rivers. Here they split up and took the most effective routes back to their respective hamlets.

Celebrations on the return of the successful parties were held were held locally; that is, there was no one big celebration. The scattered settlements of each sub-tribe came together in the main hamlets where the "heroes" were feted and feasting on the ATBALMIN flesh took place. Men women and children all participated.

After Events:

As soon as possible after the substance of these events had been reported, this patrol got underway to carry out investigations. The patrol duly arrived in the MIANMIN area on the 20th January and received a rather wary and hostile reception. Clearly these people still regard themselves as being not only the most feared group in the TELEFOLMIN area, but that they had sufficient justification for their past and future actions. No doubt they were spurred on by DAMSOGIN who made an initial reconnaissance of the camp. Also it is interesting to note that as far back as 1950, Mr. Rogers; Patrol Officer conducted a survey of the ELIPTAMIN valley and found that the MIANMIN had killed one hundred and thirty eight of the total population of approximately one thousand in the previous eleven years. Also he discovered that the scattered and unorganized ATBALMIN people had suffered even more seriously.

It is indeed unfortunate that life was taken at this early stage and later during the course of the patrol. However, when primitive people are of such a mind and refuse to be sidetracked or submit to authority, laws and a moral code about which they know next to nothing, such a result may sometimes be expected. I think that both you and the District Commissioner will agree that had it been avoidable, any patrol led by myself would most certainly have deterred. It was only out of consideration for the safety of the patrol members that such actions came about.

In order to give you some idea of the type of people with whom we were dealing, I would like to record a particular incident which had an unsavory taste. You will recall that on my last patrol to the MIANMIN, I visited the URAPMINS to particularly warn them against further killings of ATBALMINS. They agreed to take my council and remain peaceful. As subsequent events proved the organization of this second raid was commenced just two days after my departure from their area. Moreover, you will recall that during that patrol we had the misfortune to lose a carrier who was accidentally killed whilst felling a tree two days before we left ABOUMVIP village (URAPMIN area). Upon my return to this village during this patrol I found that the body of the carrier had been exhumed. Later investigations proved that the body had been dug up by the URAPMINS immediately the patrol had set off from the area. It had been cooked and eaten by the people of that area. Undoubtedly they must have sneered at our

attempts of peaceful mediation. However I did not allow this incident to greatly influence my decisions, but permitted them to take the initiative and then acted accordingly.

You will have seen both from the diary and the above that many difficulties have occurred during the patrol. Apart from those of supply, which were extremely good under the circumstances, our most serious obstacle was that of terrain and the lack of knowledge of this new area. The very nature of the country lends itself to those having firsthand knowledge of it, i.e. to the owners or inhabitants. This being the case, the URAPMINS had a very clear and distinct advantage over us. And one with which we could hardly compete. However, I know, and can assure that the patrol did its best possible on all occasions and I feel gratified that we were able to obtain 25 of the murderers who will stand their trial and against whom convictions will most surely be recorded.

During its course of the patrol covered the entire MIANMIN area now inhabited. This includes the TEMENMIN, TEMSENMIN, URAPMIN, TIMELMIN and SOGAMIN sub-tribes. The KARENMINs were also visited, But, as previously mentioned, it was subsequently learned from those taken prisoner and particularly from the contacts with women which we made that not all of this latter area had been covered. For this reason and out of considerable shortages of food, and the difficulties of holding prisoners, the patrol was split on the 13th February. A portion of the patrol with the help of eight police sent from the station returned to TELEFOLMIN with the bulk of the prisoners and carriers. Messrs. Booth and Conroy, who had previously visited that part of the KAREMIN seen, took 25 Police and made a sweep into the remaining section not yet visited. Whilst doing this they discovered the existence of the EVIPMIN and SOMEMIN sub-tribes who were not previously known to us. Mr. Booth's report which is attached covers this section of the patrol.

Sixteen suspects were taken at ABOUMVIP and prior to the splitting of the patrol, a further five TIMELMIN and SOGAMIN suspects were arrested at BENGALVIP on the 8th February. Six women were also taken on this occasion, but after giving them presents and explaining to them the reason for our action against their menfolk over a period of three days during which they were well cared for, they were allowed to return to their people and carry the tidings.

Herein lays the very promising aspect of this patrol. We and the women parted on very friendly terms. They quite agreed that raiding and killing were not to their liking, especially if the Government was going to take a hand in the proceedings. Moreover, should their menfolk continue to carry on in such a manner, they feared reprisals from enemies. Thus their lives and those of their children were in danger. This was definitely not to their liking. We sat down for three days and talked over the various aspects of fighting and living peacefully and I am confident of their enlisted support and feel sure that these particular women will be invaluable for future contact. This was also true of DAMSOGIN's wife and daughter whom we contacted on the 30th January and had with us for a number of days whilst treating their sores.

In the case of the TIMELMIN women the harvest of their efforts was gained after having allowed them to go back to their people. They returned with the woman KOGUMKAN who had been abducted by the MIANMIN during their recent raid. We were very pleased with her recovery. She and the other woman MAGANIP who escaped have been most helpful in the course of the investigations. Since returning to the station, the SOGAMIN – TIMELMINs brought the small lad ATIAP across to the KOMDAVIP people and asked them to return him to myself here at the station. This was done. It turned out that the boy had been previously

abducted by the SOGAMIN (MIANMIN) and we had known nothing of him. Presumably the ATBALMINS had thought him dead and had not reported the matter. This action was definite chance of fate and one to the good.

As a result, we have now been able to re-establish contact with the MIANMIN at a distance through a KOMDAVIP man who is acting as messenger and mediator and reports that all is well. These contacts will be further cemented upon the return of the prisoners, with whom over the last two months we have become very firm friends. Indeed, in a way, I am sorry to see them go. We have had numerous talks and discussions and I have received their assurances as to their honest desire to become friends of the Government and help me with our work. Having got to know them, I fully believe in their sincerity and feel that it not part of a "flash in the pan."

Messrs. Booth and Conroy did very well in capturing DAMSOGIN, the instigator of the trouble, under very trying and difficult circumstances. They are to be congratulated, for as a result of this our prestige went up a hundredfold in the eyes of the TELEFOLMINS and also in those of the prisoners. The latter now regard DAMSOGIN as being the cause of their plight and wish to goodness that they had not taken notice of his pleas and orders. This, I consider is the general attitude of the MIANMIN as a whole and undoubtedly the advantage now rests with us. People of influence in the MIANMIN subsequently requesting help to carry out a raid will no doubt go unheeded. I very much doubt that such an occasion will arise during the next few years. They have learnt their lesson and will, I feel conform to our wishes which were passed on to them per media of their womenfolk.

As mentioned previously, I am now in contact with the MIANMINS. The contact is somewhat unsatisfactory for it takes considerable time for the news to reach me. However, it is contact and I have messengers out who will bring in other contacts. I refer to the NENA people who do have a limited degree of intercourse with the MIANMIN. Our prisoners have sent back messages of wellbeing to their relatives and the area is quiet. I have discussed at great length with the prisoners and knowledgeable observers the prospects of returning to the MIANMIN. They and I also, are of the opinion that the MIANMIN should be left alone for the time being, at least until the area settles down. Very little if any good would come of a patrol at this juncture, for it would be a repetition of the latter stages of this patrol, when only a few were seen and they at a distance. I think that some of the younger prisoners will receive comparatively light sentences and when they return they will be invaluable in opening a new and enlightened phase of contact with the MIANMIN. Whilst the area remains quiet, it now behoves us that none of their former enemies tries to take advantage of the situation. With this in mind I consider that your plan for a patrol to the larger ATBALMIN and BUSILMIN areas, whose people may be considering reprisals against the MIANMIN, is a sound one and will do more to accomplish the pacification of the area as a whole.

The native situation in the ELIPTAMIN valley is very encouraging. They, while greatly fearing the MIANMIN, really responded to an appeal for carriers. We were warmly received in the ELIPTAMIN both going and coming and every assistance was given the patrol. Food was brought to us in large quantities, roads were well cut and rest houses and villages clean. From the atmosphere felt on my return to the station through that area, one could sense that the Government's prestige had undergone an uplifting. Especially in light of the fact that the patrol had returned intact and not lost any of its members. It is a fact that all previous patrols to the MIANMIN lost one or more of their party. In their eyes we had broken the MIANMIN spell. The ELIPTAMINS now feel that they can live in peace without having the constant nagging

fear the MIANMIN will kill some of their people. This will now allow them greater freedom of movement and will eventually lead to amicable intermingling with the MIANMIN, who will now respect the Government's wishes for people to live in closer harmony with one another.

Agriculture

...Meat plays a very important part in the diet of the MIANMIN. More so than that of their neighbours in TELEFOLMIN. The MIANMIN being more of a warrior, travels far and claims hunting rights over a large area. Wild pigs, cassowaries, opossums and other small animals are plentiful. The penis of wild boars is dried and worn as an armlet by the successful hunter, and is not transferable. Many men were adorned with more than fifty of these armlets...

Conclusion.

In general, these people are little different to any other type of the lesser contacted peoples scattered throughout the Territory.

In their particular case the impression was gained that their continued victories had made them think that they were invincible. With this came arrogance and false self-assurance. Taking into account this attitude and the fact that they considered that they had justifiable reason to kill more ATBALMINS, it was not surprising to learn that when DAMSOGIN touched on the subject of reprisals, he was whole-heartedly supported despite my appeals to them on the last patrol to discontinue these adverse activities.

The MIANMIN are hard people, their environment and way of life makes them so. We cannot expect to change, in a short time, traits inherited through generations...If a party of strangers came to us with a decree to kill our neighbours. - would we? It goes against everything we have been taught. The same type of argument applies to these people. However now that they have seen that the Government intends to enforce this ultimatum of living peaceably upon them and that we have the wherewithal to be able to do this, no doubt we will see a change in their attitude...

Messrs. Booth and Conroy's portion of TELEFOLMIN patrol No 4/1956-57.

Introduction:

This report covers a patrol to the KAREMIN tribal area. The Karemin area straddles the mountain formations which are the watersheds of the TAWU [Tabu] and SAN Rivers. The main villages are clustered on the south bank of the TAWU River upon long, sheer sided ridges which trail from the Thurnwald Range...

The KAREMIN tribe was unknown before this patrol. During the questioning of some of the MIANMINS arrested for participation in the ATBALMIN, the existence of the KAREMIN tribe was revealed. Those reports indicated the KAREMINS were a very small group. On the 1st February, 1957 a scouting party entered the first of the KAREMIN villages. The extensive gardens seen indicated the presence of a much larger population than the questioning had revealed; this belief was further strengthened by the discovery of a much used track leading over the headwaters of the SAN River to the next valley. Consequently, this patrol moved west to the TAWU River area.

The KAREMIN people have had no Government contact. Messrs. TAYLOR and BLACK visited the SAN River in 1938 but did not cover the area in which the KAREMINS live. In late 1955 an oil survey party travelled along the TAWU River, and though they

contacted MIANMINS it is considered that they were not KAREMINS, but IVIPMINS, a separate MIANMIN sub-tribe.

Diary.

Wednesday 13th February 1957

At BENGAVIP. Mr. A.D.O. Neville and E.M.A. Kelly with 14 police and 19 prisoners departed for TELEFOLMIN...Radio contact maintained. Guard maintained.

Thursday 14th February.

Broke camp 12.15pm and returned to the bush camp of 6th February arriving 14.15pm.

Friday 15th February.

Broke camp 7.25am and returned to the camp of 5th February arriving 12.25pm. The two crippled women, who had been seen previously, were still here. They claimed that their calls had gone unanswered. They were given extra food water and firewood and moved to a bush house in a more prominent position. No sign of life could be seen along the SAN River. No radio contact. Guard posted.

Saturday 16th February.

Broke camp at 7.35am...proceeded to the first village of the KAREMIN group. Arrived KINAVIP 12.40pm. Camped. Many fresh tracks seen, the movement of a large number of people being indicated. Two women were located in a bush house near the camp...They revealed that ...head man DAMSOGIN was camped with some of his people... approximately one mile from our camp. Raid planned for the following day. Guard posted.

Sunday 17th February.

A strong party searched unsuccessfully for DAMSOGIN. His camp located...vacated the previous day. Several human skulls and a number of bows and arrows were seized. During the morning two armed parties of MIANMINs approached the camp but fled when they realized the guards were alert and waiting for them. Much calling out from the ridge opposite...translated as "THE MASTERS AND POLICE HAVE COME. RUN!" The two MIANMIN women had now lost most of their fear of the patrol. They willingly revealed that DAMSOGIN...was in the TAWU with a number of his people...Careful watch...kept in the hours of first and last light.

Monday 18th February.

Broke camp at 8.25am after waiting in vain for heavy rain to stop...via UK, OVELMI and SAN rivers. Made camp 12.35pm. Steady rain continued. Rice stocks badly soaked. Tents leaked - sleepless night. Guards posted.

Tuesday 19th February 1957

Rain continued. Remained in camp. Scouting parties out. Radio contact maintained. Guards

Wednesday 20th February.

Broke camp at 7.27am. Descended to the SAN River, crossed and commenced a steep climb...reached the top (4,600ft) [the SAN/TAWU divide]. Valley below obscured by fog. Descended slowly, scouting party ahead. Reached village (TUMTAVIP) – many recent signs of occupancy. Main patrol party climbed to a prominent village [WANGAVIP]...DAMSOGIN was found in one of the houses. He had a big ulcer on his foot and so was could barely move. The fog had now lifted and a good view of the valley was possible. The valley was no more

than two miles wide and was encircled on three sides by sharp crested ridges pierced by many small but swift flowing streams...

Many villages and garden settlements were noticed on the tops of the ridges. The scouting party returned, they had visited two more villages, no people were seen, and a number of skulls bows and arrows were collected. During the afternoon several men were seen standing near one of the villages on the ridge opposite; they were about 1,000 yards from the patrol, or translated into clearer terms, more than two hours walk from the camp site. No radio contact. Guards posted.

Thursday 21st February.

At WANGAVIP. Scouting party to nearby gardens. A cave was found near the camp, it contained bows, arrows and skulls. No recent tracks this side of the TAWU River. Radio contact maintained. Guards maintained.

Friday 22nd February.

Broke camp 7.10am. Descended to the MIAK River (2,300 ft.). Crossed and climbed into a new garden...continued on to a road junction situated between two villages...Climbed to the larger village (DANGORAVIP 3,175 ft.). Recent tracks discovered. Returned to the road junction and climbed to the other village (BITSUMAVIP 3,325 ft.). Camped at 9.35am. This village contains a large dance house and a small "spirit house". The latter contained many skulls. From this village it was possible to look along the TAWU River. Many sharp peaked mountains seen on the horizon – the STAR MOUNTAINS of DUTCH NEW GUINEA? A large mountain further north was identified as TABLE MOUNTAIN... Later in the afternoon smoke was seen on the other side of the TAWU River. Guards posted.

Saturday 23rd February.

At BITSUMAVIP. Scouting parties out, following tracks found yesterday and to the site of the fire across the TAWU....One of the parties located a large MIANMIN party, and in the ensuing attempt to make arrests a fight started. One policeman was cut on the foot and two MIANMIN were shot dead. Three men and one woman were apprehended. The wounded policeman was carried back to the camp and given treatment. Guards maintained.

Sunday 24th February

Scouting parties out. Radio contact with TELEFOLMIN. The injured policeman's foot being dressed in accordance with instructions from Mr. E.M.A.Goble. Radio batteries deteriorating. Guard maintained. Heavy rain during the afternoon.

Monday 25th February 1957

...The injured policeman's foot appeared to be responding well...Rice stocks low, a considerable amount having been ruined by rain. Tracks were found that indicated that the MIANMIN had now abandoned this valley and were headed in the direction of the SAN or IWAR Rivers. Radio contact maintained with difficulty. Guard maintained.

Tuesday 26th February

...Decision made to return to the station...one party commenced cutting a track over the THURNWALD Range. The three MIANMIN women were given small gifts, advised of the reasons for the Government's actions in their area, and sent off. Guard maintained.

Wednesday 27th February

At 6am one party returned to the camp of 21st February. Patrol broke camp at 7.15am. Both the injured policeman and the prisoner were being carried...Progress really slow despite the road being cut the previous day. The scouting party rejoined the patrol at 11.20am...Ascended to

the second peak (6,750ft). Rain and fog reduced visibility to almost nil. Descended until some pools of semi-stagnant water were located near two bush shelters at 2.45pm. Camped (6,000 ft.)...Guard posted.

Thursday 28th February

Broke camp 7.55am after being delayed by rain. Descended to the BLEMTEP River (4,650 ft.)...At 2.10pm the guides advised that they had lost the track. Camped. Party sent out to find the road for the next day's march. Radio contact maintained. ADO TELEFOLMIN requested to send extra food to the patrol and arrange for a bridge to be built over the ELIP River. Road located nearby. Guard posted.

Friday 1st March

Broke camp 7.30am. At 8.45 joined the road...9.10 started to descend...Track not discernible, guides useless. Compass bearing taken on the approximate position of the Sepik River, and commenced to cut in that direction. Reached the MATOTEM River (1,775 ft.) followed it downstream with great difficulty; ladders having to be constructed to allow the patrol to move with safety...descended to a garden on the bank of the SEPIK. Camped at 2.15pm (1,300 ft.)...The way to TELEFOLMIN now clearly defined. Guard posted.

Saturday 2nd March

Broke camp 7.05am. One party sent ahead to build a bridge over the FAK River...FAK/ SEPIK junction reached...arrived bridge site 1.30pm. Bridge completed 2.30pm. Crossed. Camped 2.45pm (1,700 ft.). Party sent to cut the track...Radio contact. Guard posted.

Sunday 3rd March

Broke camp 7.20am...Arrived at the SEPIK/ELIP junction at 12.40pm. No sign of the party from the station. River too wide to bridge, finally found a suitable fording place, crossed with great difficulty. Next stretch of the road reported to be very bad. Camped at 2pm. Rice stocks exhausted, patrol should be able to purchase food from the IUATIGIN tomorrow. Guard posted.

Monday 4th March

Broke camp 7.15am. At 8am a portion of the party from TELEFOLMIN linked up with the patrol...Proceeded on to IUATIGIN village. Arrived at 2pm (4,800ft). Camped. Village people glad to see the patrol, gifts of pigs and food given. The patrol camped on what was once IUATIGIN village site before it was burnt by the MIANMINS in 1951. Radio contact maintained. Guard posted.

Tuesday 5th March 1957

Broke camp at 6.30am. Climbed to the top of the MITTAG mountains...commenced slow descent...Arrived at OFEKAMIN Rest House 1.55pm...Arrived [TELEFOLMIN] station at 3.40pm. Both stretcher cases taken directly to the hospital for treatment. **End of diary.**

Native situation.

...The patrol did not see many people. The few who were contacted, viewed the patrol with fear. In following a policy of harassing the MIANMINS, the patrol contacted some women. Special precautions were taken to ensure they were treated properly. After questioning, these women were given small gifts, advised of the reasons for the Government's actions in their areas and sent off. The patrol emphasized the point that the Government had no fight with women, and only the actions of their menfolk, in disobeying explicit orders that they must not

raid the ATBALMIN tribe, had brought on this trouble. An effort was made to correct the idea that the Government had allied itself with the ATBALMINS. The patrol stated clearly that the Government had told all the tribes – ATBALMINS, MIANMINS, ELIPTAMINS etc. that they must not fight, and which ever group disobeyed this order must suffer the consequences.

The women believed, as did the prisoners themselves that the patrol intended to take their men away and kill them, this was denied and it was stated continually that the men must go to prison for their crime and would eventually return. These points were not fully appreciated by the women, but the seed had been planted, and when their men return upon completion of their gaol sentences, should they be convicted, the foundation for a firm friendship with the MIANMINS will have been laid.

The KAREMIN group is one of the many MIANMIN sub-tribes. The group has had no known contact and was unknown before this patrol...The KAREMIN area extends from the SAN River across to the TAWU River and the THURNWALD Range to the SEPIK River. The centre of the group appears to be near the headwaters of the TAWU River. From the large gardens and the many houses seen, it is estimated that the KAREMIN group is one of the largest MIANMIN sub-tribes. The prisoners themselves place the KAREMIN sub-tribe as being the equal of the TIMELMIN sub-tribe if not larger.

New Tribes:

The patrol learnt of the names and positions of many new tribal groups. Some of these tribes are friendly with the MIANMINS, some are enemies.

The virtual discovery of the TAWU River has opened the way to the AUGUST River. To understand this fully it is necessary to give a brief description of the area. The THURNWALD Range lies N.W. /S.E., the southern extremity of the Range twists slightly to the East. In this corner the TAWU River rises. The TAWU runs [Westward] alongside the THURNWALD range for some considerable distance before it flows into the AKI River, which is thought had its headwaters in the mountain block containing FOUR CORNERS (KASA), then flows into the AUGUST River near its junction with the Sepik River.

Writer's Note: The TAWU [TABU] and AKI rivers join to form the AUGUST far upstream of the AUGUST/SEPIK junction. See Sepik 4 Chapter 38.

By following the TAWU and then the AKI it should be possible to contact three groups who live near TABLE MOUNTAIN (BUBEIARI). They are the NUMAMANIK, KIMELMIN and PETAWINMIN. All are reported to be friendly with the MIANMIN with whom they occasionally visit for trading purposes.

Along the TAWU River is another MIANMIN sub-tribe the IVIPMINS, [known as IVIKMIN in the 1960s] who were unknown before this patrol. Three other MIANMIN sub-tribes were reported. They were the SOMEMINS, who occupy land along the WAMU River. The BOURIPMINS [known as BOVIPRPMIN in the 1960s] who live along the SEPIK River and the KOSAGELMIN who also live near the WAMU River. Nothing definite could be heard about concerning the two last mentioned groups.

Along the MAY River and its tributaries are many new tribes. The YANFAMIN group live between the mountains near Mt. Stolle and the IWAR (MAY) River. These people are bitter enemies of the MIANMIN. They combine with the WANIFOMINS, a river tribe

[IWAM] contacted by Mr. Patrol Officer NOLEN in 1953, in raids on the MIANMIN. Around the AWEI (RIGHT MAY) River are the NASIM and KUNAWAWEITUNS. The latter are enemies of the MIANMIN. Another tribe, the FOYIARIMIN [FIARIMIN], lives on the MUNI River which flows into the MAY River.

There are no indications as to the size of these new tribes and it will possibly be some time before patrols can move into their areas. As far as can be accurately assessed, the FOYIARIMIN, KUNAWAWEITUN, NASIM and WANIFOMINS are in the AMBUNTI Sub – District...

Clash with MIANMIN party.

The clash with the MIANMIN party on 23rd February, 1957 will not be recorded here. The incident has been fully described and covered under separate correspondence...

Villages.

The MIANMIN have recognized villages which are apart from their many garden settlements. The villages consist from four to seven houses and were built on sheer sided ridges as a defensive measure. Bush near the villages was cleared back and this provided some measure of hygiene.

Conclusion.

...The MIANMIN population is much larger than previously considered...It is considered that there will be no future trouble with the MIANMINS if following patrols enforce the law justly, but firmly. Any sign of restiveness will have to be curbed without hesitation.

The MIANMINS have a reputation for fierceness and cunning that is unequalled in the TELEFOLMIN sub-district. Their first European contact, Messrs. TAYLOR and BLACK in 1938, gave them a real indication of the power of the Government, but following patrols from TELEFOLMIN did not press home the advantage that was given them. Despite acts of aggression against neighbouring tribes, patrols failed to take firm measures with the MIANMIN, seeming content with making contact. The MIANMINS soon came to recognize the Government as something that came infrequently, talked too much and did nothing. The previous patrol to the MIANMIN (Patrol Report No 2/1956-57) did likewise; it warned of the consequences of further hostile acts. The MIANMINS were not impressed as they had heard similar such warnings before. Consequently this patrol was forced, in the face of strong opposition to defend itself, with resulting loss of life. The action taken was firm but necessary...

signed ... G.F. Booth. Patrol Officer

How this patrol report was received through time by a varied reading audience?

1. a/District Officer F.P. Kaad's⁴ wrote in part, in his comments of 27th December 1956, on Telefolmin patrol report 2/56-7:

...any vacillation or hesitation will be misinterpreted by both the Mianmins and the Atbalmins. News of the murders is all over the whole Telefolmin area and the people are waiting to see our reaction. Although the particular groups responsible appear to have had little contact, there has been several patrols to the area as a whole and there is no doubt whatsoever

⁴ We first met Mr. F.P.Kaad in Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War* as an ANGAU Warrant Officer grade 2 in the "Aitape Inland" before and after the retaking of Maprik in April 1945.

that these Mianmins knew quite well that they were in the wrong when they killed the original four⁵. After that Mr. Neville's patrol went and warned specifically against any further retaliation. Mr. Booth later did the same to the Atbalmin.

I believe that the latest murders of 19 people were not only acts of revenge but also of defiance against the Government...If we are going to do nothing about this latest atrocity, or do it in a half-hearted way, then we would be better advised to close Telefolmin now.

The Mianmins will be waiting for our arrival, and there is no doubt that we shall receive a very warm welcome – the patrol diary of 14th November bears this out. Previous Telefolmin history shows that the people are not afraid to attack ...there is no reason to suppose the Mianmin will be any different.⁴

2. a/District Officer F.P. Kaad's wrote in part, in his comments of 12th April 1957, on Telefolmin patrol report 4/56-7:

...Although I would have preferred that ideal peaceful apprehension of all suspects, the practicalities of the situation precluded such a possibility. The MIANMIN determined to flout our authority and risk the consequences the day after our patrol to the URAPMIN...they were not interested in the peaceful overtures we made.... The patrol was carried out in extremely difficult terrain and under arduous climatic conditions and I think the officers are to be congratulated on their efforts.⁵

3. Director DS&NA A.A.Roberts – NA 30-11-59 of 13th June 1957 *Patrol Report Telefolmin No 4/1956-57* noted in part:

...The patience and persistence of the patrol is commended – the reader fully appreciates the irritation caused when having to remain inactive in such situations as that which had to be contended with on January 24th. The practice of holding hostages (January 31st) may not be allowed by this Headquarters...The report indicates the patrol was well organized and well performed. A very creditable performance on the part of all concerned.⁶

4. Jack Mater. Ambunti Patrol Report 13/1959-60 – investigation of the SUWANA massacre:

...In 1956 and 1957 patrols led by R.T. Neville were met with open hostility because the patrols had the unenviable task of enforcing law and order for the first time of people who were flushed with the success of a massacre over the neighbouring ATBALMIN people.⁷

5. Anthropologist Don Gardner *The advent of history of Miyanmin identity* noted:

A widely publicized Miyanmin raid on the ATBALMIN community in 1956 (to which the Administration responded with a ruthless punitive patrol)...⁸

The writer communicated with Dr. Gardner and asked if this comment referred to anything more than that which appeared in the patrol report. There was no reply.

End Notes Chapter 19

¹ Telefolmin reference 30-1 of 10th August 1956 – Bragge Reference item 439.

² Telefolmin reference 30-1 of 10th August 1956 – Bragge Reference item 439.

³ Telefolmin patrol report 4/1956-57 page 5 – Bragge Reference item 43.

⁴ F.P.Kaad - District Office WEW. TEL P.R. 2/56-57 2068 of 27th December 1956

⁵ It was actually the Atbalmin who killed the original four.

⁵ F.P.Kaad - District Office WEW. TEL P.R. 4/56-57 482 of 12th April 1957

⁶ Director DS&NA A.A.Roberts – NA 30-11-59 of 13th June 1957 *Patrol Report Telefolmin No 4/1956-57*

⁷ J.Mater. Ambunti Patrol Report 13/1959-60..Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 P 154-157.

⁸ Gardner D. The advent and history of Miyanmin identity – ANU. Page 15

Sepik 4 Chapter 20 The Business Cult of Kavan of Nyaurengai 1956 =>

Alois Kawaun of Marap describes the cult in brief :-

Kavan of Nyaurengai and Anjin of Japanaut worked together to get some work going at Bensim [in the Burui Kunai Division]. They made trade stores and took up subscriptions and expected the cargo to fill the stores. It did not happen.¹

In May 1955, PO Denys Faithful's 19 day patrol of the "Burui/Torembei areas" focused on land investigation works at Burui and Torembei. The report made no reference to any evidence of cargo cult or similar movements, so given that Faithful was an excellent observer, the logical assumption was that there was nothing to report at that time. Then, eight months later, in January 1956 Mr. Faithful conducted a 12-day long patrol to the same area and reported his detailed investigation and observations thus :-

The Tultul of Japanaut and Luluai of Nyaurengai reported that they are doing away with some of their customs which they consider are preventing them bettering their lot. The Luluai of Kandingei called a meeting of all Nyaula groups to implement the idea of improving the economic and social lot of the people. They said the haus tambarans are the main symbols of the old fashioned customs of their forebears, so they decided the primitive spiritualism of their forebears should either be done away with or replaced by European religion. They decided Poison and Sanguma [both are forms of sorcery] must cease.

They held singsings marking the "downing" of old customs and the commencement of the new. "Graves" were dug in front of the haus tambarans and the stones and odds and ends that were the traditional focal point of the various rituals of living were buried in them. The floors of the haus tambarans were cleaned completely and all the garamuts were put down one end. Orator's chairs were replaced in all cases with a small alter covered with a white cloth and a vase of flowers, and above it a picture of the Virgin Mary. At 6 pm each day, led by the Mission boy, men women and children meet and sing hymns and recite prayers.

Writer's Note: The overlap between haus tambaran church functions dates back to pre-war in Parembei, when Administrator McNichol forbade the holding of church services in the haus tambaran and ordered the building of a separate church. This information taken from the pre-war Parembei Village Book entry. See Sepik 2 Chapter 14.

Mr. Faithful continues :-

Luluai Yanju of Kandingei stated that courts over women should be settled in the village. PO pointed out only a Magistrate of the Court of Native Affairs could do this. There has been and still is a lot of marital unrest in this area as a result of certain incidents that occurred during the Japanese occupation. During that time many of the old troubles and disputes were resurrected and in the ensuing fighting many people were killed in several groups. As a result of this, after the war, certain headmen sought to make amends by presenting young women as wives to men of the groups in which their group had killed people. Now many of the "wives" so won are seeking to leave their so-called husbands. Consequently, the headmen responsible for the presentation of "gift wives" are finding themselves in an embarrassing situation. This is probably so in Yanju's case.

Wok Bisnis. In the past few months and in parallel with the movement outlined above, there has developed a "business complex". There is no plan. This [business] is good, but unless organized is doomed to failure. Some: Yameri of Burui, Luluai Kawang of Yamuk, and Anjek,

retired policeman of Korogo are planting rice, peanuts and Kaukau [sweet potato] solely for sale.

Bright boys. Returned labourers, after working for years on the coast sit back and do nothing. They point out lack of rewards obtained by the toilers of 'Wok Bisnis'. They look at their development compared with that of the coast where they worked and say the Administration is holding them back to keep the labour source open for the future. The idea that lack of development is due to their lack of initiative in getting stuck into cash cropping gets nowhere. The answer [they say] is look at our poor soils."

Two basic misconceptions of "Wok Bisnis"

1. They must have some sort of Whiteman's machine.
2. The industry must be based upon the production of a Whiteman's commodity.

Also there is the idea that you must have a "ticket" to wok bisnis. [No ticket – you break the law if you try to earn money without one. Or the ticket may ensure success of the business venture entered into, and is the answer to unknown problems of business.]

On #1 above Burui natives wanted to buy a large rice huller, so they could produce more rice. There are only three growers and their small 15-pound huller was not fully in use. Others wanted to build a road or buy a truck.

There is no mass support for "wok bisnis" and "downing" customs; the officials are attempting to make improvements without support will not get far. There is a big idea of wealth to come, but just how and where they do not know. It is at a stage where the "bright boys", partly informed experts and spivs can turn it into a cult. On the other hand, if the idea for improvement falls from its shaky stand and fails – this is no good either. DASF have to move in and take a hand to prevent either failure or cult taking hold. The stocks of the Administration and Mission are low enough on the river without either.

Arinjone Island is starting a scheme of selling news-paper in Chambri for smoke paper and they want to plant a whole Island with Milne Bay coconuts.

Co-operatives between these asset-less groups will not happen due to Pre-administration conflicts (land wars etc.) and occurrences during the Japanese times. But business ventures will have to have some level of communal effort.

Depth of acceptance of "downing" customs. During a "downing" ceremony at Torembei the Tultul's child became ill, went to the aid post, but died three days later. The Tultul started a court for sorcery. When inconsistencies of belief were pointed out, the PO was told that poison is a very real thing and the pre-war kiaps dealt with it much more firmly than the kiaps of today.

Writer's Note: If this accusation happened to be correct, then it reflects very badly on "the kiaps of today". In Sepik 3 Chapter 39 *The multi-faceted Problem of Sorcery May 1943* => The Sepiks of that day bemoaned the fact that headhunters were arrested, tried and hanged and that this "turned head hunting off like a tap". But the killing did not stop; instead of being overt through tribal fighting and head hunting, it now became covert killing by sorcery; yet the "kiaps" did not apply the death penalty – the Sepiks said killing was killing and if headhunters were hanged, then so too should sorcerers.

Village officials appointed by the Japanese took it upon themselves to rectify this alleged mistake by the pre-war kiaps. Among others killed, they raped, tortured and murdered 26 Plains women accused of, but not tried for sorcery. Mr. Faithful continued :-

Absentee indentured labourers requested to return to "Wok Bisnis". Many requests for this were received. But why do it? The individual is better off settled out on the coast with regular work. Some places on the Sepik are flooded every year and could not be expected to support any crops. All there is left is indentured labour.

Comment by ADO Angoram

...The Luluai told me the setting up of the alter was not inspired by the Mission but was their own idea. They had decided at a meeting that they would abandon the customs of their fathers – particularly the old ones – and devote their energies to "work business". They are now awaiting the Administration to help them towards this end. The alters were to remind them to be steadfast in their decision. Of course village catechists have taken advantage of their actions and are backing them to the hilt.

The idea also covered the Angoram Sub District. Villages are also clearing huge areas of ground, without any clear ideas about what they are going to grow. The first this office heard about this was when the officials came in and asked for cocoa and coffee seed to plant...Success stories of native planters in Rabaul and Madang also unsettle the Sepiks.

Comment by the DC

...Mr. Faithful obviously has a keen insight into the problems of the Sepik...If our stocks are as low as he says they are, I can only say that in my judgment of the men entrusted with the care of the River have been at fault...I think your [The DO] idea that you should make a quick trip down the river is a very good one...Judge for yourself just what the circumstances are.
Sgd. S. Elliot-Smith. D.C.

Comment by the DO while actually on the River

... It is essential that the onus of...development be placed with the people and not with the Administration as the people would imply at present, duties as well as rights must be stressed...the present situation is not serious, but calls for action by my officers on the lines indicated
Sgd. D.R. Marsh a/DO²

The next patrol into the Burui Kunai Division was Ambunti Patrol No 1/1957-8 which was led by a/ADO D.P. O'Sullivan in November 1957. Mr. O'Sullivan made reference to Mr. Faithful's report and that his report should be regarded as an extension of Mr. Faithful's observations on Kavan :-

Kavan of Yarangai [Nyaurengai] on the Main River has three henchmen: Kami of Tolembi, Tiaid of Nyaurengai and Sui/Ambukaru of Yanget who constantly patrol the area organizing the movement. At Tolembi and Bensim the patrol received deputations from about 20 Luluais. The business of the Tolembi meeting may be summarized as follows :-

- a. *Permission to build a trade store at Tolembi*
- b. *Desire for economic agricultural development, planting cash crops: rice, cocoa, peanuts, coffee and corn.*
- c. *Construction of roads :-*
 - a. *Burui – Bensim – Kampupu – Kwimba – Tolembi airstrip.*
 - b. *Tolembi airstrip – Tolembi Lake – Korogo.*
 - c. *Kwimba – Nagotimbi – Kosimbi and on to Yangoru.*

d. Kosimbi- Aurimbit – Slei No 1 – Slei No 2 – Miambei – Marap – Nogosop – Gaikarobi.

Writer's Note: Such a road network would be well in excess of the 100 kilometres throughout the Burui Kunai and Sepik Plains Divisions and linking with the Sepik Highway at Burui and Yangoru.

The business of the Bensim meeting was a repetition of the above plus a request for an officer to be stationed at Burui [which was a pre-war patrol post] – they would need government guidance and Ambunti was too far.

Patrol's reaction: *The request for a trade store was rejected as they have stores at Aranjone [Chambri lakes], Nyaurengai [Main River], Bensim [Burui Kunai] and Kambu [in the Yangoru area]. PO described what happens when a tree grows too quickly and suggested waiting to see how successful the present stores were first. The people agreed – dreading the thought of failure. The people were told not to collect any more money.*

Agricultural development: *The people were advised to wait while the PO tried to get an Agricultural Officer to advise them.*

Road construction: *The people were advised to go ahead. This is one avenue where we can safely direct their energies.*

It is most important that we restrain their enthusiasm to give ourselves time to plan... [it is] administratively dangerous to crush the movement...It is Government advice and guidance these people now seek.

N.B. O'Sullivan accepted the idea of having staff at Burui, but there was none available.

District Officer's comment :-

After the initial period of contact and settling down, eventually there comes a period in which the people want to better their conditions...but without advice and interest from us, more often than not such a movement bogs down through lack of technical knowledge or difficulty in finding a market. The result is of course frustration and eventually the growth of a cult. This is NOT to happen in the Burui area...I must say that I am disappointed that nothing concrete in the way of economic development resulted from the patrol...I appreciate your desire to have...information and technical advice...if everyone was to wait for advice this Territory just would not progress...the very least you could have done was to send Kavan and others to Bainyik [Agricultural Station near Maprik] for peanut seed and instructions on its cultivation.³

In January/February 1958, two months after O'Sullivan's patrol, CPO Tierney's Patrol No 3/1957-8 again visited the Burui Kunai Division and wrote :-

The people of the area are still enthusiastically engrossed in their dreams of economic development but don't seem able to, or desire to undertake the work entailed in putting it into practice.

The road from Burui towards Wereman has not been under construction for 3 or 4 years. The people are still taken up by the idea of having trade stores scattered throughout the countryside, and the fact that they have had no return from those at present in operation does not seem to have dampened their enthusiasm at all.

Kavan of Nyaurengai is the accepted leader in the area and has the full support of the people... [who also support] his aim towards economic betterment, which he seems to think, centres around the establishment of numerous trade stores.

In accordance with patrol instructions with patrol instructions, Kavan was requested to accompany the patrol, which he did, but preferred to remain in the background and allow his henchmen do the talking for him. Sui/Ambukaru spoke at Bensim, Yanget, Wereman and Nambagoa. The people are not interested in planting anything until their road is completed.⁴

While Tierney was still in the field the following message was received from Father Seigal of the Catholic Mission at Burui :-

Word was circulating that Kaban [Kavan] of Nyaurengai was going to be sponsored by the Administration on a trip to Australia and upon his return be killed. His blood was then to be sprinkled on the Burui people from a plane and then their skins would turn white.

Father also reported that a large house had been built at Bensim for Kavan and a sing sing held. Inquiries revealed that the sing sing, which lasted three days, was attended by people of 23 villages. An airstrip had also been constructed. According to the Luluai this had been done at the request of a pilot [who could not be identified]. The strip is 350 yards long.

After [the patrol] departed from Bensim on 29th February, a note re the suspected outbreak of cargo cult, was dropped to the patrol by ADO Ambunti from the MAF Piper Pacer. The patrol signaled to the plane that no trouble had occurred and the patrol proceeded normally. Presumably, upon receipt of the Father's message, O'Sullivan sent a message to DO Wewak. The DO responded with Telegram WEW 115 of 28th February, which apparently raised concern for the safety of the patrol. No copy of WEW 115 existed on file in 1970.⁵

O'Sullivan and Tierney conducted Ambunti Patrol No 4/57-8 together - to the Main River and Upper Sepik census divisions; they reported :-

The trend for economic betterment seems more pronounced than during last patrol. Parembei & Indabu have an outboard [motor]; a number of villages are planting peanuts, some rice at Malu, Kaukau at Avatip [about ½ an acre], trade stores at Nyaurengai and Kandingei, Brownowi acquiring crocodile skins from the Iniok area.

The Ambunti Sub District Annual report for 1957-8 summed up the situation as follows:-

Since the war there has been very little economic development in the area. Over the last year or so, however the desire for money has become so strong that the people appear to be clutching at anything that they feel will lead them to economic gain. In the Burui Kunai area the people's desire for economic development were amalgamated to form a movement under the leadership of one Kavan of Yarangai [Nyaurengai] village.

In their enthusiasm the people proposed grand aims of setting up a chain of trade stores throughout the area; constructing a vast network of roads throughout the area, and developing extensive cash cropping. From the outset it was quite clear that the movement would inevitably end in Cargo Cult, so early action was taken to gradually curb Kavan's activities and cushion the people's disappointment. To date we have been successful in averting an outbreak of Cargo Cult.⁶

The Ambunti Sub District Annual report for 1958-59 – dates 18th February 1959 :-

The Kavun group still maintains their interest in a store at Bensim, but has failed to make appreciable headway. The supporters of this venture, embracing Burui Kunai [Census Division], Main River [CD], and Chambri Lakes [CD] are fanatically loyal to Kavun and cannot be talked out of the venture. Kavun himself possesses all the hallmarks of a confidence man.⁷

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In February 1956 PO Faithful led a 17-day patrol into the Chambri Lakes Census Division and made the following comments :-

Apparently there was quite a difference in attitude shown by the natives towards this patrol from that accorded the Administration patrols of the past. This was in the nature of a Royal Progress – in all the Chambri speaking villages anyway. At these villages all the people were waiting, lined along either side of the road or path to the rest house steps, holding leaves and flowers, all the village officials were assembled in front of all three places [Wombun, Indingai and Kilimbit] were given parade ground instructions by some ex-RP&NGC members and in most places we had to stand through two verses of “God Save the King” [not Queen as it should have been in 1956].

At Indingai a new rest house had Chambri woven mats giving wall to wall carpeting, a small table with a white table cloth on it and a bottle of flowers, a ceiling had been formed by several coloured trade blankets being suspended across the room and from this were suspended six Chinese paper lanterns, there was a picture of the Queen hung on one wall, floral laplap draped down the others. In the washroom there was a large bucket of water ready, a safety razor with blade, scented soap, two dishes and a towel. In the cook house were a dish of margarine, a dish of sugar and a small parcel of tea leaves, various native foods, hot washing and drinking water, and someone’s former personal cook boy ready to get into action on my behalf. This grandiose form of welcome was experienced, with variations according to the assets of the village, in all the Chambri Lake villages (excluding Nyaula villages).⁸

Mr. Faithful’s report recorded no conclusions as to why he received such an unexpected reception and did not indicate any linkage with the Kavan business cult that was active in the area at that time. His description of his welcome is reflective of a Chambri leader who would have been emerging at that time – Mathias Yambumbe, who is written up by Deborah Gewerts and Frederick Errington in *Sepik Heritage*⁹

Over two years after Mr. Faithful’s Chambri patrol, Mr. Tierney went there, and to the Main River and the Upper Sepik Divisions in May and June 1958 on Ambunti Patrol no 7/57-8 and reported:-

The reception given to Mr. Faithful’s patrol was again experienced on arrival in the Chambri Lakes villages, especially Indingai where all mod cons were laid out as reported by Mr. Faithful’s report. ...the trend towards economic betterment is very evident ...83 bags of peanuts and 31 bags of rice at Indingai and Kilimbit, Yambiyambi felling and rafting timber to Mills [Angoram and Tawei/Marienberg presumably], 4 bags of sun dried copra at Aibom, Gold at Yerikai, Garamambu, Yau’umbak and Avatip – since gold production re-commenced in early 1957, £968/6/10 has been paid out from Ambunti Sub District Office for gold. Messrs. W.F. & R.J. Carruthers are working gold at present. They are camped halfway between Yerikai and Garamambu.

Writer's Note: The system was that parcels of gold received from native miners were mailed to the Perth mint where it was weighed, assayed and purchased with the cash reaching the miners by the reverse route. Mr. Tierney continues :-

Kavan's store at Aranjone is the only native owned trade store in the area at present. Crocodile skins give Chambri a moderate income, with European buyers providing the necessary salt and give a lower price per inch.¹⁰

During Ambunti Patrol no 4 of 1959/60 to the Burui Kunai, PO R.J. Daugherty acting ADO reported:-

The following factors inhibit agricultural development in this sub district. People: The strongly entrenched mystical conception that of "Bisnis" in which Bank Books, Societies, Committees, and Licenses play a larger part than the actual mechanisms of production, e.g. five bags of peanuts rotting in the village seem to have greater prestige.

End Notes Chapter 20

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18 P 288

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 82-3

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 85

⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 86

⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 86

⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 46

⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 46

⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 83

⁹ Letkehaus et al. Sepik Heritage – Caroline Academic Press: p309 The Chief of the Chambri: Social Change and Cultural Permeability among a New Guinea People

¹⁰ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 86

Sepik 4 Chapter 21 Kero of Malingai's Cult of 1958

Writer's Note: I wish to hypothesize that the motivation driving cargo cult leaders ranges along a continuum between two extremes :- 1/ True Believers in their cult at one extreme, and ... 2/ Confidence Tricksters in a quest for personal gain at the other. Kavan (in the previous Chapter 20) appears to belong to the 'true believer' end of the continuum, whereas Kero of Malingai was without doubt a conman.

The Local Government Councillor of Malingai [a Parembai daughter village] said :-

In 1958 Kero started his cargo cult. He selected one elder from each of the families here; there were ten of them. They were like posts of a house as far as their families went. They had the job of assisting Kero. Also each of the families provided a girl. The story was that Kero had to see inside each of the young girls and this resulted in a lot of intercourse. People suspected foul play on Kero's part and took their daughters back. The girls were not all assembled in one place; they remained in the houses of the "posts" [their fathers]

Kero promised – you workmen of mine will get the knowledge I possess and will be able to make money and give it to your families. Now you must get from your family a young girl and she will work like a wife for you. Your own wives cannot cook or roll smokes for you because the power of this work will be lost if they do and the money will not come. If young girls do the work the money will come; it is young girls who attract the money to us. The actual way the money would come was not made clear to me.

The confidence trick he used was to advise one of the particular families that tonight was their night. He would then collect \$20-30 from them, saying he would make his work on that money and plenty of money would come. Exactly what "work" he did at these times is not known. He would put powder on his skin and go into the room of the lucky man. If there was any cross [anger] between any persons of the family or any illegal association he would say "You have done wrong and cut the power." He would not return the money they had given to him. He greased all the families and took their money and used it for himself and his wives.

Kero did many things to convince the people to believe in him and his cult. He would tell the men and women to put a mat on the floor and to string a mosquito net. He would say 'look I have no money or anything.' He would be dressed only in underpants and open his mouth and brush his fingers through his hair to prove to the people that he had no money in his possession. He would then do something and \$10 or \$20 would appear on the mat. The people saw this and thought it was true. The talk reached Ambunti and police came down to investigate. The money the ten families had given him he put in a strong box. When it was full he went to the cemetery and buried it in a grave. No one goes into the cemetery at night [except presumably Kero] and no one saw him. He was arrested and went to gaol in Ambunti.

The wet season came and Kero came back [from gaol] and dug up his box of money and dug a hole in the hills on which coconuts grow, free of the flood level. He spent all the money. The people of Malingai did not press to get their money back. They had been taken in by Kero, believing what he said. The people from Kararau, Suapmeri and Aibom charged him and he returned their money. Kararau had brought Kero a girl during the cult. Parembai and Kandingei also charged him and got their money back.

Kero and his wives ceased to live by tradition. They did not fish or trade for sago. They just lived on rice and tinned fish and other trade store things until the money was finished. In the time of the cult he demanded and received chickens, which he ate, saying that he needed the bones upon which to put the money people gave him. Or the money would not come up. He took the chickens and the money as well.

He held meetings saying that money could be created in certain ways and that he had the secret. No-one at these meetings spoke against him because on one occasion someone did and Kero replied "Hey! You are cutting the power now". He would then demand and receive compensation to restore the power.

My brother Wiat and I were the only ones here to keep out of the cult work. He said "*A saw will cut you both,*" We asked what kind of saw. I asked "*If you are speaking of your power of sorcery you may try it against me. The Government is like a father, and I will report you.*"

Question: Did Kero have any mission background?

Answer: No Kero had no mission background. He obtained his ideas when he was working on Karkar Island [Madang District] in 1952. He told us in a meeting that one European there had given him the secret. They had gone up on top of the Mountain [volcano] on Karkar and seen the hole [crater] there. There were seven Europeans, the seventh being the plantation owner for whom Kero worked. The other six were from Madang. They cut the bush on the lip of the crater and put up tents. They had brought two rolls of rope up with them. They wrote a note and tied it to the end of the rope and lowered it down into the crater, but the rope was short so they joined the second rope on and continued to lower it. Inside the crater they could see palm trees and dense vegetation through the smoke and steam.

One of the Europeans tricked the others by saying the mountain was about to erupt. The Europeans and natives ran away leaving the patrol equipment on the lip of the crater. They arrived at the coast in ones and twos. But one European had stayed up at the top and Kero, as Bossboi counted only six Europeans in the dining room. [presumably at Kili Plantation]

After lunch Kero went to see the manager and asked why they had played the trick and left one European up on the mountain. Kero said the manager became agitated and said "Don't talk about it. If you want to know come to my house." In the afternoon Kero went to the managers house and the manager gave him the secrets.

Kero killed the Luluai of Malingai through some power he possessed. The Luluai had not been sick, he just died. We buried him. It is our tradition to stay out of the cemetery at night, [we believe] that night Kero went into the cemetery and dug the body up without fear of people interfering with what he was doing. He cut the belly open and cut the liver out before re-burying him. The knife he used was new from the store. The dish and towel were also new. He also had "smell" powder and scent from the store. He put plenty of powder (the one with the picture of the missus on it) and scent on the liver and worked on it until it went strong through and through. He put it in a large cigarette tin and he still carries it around with him. But if he is searched it is not to be found and then when the kiap goes he takes it again and puts it in his bilum and carries it around.

He¹ claims the power he received from the liver and the spells gave him the cargo power, together with the secrets he got from Karkar. He still says we should believe in his cargo power but the people do not believe him anymore. We know about the liver because he told us.

P.S. When the Yangoru talk [1971] and the Peli Association was formed he said “They can do theirs first. I will wait for my time and then make the money.” The Kararau people still believe in him. They came and took him there last week [early 1970s] and brought him back in the Councillors’ motor canoe. They still believe in it and in Kero at Kararau.²

Ambunti Patrol No 10/1958-9 led by J. Cochrane PO to the Main River in November and December 1958, after reflecting on the depressed state of the crocodile industry reported on an unnamed “leader’ who appears to be Kero :-

Crocodile shooting in the past has been a form of cash income, but over the past couple of years it has been regarded as a dying industry on the Sepik River. With the present low prices [for skins] only a couple of buyers are now operating on the river as compared with the numbers of a few years ago.

Thus with the existent forms of cash income drying up and the Administration officers discouraging excessive numbers of male natives seeking work outside the district, for the good of those remaining in the village, it is not surprising that the people are searching for other ways of obtaining money, namely by magic or cargo cult movements.

The recent mild outbreak, mainly took the form of many meetings presided over by a leader who professed to get money from his skin, plus from a store being built in Malingai village. This leader was waited upon by three women, who could be called his hand maidens; it was their duty to light his cigarettes, prepare his food and see to his comforts in general. The leader was also assisted by a number of men who are called his “committee”. This was dealt with a couple of months ago. There is no further sign of the outbreak.³

End Notes Chapter 21

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 88

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18 P 151-2

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 88

Sepik 4 Chapter 22 Cult Leader Numbuk of Korogo Village 1959/60

Acting Assistant District Officer Ambunti R.J. Daugherty, who led Ambunti patrol No 2/1959-60 to the Main River division, produced the following detailed report dated 27th July 1959 concerning the background and activities of Numbuk :-

During the course of the recent patrol an investigation was made of reported abnormal activities by the above mentioned native. Subtended please find a brief report of the situation at Korogo village.

Activities. This man is given to practicing a crude sleight of hand trick. In preparation he places a few shillings in his hair at the top of his skull. He then feigns a type of trance and begins to rub the sides of his head with his fingers, gradually moving them to the apex of his skull, thus dislodging the money. He gave two demonstrations of this and prior to the second one the writer removed a certain number of coins from his hair. He was alleged to have produced from £7 to £10 by this method. He claims that the method was revealed to him in his dreams.

Action taken. An explanation was given publicly to a large gathering in the village as to how this trick was performed and they were also told that there is nothing objectionable in doing these things provided the operator did not practice fraud on other people. In the case of Numbuk any money produced was to be handed to the Luluai who would show it to the next Administration officer. The whole tenor of the explanation was to rather “under-play” the whole affair.

History. Numbuk is alleged to have worked in Rabaul prewar, but has been in the village since about 1941. He is from Korogo village, quite well dressed and wears a watch allegedly given him by a relative. He claims to have had no access to money since the war. [My own view is that the money produced was probably a portion of the War Damage Compensation paid to him.] He impresses as being slightly psychopathic but he also seems to have some influence in the village. When questioned about his activities he was, after an initial hesitation, reasonably frank.

General. I am by no means sure that the villagers are convinced of his chicanery, although there are some doubters. His activities, however, fit neatly into the patterns of mysticism which is current in the Sepik at the moment. The people believe in him, not through any rational thought process, but because they want to believe and because their growing economic aspirations will be realized in this manner. The only true remedy is to show them that they cannot expect true economic progress from these conceptions.

This village, in common with most other Sepik villages is aware of the consequences in participation in the various cult movements and over the past few years a number of people have been imprisoned. I am a little doubtful of the value of imprisonment in what is basically a struggle for the people’s minds.

Imprisonment may, of course, be called for when the overt practices of the cult lead to clear breaches of the law i.e. assaults, threatening or indecent behavior and indecent practices. For these reasons therefore no action was taken against Numbuk under the Native Administration Regulations, but a very close watch is being kept on his activities.

Any comments you may care to make will be appreciated.¹

Four months after ADO Daugherty's patrol, PO Mulcahy conducted Ambunti Patrol No 12/1959-60 to the Main River. His report added considerable detail concerning Numbuk :-

Numbuk of Korogo. In 1954 Numbuk went to Yangoru and met Luluai Hauwina [Father of 1970s cultist Daniel Hauwina] of Marambanja village, who was one of the economic leaders of the area. He told Numbuk stories of acquiring wealth by economic development and by cult activities; the former being used to cover the wealth acquired by the latter. He would not tell the cult secrets to Numbuk, but said he would tell other Luluais at a later date.

Numbuk made monthly visits to Yangoru until 1958, taking gifts, which witnesses say amounted to about £100 cash, five pigs and five dogs and numerous baskets of fish for Hauwina. He was keen from the start to learn the cult secrets. In 1958 Hauwina visited Korogo about a proposed road from Yangoru to Korogo. Numbuk gave him expensive presents and was shown the secrets.

Numbuk states that Hauwina took him to his house and when the two were alone produced one pound in shillings by rubbing his thighs. He gave the money to Numbuk together with a bone charm wrapped in a cloth, a sinus, allegedly from a man's arm, a bottle of water made from vines, some leaves known as Kauwat and a list of six names. He impressed upon Numbuk the importance of combining the cult with the economic development.

Known details of the cult. Numbuk built a small house to be furnished with a table and a chair and a picture of the Queen in which women were forbidden to enter. A small amount of water was to be drunk and the Kauwat leaves chewed with betelnut and the juice swallowed. The leaves themselves after chewing were placed under the pillow on Numbuk's bed. The process evidently included sleep. But before going to sleep the eyelids were to be coated with a mixture of powder and ash of a small piece of sinew which was previously burnt.

Hauwina told Numbuk that during his sleep he would dream of a deceased relative who would help him with the cult. Having done this, money was to be placed in the hair or between the fingers, the bone charm held in one hand and the six names on the list repeated. The money was then "played with" and thrown out on the ground. During the process the money was alleged to multiply.

Numbuk states that by swallowing the Kauwat leaves a drunken state is reached and the participant then goes to the cemetery and talks with his dead relatives. During his absence money appeared on the table.

Numbuk did not visit Yangoru again – he was detained over another cult and on release was keen to start a cult of his own in his own area. On returning to Korogo, Numbuk practiced the cult on his own in a house he built. He dug up bones of a relative who was helping him and having the bones in the house helped him dream. The PO found the bones in the house.

In February [1959] while at Japanaut Numbuk showed Wili by producing five shillings. Then Wili made regular trips to Korogo to learn the secrets and told people at Japandai, Yamanumbu, Aranjone, Japanaut and Nyaurengai. Village Officials sent representatives to Korogo to hear the secrets. Numbuk refused to give further demonstrations and after fruitless trips Wili gave Numbuk £10 and then £25 and Numbuk showed Wili the secrets. Then deputations from the river and the Burui Kunai and handed over large sums of money to get the secret. Numbuk did not ask Wili for money but accepted it when it was offered.

Numbuk then gave wholesale demonstrations in his house and made arrangements for cult houses to be built in each village and arranged to visit the villages and give the secrets to one man in each place. This was done in Japandai, Yamanumbu, Japanaut, Nyaurengai and Yamuk [The secret was not given at Yamuk (Yamuk is the only Sawos speaking village – all the remainder are Nyaula Iatmul)] each was given charms; Yamanumbu and Japanaut removed bodies from the cemetery and put them in their houses. [No similar evidence from other places] The bodies had been returned to the cemetery at the time of the patrol.

When Numbuk arrived in a village a feast was held and he insisted that only good behavior be associated with the cult, no stealing or adultery. The rest was as Hauwina described it. The six secret names are Wavibik, Dicaia, Kondarrap, Baimul, Auina and Simon.

The Burui Kunai interest resulted from Wili visiting Wereman, Bensim and Kampupu and collecting £45 and promising to bring the secret when Numbuk showed him. The Kunai people then went to Numbuk. The first patrol No 2/1959-60 then came and everything went quiet for a month at Korogo. Some other villages continued for a while but it fizzled when it was found not to work. After the departure of the first patrol, the villages which had not received the secret demanded their money back and some were paid.

Since patrol 2/1959-60 Numbuk and two Nyaurengai men made at least two trips to Jama, Rugako, Bungarago and Tumbugo. When the patrol visited them the active participants had already been detained in Maprik. Numbuk gave a charm to Korinya of Jama and the cult eventually spread through the [adjacent] area of the Maprik sub district.

When interviewed Numbuk was a little afraid, but frank. He admitted that the cult did not work, but this was only because the sinew, water and Kauwat leaves received from Hauwina had finished. He said he was about to go to Yangoru to get more. He appeared slightly psychopathic.

Action taken. The investigation was into fraud aspects of the case, not cult aspects. The money collected was returned to the people – £50 short. All villages involved were visited [by Mulcahy's patrol] and the "secrets" explained to all the people. The people were told that the Administration does not stop cults to prevent a possible source of income, but to stop trouble and fraud. Patrol recommended that Numbuk not be gaoled but just let the cult die a natural death.

ADO Maprik's comments: In Maprik Sub District Numbuk apparently demanded money for his secrets after finding the cult to be false. He set out to make money by fraud. He will therefore be tried in the Court of Native Affairs in Maprik.²

On 5th January 1960 DO Clancy made the following comments on Ambunti Patrol 12 of 1959/60.

...The cult described is almost a classic in its type and the course it runs. I am in full agreement with the course of action taken by Mr. Mulcahy. Little could have been gained by gaoling Numbuk. But I do think that the money he stole or enticed from his victims should be repaid.

Cargo Cults such as this are manifestations of wishful thinking or probably autism and is indicative of the people's unwillingness to face the stern hard facts of life. They represent attempts to find short cuts to pleasures and avoid "unpleasures" by ignoring the less agreeable

aspects of reality. Such conditions of mind have been viewed by Freud as being a stage in mental development. This wishful thinking does not replace the desire to satisfy basic aims, but is rather an attempt to replace labour with magic.

It is extremely difficult to know what to do in cases such as this. In Australia the trickster can be gaoled or fined, but one rarely hears of sellers of “lucky charms” being punished and this is more or less what Numbuk has done. I certainly do not think a stealing charge would be certain to be sustained.

In the meantime, until we have resolved the economic social and welfare problems of the Ambunti area we could well continue on with your present policy. You should not have a great deal of trouble with Numbuk as he has been well flushed out into the open...

This is a very good report and Mr. Mulcahy is to be commended on his approach to the problem.

Sgd D.J. Clancy DO³

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Writer’s Note: This chapter, the previous two and indirectly, the next, indicate the nature of “cargo cult”, otherwise known as “Vailala Madness”, “Nativistic movements” and “Wok Bembi” as it is known in Pidgin English. The phenomenon is well known throughout Melanesia and to a lesser extent in other parts of the world. Also see Chapter 6 and attachment 1

End Notes Chapter 22

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 89-90

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 92-94

³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 page 93

Sepik 4 Chapter 23 Sepik Interest in Cooperatives and Local Government Councils

Circular Instruction [CI] No 51 of 7/7/1947 gave notice that legislation was being drawn up – based upon a model drawn up by co-operatives and legal advisers to the Secretary for the Colonies – Colonial Office London. The advantages of co-operatives were said to be twofold:

1. Provides members an economic advantage unavailable to the individual.
2. Co-op societies encourage thrift, fair dealing, self-help etc.

Ideally a Co-operative is an organization that should spring spontaneously from the people themselves and Government should have no need to help...but in most of the colonies...masses whose need of the advantages is exceptionally acute, while the chances of spontaneous birth are so small that Government are justified in taking a hand.

CI 140 13/12/1951. Policy and Function of Co-operatives section :-

The purpose of this instruction is to bring to your notice the policy and functions [to foster economic development] of the Co-operatives section of DNA. The Co-operative Societies Ordinance 1950 gives the Registrar or Cooperative Societies statutory authority in all matters concerning Co-operative societies. Associated legislation was The Native Economic Development Ordinance has been promulgated...wide powers to deal with any organisation which is not permitted [i.e. falls short of] the provisions of the Co-operative Societies Ordinance.

Effect of two ordinances is to legalize and regulate native co-op movements and to give authority to the Registrar to encourage and co-ordinate native economic development under the direction of DNA.

Generally speaking the capacity of the natives to comply with the following would qualify them to register:

1. Whether the activity is capable of being organized on a co-op basis within the provisions of the Ordinance.
2. If so formed are there reasonable prospects of success.
3. Do the natives understand their responsibilities as members of a Co-op society
4. Is there capacity within the society to follow directions and keep records.

The special nature of Co-op duties demands the officers of this section have, in addition to a basic knowledge of native administration, a knowledge of economics. As the Co-ops will deal with the property and capital of small people...it will be a calamity if misguided enthusiasm resulted in the loss of Society funds; [emphasizing the]...need for trained staff.

Co-ops are not an end in themselves...It is a means to an end, which is the economic and social development of the native people.

Fundamental Principles of Co-operatives

1. Voluntary membership – no one forced to join.
2. Democratic Control – the rights of all members are equal. One man one vote no matter how many shares held.

3. Restriction of interest on Capital, - dividends will be issued from profit on the basis of share capital.
4. No credit given.
5. Political and Religious neutrality
6. Active education of members of Co-op principles
7. The consumer co-operative. Members take out as many shares as they wish

The work of a Co-operatives Officer in the first instance is to examine the District and decide if and where Co-operatives could function, then give a general idea of co-operatives to the people. They may start a Co-op society if they wish. The organization, accounts and systems used are the responsibilities of the Co-ops officer. ...it is not intended that Co-ops be regarded as the Panacea of all economic ills

Estimate of the minimum amount of Capital required to start a consumer store:

- 300 members or less - £450
- 300-600 members - £800

Estimates of amount of capital required to start a producer co-op. – this involves a complex formula.

In his minute to DS&NA of 7th August 1952 the Minister for External Territories, Mr. Hasluck warned:-

The Cooperative movement is not to be regarded as the only means available to us [for greater participation in economic life]...we should be cautious about forcing natives into a mold which may not be the best one for all of them, and we should be on the watch against turning one of the instruments of development into an objective of its own.¹

Ambunti Patrol report No 5/1973-4 included an Area Study of the Chambri Lakes Division. Under heading "M. The Economy" is a short history of the Angoram Cooperative:

No Co-operatives are functioning in the [Chambri Lakes] area. The little coffee that is produced is sold through the Sepik Producer's Co-operative Association at Hayfield.

History of Co-operatives in the area.

The Angoram Co-op, established in 1961-2 was mentioned in Ambunti patrol report 3/1961-2 in August 1961 By CPO B Hull – linked Co-operatives with cargo cult as follows:

'...discussed the formation of a proposed co-operative Society – Aibom Native Society to be later registered under the Native Economic Development Ordinance. The proposed society will comprise Aibom Village only, so as to provide a compact society with wieldy membership.

There are 78 members of the Angoram Native Society Ltd with total share contributions of £670 presently resident in Aibom. It is proposed to transfer these shareholdings to the new society. The new society will be formed if and when:

1. *Share contributions reach £1,000.*
2. *Arrangements for the lease [presumably land at Aibom for the society use] are at an advanced stage*

The proposed society is to operate a store and it will be the venue for marketing cash crops and produce.

A decade later Ambunti patrol report 5/1973-4 noted :-

This failed – The Aibom people are still seeking to have their £1,340 share capital refunded. Other villages were involved in the Angoram Society, but to a much lesser extent. As the capital was tied up in derelict building assets at Angoram, they have little of any hope. Co-operatives officers in 1972-73 were still “assessing the wishes of the people”.

There were two other Co-operative opportunities in the Ambunti sub district in the early 1970s:

1. **Artifact trading:** The trade was in the hands of expatriate buyers who served the world markets for “primitive art” by the container load from the Sepik River and its tributaries. In 1973 the writer suggested to the Gaui Local Government Council that there was an opportunity to take over the artifact trade through a co-operative. The representatives of the Gaui LGC constituencies still hurting from the failure of the Angoram Co-op dismissed the idea of an artifact trading cooperative out of hand.²
2. **Gold mining:** In 1973/4 the Yerikai village alluvial miners were working the Kugundeli Creek that flows from the west side of Mt Garamambu. It was a narrow gully with an average of two metres of overburden covering the gold bearing gravels. Up to a dozen miners were working the area from individual potholes. Each man spent a large portion of his day bailing water from his hole; water which then flowed into the next man’s workings and then the next and the next. I suggested that they find a way to work together and systematically work the whole alluvial beds with a single drain to remove the water. There was no suggestion of any co-operative bureaucracy, just mining efficiency. But the miners were happy to continue on as they were, so I left them to it.

Ambunti Patrol report 5/1973-4 also noted in December 1973:

The Sepik Producers Co-operative Association SPCA is successful and the people can therefore see that Co-operatives can be made to work.³

The extension activities of Agricultural Officers of DASf occasionally conflicted with the commercial activities of SPCA with produce grower’s frustration tending towards cargo cultism. Sepik 4 Chapter 55 describes a rice growing project around Seim in the Nuku sub district, the responsibility for which was handed over from DASf to SPCA; SPCA failed to buy the paddy rice produced as the state of the roads in the area would not allow this to be achieved on a commercially viable basis. DASf was prevailed upon by the writer, who was then ADC Nuku, to subsidize the transport costs to SPCA’s market.

End Notes Chapter 23

¹ Hasluck P 1976 P 153

² L.W. Bragge - Ambunti Patrol Report 5/1973-4 Area study P 16 . Bragge Sepik Research Volume 5 Bragge Patrol Reports 1972 + 1973

³ L.W. Bragge - Ambunti Patrol Report 5/1973-4 Area study P 15-16

Sepik 4 Chapter 24 The Suwana Massacre - November 1959 [Suwana was a May River community on or near the boundary of the Telefomin sub district boundary with May River Patrol Post in the Ambunti sub district.

Introduction :-

The story of the Suwana massacre is recorded in Ambunti Partrol report 13/1959-60, and in the preliminary hearing before ADO Dougherty JP. Additionally however, there was important historic background in Ambunti Patrol No 17/1958-9 – J. Mater and Lieut. Adamson of the PIR, and also G.J. McIntyre’s 62 day May River patrol from September to December 1962. These two additional reports are reviewed hereunder before recording the massacre itself.

On 15th June 1959, in Ambunti Patrol No 17/1958-9, Jack Mater’s patrol diary noted :-

... 7.40 am Aimi, 7.55 am Wahab barad [channel] on the right bank to Suwana – now deserted, recently attacked by a Mianmin raiding party. 8.30 am passed Neiyepi, a small Burumai hamlet on the right bank. A Mianmin party destroyed the Neiyepi gardens last month.¹

In the light of what appears below, there seems to be a question as to whether this early raiding party was from Mianmin, given that the time frame was seven months before the Suwana massacre. What we do know was that Burumai was fighting Suwana around this time. We also know that the Burumai would not have been above blaming the evidence of fighting on the absent Mianmin. The damage to Neiyepi gardens could well have been caused by Suwana.

May River Patrol 2/62-63 G.J. McIntyre – over two years after the Suwana massacre :-

Mianmin

It is claimed that the Iwam and the Mianmin groups have always enjoyed friendly relations. Indeed, the repatriated Mianmin prisoners in their newly learnt Pidgin vocabulary, referred to the Iwam as “kantiri nating” [just cousins]

However, in 1958 while the Burumai villagers were fighting with Suwana [a “Birua” settlement], the son of one Nauni, an elder of Burumai was killed. Nauni then through flattery persuaded the Mianmin to avenge the death of his son. This they did by massacring every male in Suwana. Not content with this, Nauni then reported the massacre to the Administration and later gave evidence, claimed by the Mianmin to be false ; evidence which helped convict them. The people of Burumai then proceeded to marry the surviving Suwana females and are now showing signs of attempting to annex the Suwana lands.

The Mianmin are now aware that they have been fooled. The situation is further aggravated by the fact that for years the Burumai villagers have been gathering sago and working gardens on Mianmin land with the permission of Usage village.

The Usage villagers claim rights by conquest to all Suwana lands.²

Ambunti patrol 13/1959/60 – Part Iwam Part Mianmin – Mater and Fenton 14 days duration November 1959.³

Historic Background [as part of the report above]

In 1938 the Black and Taylor patrol was heavily attacked by the Mianmins in the Thurnwald Range area.

The next contact⁴ was in 1951 by patrols from Telefomin, and in 1953 and 1955 patrols visited the Mianmin area, but although meeting no hostility, their contacts were not substantial due to the wary attitude displayed by the Mianmins. In 1956 and 1957 patrols led by R.T. Neville were met with open hostility because the patrols had the unenviable task of enforcing law and order for the first time on a people who were flushed with the success of a massacre over the neighbouring Atbalmin people.

The last patrol [prior to the 1959 massacre] was by Aisbett and Fenton in 1958 for a duration of 40 days. They succeeded in contacting most of the Mianmin groups and establishing a link between Telefomin and May River Patrol Post. The people displayed a marked respect for law and order established by Neville. People were timid but indications were that the area was peaceful.

Prior to the advent of Administration influence from Telefomin, the Mianmins successfully raided on all sides and were regarded as invincible. Vacant land between Mianmin and Upper May groups was “cleaned out” by the Mianmin in the past. The few small nomadic groups in the area are still attacked periodically by the Mianmin. These raids follow a clear pattern. A very large group surrounds the settlement at dawn. All the male occupants are killed and eaten, and the females abducted and absorbed into Mianmin society. These raids have gone on for generations, investigations revealed. It was such a raid in January that instigated this patrol.

Suwana was a small settlement situated in heavy swamp forest about five hours walk from Burumai on the east side of the May [River] and a day and a half from May River Patrol Post. Suwana consisted of one large communal house with a population of approx. 20 people. These people belong to the Abaru group which has not yet been contacted by Government patrols.

In summary – in January this year [1959] a large group of Mianmins from the Usage River [pronounced ‘U-sar-gee’] surrounded Suwana, killed three men and a crippled woman and abducted five women, one of whom they later murdered while trying to escape. The patrol arrested 15 Usage men responsible without incident.

Details of the Suwana incident

Sometime in January 1959, a large group of Mianmin men raided Suwana. Three Suwana men were killed Apomiga, Kogoreniga, Wabuo and a crippled woman Lausabo. The Suwana women Bibabaisabo, Pamsibu, Orowi, Eibagei, Sunagei and Yalei were abducted and taken back to the Mianmin area. Later Eibagei escaped and came to the Patrol Post. Another woman Sunagei was murdered by the Mianmin while trying to escape.

The raiding party was 17 Usage men and some men from Ietema River. The latter apparently played only a minor part in the raid. The Usage hamlet is called Aiyuliavip – five hours and 10 minutes up Usage River. Neither group Usage nor Ietema have been contacted before. Some of them were in the Atbalmin raid.

The raiding party assembled at the Usage/May junction and slept the night. Next morning, they built from 10 to 15 rafts and drifted down the May. They slept two nights en route and arrived at Aimi on the 3rd day. They stayed that night with Namoi, the “bigman” of Aimi. On the 5th day they set out with a group of six Burumai guides and went to locate Suwana. They found the village deserted and made a temporary camp while the Burumai and some Mianmin looked for the Suwana group. The guides returned and announced they had found the new Suwana camp.

At dawn the next day a large number of the Mianmin party surrounded the Suwana settlement and hid in the bush. The settlement was one communal house divided into sections for individual families. The Mianmins were accompanied by Maye, an adult female originally abducted from Suwana and now married to Nagaram of Usage. Maye called out to her half-brother Sowasa to come outside. He went outside with three men, Apomiga, Wabuo and Koroeniga; two women, Orowi, Bibabaisabo and Orowi’s daughter Pamsibu. The other Suwana women remained in the house. Maye immediately held her brother’s wrists and pulled him to the edge of the village clearing, apparently to prevent him being killed.

A Mianmin man, whose name cannot be ascertained then held Aopmiga, and Bogusep of Usage hit him twice with a tomahawk; once in the head and twice in the back and he fell down dead. Wabua and Kogoreniga attempted to run away, but they were completely surrounded and they were both shot with arrows. Kwini of Usagi shot Kogoreniga in the side with a bamboo pointed arrow and he fell dead. Kalamaua shot Wabuo in the side with a bamboo pointed arrow and when he fell, another man Kalaliwena shot a second arrow into his side.

The raiding party then commenced cutting up the bodies with bamboo knives, and some men went into the house and dragged the women outside. The women pulled out were Sunagei, Lausabo, Yalei and Eibagei, with the three already outside this made a total of 7 women. The Mianmin men then decided among themselves who would take the women.

- 1. Kigakaua took Orowi.*
- 2. Kasikaua took Sunagei*
- 3. Tofu took Pamsibu.*
- 4. Kalamaua took Eibagei*

It is difficult to ascertain who took Bibabaisabo, Yalei and Lausabo.

The Mianmin left the heads and entrails of their victims and took the rest of the meat away to be eaten. The Mianmins set out for home with the bodies and the seven females. Lausabo was a cripple and had difficulty keeping up with the others. Therefore she was killed by Kaitak and Yumap and parts of her body were taken to be eaten later. She was killed on the track near the Bigu canal which runs into the May River. The Mianmins continued on up the May and passed a group of Burumai men in two dug-out canoes. They did not speak to the Burumai group and continued on to make camp on a ridge on the right bank. That night they ate the livers and other small portions of their victims.

The following evening the raiding party arrived at the Usage settlement of Aiyuliavip. The remains of the bodies were then cooked with taro and eaten.

After two nights at Usage, Eibagei, a woman whom Kalamaua had claimed as his share of the spoils, escaped and made her way down the May River to the Patrol Post. Sunagei, the woman whom Kasikaua had taken, was later killed and eaten. (It is difficult to ascertain the time). At the time a group of Mianmins were living in some caves in the side of a hill on the north side of the Usage River. Titimaua, the leader of the Usage group was mourning the death of his child. In his mourning he decided to kill Sunagei. He told the other Mianmin of his decision and this group went to the Usage River where Sunagei was working. Titimaua fired a bamboo pointed arrow into her side and Atoning, Walantuwo and Bogugusep also fired arrows into her body. The body was later cut up and eaten.

Appendix A – Usage men arrested

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|--------------------|--|
| <i>Kikekaua</i> | <i>helped surround Suwana during the raid.</i> |
| <i>Bogugusep</i> | <i>killed Apomiga with a tomahawk and helped kill Sunagei.</i> |
| <i>Damo</i> | <i>helped surround Suwana.</i> |
| <i>Atoning</i> | <i>helped kill Sunagei.</i> |
| <i>Nagosuo</i> | <i>helped surround Suwana.</i> |
| <i>Titimaua</i> | <i>killed Sunagei</i> |
| <i>Bigiwidabo</i> | <i>helped surround Suwana</i> |
| <i>Kalamaua</i> | <i>killed Wabuo with an arrow.</i> |
| <i>Tofu</i> | <i>kidnapped Pamisibu during the raid.</i> |
| <i>Fafato</i> | <i>helped kill Sunagei.</i> |
| <i>Didepmonabo</i> | <i>helped kill Sunagei</i> |
| <i>Kwini</i> | <i>killed Kogoreniga</i> |
| <i>Walantuwo</i> | <i>helped kill Sunagei.</i> |
| <i>Kalaliwena</i> | <i>helped kill Wabuo with an arrow.</i> |
| <i>Dabap</i> | <i>helped surround Suwana</i> |

Appendix B – Burumai men who accompanied Mianmin raiding party.

Nalu, Namau, Umbo, Sunaiyo, Naiti, Nagunua, Masio, Widinigi.

Patrol Diary

6/11/59 Patrol of 40 carriers and eight police. At May River...interviewed three Suwana men who Corporal Agwi brought in last night. One of them is Sowasa, an eye witness. He was taken to Mianmin as a prisoner and only recently returned. They agree to act as guides...Trouble with outboards and double canoes.

7/11/59 Trouble with canoes and motors at Arai overnight.

8/11/59 At Burumai interviewed seven men who accompanied raiders, they took no part and in fact rescued one youth, two women and a small girl. Sent Nabri to Arai with three Arai paddlers up to see

if Mianmins are at Sago camp at Tamau – no good if Mianmin are warned by sound of approaching outboards.

9/11/59 To Gwini Island, the highest point of navigability. Fenton established camp Mater shuttling patrol in canoe. Mater slept Burumai. Radio contact with Telefomin.

10/11/59 Rest of the patrol moved up to Gwini Island, then set off on the right bank of the May. At 12 noon reached the site where the Mianmin ate livers etc. on their return trip. 1.55pm made camp on the site used by 1958 Telefomin patrol - cordoned camp. Guards posted.

11/11/59 Reached Usage River at 1.55pm. Made camp on the right bank Usage River. 2.25pm radio contact with Telefomin and Ambunti.

12/11/59 Broke camp at 7.00am and proceeded up the Usage River bed. The river we camped on last night was only a branch of the main Usage River, which was reached at 7.45am. Followed the river up until guides indicated we were close to the Mianmin camp. Did not make camp for fear of noise, forbade fires. Guards posted day and night. Final preparations to surround Mianmin camp in the morning – 20 carriers to assist police. Police lectured on use of firearms and force in making arrests. Unable to make radio contact.

13/11/59 5.30am broke camp with Fenton, 10 police 20 carriers four interpreters and three guides. 6.35am surrounded a small settlement called Aiyuliavip and arrested six men. The patrol split to circle the men's house and two dwelling houses, but was seen approaching, and only an outstanding effort by the police made the arrests possible. The arrested men shouted to the occupants of a nearby (opposite side of the Usage river)) settlement known as Usagedalavip and about twelve men rushed from there to the bank of the river with bows and arrows to assist their neighbours.

However, by this time the police had spread out on the higher ground and the would be attackers retreated without firing an arrow, although some of the more reckless tightened bow strings and aimed at the patrol. The natives retreated about 200 yards and commenced shouting to the patrol. At 7.20am curiosity seemed to get the better of Kalamaua, and he came down to the edge of the river unarmed. He recognized Dalok the Mianmin interpreter and insisted he (Dalok) cross the river to shake hands.

A compromise was reached and the two men met and carried on a discussion knee deep in the middle of the river. At 8.20am Titimaua, the headman of the Usage group came to the river's edge and talked to the patrol across the river. The Usage men brought taro to the water's edge which the patrol purchased, and later they presented us with two pigs.

The natives would come across the river one at a time and were quite unconcerned when one of the interpreters crossed to their bank. However, they were prepared to flee if more than one of the patrol party attempted to cross. 11.00am Mr. Fenton with four police and the carriers induced two of the Mianmin to accompany them back down stream to collect the patrol stores and supplies. At 1.30pm Mr. Fenton returned with all the gear, but it was learned that the three guides had run away. They were apparently afraid of later retribution if seen by the Mianmin.

Made camp in an old garden site, clearing the bush well back to prevent ambush, cordoned off the camp and doubled guard. All the Usagedalavip men including several for whom warrants have been issued sat on the opposite bank and talked to the patrol until dusk. They even sent several children over for medical treatment. Radioed DO Clancy.

14/11/59 Guards reported that the Usagedalavip settlement had little sleep during the night and had guards posted around their houses. Shortly after daybreak 11 men brought food to the water's edge for sale. Agwi crossed and purchased it. Both I and Mr. Fenton crossed in turn and the natives shook hands with us. Several women and children and one man Idegiabo crossed for treatment for yaws and tropical ulcers. Idegiabo was wanted but it was decided to wait for a more favorable opportunity to arrest as many as possible. Carriers built a temporary prison and cleared the bush back further.

15/11/59 The Usage leader Titimaua came to the water's edge at 6.40am and commenced carrying on an animated conversation across the river. I told the interpreter to tell him that I was not prepared to discuss anything with him at long range and would only listen to him if he behaved properly and visited the camp. He then crossed the river by himself and shook hands with several members of the patrol and spoke with the six prisoners. I presented him with a red rami and a blue handkerchief. He was delighted and said he would send for his men when I showed him there was plenty of trade. Titimaua then left the camp, called for his men and commenced collecting taro for the patrol.

Several young men more curious than cautious crossed the river and were given trade items. At 9.00am all the men crossed the river to the camp with food. Whilst I was buying food, the police and carriers mingled with the wanted men and at a predetermined signal (when I dropped my hat), all the Mianmin in the camp were held and arrested. Titimaua put up a furious struggle, but was no match for Senior Constable Agwi.

Unfortunately two wanted men had been too frightened to enter the camp and had escaped. Nine men were arrested bringing the total to fifteen. The reason for their arrest was explained to them. Mr. Fenton and I then crossed the river to Usagedalavip and confiscated several fighting arrows which were burnt.

Agweniga, a survivor of the Suwana raid spent the day calling out to the people who fled when the men were arrested. It was hoped to induce some of the Suwana women who were kidnapped by the Mianmin to visit the camp. Unfortunately, they did not reply. Radio contact with Telefomin and Wewak.

16/11/59 Departed down river, retracing steps – arrived at May River patrol post at 4.15pm. On 20th Nov. Mr. Marks, CPO arrived on MV Mala 1710. Mala to transport party for preliminary hearing.

The Preliminary Hearing

The preliminary hearing of wilful murder charges against Dabat [spelt "Dabap" in the Patrol report] and fifteen others was conducted in the District Court at Ambunti before ADO Dougherty J.P. The hearing which commenced on 9th December 1959 took evidence through until 15th January. After

hearing the evidence, the Court ordered that the accused be committed for trial at the next Supreme Court sittings in Wewak.

The court papers of the preliminary hearing contained a heading -
R. V Dabat and others – Notes on Proof of Witnesses:
- which provides some excellent background information.

It would appear that the genesis of this raid was a conversation between NAUNI, son of NAUNI of BURUMAI and ORISAK of MIANMIN. This conversation was witnessed by Tultul NALU, but his evidence would not be admissible. Neither of the parties could be interviewed, NAUNI was dead and the whereabouts of ORISAK are unknown. Briefly, it is alleged that NAUNI wished the MIANMIN to attack the SUWANA in revenge for an earlier killing by the SUWANA of his, NAUNI's brother.

The general reputation of the MIANMIN being what it is, they probably needed little or no encouragement to carry out such a raid.

Some months later the BURUMAI men were fishing on the NIBI lagoon, said to be about 10 miles south of BURUMAI. The method of fishing is to throw a fence across the swift running canals [Banisim barad]. During this expedition they met the MIANMIN raiding party. There seems to be some evidence that this meeting was unpremeditated. On the instruction of the Mianmin party they [the Burumai] went back to BURUMAI and collected Tultul NALU and then returned to the lagoon.

At this meeting it is alleged that two of the MIANMIN men, who can be positively identified, stated that the object of the expedition to SUWANA was a killing raid. The evidence of Tultul NALU that he left the MIANMIN on hearing this is substantiated.

The BURUMAI party insists that they did not guide the MIANMIN, and state that MAYE a woman of SUWANA was the guide. Their allegations of fear of death at the hands of the MIANMIN are reasonable in the circumstances and may be substantiated by the MIANMIN treatment of the SUWANA.

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The Supreme Court Hearing

The only record of the Supreme Court hearing the writer has seen was in Goldman's *The Anthropology of Cannibalism* [1993] – which is quoted here :-

On 16th May 1960, sixteen Mianmin men were put on trial for this raid. They all pleaded guilty and were sentenced to death for murder – sentences that were later commuted to a term of imprisonment [4 years each served in Wewak Corrective Institution]. The account given by the patrol was later revised somewhat; in particular, it became evident that Eibigei, the woman who escaped to May River Patrol Post to raise the alarm, had actually spent two months with the Mianmin and only left after the husband who took her captive had died.

The Judge in his account of the trial, reported that Eibigei would have been happy to stay with the man who had captured her had he not died. “She told me that if the captor husband had survived she would not have wanted to escape or be rescued and sent home. She said to me ‘What would be the use of me going back to my people – I have no man there?’”

Maye, the Owininga⁵ woman who had been captured earlier on and who was involved in the raid – she had lured her brother from the house and drawn him out of harm’s way – also told the judge that she was quite content to remain with the people who had captured her, regarding herself as one of them.

The Judge was clearly fascinated by the raiders (“who are well known as being among the fiercest and wildest natives in the Territory”). As a result of their experience, they had :-

acquired a very good understanding of applied psychology. Apparently they had to rely on raids of this kind to obtain wives for their young men, and that the killing, cutting up and eating of the woman’s husband appears to be accepted by the women as something inevitable and final, so that they simply accept the position and generally make no attempt to escape. The cannibalism involved was not merely ritualistic and was not made the occasion of any very obvious form of celebration. On the other hand, it was not solely a matter of obtaining a supply of fresh meat. [Mann 1960].⁶

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Subsequent events concerning the Suwana Massacre

Ambunti Patrol No 1/1960-61 [PO A Troloppe et al] passed through the Mianmin area from Telefomin via May River, and Amanab to Vanimo. The report mentioned:-

TEMSENMIN After the camp had been erected at the edge of the May, a group of 14 to 20 males as well as some females and children approached the patrol from the other bank. They approached but one gaudily attired male refused to cross the river. He was identified as Orosak, wanted for the Suwana murders. The people deposited their weapons in the forest before entering the camp and then freely circulated through the camp.

Orosak [spelt Arisak in the Preliminary hearing documents above] was openly suspicious of crossing to join his friends and it was only after observing their free movements, and much enticing that he warily forded the May clinging to his weapons and coming ashore some distance downstream from the patrol camp. All efforts to lure him into the camp were without success. He came within 40 to 50 yards but any movement in his direction caused his immediate retreat. The rest of the group whose attention had been diverted by prolonged medical treatment was now becoming suspicious of our intentions.

Parties were surreptitiously posted behind Orosak to cut off his retreat... Interpreter Beliap and Lance Corporal Kusimnok approached him on a pretext. He allowed them to come within a few yards...before front or rear parties could get near enough he edged towards the river...and as the parties kept converging he leapt into the fast flowing and deep May river and was swept away...the remaining Temsenmin stampeded from the camp.

No further contact was expected from the Temsenmin, but the following morning a number of the party returned to collect their weapons and a dog which had been left behind...All were quite friendly and stated that they appreciated the patrol was interested only in Orosak's arrest. They stated that Orosak and his friends had returned to the Usage River area where they were living and assisting the kin of the prisoners removed for the Suwana murders.⁷

May River Patrol Report 3/1962-3 [McIntyre] also mentioned :-

When the Mianmin were released, the Burumai offered them some women to hush it up [i.e. the Burumai involvement]. But considering themselves safe they reneged on the deal. No action is recommended against the remaining Mianmin.

Over the years there has been repeated mention of Mianmin claiming the Suwana lands by right of conquest. May River Patrol 7/1969-70 Upper May River by P.O. David Pennefather reiterated what a/ADO Telefomin, Robin Calcutt had stated on 18th December 1962 :-

As to the Suwana ground, the people who appear to have title to it are the surviving Suwana females; and as these are now married to BURUMAI men, the latter also have a claim. Right of conquest following Administration entry into an area, cannot be recognized legally...it is our job to see that the people with the legitimate claim are backed by the Administration...if we hang around waiting for Lands Commissioners to make a decision on land rights at May River half the population will end up being murdered.⁸

End Notes Chapter 24

¹ Ambunti Patrol Report No 17 1958-59 Iwam and Iwai groups. J.Mater PO and Lieut Adamson PIR. As recorded in Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 pages 153/4

² May River Patrol 3/1962-63 G.J. McIntyre. Bragge Sepik Reference notes Vol 20 p161-2

³ Ambunti Patrol Report No 13/1959-60 Iwam and Part Mianmin. J. Mater and J. Fenton 14 says November 1959. –See Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 154-157.

⁴ The next contact was actually with the Thurston expedition, escaping from Angoram to Daru and passing through Mianmin territory in May 1942 – See Chapter 24 – Sepik Book 3 *The Sepik at War 1942-1945*.

⁵ The language group to which the Suwana belong.

⁶ L.R,Goldman ed. *The Anthropology of Cannibalism* – Bergin and Garvey London. pages 32-33.

⁷ Bragge Sepik Reference notes Vol 20 page 158.

⁸ May River Patrol No 7/1969-70 – Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 20 p171

Sepik 4 Chapter 25 The Ndu Language Family and Dr. Donald Laycock

Introduction - The discovery of, and research into the Ndu language family provides vital data which, together with archaeological and geological research of the Sepik region, offers glimpses of ancient Sepik history, which is a subject of Sepik 1 *Sepik Prehistory – From the Beginning of Time to 1885*.

Dr. Don Laycock said of his field research in New Guinea in the early 1960's:-

Before my departure for the field, no one, least of all myself, had more than outline knowledge of what I might expect to find in the way of languages and their internal relationships throughout the Sepik District.

When it became apparent that the most profitable line of research was to concentrate on the large inter-related group of languages clustered around the Middle Sepik area, the survey plan was...modified to include as far as possible only languages of the related group and those languages which surround this group ...From the documentation of the related group – the Ndu family – the present study emerged.¹

A language group including at least Abelam, Wosera, Boiken/Kwusaun, Boiken/Yangoru, Iatmul, Manambu was named the “Tuo language” by Father Kirschbaum in 1921/ 1922 named after the word for “man” in the Boiken language. Laycock chose “Ndu” [also meaning “man”] as it has wider distribution throughout the language family² Dr. Laycock’s original documentation of his 1959-60 research was his 1962 thesis, which in turn formed the basis for the 1965 publication quoted here.

The need for consistency in the spelling of village names resulted in the Division of District Administration issuing a Village Directory in 1960³. Dr. Laycock chose to follow the spellings used in the village directory. Also for consistency, he defined, “Lower,” “Middle” and “Upper” Sepik as:

Lower - he defined as from Angoram to the sea.

Middle – Angoram to Ambunti, and

Upper – Ambunti to Green River.⁴

The Ndu language research is all the more amazing as the Sepik District in 1959/60 was a frontier region. The 1959/60 Sepik District annual report stated that of District’s 30,200 square miles, some 23,600 square miles was regarded as under full administration control, while 3,700 square miles of the Southern mountains and foothills was listed as merely “penetrated by patrols”.⁵ The remainder of the District was under partial administration influence. Dr. Laycock provided brief descriptions of each of the languages in the Ndu Family :-

Abelam: The language name was given to the language group by anthropologist Margaret Mead, who said it was the name by which the Arapesh knew them. While recognizing dialectic variations, Dr. Laycock records two dialects – “Maprik” *Mk* and “Wosera” *W*.

Boiken: Boiken is the name of a coastal village and of a long established SVD mission station. “Boiken” has become the recognized name for the whole language group. Again Dr. Laycock recognizes dialectic differences even in adjacent villages, but recognizes two main dialects “Kwusaun” *K* and “Yangoru” *Yg*.

Iatmul: *N* It is believed that the language name was applied by anthropologist Gregory Bateson in about 1932. The people themselves do not recognize the name. The only language name they recognize is “Nyaula”, which relates to the westernmost Iatmul dialect. There are two other dialects that were reported at approximately equal intervals along the river. Dr. Laycock gave no names, but they relate to Parembei and the Tambanum villages

Sawos: Dr. Laycock [1965] was undecided whether Sawos was a fourth Iatmul dialect of a separate language. In 1973 he was still uncertain about Sawos, and wrote :-

I did some work on Sawos at Angoram in western and northern dialects [near Angoram and Yangoru respectively]; and I mentioned in my recent publication that there may be two separate recognizable Sawos languages, rather than dialects... Sawos shows features typical of Boiken, Abelam and Iatmul, especially if you pick villages close to language boundaries. On the whole, I would say it lies closest to Iatmul, with Boiken a near second and Abelam a bad third.⁶

Manambu: *M* Dr. Laycock found there was no indigenous name for the language group. Informants suggested “Manambu” as they understood this was what the Iatmul called them. The speakers live in only three villages [Avatip, including Yau’umbak, Malu and Yambon]. There are no dialect differences.

Ngala: *Ng* Ngala is the name of the village – which appeared on Behrmann’s map as “Kara”. The administration knows the village name as “Swagup” which in various forms is what downstream communities call the Ngala speakers.








Yelogu: *Y* Yelogu is both the name of the village and of the language. All 63 inhabitants appear to be bilingual in the unrelated Kwoma language. Yelogu in some ways gives the impression of being a dialect of Abelam... inhabitants declare that their ancestors came from the direction of the South East Abelam... How long ago this happened, could not be determined.

The map, tables and notes on the following two pages are extracted from notes Dr. Laycock gave to me in Ambunti in 1973.

| Language | Sub District |
|-----------------|---|
| Abelam | Maprik |
| Boiken | Maprik and Wewak |
| Iatmul | Ambunti and Angoram |
| Sawos | <i>Angoram and Ambunti</i> [Sawos villages formerly administered from Maprik] |
| Manambu | Ambunti |
| Ngala | Ambunti |
| Yelogu | Ambunti |

The colours relate to the map over leaf.

The seven languages that constitute the NDU language family were spread across the following sub districts as they existed in 1959/60.

| Language | Sub District |
|---|---|
|  Abelam | Maprik |
|  Boiken | Maprik and Wewak |
|  Iatmul | Ambunti, Angoram |
|  Sawos | Angoram and Ambunti formerly administered from Maprik |
|  Manambu | Ambunti |
|  Ngala | Ambunti |
|  Yelogu | Ambunti |

The colours relate to the map over leaf.

TABLE X

Cognate Percentages and Time-Depths in Years

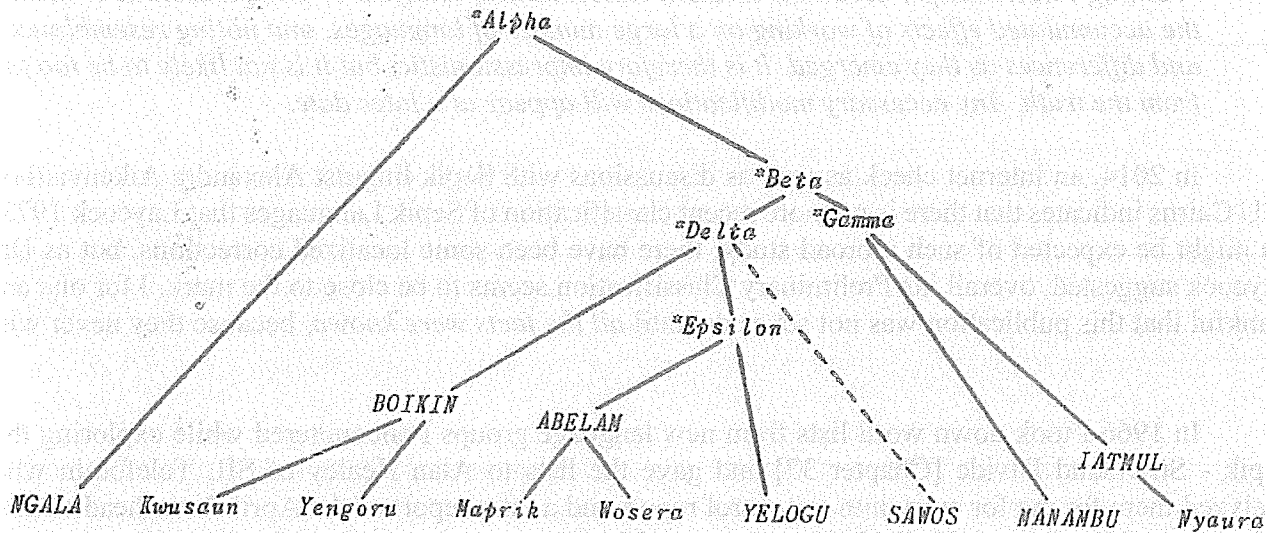
| | Ng | N | M | Y | Yg | K | Mk | W |
|----|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|
| Ng | * | 31.2 ±3.4 | 32.9 ±3.4 | 32.8 ±3.5 | 32.9 ±3.4 | 33.3 ±3.4 | 35.4 ±3.5 | 32.9 ±3.4 |
| N | 2730 ±210 | * | 40.9 ±3.6 | 40.1 ±3.7 | 47.7 ±3.6 | 44.0 ±3.6 | 40.2 ±3.6 | 50.3 ±3.6 |
| M | 2640 ±240 | 1690 ±160 | * | 51.6 ±3.7 | 43.3 ±3.6 | 43.0 ±3.6 | 48.3 ±3.6 | 51.5 ±3.6 |
| Y | 2640 ±240 | 1730 ±180 | 1560 ±160 | * | 44.9 ±3.6 | 46.0 ±3.6 | 54.8 ±3.6 | 56.5 ±3.6 |
| Yg | 2640 ±240 | 1750 ±170 | 1980 ±190 | 1900 ±190 | * | 61.5 ±3.5 | 56.5 ±3.5 | 55.4 ±3.6 |
| K | 2610 ±240 | 1900 ±180 | 2000 ±200 | 1840 ±180 | 1150 ±130 | * | 54.9 ±3.6 | 54.4 ±3.6 |
| Mk | 2490 ±200 | 1880 ±180 | 1720 ±170 | 1430 ±160 | 1350 ±140 | 1420 ±150 | * | 78.5 ±2.9 |
| W | 2640 ±240 | 1630 ±170 | 1570 ±160 | 1400 ±150 | 1420 ±170 | 1440 ±150 | | * |

(The ± figures represent 'standard error' (7/10 confidence level.) Table X does not, unmodified, give a completely accurate picture of the interrelationships of the languages of the Ndu family; however, certain conclusions may be drawn from it. **Firstly:** It is clear from the table that the languages under scrutiny do in fact form a regulated group; the lowest percentage of cognates is 31.2 Ng – N [Ngala-Iatmul], well above the figure that would occur if chance or borrowing were the case rather than genetic relationship. **Secondly** Table X provides the justification for calling this group a "family" rather than a "stock." In 1973 Dr. Laycock wrote:

My own feeling at present is that the time depths given are probably much too high – that is, the languages are more closely related that set out in my thesis, and split off from each other more recently. I would not really like to give figures, but you could reduce them by at least 10% - 20% to be nearer the truth⁵⁶².

DIAGRAM I

Relationships of the Languages of the Ndu Family in Family Tree Form



Posited proto-languages, thus: *Alpha.

Languages, thus: BOIKIN.

Dialects, thus: Kwsaun.

In his 1995 paper entitled Vegetal names in Ndu languages, Dr. Christian Coiffier provided a valuable update of our knowledge of the Ndu language family. After discussing Laycock's findings of six Ndu languages he concluded :-

It is... possible today to consider that the Ndu family is made up of eight distinct languages (with) about 100,000 speakers in all.

Dr. Coiffier collated a listing of Ndu languages and dialects as follows :-

Ndu Languages:

- Manambu No dialects
- Kwasengen No dialects?? [links Abelam, Yelogu {Kaunga} and Manambu.]
- Ngala No dialects
- Kaunga No dialects
- Boiken at least seven dialects: Kunai, Kubalia, Yangoru, Central, Nagum, Coastal & Island. Additionally there are numerous sub-dialects, [Fruendberg 1976]
- Abelam Three dialects: Mamu [Maprik], Samu [Wosera] and Kamu [Wingei]
- Iatmul Four dialects – Newton [1965]: Palimbei, Aibom, Woliagwi and Nyaura
Two dialects according to the Iatmul themselves: Palimbei & Nyaura.
- Sawos Five dialects –Sengo, Burui, Gaikwundi, Kwaruwi & Koiwat. Staalsen [1975] He added three more closely related to Iatmul: Torembi, Yamok and Gaikarabi. Laycock in Wurm's & Hattori's language atlas [1981] Laycock identified five dialects: Central, East, Burui, Chimbian & Sawos.

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Dr. Laycock's – Sepik Languages - Checklist and Preliminary Classification published in 1973 presents the first overall view of the languages of the Sepik, and represents his research from 1959-1972...He added :-

The classification of languages in this paper is essentially that of the author, and is still tentative. It must be emphasized that the classification presented here is not, at least in the far reaching relationships, based on detailed lexicostatistic analysis or comparison. It is rather the accumulated effects of working on a large number of languages, and noting resemblances and differences as they emerged. It is therefore impressionistic, but it is not likely to be too far from the truth. Any necessary modifications will appear at a later date.

In 2014, an internet check as well as discussions with Sepik linguist Alexandra Aikenvald of JCU Cairns indicates that there is no more recent classification of Sepik Languages than Laycock 1973. As might be expected of such a broad study, there have been some localized corrections, but as Dr. Laycock suggested, overall his Preliminary Classification seems to be close to the mark. I for one am thankful that this publication was not set aside until *all the facts were known*, because they never will be.

In 1966 I took down word lists from new language groups I encountered while exploring the Sepik - Strickland Divide [Chapter 37] and gave the lists to Alan Healey of SIL Telefomin who analyzed them for me for entry into my patrol report and a later report of the April River headwaters. Dr. Laycock lists them as Sepik Hill languages as follows :-

Language 105 Setiali
Language 107 Gabiano
Language 108 Piamé [Biami]
Language 110 Bikaru

Pages 72-78 of Dr. Laycock's 1973 preliminary classification list the Sepik's 214 languages under seven groups. e.g. one language group, seven language phylums, sub phylums various super stocks, stocks sub stocks and language families.

Until an updated classification of Sepik languages is produced, Dr. Laycock's *Sepik Languages Checklist and Preliminary Classification* - Pacific Linguistics Series B – No 25 is essential reading for anyone interested in Sepik history and related Sepik studies.

End Notes Chapter 25

¹ D.C. Laycock - The NDU language family – ANU Canberra 1965. Preface P iii

² D.C. Laycock 1965 P 185

³ Departmental standing Instructions – 1970 edition P 75

⁴ D.C. Laycock 1965 P 4

⁵ As quoted by Laycock 1965 P 3

⁶ Personal letter 12/9/1973 from Dr Laycock. Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 P 2a.

Chapter 26. A 1961/62 Cadet Patrol Officer's training experience.

The foregoing chapters reviewed events which shaped DS&NA policy, guiding principles and traditions of the ever evolving Kiap System. The present chapter seeks to describe the kiap system as experienced by a CPO recruited into it in 1961/62.

I [The writer] was a country boy from North East Victoria, Australia, in search of adventure. I celebrated my eighteenth birthday in September 1960, left school in December that year and I applied for a position as a Cadet Patrol Officer for the February 1961 intake.

My interest in New Guinea started purely by chance, in the summer of 1955/56, when I found an Aboriginal stone axe blade while digging potatoes at Mt Beauty. The blade became my prized possession, but when I showed it to a neighbor, he told me that the very *best stone axe blades in the whole world*, [14-year-olds understand talk like that!] ...came from the Jimi River in New Guinea. He suggested that I write to the District Commissioner in Mt Hagen and ask for one. Being a gullible teenager I did just that. Some weeks later, against all expectation, a letter with a Papua New Guinea stamp arrived in our mailbox.

Mr. R.I.Skinner, District Commissioner, Mt Hagen, explained in his letter that it was not the New Guinea custom to send gifts; the appropriate thing was to engage in an exchange. He would get me a Jimi River axe, but in exchange he needed me to send to him cuttings from the newspapers about athletics as that year 1956, was the year of the Olympics in Melbourne. Our correspondence continued and as my 18th birthday approached Mr. Skinner suggested that I apply for a CPO position. At the appointed time, I found my way to Collins St Melbourne for an interview with senior DDS&NA officer; a Mr. Fred Dishon.

Along with 26 others¹ I attended an induction course of three weeks at the Australian School of Pacific Administration [ASOPA] at Middle Head in Sydney. We then flew to Port Moresby for further induction and briefings by Senior Officers. It is noteworthy that our employment was as career officers and permanent members of the Australian Public Service. That carried an entitlement and expectation of retirement on a full pension at the age of 65 years; for me - September 2007. As a measure of how quickly things were changing - PNG gained Independence on 16th September 1975; thirty-two years short of my expected retirement date.

The induction made it clear that we were not going out to discover lost tribes or singlehandedly stop tribal wars any time soon. We were also informed that as CPO's we were commissioned officers of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary and were issued with our warrant cards. There were police powers and responsibilities of which that we would learn much more in the next two years.

[Sepik 5 Chapter 8 describes The Departmental Standing Instructions – the chapters most relevant to police powers are:

VII The use of force.

VIII Powers of arrest.

XIX The role of the native constabulary.]

¹ Others on the Feb 1961 course were: Tony Try, Tony Voutas, [both of whom we meet again in later chapters], Ernest Mitchell, Bill Moloney, Gary James, John Hicks, Terry Heuston, Barry Kneen, Fred Haynes, Frank Sabben, Brian Lawson, ?? Jullian, John Biltris, Ivan Smitmanis, Ray Webber, John Absolom [missing presumed drowned Milne Bay - 1974], Wal' Cawthorn, Des' Fanning, Trevor Moore, Robin Percy, Peter Rochford, Geoff Reid, and some names could not be recalled on the 50th anniversary of our recruitment.

Fellow CPO Ernest Mitchell and I were posted to the Eastern Highlands, where we met CPOs a year senior to us, Roy Andrews and Ken Cleary; it was they who showed us around. Soon after arrival I learned the word SPOS [Small Particle of Shit], and that, in the kiap system, it applied to all new CPOs. We were told the Departmental tradition was that as new CPOs we were regarded as a useless burden, to those senior men, who had to tolerate and train us. I hasten to add that no one called me a SPOS.

The Eastern Highlands at that time included the Chimbu sub district, which is now the Chimbu Province. Our 21-month cadetship² hands-on learning was interspersed with an academic schedule that required researching and writing a dozen or so assignments on practical aspects of Law, Anthropology, Geography, History and Administration related topics. By passing the assignments we qualified to sit for an entrance examination to attend a one year course at ASOPA.

I remember the hands-on learning as chain and compass traverses, land purchase investigations, sitting in on court cases and mediations to settle local disputes and reading patrol reports, conducting census and no end of related matters. I researched the files when annual reports were due – compiling census figures and calculating statistics against the previous year's report. The chain of command was District Commissioner [DC] to District Officer [DO], to Assistant District Officer [ADO] to Patrol Officer [PO] to CPO. It was said that CPOs could pull rank and go outside and kick a dog any time they so desired.

To newly arrived CPOs, everything was new and we learned from everything that was happening around us. When we started resolving minor disputes ourselves we sought precedents from what we had heard senior officers decide in similar cases. Chris Waite told me of his first decision in a child adoption case. He had decided against the claim of the adopting mother and gave as part of his reasoning an erroneous assumption, that as the woman had not actually given birth to the child she would not have the milk to feed it. At this the woman stated forthrightly "Susu! Susu! Yu laikin susu? [Milk! Milk! you want milk?]" She then squeezed her breast which she had brought to close proximity to Chris' face. Chris said at that moment he learned for the first time that milk comes from the nipple through many separate pores – spurting copiously in every direction; on this occasion, including over him and the paperwork on his desk.

Although PNG's indigenous police had years of experience, their highest rank at that time was Sergeant Major, whereas even newly recruited CPOs out-ranked them, being Commissioner Officers. Every CPO I knew learned a great deal from the native police.

We were not long in Goroka when my time was allocated to preparing the show grounds for the 1961 Goroka agricultural show. I supervised collection of building materials and learned the Pidgin English in the process - kunai grass thatch, timber posts [diwai] and rafters [sapneil]. I was constantly in the presence of my "team" – prisoners from the Goroka gaol who "adopted" me and concentrated on honing my language skills. I recall pausing thoughtfully when I learned one of my new "friends" was a convicted murderer. He shrugged away my concern: *Iorait, em man nogut* [Its OK, he was a bad man] he said.

Tribes from all over the Eastern Highlands came in for the show. In later years, but not 1961, memorable among them was a group of Kukukuku warriors from Wonenara in the Kainantu sub district. They were small powerful men with grass sporran-like skirts and strings of cowrie shells

² Cadetships were 21 months field experience plus 3 months leave.

across their chests. They had a fearsome reputation as killers. A police escort moved about with them; it was like *high noon* with people moving to the other side of Goroka's street to let them by.

I was called in one day by the ADO and told that there was an unexplained death of a woman on Korfena coffee plantation. I was to take a couple of police and drive out there and investigate for a coroner's hearing. If it was murder the police would assist with any arrests that needed to be made. At Korfena I met the plantation owner, Mr. Ian Downs, the former District Commissioner of the Eastern Highlands, no less, a famous former Coastwatcher and later an author of note. Mr. Downs took me under his wing and we investigated the death together. [He made it look like it was my investigation, but he made sure that I reached the right conclusions]. It turned out that there was nothing suspicious concerning the woman's death.

My first patrol was a week-long journey with CPO Ken Cleary into the Unggai census division. This involved my first serious walking. I remember climbing a seemingly endless kunai grass clad razorback ridge, which at one stage took me into the bottom of a cloud and sometime later back out into the sunlight above the cloud. I learned from the patrol police, who officially reported to Ken as patrol leader, but who clearly knew how in-experienced we were and kept a protective watchfulness over us. I sat with Ken through dispute resolution sessions and with the Hospital Orderly on his medical checks. The Unggai was safe controlled country, so after my week in the bush I led my own patrol out of the mountains and back across the Asaro River to Goroka.

Next I went to Benabena on an unaccompanied patrol to organize some road work. If I knew then what I know now, I would have looked for signs of the Government station that had been the administrative centre of the Central Highlands during the 1930s, during World War 2 and until Goroka was established as the District HQ in 1952. Benabena was the place from which Fryer and the Dutch Party left in 1942 for coast watching duties in the Sepik and Dutch New Guinea³ and to which Explorer Danny Leahy and Joe Searson evacuated the Catholic Nuns from Timbunke Mission Station in 1943⁴.

Late in 1961 I was posted to Kainantu to further my training. Apart from office duties this included accompanying two memorable patrols. The first was with the late Barry Holloway, who was then a senior patrol officer [Later Sir Barry, MP – Speaker of the House of Assembly] on a five-week patrol of the Agarabi area of the Kainantu Native Local Government Council area. Barry took a strong interest in my work on ASOPA assignments and their timely submission. He also made sure I learned the practicalities of patrol work, particularly census revision and dispute resolution.

Five weeks with an experienced person like Barry meant I was learning not only when a patrol task was at hand, but all the time...even in discussions over meals and informal discussions and relaxation with village people. The "right way" of interacting with village people seeped into my psychic, as if by osmosis, as an enjoyable thing to do.

An aside: In 1994, I was the newly appointed Community Affairs Coordinator for the Gulf Province for the Chevon-Niugini Kutubu petroleum project. I advocated that we conduct a "Kiap-style" census of project area land owners as an essential foundation for community management and to determine who was, and who was not a recognized landowner. But when my boss and good friend Tony Power looked at how such a census would look in a census

³ See Sepik 3 Chapter 31

⁴ See Sepik 3 Chapter 25

register he argued that my methodology was out of the stone-age and that we now lived in the computer-age.

Sir Barry was then working in Waigani as a consultant on Local Level & Provincial Governments. Tony talked with him on the best approach and in the process Sir Barry saw my draft register sheet "That's how it's done!" he said and Tony came back to Kutubu so convinced by Sir Barry that one could be forgiven for thinking that kiap census methodology was anything other than Tony's own invention. The 1994 Kutubu census was hailed by management as the best thing Chevron Community Affairs had done. For the first time, we knew how many landowners there were and how many from each language group.

The second patrol was to an area known as the South Lamari; an area that was not under full control. The patrol was led by the Kainantu ADO, Ken Connolly.

The people south of the Lamari River, near Wonenara Patrol Post, are in the fringe area of the Kukukuku tribal country. An incident had occurred there during the previous year's patrol and what I had heard of it was this:

The last patrol reached the village of Habi'ina in good order. The Rest House and police barracks had been cleaned in preparation for the patrol's arrival. The Habi'ina people gathered and the census revision progressed well with families coming forward when their names were called. The registering of births, marriages, deaths, migrations in and migrations out was conducted by the patrol officer noting down what the family told him through the interpreter.

But the patrol was also there to arrest murderers and bring them before the Supreme Court. When the accused men were identified in the census, at a pre-arranged signal, they were arrested. At this the Habi'ina people scattered and fled. They saw this as treachery and from a nearby ridge started firing arrows down into the patrol camp. No one was hurt and the patrol departed the area. The people burnt the rest house in protest.

There was another important background issue to our patrol. I learned of it at the time through Office gossip. The only written record I have seen is recorded in Sinclair's *Kiap* from which the following notes have been extracted:

By 1960 all the Eastern Highlands had been brought under control except 700 square miles of rugged country south of Kainantu. It was decided to open a patrol post in this restricted country. In June 1960 ADO A.M. "Gus" Bottrill and PO Otto Alder and a police detachment under Sergeant Gonene located a site for an airstrip and station at Wonenara. Early in July Gus Bottrill walked out leaving Alder, then aged 23 years, to continue his work of establishing the station. Gonene was an experienced policeman and Alder relied heavily on him.

On 24th January 1961 Alder, Medical Assistant Vincen, Sgt Gonene, 12 police and 60 carriers left Wonenara on a 70-day patrol into the Aziana country. Near the stockaded Tainoraba settlements arrows were discharged and shots were fired in a bloodless encounter when Alder tried to arrest tribal killers.

Alder had been under intense pressure for long months, He had been trying to introduce law and order among there fierce mountain tribesmen, hampered by his lack of experience...and the remoteness of his situation from the guidance of his senior officers.

Following a murder close to Wonenara he, accompanied by Gonene and five constables climbed a ridge to Sebanume to investigate...the patrol came under heavy attack...Alder and two police fired aiming over the heads of the bowmen, but one was hit in the leg. They [The attackers] fled and efforts to apprehend them failed...In the days that followed police and carriers got out of hand...Houses were burned shots and arrows fired...People were injured and possibly killed.

This was in May or June 1961 but no report reached Headquarters until early August; Sgt Gonene had been suspended for allegedly accidentally shooting and killing an old women. The internal investigation in the Eastern Highlands lasted until late September. Now the Police Commissioner and Director DS&NA wanted explanations.

ADO Mert Brightwell⁵, then stationed at Okapa, agreed to investigate the circumstances. We met Mr. Brightwell, as ADO Ambunti in the 1950s when he accompanied the Petroleum exploration in the Upper Sepik and August Rivers⁶ and later investigated the Yellow River Massacre in 1956.⁷

Given the events of the 1960 patrol and in the nearby Wonenara area, we were uncertain of what our reception would be. My diary¹, written as a 19 year old, describes those days:

30th Oct 1961. We climbed out of Himarata following a ridge line, then a track through a couple of hamlets to reach To'okena at 5,800 ft. ASL, a walk of 2 hours. At strategic places along the ridge we saw men's houses, which are long grass huts surrounded by a stockade of sharpened stakes. Half way between Himarata and To'okena we saw a flat plateau, which [I was told] is the traditional place for these two groups to have a war now and then. To these people war is a sport, and this was their sports ground. [I understood] that here war is more arranged than caused by specific incidents; more of less "Be there Tuesday and we will see who wins". This sort of fighting is OK until someone gets killed, then there is a need for a payback killing and so thus it goes on...

There had been an escape from Kainantu gaol and we believed the To'okena people were hiding the escapee. [But we knew that] we will be lucky to catch him.

Our next stop is Habi'ina. Word reached us as we arrived at [To'okena] that there has been recent trouble at Habi'ina. People from there sought an enemy and upon being unable to find him, killed all of his pigs, burned his house and shot an arrow into his brother's leg.

31st Oct 1961. Last night the escaped prisoner showed up in our camp but escaped when the police tried to handcuff him. We censused To'okena and Ahea, but had poor attendances.

1st Nov 1961. We left for Habi'ina at 8am. For the first time, we took full precautions. Ken was wearing his gun belt with its holstered .38. I was felt unwell, so did not carry my weighty revolver. My cook Guan was walking with me and carrying my .22 rifle and I am a better

⁵ We met Mr. Brightwell in Chapters 15 and 16 in the mid-1950s in the Ambunti Sub District

⁶ Sepik 4 Chapter 19

⁷ Sepik 4 Chapter 20

shot with it than with a .38. I also had two armed police walking with me with whom I chatted and practiced my Pidgin.

It was my job is to walk at the rear of the carrier line in order to keep the line compact...stragglers make an easy target if there is trouble. The walking was not too bad as we descended to the Lamari River. Ken lost his footing in the strong current. I was looking doubtfully at the torrent when it came to my turn when I heard "*Kalap*". ["Hop on"]. It was musclebound Constable Bania, my walking companion. He swung me up onto his shoulders and strode out into the waste-deep current as if it was not there.

We arrived in Habi'ina two and a half hours after leaving To'okena. Habi'ina was quiet and a new rest house had been built to replace the one they burned down last year and a large pile of vegetables had been prepared for us. But there were no people [to be seen]. We checked the surrounding ridges through field glasses and there we saw people among the kunai, with bows and plenty of arrows. [The new rest house and the heaped food indicated local good will, but the absence of people suggested nervousness on their part.]

Time passed then the Luluai and a few men in. They were unarmed. [At this point presumably Ken spoke with them through the interpreter and assured them we intended them no harm]. Ken quietly told me that he thought it best not to do anything about the killing of the pigs and the unlawful wounding, because if we did, we would have a hard time getting the census done tomorrow.

2nd Nov 1961. We awoke to the sound of shouted insults. The pig owning party was on one ridge and that of the Bowman who shot the pigs was on another shouting at each other more or less across the roof of the rest house. They [one party at least] want this problem sorted out, but not necessarily in any legal way. They will do it their way as soon as the patrol moved on. [It was the publicly announced invitation to fight in the very near future] once done, the Luluai brought his people in for us to conduct census. We recorded 79 names of people who had not been previously censused bringing the Habi'ina registered population to 230 people. Seven men of fighting age and two women had died here in the last 12 months. The Luluai said only one of these had deaths had been from arrow wounds. We suspected more.

From Habi'ina we walked parallel to the Lamari River, going downstream and therefore at right angles to the ridges so our route was one of constant steep ascents and descents through hot, sun drenched, open Kunai grass country. Only the river banks far below and the mountain crests above have forest cover. Our destination was Araura. As Araura is a traditional enemy of Habi'ina we found ourselves accompanied by a large party of heavily armed Habi'ina warriors as far as their boundary, where we left them behind. Our visit to Araura was uneventful and once our census and medical work was done we moved on. My patrol diary continues:

5th Nov 1961. The walking time from Araura to Kongkongbira was about four hours across some of the roughest country we had yet encountered.

As we came into Kongkongbira we saw that everyone was armed and there seemed to be strong tension in the air. We learned that the Tultul and another man had argued over betelnut. We heard the Tultul had fired an arrow into the man's leg and two into his head. Tultul was gone and the wounded man was being looked after by friends in another hamlet... We found our way to the Tultul's stockade and caught one man from the Tultul's

group, but as soon as we turned our backs he fled without even gathering up his bow and arrows. We now turned our attention to the stockade itself and confiscated 9 bows and about 100 arrows.

When we tried to leave the stockade, we discovered that our way was blocked. The stockade was surrounded by bowmen with arrows fitted to bow strings, all in easy arrow shot of us. They walked around stiff legged, never quite taking their eyes off us or completely turning their backs. I remember thinking that they were like dogs sizing each other up immediately prior to launching into a dog fight. We stayed and watched from the security of the stockade for some time. My diary continues:

They just watched us and did nothing and could not be coaxed to come to us. We took the confiscated weapons back to the rest house about an hour's walk...Kongkongbiras seem different to other Lamari people. They wear their hair in long thin braids or plaits that often reach down to their waists. They have no allies; everyone is their enemy although they speak the same language as other Lamari villages.

6th Nov 1961. Early this morning we watched the man who had been shot in the leg and the head stagger down the hill between here and Pinata. His is not as badly hurt as we first thought. He had his right foot resting on his left knee and walked with the aid of sticks. One of his friends would fire an arrow out into the sky and watch it fall to hit the track far below. There were several men with the wounded man, but they did not help him apart from talking with him when he rested. We send two of our carrier over to help and they carried him to the rest house on their backs.

He was a small person about 4ft 9in tall. The arrow that hit him in the leg had gone right through his calf muscle without stopping. Another arrow had hit him on the top of the skull and deflected away. Another arrow entered near his ear and appears to have deflected downwards off his cheek bone and broken off near his chin. He seemed OK until he got his first taste of European medicine – the sight a large syringe being plunged into his arm seemed to terrify him. We sent him into Kainantu with a medical orderly and a few stretcher bearers.

The initial census of Kongkongbira was done last year, so there were a lot of new names recorded this year. Kongkongbira people have very long names, which they change from time to time and questioning about family relationships was very difficult, suggesting that interpretation was less than optimal. Tokei, our interpreter was not happy and he pushed someone who was moving too slowly. The man whipped an axe from his belt and adopted a fighting stance. Tokei also grabbed an axe and stepped forward, whereupon the other fellow ran off. [This all happened in a split second and I do not remember having time to react in any way.]

7th Nov 1961. On the way from Kongkongbira to Pinata today we passed a salt spring, which is highly valued as the only local source of salt [Salt was our patrol's best trade item.] Today's walk took three hours. Census at Pinata was as difficult as at Kongkongbira also with many new names being recorded.

9th Nov 1961. We left Pinata at 7am and took two hours to descend to the Lamari River, which was in flood. We followed the river upstream to a point where stones were visible in the mid-stream. We felled a tree onto the midstream stones as a bridge, crossed the river and then followed Baira creek upstream...just before leaving the creek one of our carriers took a

short cut through a garden and stepped on a sharpened bamboo spike set in the ground at an appropriate angle and covered with leaves. The forward movement of the carrier's stride drove the spike deep into his bare foot.

After applying first aid we trudged on. It was 4 pm before we reached Meiauna – a nine-hour walk. As we topped the last hill we found a large crowd of people waiting; Seventh Day Adventist mission people. As soon as we appeared they blasted us with their rendition of “God Save the Queen”. Exhausted from our walk, we never-the-less, stood to attention.

Clearly, we were back in civilization; in another world, completely to the one we had just left on the south side of the valley. The South Lamari patrol was a memorable experience from which I learned a great deal.

I was transferred back to the Treasury office in Goroka for more training. A month or so later I found myself stationed in Chuave and working with John Young Whitforde⁸ and family. I accompanied John on a patrol of the Nambaiyufa Division. The Young Whitfordes were transferred to Okapa and replaced by PO Ron Hiatt and family. I was to work with Ron several times in the future on tribal warfare in the Western Highlands in 1974 and in the resource Industries a quarter of a century later.

In early 1962 in the United Nations, Russia demanded to know whether the Chimbu people were starving because of population pressures. The survey required to produce a satisfactory answer would take a year. I found myself in Kundiawa tasked with a patrol with Peter Emery, an agricultural officer to map the Chimbu boundaries. We walked and mapped the Bismarck Range crest boundaries between Chimbu and Bundi in the Madang, including a climb to the top of PNG's highest mountain Mt Wilhelm.

There is a large sparsely populated region south of Chimbu called the Bomai which has been considered as a resettlement area for Chimbu people. The Chimbu's themselves say it is a *good idea – send our neighbours, not us*. Chimbu traditional religion includes rituals of pig bloodletting over pre-historic stone relics – mortars, pestles, bird statues, club heads and the like. The Chimbu people believed they can count upon the protection that these and rituals offer them while on their ancestral lands to which the relics belong and relate. They are not interested in testing their faith in the remote, distant and malarial Bomai region.

In early June 1962, I was told to pack up at Chuave – I was transferred to Gumine where I would be in charge of the Patrol Post for *a few days* until an officer of ADO rank arrived to take over from me. I was told that Barry Griffin was being transferred from Tabibuga [Jimi River]. The Gumine Patrol Post administrative area was half that of the Chimbu Sub District and it has a population of 40,000 people. The handover take over document is a single page which lists things to be checked and signed for. The document ends with a statement *Taken over as is, where is and with any faults there may be*. At age 19 years I found myself responsible [in theory at least] for the peace order and good governance of this vast administrative area and its huge population. The truth was that although I was the only DS&NA officer at Gumine, I was under the close eye of the ADO at Kundiawa, Jim Kent, who visited regularly to ensure I remained on track and to give his valuable guidance.

⁸ We met John's brother Dudley in Sepik 3 Chapter 65 at Aitape and Dreikirir

By mentally placing myself in the shoes of the in-coming ADO I tried to decide what tasks I should attend to first. There was day to day tasks that could not be ignored, such as issuing rations to the police detachment and administration servants, paying them, balancing the cash and there was a page-long list of monthly returns to be completed and sent and the appropriate box on the list ticked.

Another priority was to clean up the office - the desk was awash with papers. Clearly my predecessor had not done any recent filing. I found culling and filing papers to be an excellent way of familiarizing myself with Gumine and its people. I conducted daily hearings of minor disputes and filled out Information and Complaint forms for criminal and civil matters to be heard in the Courts which a visiting magistrate would convene on scheduled days. I worked long days trying to get the station and the files shipshape.

One day a young couple and their daughter of perhaps eight year of age came to see me. They were deeply concerned as the husband/father explained:

She [he indicated his daughter] has a rat living inside her and at night when she is sleeping the rat comes out and goes around killing people. Can you get rid of the rat?

This was a problem for which I had no immediate answer but I sensed it was a life and death issue for this little girl. It mattered not that I did not believe there was a rat in the girl; what mattered was that they and their community truly believed it. I led them down to the hospital where I spoke with the Medical Orderly who quickly understood the gravity of the situation and gave the girl a thorough examination. He finally declared that the rat was gone and that the girl and the community would not have any further problem with it. The family went away and I heard nothing more of them, but to this day I fear that the little girl was killed soon after. The community would have to defend itself against the threat they truly believed the little girl and her rat presented.

Half a century later as Community Relations Manager for Oil Search Limited I worked with a colleague called Willie Kupo, a Kamanagu tribesman from near Kundiawa. I mentioned the case to him and he told me he had to once hear a similar case involving a rat spirit in the Court of Native Affairs at Chuave. The parties to the case crowded into the court room and Willie waited until everyone was seated. People were still standing so Willie pointed to an empty chair. "It's taken" someone said. Willie looked again and saw there was a rat seated on the chair. Willie said he immediately departed the room in a more disorderly manner than the way in which he had entered it.

As time passed I realized that the awaited ADO was not coming, so I set about what I wanted to do – bring the patrol program up to date: I packed my patrol gear, closed the office and in quick succession completed the following patrols:

Gumine No 1 1962/3 Nomane – I spent 16 days revising census and routine administration

Gumine No 4 Salt Division – Council survey and census 29 days

Gumine No 5 Marigl Division Census revision – 3 days:

The Salt Division Council survey was the most complex piece of research and writing I had done until that time. Its purpose was to determine whether the people of the Salt Division wanted to have a Native Local Government Council established in their area in order that they could manage their own affairs through elected representatives. But at that time, they did not want have A Native Local Government Council established in their area.

As we were also expected to take note of issues of historic and anthropological interest I researched the traditional Salt manufacture from which the Salt division has its name. The story as I researched it in 1962 was:

In the ancient past two men crossed the Wahgi gorge from Deri to Igindi. From the cliff on the north side, as they rested they saw two young girls on the south side of the gorge. The girls were covered from head to foot in Kina shells [great traditional wealth]. One man said to the other “We will go back and bring them here” but back on the other side there were no girls to be found. The men climbed down into the gorge from the south side and being thirsty they drank from a pool down near the Wahgi River. The water was salty. They took samples back to Igindi where a great feast was prepared.

The salt manufacturing process was described thus: Grass is cut and laid in a hole in the rock, the hole was then filled with the salt solution. The grass is left in there for two months. It is then removed and left to dry. Once dry, the grass is burned. The ashes are gathered and stored in pandanus leaves, which are carefully fastened to form a tube to hold the ash. The tubes are tied to carrying poles and taken up to the houses. Leaves are then shaped into funnels with a hole in the bottom. The funnels are filled with grass, which forms a filter over the hole. Ash is then placed on top of the grass and water is poured onto it. The salt solution is dissolved from the ash and seeps its way through the grass filter and is collected and stored in bamboo containers.

Fires are built around large stones from which large flakes crack off. These should ideally be about 2 inches thick and several feet across. Another fire is then lit between three stones and the stone flake is rested across the triangular stone support over the fire like a BBQ plate. Next Strips of bark are formed into a circle and tied thus. Banana leaf leaves from a special banana palm known as **Tomonane** are laid over the flames of a fire. They do not burn, but become pliable like plastic. The bark circular containers are placed on the surface of the heated stone flake and lined with the pliable banana leaves usually two layers thick. A layer of clay is placed around the leaf lined bark container to protect it from the flames.

Finally the salt solution is poured into the heated bark container and is regularly topped up until a dry cake of salt completely fills the bark container.²

Until July 1962 Field staff members were required to keep diaries listing their daily activities. As field staff was unsupervised most of the time, senior officers had the right to review these diaries from time to time. In July 1962 the system was changed to Field Officer’s Journals. [FOJs] came in foolscap size books with an original sheet with two carbon copies with a column for date and another for entry number. At the end of each month the original and first carbon was sent to the ADO, who then sent the original on to the District Office. The Bragge Sepik Research Notes Volumes 11 & 12 consists of the third carbon of my journals and provides a day by day record of my PNG career from 16/6/1962 to 13/11/1978.

There was one patrol task that I found particularly fascinating. In the Eastern Highlands in 1962 it was a requirement for each patrol to research details to fill out a survey entitled “Traditional Attitudes and Beliefs in Health and Related Matters.” It was an extensive survey which if collated on a broad front over a period of years would produce really valuable information on traditional medicines, medicinal plants, medical cures and the like. My research to date indicates that no-one other than me has ever filled out the survey, so I suspect that it was a local survey of limited duration. If so, this is a pity.

My months in charge at Gumine ended on 24th November 1962 when I handed over to Roy Andrews and went on leave.

It was now two years since I had seen my former school mates. Upon meeting them again, I spoke of my adventures; about being trapped in the Kongkongbira stockade surrounded by hostile bow men, about being in charge of Gumine Patrol Post, responsible for 40,000 Chimbu tribesmen...they listened uncomprehendingly. I soon gave up and returned our discussion to common ground; football and cricket results and trout fishing. You cannot successfully explain, in minutes, two years of growing up and immersion in things such as the Kiap system and tribal life.

Having completed all the ASOPA assignments and passed the ASOPA entry examination. I spent 1963 studying at ASOPA in Sydney with 45 other patrol officers. This, the largest DDS&NA long course enrollment ever, coincided with some major changes in planning for the future of PNG: As of the CPO intake of 26th August 1963 short term contract employment for new recruits replaced permanent Public Service careers and there was a focus on the localization of Public Service positions. The August 1963 intake had in fact been recruited as permanent career officers, but were informed at ASOPA that their employment status had been changed to six year contracts.³

Of the whole course, the anthropology lectures by Professor Peter Lawrence were the highlight for me. Professor Lawrence had just written his *Road Belong Cargo* on cults in the Madang District. I found his lectures and insights on traditional religions and cults fascinating.

With the course completed and my leave finished I learned that my next posting was to the Sepik District as Patrol Officer in charge [POIC] of Green River Patrol Post. I arrived in Wewak in early February 1964 and introduced myself. The Sepik's District Officer John Wakeford was informed of my presence and asked if he would recommend my appointment as a Magistrate of the Court of Native Affairs as I would need those powers at Green. "How can I make such a recommendation" roared Wakeford "I do not know the man or if he is any bloody good!"

I heard this from outside the office, as, I expect did most people on the Wewak head-land . "Welcome to the Sepik" – thought I.

End notes Chapter 26

¹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 13 October and November 1961

² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 13 - pages immediately before 22/9/1962.

³ S.Gibson writing in *Una Voce* 2014 Vol 1 2014 – P43

Sepik 4 Chapter 27 'Wicked' Angoram – The Port Royal of the Sepik?

Angoram - This outpost is located on the left bank of New Guinea's Sepik River, just sixty eight miles upstream of where the Sepik flows into the Bismarck Sea. Angoram was established by the German New Guinea administration in Sept. 1913 and closed in 1915 by the occupying Australian Naval and Military Expeditionary Force, when it was judged to be untenable because of malaria¹. It was re-opened in 1930-31 by the Australian civil administration when the government station at Marienberg was closed².

Angoram was again closed in December 1942 when the Japanese occupied the Sepik and re-opened on 28th February 1946 after the defeat of the Japanese, when the civil administration took over from the Australia New Guinea Administrative Unit [Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 4].

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It was a combination of events that drew the writer's attention to the fact that Angoram was arguably the wickedest place in the Sepik. The briefing received by myself and fellow Cadet Patrol Officers during our induction in Port Moresby in early 1961 included discussions with senior officers including Director J.K. McCarthy. We were told that sexual relations with native women were not only a criminal offence against the Native Women's Protection Ordinance, they were a serious disciplinary offence against the Public Service Regulations and would be dealt with severely!

Mr. McCarthy said that offences mentioned during the induction were the reality of 1961 PNG and that he endorsed everything that had been said on that point. He also noted that as CPOs were young healthy men with serious flows of hormones running through their bodies. He said that any of his officers who claimed not to have slept with a native girl was either a liar or a 'queer'. The writer hastens to add that Mr. McCarthy was pointing out the realities of the day, but in no way was providing carte blanche to the new recruits to indulge in sexual activities with native girls.

Soon after that, I heard of Angoram in the Sepik District and that town's ready availability of willing female flesh from the nearby village of Kambaramba, and that Angoram was reportedly the wickedest place in the Sepik, if not the whole of PNG.

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An insight into Kambaramba's traditional prostitution:

A unique insight into the irregular economy and culture of this part of the Sepik is provided by an extract – below – from a biography entitled '*The Singular Life of Countess Ingeborg de Beausacq*' written by Lena Augris and published in 2015. The book describes in part the adventures and observations of a female German-American photographer and explorer of noble birth, who spent 18 months with the natives of New Guinea collecting art objects in the late 1950s.

'...everyone laughed at the mention of Kambaramba...it was explained...that Kambaramba is rather a large village, in the poorest swamp land where no sago trees grow, and sago is the main food of the Sepik people. There had been much fighting for land in the old times, but for generations things had settled in a way which seemed satisfactory to everyone. The Kambaramba people traded with their land rich neighbours for sago with romance with their women. It was not a disorderly affair, but strictly business and handled by the men.

The missions and the administration has made multiple efforts to change these customs, but the Kambarambas, men and women alike, asked how they could live otherwise. Were their women not

prettier than others? “We will re-locate you.” ...but who would give them land if romance with pretty Kambarumba woman could be had for the sago that the land bore?

For nothing in the world would they go out of their area and live in a foreign country, such as the Upper Sepik where people talked a strange language. So, things stayed as they were... and everyone was happy – except for the moralists. And since Kambarumba women were more attractive than the others, white men liked to go there too. For duck shooting, they say, for being in swamps Kambarumba was also famous for its ducks.’



Kambarumba c.1970
- above and opposite

It was reported that in the early 1970’s, a curious form of voyeur tourism had developed centred on Kambarumba. Canoe loads of Australian tourists, mainly male who were accompanied by eskies full of ‘refreshments’, were taken by canoe to view this village on water,

enlivened by tales of the unusual form of commerce upon which the economy of the village was based (*per.com Graham Syphers*). From 2014, we have another purely objective visual description ... ‘The village of Kambarumba...If Mad Max had been set on water, this is what it would have looked like. A collection of maybe 80 ramshackle houses made of sago palms but open to the elements including malarial mosquitoes...the village stands shakily on stilts above brown still water.’³

This description is quite insightful. The people of Kambarumba are poor in building resources and sago and they do the best they can with what they have. The writer believes that it would be a mistake to equate the ramshackle nature of the dwellings with a degenerate society. As Countess de Beausacq points out, everyone was happy with their enforced lifestyle except the moralists.

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Mr. McCarthy’s book “Patrol into Yesterday” has more on Kambarumba – relating to the early 1930s :-

'In many grass-country [the swamp and grassland region across the Sepik from Angoram, including Kambaramba] villages the practice of prostitution was observed almost as a custom. In these places men openly, and unashamedly, lined up women and girls ready for any visitors who might call...so long as he was a visitor he would be offered a girl as soon as he arrived...it was a cold blooded business proposition, for the visitor who accepted the offer was expected to pay the lady after he had enjoyed her charms, and a sort of 'cover charge' was also made by the man who brought her.

...As soon as a schooner or launch appeared on the still waters surrounding these villages a score of canoes would shoot swiftly out to meet it. In broad daylight and without preamble, the crude bargaining would begin as arrangements were concluded for sleeping partners for the night. In some of the canoes would sit the girls and women – some of them obviously matrons – giggling and wriggling in pretended embarrassment as the men shouted their charms – and price – to customers on the ship.

It made no difference to the vendors who the visitor was. I once visited the area with Father Kirschbaum in his launch the Joseph. A half dozen canoes were clustered around the vessel as soon as the anchor was dropped and the usual commodity was offered for sale.

"Surely they draw the line at you Father"

"No, for many years I have been coming to Kambaramba, and yet they still try to tempt me."

Not all the girls and women were hired to visitors, and it seemed that a sort of caste system was practiced so that only certain females were used as prostitutes. The area had achieved a wide notoriety and its worst aspect was that undesirable types of Europeans would sometimes come from Madang or the Morobe goldfields with the sole intention of visiting the grass country for women.

...There was no "slave traffic" aspect, for the women appeared happy enough... Happily, prostitution as practices on the scale of the grass country is unknown in other parts of the district. The average Sepik might take your head without a scruple, but he would be appalled at the thought of selling his woman.⁴

Writer's Note 1: An obvious question presents itself: – with the passing of time and the inevitable relaxation of some customary rules, did sex become more freely available elsewhere in the Sepik? While Karandaman of Malu told me that most villages had one or two prostitutes, the Upper Sepik villages maintained very strict moral codes. The cultural environment of the village tended to institutionalise this. However, once people entered the squatter camps in Wewak and Port Moresby, prostitution became more common. The sociology might suggest that this reflected not only the freedom from the village environment, but also the need to earn money to survive in a community far from the self-sufficient subsistence diet of sago and fish back home.

Writer's Note 2: Grass Country prostitution and the reciprocity in acquiring subsistence sago stocks is a fascinating subject. I am surprised therefore, that I have been unable to find any academic studies of the region and its customs. After all, in an equally uninhibited society, Malinowski's studies in the Trobriand Islands were able to produce *Sex and Repression in Savage Society [1927]* and *The Sexual Lives of Savages in North West Melanesia [1929]* as well as other classics of social anthropology.

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So far, this chapter has described the customs and the status quo of Kambaramba and the Grass Country villages, not Angoram itself. The briefest knowledge of Angoram suggests that the easy morals of the Grass Country were and probably still are alive and well on Angoram station.

The business district and waterfront is known as Tobacco Road, which is named for Erskine Caldwell's 1932 novel concerning the harsh poverty of the Lester family, as they endure hunger, fear,

lust and behave without worrying about consequences in America's deep South during the Great Depression.⁵ Part of the way along Tobacco Road is the Ai Gris market, where the Sepik people, including the Grass Country vendors come to sell their wares.

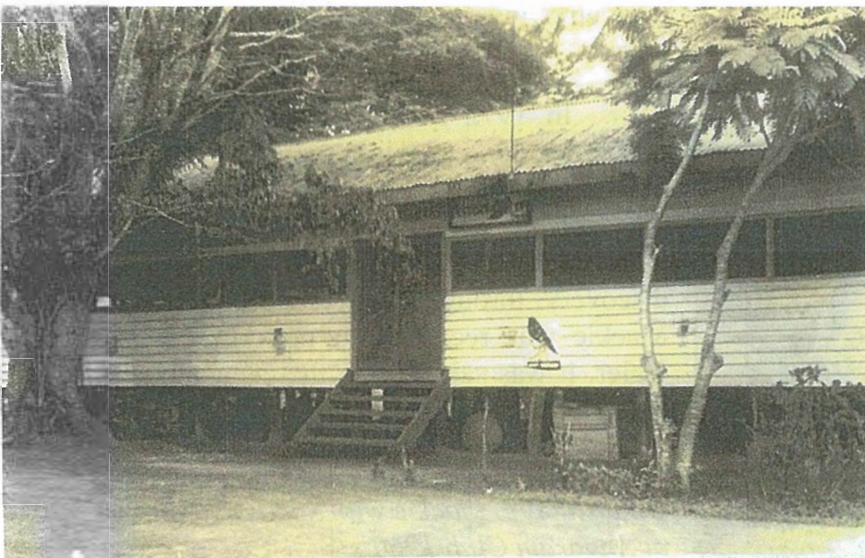
Angoram's Ai Gris market, like the Kreer market in Wewak, the Ambunti market and Rusty's market in Cairns is a place where farmers, fisher-people, artisans and artists display their wares so the residents of these towns can come and make their daily or weekly shopping selections. The market was presumably named *Ai Gris* [flirtation] as the bustling crowded river bank venue was/is also a place to see and to be seen. Meaningful glances and eyebrows raised questioningly may lead to casual relationships or a third party may nonchalantly indicate a comely wench, who is there in the crowd by pre-arrangement to assess and to be assessed.

"Makau savi swit moa. Em makau bilong yu sapos yu laik." Talapia fish are very tasty. That Talapia is yours if you want her.

Tobacco Road's residents down through the years, with their lifestyles, adventures, misadventures and their favoured meeting place - the Angoram Club - could provide a film set, a cast of actors and a range of scripts of which Steven Spielberg would be proud. Towards this end, David Wall penned the following:

*'Angoram Club, Angoram, New Guinea; 1969.'*⁶

Angoram is a chapter out of Somerset Maugham or Evelyn Waugh, the Yoknapatawpha county of Melanesia, belonging to the past but intensely alive, full of colour and characters all gathering nightly in the Angoram Club - playing billiards under the Queen's portrait (flanked by dartboard and crossed spears), or relaxing in broken furniture left over from World War 2: crocodile hunters, gold prospectors, missionaries, traders, remittance men, all drinkers and most smugglers, full of false dreams of the past and baseless hopes for the future, each sustained by same private dream of riches without labour.



Such towns need their gold rush or illicit diamond trade; in the Sepik, it's primitive art. Looting the Amboin caves of archaeological treasures, netting big money, and while little of this reaches the looters, it puts the smell of treasure in the air, and brings the town to life, corrupting officials and missionaries alike, creating an atmosphere of intrigue and wealth and great conversations.

Opposite – the Angoram Club early 1970's photo Deborah Wall

The Angoram Club's volunteer bartender is a sensitive, witty Australian builder who, having failed at both architecture and suicide, abandoned his past to become a government carpenter in this remote outpost. His thirst for the printed word had reduced him to reading can labels, equipment instructions, even currency, until he discovered a set of the collected works of Aquinas, abandoned by a missionary-turned-dealer-in-pagan-art...conversations usually ended on some fine Thomistic point'.

Another of David Wall's memories reads :-

'The glory that was Greece, the grandeur that was Rome – hardly an apt analogy with old Angoram but in the sense of a passing era that was dear to many you would perhaps get my meaning.'

Just as an in-depth study of the customs of the Grass Country from that period has sadly not been written, a sociological study of the life styles of the residents of Angoram's Tobacco Road in its hey-day would add a gem of knowledge to the academic understanding of the Sepik.

Angoram was less of a "government" station than a "private enterprise" town. In the Club, community members revelled in the freedom to discuss and pass judgement on anything from the inappropriate use of the billiard table [see below] to legal arguments, magisterial decisions and sentences handed down in the district court that very week.

Angoram and the Angoram Club were probably in their zenith during the late 1950's, 1960's and early 1970's. The European population was sufficient in 1966 to allow the ADC to raise two full cricket teams and some spectators from the European population alone.⁷ At that time - *the club...was ruled by the iron fist and Victorian principles of club president Don Bosgard* [Angoram sub district clerk]...*who was affectionately known as Her Majesty's most loyal subject.*⁸ Other club members of that era include Kevin Trueman, David Wall, Freddie Eichorn, 'Sepik' Robbie, Des and Claire Hill, Jim McKinnon, Peter Johnson, John Pasquarelli, Peter England, Adrian Bird, Geoff Liversidge, Ron Perry, Norm Liddle, Rudi Treutlein and many others.

Bob Mackie who is also mentioned below, served in the Sepik campaign as an ANGAU Warrant Officer with Captain Robert Cole. Immediately post war he was actively recruiting labour as well as working for traders in both Maprik and Aitape. In later years he was an alcoholic living a sheltered life in Angoram. He was not forgotten by his former Captain and then current District Commissioner, who the writer has been told would visit him, in his shanty on the river bank, presumably with a bottle of good whisky and spend time enjoying a drink and discussing the good old days.



In 1972 a film crew visited Angoram to make *La Vallee*. This movie, often commonly known as *Obscured by Clouds*, was a French film which starred Bulle Ogier as Viviane, a woman who goes on a strange and accidental voyage of self-discovery through the New Guinea bush⁹. Bob Mackie was recruited to perform opposite Bulle Ogier. It was said of him that as an actor he was a natural.¹⁰

Opposite Bob Mackie with Sue Treutlein (her photo) at Angoram Club 1960's

No snippet of scandal escaped the Angoram club members. The inevitable seduction of any newly posted public servant might lead to a club member's quiet and oblique reference to such things as VD and pregnancy. The lesson for the new arrive was, or should have been, to recognise that in Angoram

as in any village, there are no secrets. But he would also learn that once he was accepted by the club, the ranks of members would close around him and his “secret” was safe from any official inquiry.

There was also a powerful sense among the Angoram community of who ‘belonged’ and who was an outsider, and the democratic right of club members to sit in judgement. This was demonstrated in May 1967, when invitations were issued to attend the ADC’s residence for cocktails with the visiting Administrator, as a former resident explained to David Wall :-

Not all the residents of Angoram got an invitation. I don’t think Bob Mackie did...The ADC...at the time was not too popular with a number of the expats on the station. So even some who were invited did not attend in support of those who were not invited and in a way show their disdain for the ADC ...Hay, [the Administrator] I’m sure, had he known, would have been disappointed, a fellow veteran, of the 2/6 Infantry Battalion had not been invited.¹¹

Enveloping the whole of this soup of intrigue and self-preoccupation, it may be possible to draw parallels with elements of Joseph Conrad’s brooding melancholy described in the colonial Congo of earlier times. The isolation of the place eventually effected people’s minds and judgement. There was a miasma of unrelenting tropical heat, humidity and mosquitoes. Life was basic, with few frills. Disease and alcoholism touched upon the lives of many - boredom led to gloom and pessimism.

Enter Cadet Patrol Officer Rod Noble.¹² Rod was posted to Angoram in 1954 and served his cadetship under successive ADOs, Alex Zweck and “Bunny” Yoemans. In 1954 Rob found himself temporarily posted to Wewak to take charge of the police station and detachment, while the Inspector was on duty in Telefomin following the 1953 murders of Szarka, Harris and Constables Buritori and Purari.

Also in 1954, Sepik District Commissioner Elliott-Smith advised ADO Angoram that a film crew would shortly visit Angoram and that an administration officer was to be assigned to them to ensure that they treated the natives fairly – CPO Noble was assigned this task.

The Film was a joint Australian/French production entitled *Walk into Paradise*, starring Chips Rafferty. By the time the film crew arrived in Angoram, they had already completed the highland sequences. Rob had little to do in his official capacity, but does recall arranging a lot of grass skirted topless maidens to paddle the actors passed the cameras in big canoes. Traditionally Sepik men stand upright to paddle canoes, while women paddle while sitting. To satisfy the needs of the cameras, Rod had to get the maidens to paddle standing up.

During this filming, Chips entered PNG folk law with his faulty pidgin, when he mentioned seeing a 20-foot Pekpek in the Sepik River. He meant Pukpuk – Crocodile, not Pekpek – shit.

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Probably the oldest and most respected trader on Tobacco Road was Chu Leong who was brought to New Guinea from Canton by the German administration in 1913. Chu Leong initially traded in Marienberg and moved to Angoram in the early 1930s when the government centre was shifted there. He married Elekama of Kiwim village in the Banaro area¹³ of the middle reaches of the Keram River and they had a large family. He also owned and operated a vessel called the *Winon* from which he traded and recruited labour on the Sepik and brought supplies from Madang. Interestingly on these upriver trading trips he used to buy processed sago from Sawos villages and returned with it to Angoram. It is not recorded whether this sago was for general sale, sale to the administration for rations, or for his own employees. Chu Leong is also featured in various chapters in Sepik Book 2 and Sepik Book 3.

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Angoram's strategic commercial location.

Angoram's location on the lower Sepik River gave easy access to shipping, particularly from the commercial centre of Madang. Angoram is just downstream of the Keram River junction with the Sepik. The Keram provides direct access to the middle reaches of the Ramu River at Annanberg mission station. This was an important Allied corridor for access to and egress from the Sepik during the Japanese occupation.¹⁴

The endless navigable waterways radiating from the Sepik River and its myriad tributaries equated to a gigantic road network for water transport. An important part of the character of Angoram was that it was a maritime sub district. The former image of Tobacco Road would be incomplete without sketching in dozens of canoes, an occasional mosquito wired double canoe house boat and an assortment of boats moored along the river bank or at the Angoram wharf. Interspaced among the water craft were dozens of log rafts, with make-shift toilet buildings on them.

ADO Angoram's request for outboard motors in the late 1940s was declined by DO Niall as canoes and paddlers had served his needs in the past and could continue to do so for the post-war administration Angoram¹⁵. This quickly changed and by the mid-1960s – *the Archimedes* [outboard motor] *was king. Every native in the district carried a tobacco tin of Archimedes shear pins (whole or in part). The Archimedes was notorious for shearing pins whenever the propeller touched the smallest obstacle.*¹⁶

Angoram's maritime activities included government patrols, trading, labour recruitment, hunting crocodiles and buying crocodile skins, artefact trading, sago buying, floating sago logs into Kambaramba, fishing, logging for Angoram and Tawei's sawmills, tourism, anthropological studies, gold mining, petroleum and minerals exploration, assorted others, and any combination of the above. Anyone visiting the Sepik for any reason would sooner or later find themselves in need of water transport.

Contributing factors to changes in Angoram's social scene in the early to mid-1960's

Social change is seldom the result of a single factor. Rather, emerging realities are best seen as the effect of pebbles tossed into a still pond causing ripples which flow to the banks of the pond then return, running into each other until any final outcome cannot be attributed solely to any specific pebble of change.

Some "pebbles" tossed into the Angoram "pool." -

- 1. The repeal of the Native Women's Protection Ordinance 1962** [Sepik 5 Chapter 7]. Prostitution existed in the Grass Country adjacent to Angoram since before the arrival of anyone from the outside world. It was an established institution which found an immediate market with the outsiders who came to Angoram. The concept of a need to "protect" these Grass Country women would presumably be seen by them as an unwarranted interference with long standing traditional trade and lifestyle. With the repeal of the ordinance, public servants were reminded that although sexual relations with native women were no longer illegal, it was an employment condition that such relations were still an offence against the Public Service Regulations. Understandably, while this might be enforceable elsewhere in PNG, it was seen by many as unlikely to meet with 100% compliance in Angoram.
- 2. The change in public service recruitment – August 1963** Expatriate officers recruited prior to August 1963 were assured of a career through to retirement at age 65 years, or of a "golden handshake" compensation for earlier loss of careers. Once it was belatedly realised by the



Administration that Independence would come sooner rather than later, public servants were recruited as short term contract officers. The feeling among many of them was that if the administration did not consider there was a career in PNG for them, then neither did they, and they took their job less seriously than did their “permanent” counterparts.¹⁷

3. Retirement As traders and public servants reached retirement, the trend was to take retirement, as “Sepik Robbie” did, in the place and social environment they loved and in which they felt most comfortable. If they hadn’t succumbed already, some - if not most - would fall victim to alcohol. However the desire to retire in Angoram and elsewhere in PNG changed when the uncertainty of the rapidly approaching political independence threatened the would-be retiree’s comfort zone. Most then returned to Australia as did many, if not most, of PNG’s citizens of mixed race

4. A catalyst – John Pasquarelli John was recruited as a Cadet Patrol Officer in 1960 and found himself posted to Angoram. The writer would describe

John as a self-assured extrovert; not the sort of public servant who could be expected to toe the official line. He was cut out to be an adventurer and entrepreneur and politician. His lifestyle and infectious enthusiasm tended to precipitate action and motivate others.

He recruited as his personal servant a local man called Patoman who was’ *the town’s most effective procurer. The name was given to him years ago when he looked after the ducks for an old-time resident, now long since dead, [labour recruiter and trader] Shanghai Brown. In Pidgin “pato man” means a drake [or duck man]. The name stuck and Patoman became renowned in Angoram. He came from Kambaramba village and had many connections.*¹⁸

Opposite John Pasquarelli as a cadet *kiap* (patrol officer) at Angoram on the Sepik River in 1960 – *photo Malum Nalu*

4.1 The drift from the Public Sector to the Private sector Mr. Pasquarelli nominated for the seat of Angoram Open in the 1964 election and won. He took up the last remaining block of land on Tobacco Road and there he established his business enterprise “Las Kampani”, dealing in artefacts and general commerce. He recruited Warren Hanson, the DDS&NA Clerk at Ambunti to operate the Las Kampani store he established at Ambunti and Patrol Officer Martin Kerr for his store at May River patrol post. During this period, Wayne Heathcote resigned as a patrol officer and eventually became a leading tribal art dealer, based on the Sepik River at Ambunti. Patrol Officers Gary Luhrs and Rudiger Treutlein also resigned [Gary later rejoined the Department].

It is interesting to note that, seeing ex-kiap John Pasquarelli’s enterprising foray into private business, a number of Sepik patrol officers evidently decided to follow suit. There were entrepreneurial opportunities on the Sepik at that time, and who better to take advantage of this situation than young administration officers who may have felt bored or repressed. However Mr. Pasquarelli and a couple of others probably had the jump on the pack, as most would-be businessmen struggled.

Furthermore these breakaways inadvertently contributed to a discordant situation as they were looked upon with disapproval or suspicion by both administrative officers and the proponents of free enterprise [and perhaps in the eyes of the confused locals]. In one remote Sepik station with only one kiap, the local trade store was operated by an ex-kiap, and this pair were the only two Europeans on the place. It is fair to say that ill-feeling was manifest.

5. Some adventures indicative of the Angoram social scene of the early 1960's

5.1 ... Living on the edge of Angoram beside the river in what was called the Ex-Service Camp was Norm Liddle who had served in the war. Whilst engaged in establishing a sawmill there, he performed various functions (including playing the piano accordion in the Angoram Club). An American woman who Norm had helped arrange canoe hire and transport, expressed her gratitude by sending him a packet of marijuana seeds which were planted and subsequently thrived. At that time New Guinea was blissfully unaware of the plant and its narcotic effects. It was said that although Norm was often stoned, he was careful not to let the locals know anything about the plant and what it was doing for him! He was to marry a Kambaramba woman, so his secret may not have remained a secret for long. (*story David Wall 2013*)

Writer's Note: This was probably one of the first introductions of marijuana¹ into PNG. Since then, although illegal, its production has spread throughout most of the country, especially in the Highlands where its narcotic effect evidently is more potent than that grown in the lowlands. According to the 2007 World Drug Report, the incidence of marijuana use [abuse] in PNG at that time was one of the highest in the world.

5.2 ... Recruiter Johnny Young, in the eyes of many, was somewhat of a blot on the landscape. Medical Assistant Stan Christian who knew him before the war described him thus :-

*'...a nasty bit of works. Great big tummy and belt hanging down, a great fat chap. He used to argue. He would bring in recruits to me² and I'd knock them back. He had a boat too. He came much later³ and was there just before the war. There was a lot of class distinction in those days too, not between natives and whites, but between us government people and the others. A lot of them you just would not have in your house.'*¹⁹

I have the following information on the Johnny Young saga by personal communication from John Pasquarelli in 2015. John said ...

In the 1960s, ADO Bretherton and staff investigated allegations against Mr. Young which suggested he was having sexual relations with underage girls on his boat. Young's worker's daughters did work in his store and on his boat. Occasionally when a young breast came within reach he may well have fondled it – but nothing more.

Nevertheless, Mr. Young transgressions, real or imagined, were catching up with him. Under threat of imminent arrest, arrangements were made to secretly get him out of Angoram. "Junior" Buchanan [Sir Dennis Buchanan, owner of the Talair airline] was contacted. Mr. Buchanan knew Angoram and its personalities well, being married to Shanghai Brown's daughter Della. He flew into Angoram unannounced where Mr. Young was waiting with his money and his papers and flew him out. Mr. Young found his way to Cairns, where he lived for many years and eventually died

¹ In Pidgin Marijuana is known as *Spak Brus* 'Drunkenness tobacco'

² For medical examination before being signed on as required by the Labour regulations.

³ Christian himself came to the Sepik in 1924 as part of the patrol that investigated the Japandai massacre

there. Mr. Pasquarelli was left in charge of Mr Young's 40 ft. work boat as well as his trade store, both of which he sold on Mr Young's behalf.²⁰

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Mr. Pasquarelli acknowledges a son called Jimmy in Angoram. Jimmy's mother was Namok, Chu Leong's best seamstress²¹. In 2008, Jimmy had an establishment on Tobacco Road from where he operated a trade store, a tavern and a workshop. Through the wonder of modern technology, Mr. Pasquarelli receives occasional Facebook messages along the lines of ... '*Grandpa – My name is... I am your latest grand-daughter.*'²²

Post Script: In the 1990's Jimmy had a 6-ton truck, which I the writer hired to transport artefacts to Wewak for shipping to Australia. In later years, Jimmy's father John Pasquarelli was closely associated with the early public activities of Australian right-wing politician Pauline Hansen.

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Writer's Note 1: In early 1970 when I was re-posted to the Sepik, I was offered a choice of being the Assistant District Commissioner of either the Angoram or the Ambunti sub district. I chose Ambunti without hesitation. This choice was made primarily on the basis of what I believed that I knew about Angoram. While I loved Ambunti, in retrospect I would also have liked to experience the last of the glory days in Angoram.

Writer's Note 2: I did eventually get to work in Angoram - having resigned as ADC Aitape as of 31st December 1978 and completed a business management degree in Australia, I embarked upon a career as a PNG adventure tour operator, which periodically took me to the Middle Sepik, Angoram, the Grass Country and elsewhere. In 1989 the Bougainville civil war killed all customer interest in PNG as a tour destination. In September 1989 I accepted employment in the PNG Petroleum Industry.

On 8th June 1991 I arrived in Angoram as camp manager for a seismic operation on behalf of an American Company - Anderman-Smith. Apart from taking over Joe Kenny's Angoram Hotel as our base of operations, I was responsible for catering as well as field operations which took me to all villages throughout the Grass Country and PoraPora. [see Sepik 2 Chapter 13 *Destruction of Traditional Culture and Religion in the Bien River Area*, and Sepik 4 Chapter 43 *The Bien River Traditional Revival 1970s*].

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A snapshot of Angoram, the Grass Country and PoraPora in 1991-92

1. The demise of the Angoram Club:

*'By the nineteen eighties the club had completely disintegrated. The building had been dismantled and interior furniture purloined. Sepik Robbie, Ralph Ormsby, Freddy Eichorn, Peter England, Don Bosgard and Ron Lewis would be turning in their graves. One past member would be particularly upset with the removal of the billiard table for it was on this fixture that he pleased a young lady at the dead of night after closing time.'*²³

2. Kambaramba prostitution and sago dealings:

The writer's dealings with the people of Kambaramba, the Keram River villages and the PoraPora indicate that the open haggling over prostitution services that Mr. McCarthy experienced

in the early 1930s no longer takes place, although I am sure such services remained readily available if sought.

3. An additional stage of sago processing:

Sago logs were floated into most lower Sepik villages during the wet season when the land was flooded. I have seen rafts of them in these villages. This allowed sago processing at "home" rather than in the forest. I believe most probably came from the lands of the lower Sepik villages, but some also came from as far afield as the Karawari River. I assume, but do not actually know that individual logs, like traded stone axe blades in former times, might have passed through several hands en route to Kambaramba.

In most Sepik villages the sago is beaten from the sago trunk with a stone bladed sago mallet. This produces sago pith of a coarse moist sawdust-like texture, which is then processed by adding water to leach out the sago starch. In Kambaramba I witnessed the sago pith being threshed with an implement consisting of a long wooden handle with a shorter, free swinging stick attached to its end. The sago pith so threshed is much finer and presumably wastes less sago starch during the leaching processing.

4. A lesson learned in delivering log rafts to the Angoram saw-mill.

During March 1994 I was advised by Dr. Mark Busse of the PNG National Museum that a number of beautiful haus tambaran posts from the old Amboin Council Chambers were rotting and that I would be granted an export permit for them if I bought them, which I did. I availed myself of a huge raft of logs destined for the saw-mill to transport the posts down to Angoram.

I was in Angoram a week later when the rafts appeared around the upstream bend. [the huge single raft had now been broken into a number of smaller, more manoeuvrable rafts]. I was taken out to the raft with the posts on board and rode it for the last kilometre. I saw no attempt being made to actually go into the saw-mill, but as soon as the end of Tobacco Road drifted by there was frantic activity to get a line ashore and secured to the trunk of a substantial breadfruit tree. "You did not even try to go in at the Mill." I accused.

"No, the last time we tried that we wiped out every floating toilet for the total length of Tobacco Road. We will not risk that again!"

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In conclusion, with reference to the title of this chapter, we need to answer the question ... *Is "Wicked" Angoram the Port Royale of the Sepik?*

The town of Port Royal was established in the Caribbean in the second half of the seventeenth century, in the heyday of privateering. The town was critical to the successful colonization of Jamaica by the British, and pivotal to British mercantile activity, but is best known for the activities of its swashbuckling pirates. It was also described as the wickedest place on earth.

The Compact Oxford English Dictionary defines "Wicked" as

1. *Evil or morally wrong.*
2. *Playfully mischievous.*
3. [Informal] *Excellent; very good.*

If we take the view that wickedness, like beauty is in the eye of the beholder, the answer would appear to be a resounding Yes. The moralist would judge Angoram as *evil* and *morally wrong*. The indigenous people and the members of the Angoram Club during the “glory days” might be satisfied with *playfully mischievous* and in full agreement with *Excellent; very good*.

A final divine judgement on Angoram? A final judgement on Angoram seems to be currently manifested by the mighty Sepik River itself. As of late 2015 the river, the life blood of the town, appears to be turning its back on Angoram. A change in the river’s course has left the town’s wharf land-locked, and the eastern end of Tobacco Road has been washed away

Is what are we seeing today in Angoram to be attributed to divine retribution for the wicked ways of her people, as was the earthquake which destroyed Port Royal in 1692 ?

End Notes Chapter 27

¹ Rowley C.D. *The Australians in German New Guinea 1914-1921* – Melbourne University Press 1958. P19

² Department of Native Affairs circular “Notes on Establishment of Government Stations” undated, 1964+/-

³ Andrew Denton – Northern Star Cruises – Internet Feb 2014

⁴ McCarthy J.K. *Patrol into Yesterday*. F.W.Cheshire Publishing 1963 Pages 66/67

⁵ Pechorin’s Journal 4/12/2008 “*The Lord sends me every misery He can think of just to try my soul.*”

⁶ David Wall’s Stories 29/9/2012.

⁷ Luhrs G. – Ex-Kiap web site posting of 14/10/15

⁸ Luhrs G, 14/10/15

⁹ Wikipedia.

¹⁰ David Wall’s Stories 28/8/2008

¹¹ David Wall’s Stories 28/12/2008.

¹² These notes come from personal communication with Rod Noble – See Reference Volume 26 item 857

¹³ Chu Anna *The Kapiak Tree* Maski Media 2008. Page p 10.

¹⁴ L. Bragge Sepik Book 3 *The Sepik at War* Chapter 23 ‘*District Officer Bates Management of the Sepik and Evacuation of Chinese*’.

¹⁵ Reference read in Sepik Research Vol 20, but cannot immediately be located.

¹⁶ Luhrs G, 14/10/15 P 1

¹⁷ Personal communication with ex-contract Patrol Officer Martin Kerr.

¹⁸ David Wall’s Stories 2/1/2008.

¹⁹ Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 19 page 537 – Interview with Stan Christian in Minj 1974

²⁰ Personal Communication with John Pasquarelli 2015.

²¹ Chu Anna 2008 P 111.

²² Personal Communication with John Pasquarelli 2015.

²³ David Wall’s Stories May 2009

Sepik 4 Chapter 28

The 1961 Sepik District Show in Wewak – Repercussions of Public Initiations

In 1960 CPO James Hunter was asked to investigate a complaint made by a Mission. He recorded the complaint and outcome as follows, presumable in his patrol report:

The complaint essentially was that young Sepik men were being wooed and encouraged away from a particular mission back to their village Kanganaman to take part in reputed barbaric initiation practices at the behest of village elders and family ...that such practices would be harmful to their young men who were undertaking training at the mission to become Christians and lay-workers or teachers. The mission believed the elders' indoctrination in the village would undermine Christian principles being inculcated and damaging to the young prospective Christians. The Church saw such initiation practices as barbaric, unnecessary, unchristian and as a harmful influence...¹

Mr. Hunter's investigation in Kanganaman village, Main River Census Division led him to the following conclusions :-

I felt that Christian mission had really no need to overly concern itself with the effects of initiation on any young aspiring Christian. Indeed, in addition to what the elders...drilled into them, there was a set of clear principles, similar to the Ten Commandments of Christianity, including honouring one's father and mother, and not committing adultery, and they were directed not to steal...

It was clear that the men who had not been initiated just didn't have the pride or the stature of those who had been through it all. I saw it in their carriage, directness of looking one in the eye, mannerisms and overall demeanour...

My report regarding the complaint about the initiation being "wicked" and "disruptive" was quite short...the initiation process had traditional and significant value to the middle Sepiks, and as such, I considered it having fundamental value in enhancing their well-established and functional principles and beliefs and should not be interfered with or cast aside...Abandonment of such could only lead to a vacuum, and if there was to be future social change away from these practices, it would probably find its own way.²

Writer's Note: Mr. Hunter's report was not at Ambunti in 1970. I know because I read every patrol report that was on file. So it seems likely that the report may have been misfiled and lost because Mr. Martin's thorough investigation of the Sepik Show incidents of 1961 would certainly have referenced it had it come to his attention.

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The Director of the Department of District Services and Natives Affairs found it necessary to issue the following document, which displayed his obvious displeasure concerning events that occurred at the 1961 Sepik Show just days earlier:

TERRITORY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA.
Department of Native Affairs
KONEDOBU

TO ALL ASSISTANT DISTRICT OFFICERS

1st November 1961.

Native Ceremonies Performed in Public.

The "South Pacific Post" of 31st October, 1961, gives details of male initiation ceremonies as practiced by the people of the Sepik River. The publication is headed "Grisly Rites at Sepik District Show."

According to the report, initiates had their skin cut and anointed so as to form keloids. The blood-letting and pain caused several of the initiates to faint. Apparently the operation was performed in full view of the public and the European on-lookers were shocked at the sight of it.

If this ceremony was truly the traditional custom, one would accept it as part of the spiritual beliefs of the people concerned and one would respect it accordingly, but it was nothing of the kind. It was a sensational "side show" whose performance was staged to attract sight-seers to the Wewak show. It is therefore a cheapening and debasing of a traditional ceremony, deliberately sanctioned in order to give an added thrill to the Wewak Show.

As carried out in its proper environment, the initiation ceremony of River people is one of dignity and secrecy. As one who has seen it performed, youths are normally secluded within a high fence surrounding the Haus Tambaran. The initiates have left their mothers and female relatives and in some places they are believed to have been devoured by crocodiles. They have only men for companions while in the confines of the barricade. The sight of women or girls is strictly forbidden. At all costs the initiates must preserve a grave and dignified demeanor. They may not smile at the antics of men who clown around them, nor must they show any sign of fear or pain when the cicatrices are made on their bodies. It is strictly forbidden for females to witness the ceremony.

At the conclusion of the ordeal the youths are considered men and the keloids on their bodies are visible signs that adulthood has been attained. Through suffering they have become men.

The District Officer and his staff at Sepik have reduced all this to a fraudulent "ceremony" performed in full view of men, women and children with the idea of boosting the attractions of the local show. Such cheapening must reduce the natural dignity of the people to whom they are responsible. Even though the people themselves were willing to perform the ceremony they should have been discouraged from doing so.

I would have thought that the DNA field staff would have a better sense of their responsibilities. We are here to lead the people – the role of sideshow entrepreneur is hardly part of that function.

The real reasons underlying native ceremonies, of course, change [over time]. Once secret, dances and songs are now performed in public and they are harmless enough. Other ceremonies whose original motives are now forgotten provide entertainment without detriment to the dignity of the native people. These are to be encouraged as worthy examples of the remnants of indigenous culture.

But the ceremony as performed at the Wewak Show, with its blood-letting and tawdry imitation of the original are to cease as public exhibitions. The proper place for an initiation ceremony of this kind is in the village where it is carried out with proper dignity and belief.

Sgd (J.K. McCarthy) Director.³

6/11/61 CONFIDENTIAL: CONVERSATION. DISTRICT COMMISSIONER – WEWAK

The DC would like to know how this first came up, who handled it and full details of what actually occurred – To be answered by next Friday's mail.

This note was on file at Ambunti. there was no signature, but the note was from John Wakeford District Officer and forwarded to J.D. Martin¹ ADO Ambunti for his urgent attention. Also on 6/11/61 District Commissioner R.R. Cole sent a hand written note to ADO Ambunti:

...I would like your comment for I consider this bad publicity and poorly timed without an explanation from the Sepik. Please let me have the full story for I did not even see it for myself.

Sgd Robert R Cole.⁴

ADO J.D. Martin's unenviable task in responding to this unwanted critical departmental scrutiny of his Sub District and staff performance was addressed to the Director, Department of Native Affairs on 10th November 1961 under the heading INITIATION CEREMONIES – SEPIK SHOW.

Your circular 7-2-1 of the 1st November 1961 refers.

The ceremonies referred to were introduced into the Sepik Show without the knowledge of the District Officer and staff of this district...I feel myself personally responsible to endeavour to clear up the situation as far as it concerns the total staff of this district.

The ceremonies were introduced into the Ambunti exhibit...No other sub district was involved, nor was the District Officer or any other staff. The ceremonies were performed without my permission or knowledge and no such permission would have been given by me if asked for.

I fully agree with your sentiments as expressed in your circular in that the public performance of such ceremonies should not be encouraged or tolerated. However, I feel that you have gained the wrong impression, probably from the News-Paper articles, in assuming that the ceremonies were put on as a sort of side show, to encourage attendance...and in castigating the district officer and staff I feel that the blame has been placed on officers who either knew nothing about the matter or were no way involved...⁵

In accordance with chain of command ADO Ambunti sent this to the District Officer in Wewak, who would have consulted with the District Commissioner before on forwarding it to the Director. Within the correspondence that followed, observations were made that began to reflect the flow of events and the real causes :-

Mr. ...[The junior officer immediately responsible for the Ambunti exhibit, who need not be named here] tells me that the natives involved in this affair came to him on the Thursday night preceding the show and requested permission to show the actual "skin cutting" portion of the general "Tambaran" ceremonies. He states that he, himself was not sure about allowing them to go ahead, but that they insisted and he eventually gave permission...

¹ We met Mr Martin in Chapter 4 and 5

*Some of the natives involved were from KANGANAMAN village on the main Sepik River and this group has withstood pressure from the Missions to do away with the "Tambaran" ceremonies. They are one of the last places to have an outstanding cult house in traditional style. Recently the R.C. Mission moved a priest to this village...the natives involved may have felt that a public demonstration of skin cutting under the auspices of the Administration would assist them to carry on the ceremonies at village level rather than submitting to the will of the Mission.*⁶

Four days later Mr. Martin reported to the District Commissioner:

I interviewed the Luluai of PARAMBEI village and another man from KANGANAMAN yesterday...The recent movement of Fr. Jansen has caused some concern amongst these KANGANAMAN, PARAMBEI and other main river people who have long held out against anti Tambaran feeling sponsored by the Catholic Mission. My informants stated that whilst Fr. Jansen was at Chambri he did not interfere with their life except at odd intervals but now he is posted in the area [Kapaimari mission at Kanganaman] they can see the end of the Tambaran cult in sight.

It was apparently decided by the people that a public demonstration of the "skin cutting" at the show...would intimidate the mission from taking any further anti Tambaran activity. They did not realize of course that such a public demonstration would do more harm than good.

*They agreed with me that they had not mentioned the matter to me or Mr. ..., who was in charge of proceedings until a couple of days before as they were afraid that the Administration may ban the demonstration. [This] ...allowed the Administration unwittingly to become involved in what was purely a public protest against the Mission.*⁷

This explanation did not satisfy the District Commissioner, who responded:

*...what I want to know is why they pressed to hold such a ceremony away from their own village. This appears to be strange behavior and calls for an explanation...*⁸

Mr. Martin's reply was 27th November 1961 did little to clarify the situation because, I believe, the village people involved had, by then, become aware of the gravity of the incident in the eyes of the Administration; as a result they were looking for scapegoats upon whom to shift any blame. Mr. Martin wrote in part:

Your confidential letter of 15th November 1961 refers. Please excuse the delay in replying but I have been collecting additional facts...

There were 15 Ambunti natives involved in the Ambunti show exhibit who went to Wewak from this area. They were joined by others employed in Wewak. Of the 15 – 6 were from Parambei, 7 from KANGANAMAN and 2 from AIBOM. The unofficial leader of the group was PALIWAN of PAREMBEI, an elder who is the official "skin cutter" at Tambaran ceremonies...

I sent Senior Constable AUGWI to visit and interview the people involved...the report I have from AUGWI is as follows:

1. *PALIWAN...states that when they went to Wewak they had no intention of doing any skin cutting nor were they too sure what they had to do other than helping Mr. ... prepare for*

the Ambunti exhibit. He alleges that on the Friday afternoon before the show Mr. ... told them that having built the "house boy" they were to find two or three young men and cut their skins so that the Europeans etc. could see the ceremony and take pictures. PALIWAN states that he had no intention of doing this himself when he went to Wewak and that normally they would not do this in public...but that as Mr. ... had given the instructions, they were carried out.

2. *Const. Augwi stated ...when he contacted the Luluai of PAREMBEI and others there on a visit, they did not support what PALIWAN had said except in that when they went to Wewak they had no intention of putting on any initiation ceremonies. They state that SARAPUSE of KAMANABIT, one of the men who was cut, approached them in the Labour Compound and said he would volunteer to be cut at the show and accordingly they went ahead and did so with two men from KOROGO who like SARAPUSE work in Wewak and did not go to Wewak from Ambunti just for the show.*
3. *Augwi states that the KANGANAMAN men were non-committal and did not make any statements...other than agreeing with what the Luluai of PAREMBEI said.⁹*

Writer's Assessment:

The primary focus of the above is Departmental embarrassment concerning a career changing mistake made by an inexperienced junior officer. To my view, the important parts of the above are the investigation findings concerning Iatmul tribal motivations for what they did in the Ambunti exhibit. I believe that in terms of Sepik tribal history, this was a skilled political manipulation. In the eyes of the elders, for far too long the Christian Missions had tried to stamp out traditional religious ceremonies. By staging a public show of an initiation in the Sepik Show, they certainly drew a lot of public attention and firmly set the Missions back on their heels.

There was similar resistance elsewhere to over-zealous Christian mission evangelizing. We shall also see in Sepik 4 Chapter 41 that in 1968, the firm application of Reverend Dale's policy of destruction of sacred objects and rituals resulted in his own death and that of one other Australian missionary and several Yali tribal Christians

Did this Iatmul attempted political manipulation at the 1961 Sepik District Show actually achieve its objective? History indicates that it did. Iatmul initiations continued in the Sepik, as described in Sepik 4 Chapter 51. Certainly during the writer's time in the Sepik in the early 1970's, while I was aware of Christian missionaries' disapproval of initiations and other traditional ceremonies, the law of the land was firmly on the side of the Sepik elders.

The PNG Custom's Recognition Act of 1963 states:

6.(1) Subject to this Act, native custom shall be recognised and enforced by, and may be pleaded in, all courts, except in so far as in a particular case or in a particular context —

(a) it is repugnant to the general principles of humanity:

(b) it is inconsistent with an Act, Ordinance or subordinate enactment in force in the Territory or a part of the Territory;

(c) its recognition or enforcement would result, in the opinion of the court, in injustice or would not be in the public interest; or

(d) in a case affecting the welfare of a child under the age of sixteen years, its recognition or enforcement would not, in the opinion of the court, be in the best interests of the child ...

After the 1961 Sepik show, Iatmul tribal initiations continued on, and indeed, increased in the regularity of their performance through the 1970s.

End Notes Chapter 28

- ¹ J.O. Hunter – Stone Age Moon ISBN: 978-0-646-93973-5 2015 Page 23
- ² J.O. Hunter 2015 Pages 23-25
- ³ McCarthy J.K. Circular 7-2-1 to all Assistant District Officers dated 1st November 1961 Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 22 P 139
- ⁴ Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 22. Page 137.
- ⁵ J.D. Martin ADO – To the Director Dept of Native Affairs of 10th November 1961. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 22 Page 139
- ⁶ J.D. Martin ADO – Confidential to the DC of 10th November 1961. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 22 P 141
- ⁷ J.D. Martin ADO – Confidential to the DC of 14th November 1961. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 22 P 143
- ⁸ R.R. Cole DC – Confidential *Initiation Ceremony* 15th Nov 1961 – Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 22 P 144.
- ⁹ J.D. Martin ADO – Confidential to the DC of 27th November 1961. Bragge Sepik Research notes Vol 22 P 145



Above - Ceremonial cutting is still practiced in modern times – photo Internet unattributed

Sepik 4 Chapter 29. The Indonesian take-over of Dutch New Guinea 1962

The Dutch East India Company *Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie, VOC*, ("United East India Company") was a chartered company established in 1602 and for the next two centuries dominated the world spice trade, paying an 18% dividend annually throughout that time. In 1619 the VOC established a capital in the port city of Jayakarta and changed the city name to Batavia (now Jakarta).

Due to corruption in the late 18th century the VOC went bankrupt and was formally dissolved in 1800 its possessions and its debt being taken over by the government of the Dutch Batavian Republic. The VOC's territories became the Dutch East Indies and were expanded during the 19th century to include the whole of the Indonesian archipelago.¹

The Japanese occupied the Dutch East Indies in 1942, but as they retreated in 1945, as a last attempt to retain Indonesian support they promised independence after the war. The Japanese surrendered on 15th August 1945, and on 17th August, just two days later, the Indonesian Nationalist leaders Sukarno and Hatta declared Indonesian independence. When the Dutch did not recognize the declaration, four years of fighting followed. Then, faced with a threat of being cut off of the Marshall Aid plan for Post War re-construction in Europe, Holland ceded sovereignty on 27th December 1949. The republic of Indonesia was founded on 17th August 1950. But the Dutch retained West New Guinea.

Sukarno tried at first to resolve the "Irian problem" in the United Nations, and when this failed Indonesia pulled out of the UN and nationalized all remaining Dutch businesses in Indonesia. In early 1962 Indonesia began a campaign of infiltrating 1,500 troops into West New Guinea; an initiative which failed. In the diplomacy that followed America supported Indonesia. The 1962 "New York Agreement" provided for a UN transition team and Act of Free Choice to be conducted in 1969 in which 1,000 Indonesian chosen representatives, supposedly representing the West New Guinea indigenous population as a whole, voted unanimously to join Indonesia.¹²

Over half a century earlier German colonial interest in the border resulted in the German/Dutch border expedition of 1910, for which Hollandia was established as a base in Humboldt Bay. Hollandia became the capital of Dutch New Guinea. At that time the only stations near the border in TNG were Green River where a patrol post was built in 1951 by the airstrip Patrol Officer Hodgekiss constructed for Oil Search Ltd in 1938, and Vanimo [Angriffshafen], a German trading post which was opened as a patrol post in 1918. After World War II. Vanimo was re-opened in 1946/7

From 1954 onwards as Indonesia sought support in the UN for its claim on West New Guinea, Hasluck encouraged more attention to the Sepik and Western districts border regions with Dutch New Guinea.³ It was thus in August 1956 that Australian patrols were ordered to walk and explore the border between Vanimo and Green River – See Chapter 17.

With the conflict between Indonesian and Dutch forces and the eventual takeover of West New Guinea by Indonesia in 1962, there was a flurry of activity on the Australian side of the border. Amanab Patrol Post was established in 1959/60 and became a sub district in 1962, Imonda [1962], Wutung [1963], Pagei – later called Bewani [1963],⁴ Atbalmin base camp, [mid 1960s] to be replaced by Yabsiei base camp in 1973.

1

Prior to pressure from Indonesia, the border area in the Sepik received more attention from the Dutch authorities than it did from Australian, as it was adjacent to the capital Hollandia and far from Port Moresby and Wewak. The Dutch administered the language groups west of the border and where these language groups had communities east of the border, they administered these as well. The logic of this was as a line on the map agreed in 1910 and not enforced since, meant nothing in terms of clan lands, family intermarriage and exchange interaction within any language groups through which the international border passed. But with the Indonesian take over it became essential to recognize the actual border. So it was that in the newly created Amanab Sub District, alone, there were three² enclaves of Papua New Guinea territory being administered by the Dutch or at least under Dutch influence and speaking the Indonesian lingua franca Bahasa, rather than Pidgin English. The enclaves were:

1. Dera enclave, centred on the Kamberatoro Catholic mission station – Amanab area.

| Dera [Dra] speaking communities in TNG | Dera speaking communities in Irian Jaya |
|--|--|
| Akimari, Kamberatoro, Lihen, Mamambra, Mangwar, Menggau, Mongorovei, Nindebai, Orkwanda, Tambarek, Yamamainda. | Amgotro, Komanda, Menggwari, Yiforo. |

2. Waina/Sowands enclave – Imonda area.

| Waina Sowanda communities in TNG | Waina Sowanda communities in Irian Jaya |
|--|--|
| Punda, Sowanda 1, Sowanda 2, Umeda, Waina, Wiala | Arambawai, Idela, Jabae, Jabanda, Makrabo, |

3. Waris enclave – Imonda area.

| Waris speaking communities in TNG | Waris speaking communities in Irian Jaya |
|---|--|
| Dauchendi, Daundi, Doponendi, Epmi, Imonda, Kolosa, Machendi, Mindepoke, Namola, Omol, Sainenda, Swach-Katjil, Tokonendi, Waida, Yuwetla. | Ampas, Kok, Komieti, Major, Mingk, Oum, Pendasi, Sach, Senck, Swach. |

4. Amanab area

| Amanab speaking communities in TNG | Amanab speaking community in Irian Jaya |
|---|--|
| Bambol, Aheri, Akraminag, Aurump, Bahariag, Bipan, Einokneri, Iafar No 1, No 2 and No 3, Ibagum, Ifigeri, Iframinag, Ivieg, Kabaineri, Kwofinau, Masineri, Mouri, Muwaineri, Nai No 2, Naineri, Nambaineri, Oweniak, Petaineri No 1 & No 2, Seraminag, Waineri, Wamaru, Wofneri, Wogineri, Yumor No 1 & No 2, | Yuwero. |

The border map overleaf⁵ shows the distribution of languages along the international border with Indonesian/ former Dutch New Guinea; languages that were preliminarily classified into language families thus:

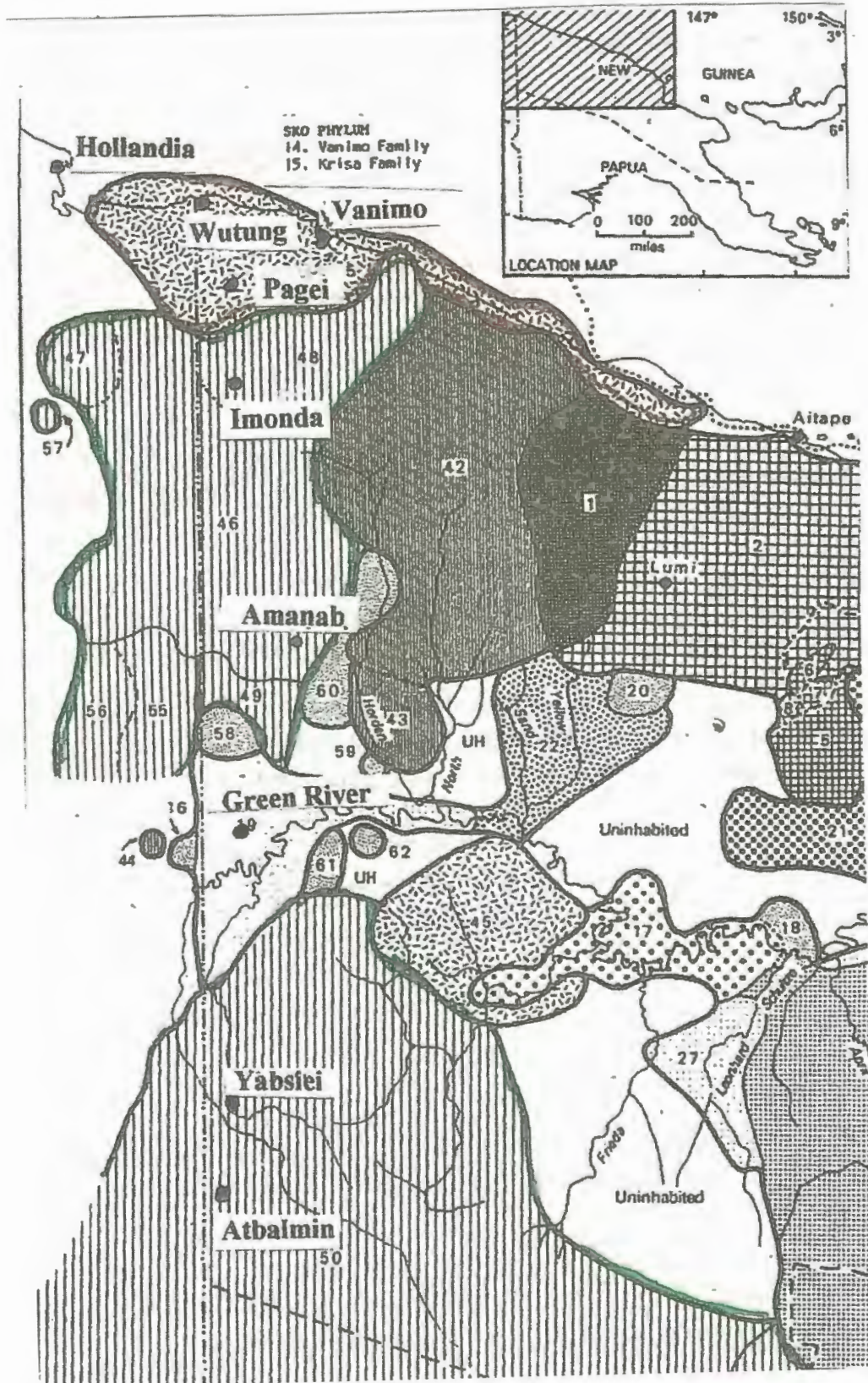
Sko Phylum: Vanimo [coastal] and Krisa [inland]

Torricelli Phylum: 1. West Wapei, 2. Wapei, 5. Maimai, 6. Wiaki, 8. Lanko-Libuat.

Sepik/Ramu Phylum: 16. Biksi, 17 Iwam, 18 Wongamusen, 19 Abau, 20 Ram, 21 Tama, 22 Yellow River, Sepik Hill [April River area], 27, Leonard Schultze,

² Three enclaves. Amanab was not considered to be an enclave

Kwomtari Phylum: 42 Kwomtari [including the Fas languages], 43 Baibai, 44 Pyu.
Left May Phylum: 45 Left May
Trans New Guinea Phylum: 46 Waris [Including Amanab, Waina Sowanda, Waris and Dera]
 47 Taikat, 48 Bewani, 49 Senagi, 50 Ok, 55 Emumu, 56 Dubu.
Unclassified: 57 Morwap, 58 Yuri, 59 Busa, 60 Nagatman, 61 Amto, 62 Musian



This complex language structure became problematical when, unbeknown to the indigenous inhabitants, an international border – the 141 degree line of longitude was drawn on may through their land holdings. This had not been a serious problem during Dutch times but that changed when Indonesia took West New Guinea from the Dutch in 1962.

Opinion on the Australian border stations in 1964 was that the state of political, social and economic development in former Dutch New Guinea was half a century behind that of PNG. But there was an exception; since the early 1950s, in the face of Indonesian demands to take over sovereignty of West New Guinea, the Dutch developed a political elite of West New Guineans to govern a future Self-Governing West New Guinea at the target date of 1970, which of course was not realized with the Indonesians taking over in 1962. The indigenous elite however presented a political problem for the Indonesian administration.

For PNG, the West New Guinea dispute became a catalyst... The combination of an Indonesian threat and the Foot UN report of 1962 were wake up calls. After 1960, their impact was to extend the horizons of readers of the South Pacific Post to the other half of the Island... A weekly column began to appear on Netherlands New Guinea affairs and it comprised descriptions of economic and political developments that the Dutch administration had made on behalf of the its inhabitants. In addition, its editorials took a stand on the disputed status of West New Guinea and expressed approval of the proposed Melanesian Federation, the establishment of a seventh state status for PNG in the Commonwealth of Australia or any other such arrangements that would ensure some Australian control over events in WNG to prevent international intrusions into PNG. ⁶

Australia was being pushed reluctantly towards ultimate Self-Government, which until that time, had been no more than a vision for the very distant future.⁷

The nature, extent and direction of PNG political thought concerning West New Guinea in the late 1960s is reflected in the following Hansard quotes:

“We are the same people and, therefore, we have every right to talk about these problems that are so close to us and are concerning the people who are brothers to us” – Michael Somare. East Sepik Regional MP

“As these are our brothers, we cannot understand why we are not allowed to be their hosts”. – Paul Langro. – West Sepik Regional MP.

“I am very sympathetic towards the West Papuan People, the West Irianese, who are the same race of people as we Papuans and New Guineans” - Angmai Bilas – Mabusu Open MP.

“There is little difference between the people of West Irian and the people of Papua and New Guinea, The difference exists today only because of a boundary between West Irian-Papua New Guinea which was set by a foreign governments in early times.” – Traimya Kambipi – Kompiam Baiyer Open MP.⁸

(a) *Bravery is not recognised, Editorial, South Pacific Post, 2 May 1969*

Australia has every reason to be proud of such officers as Tony Try, the young man in charge of the Wutung patrol post. Equally the Territory can be proud of the policemen and interpreter who are stationed with him.

Their calmness in the face of provocative actions by the Indonesians helped to avert a major international crisis. An armed Indonesian party burst into Wutung village searching for West Irianese who had crossed the border. The Indonesians fired shots at Mr Try and his assistants. But later Mr Try had a prolonged discussion with the Indonesians and managed to convince them to release one of the men they had captured in the village.

The Minister for External Territories, Mr Barnes, has rightly commended Mr Try and the police for "Acting with great firmness in the face of this armed group." But the bravery and tact of these men deserves something better, such as a decoration. Their actions certainly deserve something better than the attitude of the Minister for External Affairs, Mr Freeth. Mr Freeth has said Australia will not make a formal protest to Indonesia over the incident. For heaven's sake, why not? Does Mr Freeth consider it of no great moment that the lives of an Australian and his New Guinean police were placed in jeopardy by provocative Indonesian action? He told Parliament yesterday that Indonesia "will do its best to stop further border incidents on the West Irian frontier."

It may be that the Indonesians intend to do the right thing in the future. But they will be better reminded of this if they have before them an official protest from Australia. Australia's own self-respect demands such a course.

A recommendation was put forward but not approved on the basis that it was too close to Self-Government/Independence and it would not be politically correct! Tony is one of many! The Director of the Department of District Administration and Native Affairs once said: "No recommendations for bravery were made because where would you start and end." When Mount Lamington erupted in 1951, various people received bravery awards but none were given to the Patrol Officers who worked with these people - NJ

(b) Life on the border, Tony Try What follows is Mr. Try's version of related events:

Wutung village was, and still is, an idyllic village of traditionally constructed houses in very neat rows, under the coconut trees adjacent to white sand beaches on the north coast of Papua New Guinea. The village itself is situated a few hundred yards east of the Border of Papua New Guinea and West Irian, and approximately thirty kilometers west of the township of Vanimo and a roughly similar distance from the West Irian capitol Hollandia [also known at different times as Sukarnopura, Jayapura and Kota Baru.]

It was during the period when the "Act of Free Choice" was being conducted in West Irian, which resulted in a large number of political refugees seeking haven in PNG. The Indonesian Government tried to stop the flow of refugees across the border and used a heavily armed paramilitary group known as the "Brimob". Unfortunately, these foot patrols often claimed that they did not know exactly where the border mark was situated and came wandering into the Wutung village area. They also lobbed two-inch mortars, machine gun and rifle fire onto the PNG side of the border, from the surrounding hills on the West Irian side of the border. The Indonesian patrol boats also regularly chased the motorised canoes into PNG waters. At the height of the influx of refugees I was required to report by radio every hour into Vanimo, twenty-four hours a day; so that headquarters knew that everything was under control. Police were also stationed at all access points to Wutung on 24 hour guard duty, keeping a watch on movements back and forwards across the border.

As can be imagined this situation, which went on for quite a few months, led to some interesting experiences. One of which was reported in a magazine produced by HMAS *Madang*, an Australian patrol boat on duty in PNG at that time. HMAS *Madang* was (I believe) at anchor in Vanimo harbour. I had obviously gone to sleep and missed a few of the radio scheds that I was

required to make. HMAS *Madang* was ordered to make maximum speed to Wutung to assess the situation. It was also a very dark and moonless night. The thump of the patrol boat's motor could be heard getting closer and closer and as it was steaming along without any lights on at all, the policeman on duty reported to me that we could be having a visit from one of the many Indonesian patrol boats that we had seen in the area.

I quickly woke the remainder of the police – there were a maximum of 53 Royal Papua and New Guinea constables based at Wutung during the height of the activity – and stationed them behind suitable cover around the apparent place of landing. They remained quiet listening to the sounds of the patrol boat as it came to a halt – still in complete darkness, and wondering what they were in for.

The following is taken from the report by the HMAS *Madang* – “Operating under cover of darkness, we stealthily slipped into our anchorage. Operating to the maximum efficiency the boarding party, armed to the teeth...leapt into the boat for the perilous trip inshore in mountainous seas. Unfortunately, half way inshore on our mission of mercy we were met by a native canoe containing the local patrol officer, Tony Try, who just happened to be wondering what we were doing. Red faced we explained we were about to save him.”

Tony Try continues: The seas were in fact quite high and there was a good surf running where any boats would have to come ashore. This meant that getting into a small boat from the patrol boat was a very difficult exercise, as it jumped and bucked around. It was this fact that gave me the clue that we were not in as much trouble as I originally thought. Someone in the boat obviously got hurt because a very clear burst of swearing in a very Australian accent wafted across the water. It was then that I decided that with a small canoe, and some local knowledge, I should take a closer look at our “enemy” under cover of darkness and with relative impunity. Needless to say, relief on all sides made for quite a few laughs, as we waited for the sun to rise.⁹

P.S. Different aspects of the story of the Border region are also told in the following Sepik 4 Chapters:

Sepik 3 Chapter 65 Transition from Military to Civil Administration – Aitape
Chapter 17 Aitape and Green River Patrols walking the 141st meridian 1956
Chapter 30 Border issues from an indigenous perspective
Chapter 32 The 1964 elections Green River area
Chapter 33 Life on Sepik Border Stations with Indonesia 1964-5

Also

Sepik 5 Chapter 11 Ex kiap experience and skills applied to PNG resource industries

End Notes Chapter 29.

¹ Wikipedia – The Dutch East India Company.

² Muller K. Pickell. D. Indonesian New Guinea, Irian Jaya. Periplus Travel Guide. Singapore 1974 P 57-59.

³ Hasluck P 1976 P361.

⁴ DS&NA Circular 2-1-0 of 9/9/1964. Establishment of Govt. Stations, New Guinea.

⁵ D.C.Laycock 1965 P69.

⁶ Chapter 11 Papua New Guinea's response to the WNG question. Pages 368-372

⁷ Chapter 11 Papua New Guinea's response to the WNG question. Pages 369

⁸ Hansard PNG House of Assembly debates Vol 11 No 5 PP 1346-1442 - 25th & 27th June 1969 .

⁹ www.pngaa.net/library/kiap4.html

Sepik 4 Chapter 30 Indonesian Border Issues From an Indigenous Perspective

Introduction: The contents of this chapter and Sepik 4 Chapter 29 come mainly from five information sources :-

1. A dozen foolscap pages of random entries and notes covering the period October 1962 to August 1976. This document appears to have been written by successive ADOs/ADCs at Aitape, which was the sub district responsible for Vanimo patrol post and the border region south from the north coast to the Bewani Mountains. Vanimo was upgraded from patrol post status to District headquarters status with the creation of the West Sepik District in 1966. The West Sepik District was later renamed Sandaun Province.
2. L.W. Bragge diary Vol 25 Sept/December 1989 – The writer served as British Petroleum Pty Ltd. representative responsible for overseeing construction of 80 kilometres of road from Drindmasuk on the Fly River to the Elevala Rig site. This road formed part of the future Kiunga to Nomad River Road via Iowara UNHCR Refugee Camp.
3. Diana Glazebrook – *A History of Flight, Repatriation and Resettlement of West Papuans Seeking Political Asylum in PNG 1962-2000* – An annotated biography last updated 2002.
4. Diana Glazebrook – *Permissive Residents – West Papuan Refugees Living in Papua New Guinea* – Monographs Anthropology Series – ANU E-Press 2008
5. Border issues cross-referenced in other Sepik 4 chapters as shown in the text of this chapter.

Writer's Notes:

A/ Confusion regarding the name of the western section of the island of New Guinea is understandable. Modern references to this Indonesian controlled region often have a political orientation, e.g. ethnic locals prefer 'West Papua' although Indonesian officials use that term to refer only to the western section of 'West Papua'. Formerly part of the Dutch East Indies, the region has also been variously known as Dutch New Guinea, West Papua New Guinea, West New Guinea, West Irian, Irian Jaya, and Papua.

B/ ... For purposes of consistency in this chapter, and with no political implications intended, the term 'West Papua' is adopted, regardless of post WW2 chronology, unless there is a quotation from a historical document (where unfortunately multiple terms are used). Similarly, the former Dutch capital of Hollandia has subsequently been known as Kotabaru, Sukarnapura and Jayapura.

C/ The term 'permissive residents' referred to the status of west-to-east border crossers who were granted temporary entry permits in Papua New Guinea. The term 'refugees' was avoided as it tended to pre-determine the status of West Papuans [who crossed the border for various economic, cultural and political reasons], and potentially inflame political sensitivities.

Historic Overview

We saw in Sepik 3 - Chapter 65 the first recorded refugees to enter PNG from West Papua were Indonesians in 1947. They said they would rather die than return to the Dutch Colony.

The capital of Dutch New Guinea, Hollandia which was established in 1910 as the base for the German/Dutch Border expedition, is located on the shores of Humboldt Bay, 20 miles from the PNG border and about 40 miles from Vanimo in Papua New Guinea. During the Dutch colonial presence, the northern region of the border area received more attention from the Dutch than it did from PNG's Australian authorities. The Dutch colonial practice was to administer to the edge of indigenous language groups even when some of their villages were to the east of the border in PNG. No record can be found regarding Australian authorities raising issues concerning these enclaves of "Australian" territory administered by the Dutch.

By the mid-1950s there were only two Australian Patrol Posts in the Sepik border area; Vanimo on the coast and Green River some 165 miles to the south. As described in Chapter 17, these patrols set out to follow the 141st Meridian and explore the border country in 1956: PO Robin Calcutt patrolled north from Green River while a/ADO [Aitape] Bill Brown and PO Barry Ryan [OIC Vanimo] patrolled southwards from Wutung.

The previous chapter describes the Indonesian takeover of Dutch New Guinea in 1962. The relaxed cross-border relations that existed with the Dutch changed abruptly at this time. In order to better address border issues, administrative divisions¹ divided the Sepik District into North and South Sepik. "North Sepik" included the border from the north coast, south to the Papuan border – taking in Aitape, Amanab and Telefomin plus Lumi sub districts. The "South Sepik" consisted of Wewak, Maprik, Ambunti and Angoram sub districts. It was debated that Ambunti should have been in West Sepik, but it was decided that the Sepik River needed to be in one district.

The Sepik District DC was Mr. R.R. "Bob" Cole, who we met as Captain Cole of ANGAU in Sepik 3. District Commissioners at that time were part of the Department of the Administrator, not part of the Department of District Services and Native Affairs. District Officers reported not to the DC, but to the DDS&NA director. Mr. J.E. Wakeford, who we met in Sepik 3 Chapters 65 and 67 as the PO in charge at Maprik and Vanimo in 1946/7, was appointed as DO of North Sepik in July 1963. While G.T. Linsley and K. Jackson each served as DO of the South Sepik.

In September 1964, administrative logic prevailed, and District Commissioners once again were part of DDS&NA and the DOs reported to them with the new rank of Deputy District Commissioner [DDC]. At this time ADOs were re-designated as ADCs - Assistant District Commissioners.

In June 1965 R.R. Cole became Commissioner of Police and E.G. Hicks was appointed acting DC of the Sepik – with J.E. Wakeford as DDC North Sepik and B.K. Leen as DDC South Sepik². In June 1966 D.C. E.G. Hicks, accompanied D.J. Clancy on a familiarisation of the North Sepik. From then on Mr. Clancy was DC of the newly proclaimed West Sepik District based in the new District Headquarters at Vanimo. Mr. Hicks continued on as DC of the East Sepik District.³

A border development programme was implemented with new patrol posts established at Amanab [1959 – Sub District status in 1962], Imonda [1962], Wutung [1963] and Pagei [1963 - later renamed Bewani]⁴ Because of the importance of Sissano in terms of border issues[see below] a patrol post was established there in 1964. The development program also included political development with all border communities as far south as Green River [now being within the Amanab Sub District] being administered through Local Government Councils by late 1965.

Chapter 33 describes life on Border stations with Indonesia – 1964-65. The writer was posted to Green River as OIC in early 1964, then as 2i/c Amanab and to Imonda as OIC for a month in 1965; my patrols of the former Dutch enclaves of Dera, Waina-Sowanda and Waris still required "Malay" [Bahasa language] interpreters.

From 1962 onwards, the situation of the people of the enclaves now became difficult for two reasons:

1. While they continued to move back and forth within their tribal lands to interact with kinfolk on both sides of the border, they now became aware that both Indonesian and Australian authorities were concerned about “illegal” border crossings. To the people, the 141st line of longitude that just happened to pass through their lands and had no place in their perception of their cosmos; it was just another obstruction imposed by the outsiders.
2. As conflict developed between the indigenous people of West Papua and the Indonesian military, people found refuge with kinfolk on the PNG side of the border. On occasion Indonesian troops followed them into PNG causing terror at village level and international incidents on the world stage.

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A Record of the Interaction between Sissano Villagers and West Papua

As indicated in Sepik 1 Chapter 3, there were two major migrations of people who settled New Guinea in ancient times. – firstly the “Papuans” and later the “Austronesians”. The latter group were, and are, sea farers, fishermen and traders whose descendants continue to occupy small areas on the coast and outlying islands of PNG and of the Indonesian province of West Papua. [the Indonesians themselves are primarily of Austronesian descent.]

Two present-day pockets of Austronesians are the coastal Sissano people of the Aitape sub district of PNG, and the Tabati-Ormu⁵ of Humboldt Bay in Irian Jaya.

There would seem to have been two possible reasons for the Sissano people’s interest in Humboldt Bay area - some 220 kilometres west of their village:

1. Historic cultural and descent linkages in Austronesian society,
2. The “bright lights” and opportunities in an urban environment in Hollandia.

Sadly the information available to the writer allows nothing more than the following supposition:

The cultural links described in the dozen pages of Aitape notes mentioned earlier, indicate the ties that long predated the Indonesian take over. From a wider perspective it seems likely the linkage is typical of how the ocean going Austronesians explored the New Guinea coast and the Pacific beyond; establishing coastal settlements, establishing and maintaining kinship ties, trading back and forth between established communities before moving on to explore the oceans beyond and establishing the next stepping stones of civilisation in the process.

My supposition is that the link between Sissano and the people of Humboldt Bay was established by #1 above and then enhanced by #2 as family members received Dutch education and employment, which carried over into Indonesian times.

Writer’s Note. At both Sissano and Malol, another Austronesian community in the West Sepik, there is a village called Amsor. How this relates to the Amsor family of Sissano and Hollandia, is not known, but a long-standing ancestral heritage seems to be indicated.

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Sissano villagers’ views on the West Irian Situation. [an unsigned & undated document found in the Aitape archive files]⁶

The purpose of this correspondence is divided into three major thought groups:

1. Those people who have spent a number of years working in West Irian, both under Dutch and Indonesian administrations.
2. The majority group – those [Sissano people] who have never been to West Irian but have formed their views after hearing reports from persons returning from WI, or from visitors to the Amsor family.
3. The Amsor family, particularly Charles Amsor, who has been living at Sissano. His father, Joseph Amsor is a Sissano villager who migrated to West Irian many years ago and will remain there with the majority of his family. A WI citizen by birth, Charles would now like to remain permanently in PNG. He is married into Sissano village and has a brother [Niki] and a sister in Mt Hagen and another brother Oscar in Irian Jaya, who would like to come to PNG.

Politics: With the exception of Charles Amsor, these people have expressed no interest in the internal politics of WI, except in how [the politics] have affected their living in Sukarnapura [an Indonesian re-naming of Hollandia] They have nothing but praise for the Netherlands administration and as migratory workers they preferred conditions in Hollandia to those in PNG centres. Changing conditions under the Indonesian administration made life intolerable and this decided them to return to NG.

They consider self-determination in WI as something belonging to the WI natives and state if Indonesia does not honour the Netherlands/Indonesian agreement and hold a referendum in 1969 it [will be] up to the WI natives only to press for Self-Government. The Sissanos. are most emphatic that, in the event of hostilities between WI natives and the Indonesians, the WI natives can expect no support whatever from this area...The people of Sissano are very pro-Australian Administration in their outlook and want to see advancement in their own area. They look at the establishment of Sissano Patrol Post in 1964 as a definite step towards their achievement of economic stability.

Conditions in West Irian: Under Indonesian control conditions deteriorated to such a degree that, with few exceptions, the Sissano people returned to NG. The main complaints were:-

- a. ...there was a severe shortage of supplies and that after the UN Administration left few boats visited Suparkapura. What goods that did arrive were quickly taken by Indonesian personnel and that nothing was available for the native people.
- b. ...Indonesians sent trucks out into the rural areas and take any garden produce they required.
- c. ...hospitals and other administrative functions almost ceased to function due to lack of supplies and after a short time staff would not bother to attend...
- d. Just prior to returning to Sissano many of them were out of work in such public utilities as road maintenance ceased to function, where they had been previously employed.
- e. Fear of Indonesian brutality. Kapai and Purium of Sissano both report having heard Indonesian officials state that anyone caught stealing or other similar crimes would have their fingers cut off. Other brutalities witnessed were:
 - Reported by Meriuk of Sissano and backed up by several others... One native found in possession of a WI flag at Sentani was put in a 44-gallon drum and the drum was then sealed and filled with water.
 - Reported by a large group including Charles Amsor...Two natives at Kopria found in possession of the WI flag were shot in the legs and imprisoned. [Kopria was where the Amsor family lived and the majority of the Sissano people went.]
- f. Although they never witnessed any incidents, the Indonesians had a reputation for abusing native women and they live in fear of their women being ill-used.

The following random notations⁷ have been re-arranged in chronological order :-

23/10/1962. A list of Sissano and Warapu [Warapu people living adjacent to Sissano village are not Austronesian speakers] returning from West Irian include:

- 51 adult males
- 17 female adults
- 17 children
- 85 people in total

July 1964. Sissano villagers returning from West Irian during 1964 totalled 43 in number. Their average absence [from PNG] was 2 to 4 years. Several are noted as being of West Irian descent – mainly women who have married Sissanos.

3/8/1964 from District Officer Wakeford. Thank you for the lists...find out who these people were associated with in Kotabaru, or whatever it [Hollandia] is called these days¹ and if possible, their names. Are any of these people originated from Sissano or other parts of the Territory, if so who are they and where are they?

12/8/1964 from OIC Sissano. Amsor has land over there and intends to work it. He also has land here. [He] told people he can do as he likes. If anything goes wrong, he can always come back here. He returned to Irian Jaya with several others on 29th July.

Charles Amsor's brother Niki is in Madang [and later Mt Hagen]...He had 5 years education in Holland...sent there by the Dutch Administrator. The Indonesian administration is imprisoning all pro-Dutch natives. All well-educated people are immediately suspected. Niki was warned and he fled.

Those returning from Irian Jaya have settled into the normal village pattern. The main reasons they return to Sissano are:

1. Under the Dutch working conditions were good – plenty of food. This no longer applies.
2. Indonesian justice is harsh...penalty for stealing is imprisonment then marking [as a thief] by cutting off a finger.

Notations by ADC Aitape. The people believe that...anyone who arrives in NG and states that he is afraid of the Indonesians and who is willing to learn and work in this Territory should not be sent back to what they consider certain death.

22/12/1964. Notations apparently sent by ADC Aitape to a/DC Wakeford.

- a. [Charles] Amsor received copies of two documents.
 - SUARA PAPUA No 1 & 2, KOMITE KEMERDEKANN PAPUA and SUARA SEHAT No 5 were received in September 1964.
 - SUARA PAPUA No 3, SUARA SURAT No 12 and the English paper FRONT NATIONAL PAPUA (F.N.P.)...were received in early November 1964.
- b. SUARA PAPUA No 1 and SUARA SEHAT No 5 and KOMITE KEMERDEKANN PAPUA BARET were shown to myself [ADC] on 14/11/1964...
- c. The documents listed in A were in the possession of Amsor who today, upon my request, handed them to me...I asked if he had any other documents and he 'went to have a look' and then produced Komite Kemerdekan Papua Barat and Suara Papua No 2. I then asked if he had if he had received No 1. He then produced that.
- d. MENASE appears to be a code word. On the original Suara Papua No 2 it is in the following form: ME (Nentukan) NA (sib) SE (endiri). Amsor tells me this stands for Freedom for Papua. The correspondence in 3 was addressed Sarong (irbar)

¹ Hollandia became Kotabaru, then Sukarnapura and then Jayapura

- e. Amsor informs me that Suara Papua is printed and distributed from the Netherlands by Nicolass Jouwe, the chairman of Komite Kemerdekaan Papua Beret and vice chairman of the Front National Papua. Amsor says it is propaganda containing articles and letters originating in WI. He does not know its circulation.
- f. As per d. a further letter signed MENASE appears in Suara Papua No 3 Sept. 1964.
- g. Amsor claims these articles are sent direct through the mail from the Netherlands. He claims it is sent by Nicolass Jouwe who had possibly obtained his address in Sukarnapura. He states that he has not received any of these articles direct from WI. The mission bag holder does not recall Amsor getting any mail from the Netherlands.
- h. As far as is known Amsor corresponds only with his family in WI.
- i. Suara Sehat is produced by Indonesian students studying at a University in Japan (Name of Uni not known). This is contrary to that stated in your confidential of 21st Nov 1964. Amsor informs me it is published by a group of students not satisfied with Sukarno and conditions.

Amsor would like the documents back, if convenient.

Writer's Note: ADC Aitape at this time was A.M. "Gus" Bottrill who was fluent in Bahasa language. The writer worked at Amanab with Gus in 1964-5 before he was posted to Aitape.

5/2/65 Mr. Wakeford's reply to the above was a clear rap on the knuckles for OIC Sissano.

"I am not going to send this on to Moresby as I feel the Dept. of the Administrator will ask how these fellows² had been gone a week before the PO who is actually living among them found out about it."

The knuckle rap was apparently passed on by ADC Aitape. From then on OIC Sissano took up the reporting direct to the DC.

31/3/65 OIC Sissano to DC Wewak *Amsor* advised ADO Bottrill conditions, particularly concerning food availability, has deteriorated and further claimed his family wishes to return here. There were supplies of food and clothing arriving, these were put in the bulk store, but could not be purchased by native people, only by Indonesian administrative personnel.

A letter from Niki to Charles Amsor listed 21 Amsor family members plus three others requesting permission to cross. These details were sent through to the Department of the Administrator.

Dept. Secretary D. Fenbury³ replied to the District Commissioner Before taking the matter further it will be necessary for you to advise me as to the attitude of the Sissano people towards a possible return of the Amsor family and three others ...Also require some firm understanding from these people that they will settle down and not cross back across the border as their whim takes them.

It is noted that seven of the Amsor family are in Government employ in Sukarnapura. Should they settle in Sissano, they might find difficulty in finding equivalent employment in NG...

Arnold Amsor – Driver for the Indonesian Governor of Sukarnapura.
 Oskar Amsor - Mechanic – Administration.
 Elizabeth Amsor - Telephonist.
 Octovina Amsor - Telephonist.
 plus three male clerks.

² Presumably refugees

³ We met David Fenbury as ANGAU's Captain Feinberg in Sepik 3 – *The Sepik at War*

OIC Sissano to ADC Aitape Leaders at Sissano state the Amsor land holdings are still intact and they are welcome to return. If granted permissive residency they will not return to WI.

9/6/65. Secretary Fenbury gave permission for the group to reside in PNG. [The instruction was that] the Administration was not to assist their return to Sissano in any way. Upon their return they will have all the rights, duties and obligations as other citizens of PNG. Provide full details of each person involved.

21/6/65. Amsor was informed of the above and asked permission to go and get them. This was refused. [Amsor] agreed to write them a letter then go to Wutung to accompany his family from there.

7/11/65. Niki advised Charles...letter from sister Elizabeth in Sukarnapura. He is now advised that all the people listed will definitely enter PNG. He expects they will cross the border at Wutung. As they will probably travel along the coast by canoe it is not likely they will enter PNG until the finish of the current North West [monsoon] season.

11/2/66. Charles received a letter from Elizabeth...They want to come, but the time is unsuitable as the Indonesians have made new laws and they do not know what will happen to them, because many natives who ran away to PNG and were sent back by Australia were sent to gaol. People who disagree with the Indonesians go to gaol.

6/5/66. Letter from Gustav Amsor to Charles Amsor. "We heard from your letter that the people at Sissano are not good to you. So Charles, you wait until your father comes. One of your uncles Kalep Hawadi is a member of the D.P.R.G.R. [Amsor translated this as House of Assembly at Sukarnapura] and had gone to Djakarta [Jakarta], we will wait for him first then we will come..."

We have heard the singsings of our village [Sissano] on Radio Wewak and we are sad for the place...Your brother [Niki] sent us photos of Mt Hagen and we showed them to the Indonesians and they said "Oloman!⁴ I think PNG is coming on well"...

The letter then contained a section in his mother's tongue. [of this Amsor said] We are afraid of the translators [sensors] and writing in your mother's tongue. When the Dutch were here it was alright, but now...Amsor indicated there was nothing further of interest in the correspondence and that he was too weary to continue...

Notation by ADC Aitape [?] The foregoing translations follow OIC Sissano's asking to see Amsor's personal mail. Although Amsor was noted as being "most cooperative" the weariness mentioned indicates either:

1. Quiet contempt.
2. Desire to conceal possible intelligence or other important matter that Amsor wishes to keep from OIC Sissano personally or from the Government.

19/8/66. OIC Sissano to ADC Aitape:

'West Papuan Freedom Literature' Charles Amsor showed me today two pamphlets which he claims he received recently from E.S.Hamadi C/- DC's office in Madang. The documents are neither signed nor dated and seem old...The first document was by the Komite Kemerdekaan Papua Barat and was written in Malay and English. It declares the aims of the committee the main points were:

- a. Quotes from the UN Declaration on Decolonisation against the Indonesians.

⁴ Pidgin exclamation of surprise.

- b. Pleads for support to force Indonesia to abide by articles XVIII and XX of the Netherlands-Indonesian Agreement on West NG (Plebiscite on self-determination...)

The second document was issued by the Front National Papua [FNP] abroad and was entirely in English. Its main points were:

- a. Press for realisation of articles XVIII and XX of the Agreement.
- b. Repudiates all claims that West Papua was part of the Dutch East Indies, and is consequently part of Indonesia.
- c. States West Papuans are a separate race and should have a separate State.
- d. Asks for a close watch on Indonesia and its anti-native activities.
- e. Says that after independence West Papua should press for federation with Melanesia.

24/10/66 To Charles Amsor from family of H.O.Fontaba.

We are cross because you have not told the kiap to send us a letter so we can come to PNG. We are waiting for this letter to show the Indonesian kiaps so that we can come. Now we are short of food clothing, we can't get them here. You must hurry and send us this letter.

30/11/70 request that Amsor's mother and father be allowed to join him at Aitape...In July 1975 Charles was still trying to visit WI to bring back his mother and father.

21/1/1974 Charles Amsor - shining Toyota lights out to sea [at Aitape] for five minutes an hour before an Irian Jaya canoe landed on the beach at 2.00 am. The canoe occupant was Jon Wanggai who had been at Aitape two weeks earlier after being picked up near Malol with an unserviceable motor. He returned now with six associates seeking permissive residency – obviously advised by Amsor and/or Ireeuw.

These visitors were accommodated at the police station. Ireeuw expressed surprise at seeing two Government officers at the station when he later came allegedly to report a lost driving licence, but obviously wishing to speak to the visitors.

There are suspected communication lines from Irian Jaya from OPM to Amsor and Ireeuw.

2/12/1976 Charles Amsor died. He released himself from hospital where he was on a drip. Illness was apparently pneumonia. Jayapura mourners took back three of his children from Sissano. Mother screaming...much activity. The three were eventually returned to Sissano.

The mourners took tales back with them: An Irian Jaya canoe washed up on Serra beach with two dead bodies in it. Two years ago a canoe left Jayapura with 3 or 4 people, never to be seen again. Relatives wish to cross to exhume bodies.

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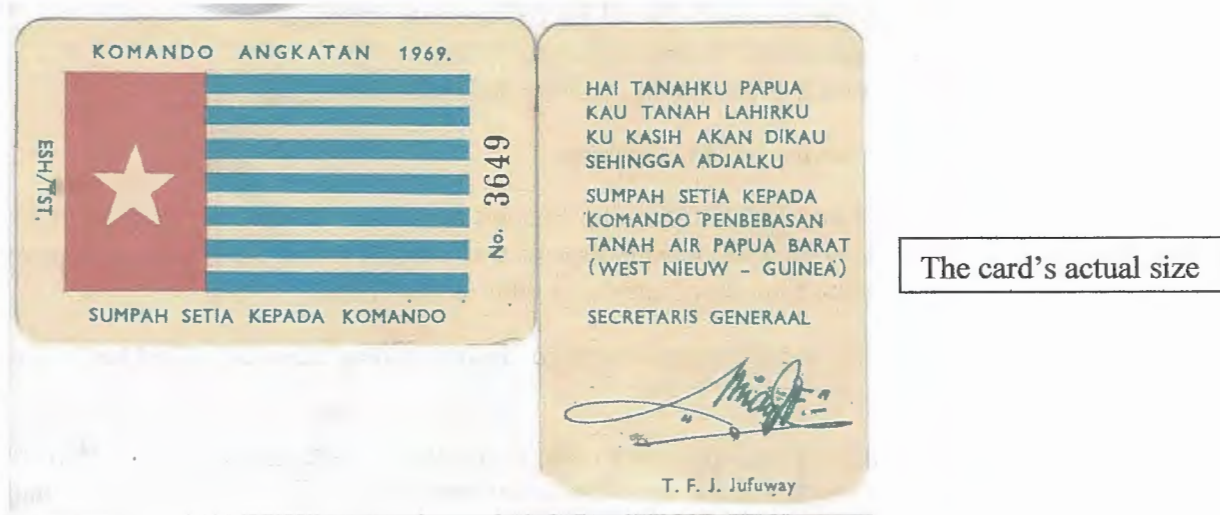
Superficial Intelligence Interpretation [concerning Charles Amsor]. by ADC Aitape [?].

Early 1960s – huge backflow of refugees. Charles Amsor comes and goes for some time. Opens channels for family to come, they never do, but the pipeline is established. After a year OPM⁵ [Free Papua Movement] type literature comes down the pipeline. We learn of this but probably did not learn of everything that came down the pipeline. The Radio Wewak portion interests me.

⁵ OPM Organisasi Papua Merdeka [Wikipedia] - Free Papua Movement

It is noted that the reverse situation occurred in the Dutch enclaves we took over – Dera, Waina-Sowanda, Waris and Sekotchiau and no doubt Wutung. We handed out radios for the people to tune to Radio Wewak. The people were Malay speaking, and they tuned the radios to Indonesian stations not ours.

The possibilities: Amsor is used by OPM to set up the pipeline for his family movement. The family prove to be mainly [Indonesian] government employees and an MHA and they do not come. Otto Ireeuw turns up along the line however with his OPM membership cards. They become a contact point for refugees and spies (?)



Administration quest for a solution to the problem of permissive residents.

2/10/68 [DC West Sepik] Mr. Wakeford suggested that all permissive residents, ex Irian Jaya be sent to Misima or some similar distant place. All, were in fact sent to Wewak, and then that also changed because the DC there realised what a problem they were.

Pes [a few miles inland from Aitape] was suggested. DC disagreed; why should PNG people have to build their own houses when the Government builds houses for perfect strangers. A Pes scheme cannot succeed under these circumstances.

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Randon Notations Reflecting the Increasing Buildup of Sepik Border Tensions

Writer's Note: This section seeks only to reflect the steadily increasing border tensions and to indicate the nature of the issues, rather than purporting to be a complete historical record.

March 1971 Seventy-four WI refugees arrived Pagei 15/3/71 want to live at Sram village and were sent back through Sekotchiau 1/4/1971.

5/8/1971 Requests to ADC Aitape by Octoviannus Ireeuw made to Provincial Commissioner through Visser to go to work at Vanimo for Visser...

30/1/74 Manager Tamara found an employee had an unusual card. It was discovered that Octoviannus Ireeuw handed out OPM Membership cards. The number sequences missing indicate the issue of 400 cards locally – The instruction was apparently – “carry this card and when you go to Irian Jaya show it to the people and they will welcome you, help you, feed you, house you”.

January/February 1972 Mr. Adrian Visser⁶ departed Vanimo 26/2/1972 for a three month visit to Europe and Asia, including Djakarta and Bali.

Monthly liaison meetings between Imonda [PNG] and Waris [WI] arranged⁷.

April/May 1972 Geologist Mr. Bull employed by BP crossed the border to Waris patrol post during a field trip. No administration staff present Waris. 12 Brimob [mobile military unit] were present. Could indicate recent OPM activity or same is expected.

Wassengla Mission (Imonda) report WI natives came in for medical treatment.

May/June 1972 reported cholera outbreak in West Irian resulted in border vaccination campaign currently in action and operating smoothly. Helipads are to be established along the border in population centres to be ready for future outbreaks.

June/July 1972 Appropriate measures were taken in anticipation of possible heavy border crossings arising from the killings of four WI soldiers by WI dissidents.

- Heli pads being established.
- Improved water supply for Yako⁸ holding camp.
- There are indications that liaison meetings between persons crossing the border at will are taking place. A courier and mail link would also appear to be established.
- The possibility of OPM activities being directed and mounted against Indonesians from the PNG side of the border is being investigated.
- The report of Indonesian intrusions east of the border to Yako camp being investigated.
- There is growing rumoured and unsubstantiated indications of indiscriminate ignoring of the border by Indonesian and OPM element.

September/October 1972 ADC Amanab, OIC Imonda and 2i/c Waris held discussions at Waris about WI people with land holdings east of the border. Problem still to be resolved.

Oct/Nov 1972 There has been activity west of Yabsiei base camp in the Telefomin sub district [no details.] Movement west of Kamberatoro and Kambriap [Green River headwaters] also reported and investigated. Three detainees escaped from Amanab gaol are now residing at Hubui village WI – Indonesians were advised in liaison meeting. Their army will be increasing their border activities. Outstations have been warned accordingly. Checking continued OPM activity in PNG.

Nov/Dec 1972 Continued checking of the border area with respect to refuge and domicile by OPM elements in PNG has revealed no conclusive evidence...however there are strong indications this may be so.

July/Aug 1973 Five men at Mumuru [Amanab border area] received homemade insignia for Irianese OPM at camp Wok in the Bewani area.

Aug/Sept 1973 Leitre [coastal village east of Vanimo] concerned that an Indonesian office has been set up in Port Moresby as PNG approached Self-Government. This has been interpreted as an Australian handover to Indonesia.

⁶ Adrian Visser is understood to be a Dutch business man who came from Dutch New Guinea to Vanimo in 1964 and established a large retail trading business there.

⁷ Imonda and Waris on either side of the border are just 8 miles apart

⁸ Yako is on the coast between Vanimo and Wutung

Mr. Visser on National Day allegedly made insulting statements re National Day and PNG people's ability to handle affairs after Independence...

Nov/Dec 1973 Aitape people edgy about the possibility of Indonesia moving into PNG. This was brought to the surface when MV *Manokwari*, an Indonesian vessel with disabled engine, drifted ashore near Sissano. During the PM's visit 75% of Vanimo questions were on the border agreement.

Paul Langro [Regional MP for West Sepik] allegedly raised a petition to have Visser deported...Local people's attitude to the Langro...move is one of apathy. Mrs. Visser is a member of Langro's clan in Vanimo village.

8/11/1973 Vanimo Local Government Council resolution.

"A letter be sent to Chief Minister, Paul Langro MHA and the District Commissioner requesting that at Independence the PNG Government give notice to both Visser and Campbell [another Vanimo expatriate trader] that they have six months to wind up their respective businesses and leave the Country not to return."

22/1/1974 Irianese named Gaspar Sajori, Darius Asanai, James Bunjabas, Freddie Tom Karubaba, Tonni Nubobi and Sefnat Sineri came to Aitape as they said there were Jaya Pura spies in Vanimo. They planned to steal [and apparently actually stole] an Indonesian fisherman's canoe – fisherman's name was R. Maimasiki. The canoe was at Dock 8 with a 25 hp Evinrude [outboard] and 8 gallons of fuel. Left 9pm 17th under power until off Vanimo 5 am 18th, then under sail during the day and anchored and slept at night arriving Aitape 22nd.

26/2/1974 Yasaya Serewi, Selfanus Fonataba and Selfanus Maniani, all of Serui [Irian Jaya], but resident at Base G Jayapura and at Doc 78 Technical School. They departed by paddle canoe [from Jayapura] at 4.00 pm 20th February and arrived at Sissano 23rd February. They came to continue their education or to find work...They were told they would have to go back. They said they could not as their houses had been pulled down. They said they were not involved in prison or any political activities. When asked to paddle their canoe back they refused. They were flown to Vanimo and driven to Wutung where they refused food offered for their journey. They were not satisfied with the treatment they got in PNG. They demanded a letter – refused. They raised every possible obstacle – well spoken, not in any danger, seeking a better life. Sent back.

Jan/Feb 1974 Disturbance over dismissed employee. Visser reinstated him.

ADC Aitape reports 15 Italian nationals [12 males & 3 female] occupied Catholic Mission property on Seleo Island under leave. The Italian organisation is known as Mondo X, a European Aid Organisation, with HQ in Italy. It is an independent secular organisation with humanitarian objectives, supported by public contributions. The present group is a forward party who will stay two months and return later in the year with a group of trade and professional people. They will engage in medical research and offer volunteer assistance to people in the District.

March/April 1975 Further information gathered on military establishment at Sko [Irian Jaya coastal area close the mouth of the Tami River and to the border]. Recent border crossers refer to the place as an [Indonesian] outpost to restrict OPM and restrict border movements.

The direct telephone link between Vanimo and Jayapura is unserviceable due to a fault at the Bupati's [Mayor's] office. He can call Vanimo, but Vanimo cannot call him. This arrangement suits him very well.

April/May 1975... Unconfirmed reports stated to ADC Amanab that the old Keerom River camp [In Irian Jaya west of Imonda & Amanab] has been re-occupied...Investigating...

Reports of OPM at Utai [64 km east of Border – Imonda area] and Sumumuni [41 km east of the border - Bewani] areas remain persistent but not positively confirmed.

May/June 1975 The numbers of Irian Jayan fishing canoes [entering PNG waters] has eased off, only one sighted in the last week. Bupati was asked to inform fishermen that illegal activities in PNG will result in confiscation of canoes. This had the desired effect.

There is further evidence that TPN⁸ are engaged in training activities in the Utai area.

PNG nationals engaged in anti-Indonesian activities will endanger PNG/Indonesia relations. Possible that such an uncontrolled unit could direct its actions against the PNG government.

13/5/1975 Eleven Irian Jaya people all with the surname Itaar arrived Aitape on MV *Dedele* on 24/4/1975. All are children or relatives of one Dominggus Itaar. They were accompanied by Visser and put up in his labour compound [presumably in Vanimo]. Ensure none take up employment in Visser's store. Entry permits valid for 3 months – for Secretary Foreign Relations and Trade.

25/5/75 Meeting at Wutung with leader of TPN, also PIR rep. Details of the accounts of the meeting conflict as to the number of persons, weapons, however they agree on the point the leader of TNP mentioned that he hoped to be in a position to be able to carry out a raid on Jayapura to coincide with PNG Independence.

Assessment: The possibility of such an action has been considered before and now appears confirmed. Reaction of the Indonesians cannot be expected to be confined to military protests. There is a real possibility of military action in the Sekotchiau area or a retaliatory raid on a PNG village or border post, if PNG nationals are found to be involved as suggested by reports of TPN training activities in the Utai and Sumumuni areas. Indonesian counter action in Jayapura can be expected to be ruthless and will probably generate an influx of refugees. The PNG Government will then have the unpleasant task of deciding if these people are to be allowed to stay or are to be returned to the Indonesians, as to return known TNP activists would mean almost certain death.

If TNP leaders seek refuge in PNG and are held in quarantine camps near the border, the Indonesian army may raid these camps to capture these men...

The case for which the last meeting was arranged indicates it would not be difficult to arrange another meet between the TNP leader and a senior Government officer who could deliver a message stating that Independence is a difficult time for PNG and that it cannot afford to have itself forced into a position which will aggravate its largest and nearest neighbour. To protect its borders and people from the possibility of military incursion or confrontation the PNG Government will not accept any border crossers, whether political refugees or not...

September/October 1975 Penenhas Jouwe requested permission to reside in Vanimo. He has been residing in Wewak since 1969. His request was declined and he was given two weeks to leave the West Sepik. Alien Identification card 4687 and 4688.

3/10/75 1.00am Seven armed men seen near the Yako fence. Moonlight...men seen to be in uniform and moved away when they realised they were seen. A house this group had occupied was discovered but they were gone. Vague reports mention a group of OPM operating between Musu and Konos. This is probably true.

Rufinus Dahiy allegedly killed a woman in Wewak and crossed the border at Imonda. Bupati's office asked to make arrest and return. No reply yet.

Joseph Ferdinands Wojoi. Dept. Foreign Relations and Trade want him removed from West Sepik, want full report. He ignored warnings to not involve himself in OPM activities.

13/10/75 Three [Irian Jayan] canoes came into Vanimo to shelter during the night. No action was taken against them as their action considered genuine. On board was Leo Wisauri who crossed the border earlier and was arrested as an illegal immigrant.

Oct/Nov 1975 [suggested] OPM Amnesty Brigadier General Seth Roemkorem failed to keep his appointment for a meeting to discuss the Minister's suggestion than an amnesty be sought... Communication with the group is by courier, a hazardous exercise as shown when the courier recently met an Indonesian patrol and was fired at. He escaped and the papers he was carrying were not captured. The use of PNG Nationals in the use of writing messages is regrettably unavoidable...

The Minister for Foreign Relations and Trade should give consideration to officially notifying the Indonesian Government that PNG is prepared to liaise with OPM in an attempt to find a lasting solution.

Twelve letters listed as having been directed through Sekotchiau to OPM... There has been an increase in the amount of mail recently, with letters from USA, Holland and Japan. It is well known that the group gets overseas aid. The amount and type is unknown. Increased overseas support may affect the chances of an amnesty.

Among the seven border crossers at Yako are two from Portuguese Timor – [Peter Parera of Batugati and Mabido d'Alkanis of Dili] They claim to have fled from the war [in their country] through Indonesian Timor to Kupang then by the ship *Tolano* via Ambon, Sorong, Manokwari, Biak and Jayapura, arriving 15th Oct. Two others are OPM members who raised the West Papuan flag on 14th Sept, were reported and fled.

Six fishing canoes were sighted, fishermen made rude signs to Wutung villagers – upsetting them. Officer in speed boat, unarmed was unable to make arrests of the two he saw. [Canoe] Registered numbers M9 505 and M9 499

Topos and Saram [villages] again reported deserted. They fear Indonesians again, but claim to be absent from village for sago making. "You are in the Territory of Papua New Guinea" signs in English and Indonesian have been sent to them.

Dec. 1975/Jan. 1976 Anton Fonatabe (alias Anton Woisiri Bonai) arrived and requested permissive residency. Similar application rejected in 1972. He worked since in Bupati's office. His actual status there is vague. He is not convincing and our records indicate he could be an Indonesian spy. Jayapura twice inquired and requested his return. Will check with Foreign Relations and Trade first.

The actions of Visser are being considered. He pays fines of convicted Irianese. What is his interest?

Submarine sighted of Yako. Similar reports from Wuvulu [Western Islands group] several days later.

Armed men at Yako Three in number on nights 6th 7th 8th 9th and 11th January 1976 in OPM uniforms seen at gates and environs. They were carrying Mauser type rifles. This seems connected with the presence Anton Fonatabe in the camp. The camp of these three can reasonably be assumed to be within easy walking distance of Yako and they enjoy the passive support of the local people.

15/1/1976 Unexpected visit [to Vanimo] by Indonesian Officials from Bupati's office. They came by canoe from Jayapura. They included Mr. Samuel Mustamu [Indonesian] and three Irianese. They presented a letter signed by Mr. TH Meset, the Bupati. They are interested in 15 border crossers. They were informed that the 15 were held and would be returned through the normal channels. Such visits are not acceptable. Raise this at Liaison meeting.

Jan/Feb 1976 Anton Fonatabe captured at Pewi after escape from Yako and is now doing two months as an illegal immigrant.

An unidentified man has several times been reported in the bush near Warimo. J.Wajoi has been seen in his presence. Hope to get evidence against him as well (Wajoi is from Irian Jaya)

Feb/March 1976 Fonatabe made a half-hearted escape attempt. Easily re-captured, sentenced to an additional five months. Indonesians claim Fonatabe is suffering from mental breakdowns. He is to serve his sentence in Vanimo. If sent to Boram [Wewak's gaol] he will contact permissive residents there.

11/3/76 Indonesian dropping leaflets on PNG villages. Leaflets were dropped on Seram and Suampa, asking people to return to Irian Jaya. These people are not on PNG census books, but have been in PNG for some time. Status of these people is yet to be determined.

Uncensused people along the border Recent Amanab, Imonda and Bewani patrols have again drawn attention to these people. They have crossed the border [into PNG] in recent years. They hide when patrols visit to do census and remain undetected for years. What to do about them? The Indonesians are also taking a strong interest in them.

21/4/1976 Lama of Wutung a mile inside Irian Jaya at his garden met nine men, four armed, presumably an OPM patrol.

24/4/1976 Twenty Indonesian soldiers on PNG land near the border Guards levelled guns at him [presumably Lama again] and told him to drop what he was carrying. They asked "What is your father's name?" and "Where do you work?"

He replied and told them they were in PNG and to go back. Two soldiers said they were looking for the Irian Jaya people known as the "beard people" who lived in the bush. They went off into the bush. Part of an on-going effort against the OPM.

27/4/1976 Automatic fire heard at Wutung close to the border.

Undated, but presumably 1976 For years the existence of hidden OPM camps in the Wutung bush have been known, but never discovered, despite regular search patrols.

After some imagined domestic cross the Wutung longlong meri [mad woman] went bush and accidentally walked into the middle of [OPM] Brigadier General Roemkorem's hidden camp. The Brigadier General despatched three of his soldiers to escort the woman back to the safety of Wutung village. There they were met by the DO's security officer who interviewed them. He noted they were wearing Indonesian uniforms and carrying Indonesian weapons. They were friendly and prepared to talk to him. They explained there was a great battle in the Tami River⁹ area and the OPM was winning...enough fights to re-clothe and re-arm themselves.

...Indonesians at Oebroeb [opposite Amanab] are known to be afraid to leave the station. The OPM are many times better in the bush than the Indonesians. The police post on the right bank of the Tami River, north of the Bewani Mountains, is unmanned because the OPM were killing off staff in

ones and two. All the staff are now at the army installation at Sko near the Tami River mouth. This installation has recently been strongly reinforced.

Indonesian pilots are not used in this area any more. Most of the flying is done for the Indonesians by a New Zealander. He was cornered in Visser's store and confided that OPM and the Indonesians are killing each other in thousands. The situation is on a real war footing.

PCs [Provincial Commissioner - post-Independence title for District Commissioner] intercepted a 14 page letter from Roemkorem to Jacob Prie recently. He [Roemkorem] stated that although there was a rift and that Jacob was trying to kill him [Roemkorem] they should reunite and fight as a unit instead of fighting among themselves as well as against the Indonesians. He also stated he was contacting groups like Fretalin and the South Malaccans, stating that although their individual aims varied, they were all fighting Indonesians, and if they could combine their strategy in co-ordinated assaults the Indonesian resources would be spread too thinly and Indonesia would break up. They could sort out their individual differences once this was achieved.

21/4/1976 PC meets Dr. Maury in the OIC's house at Bewani. The Dr. and party were in the village and came in when they heard the plane land. Dr. Maury and Captain Nussy⁹ showed strong determination to continue fighting for the freedom of their country. Markas Victoria moved 12 days walk from Sekotchiau and is probably on the Mamberamo River...

...Tactics seem to have gone from an armed struggle to getting a Government to take their claims to the UN. The OPM is unimpressed with the UN over the "act of free choice" [the 1969 plebiscite] and the lack of UN involvement in Timor.

Captain Nussy said "first West Papua, then Portuguese Timor" and [predicts] "then PNG". No indication yet that the OPM will resort to International Terrorism to gain publicity – A precedent set by the South Malaccans.

12/5/1976 Mr. Visser arrived by canoe from Jayapura – he requested through Bupati's office for permission for the trip by canoe. The request was granted. Visser was told to stay on canoe until health and customs officer arrived. Heated exchange between Visser and reporting officer. One bag had already been sent to his house. Reporting Officer and Customs went to the house...found nothing irregular. Visser has been in Vanimo 12 years and travelled to Jaya Pura many times by air and sea. He knows the laws.

May/June 1976 Indonesians asked for Isaac Samuel Fathan to be returned; wanted for stealing 300,000 rupiah. Isaac is to be returned after serving gaol term as an illegal immigrant. Isaac's family is to be sent back. PC asked for guarantees of their safety and that he would like to visit them on his next Jayapura visit. Isaac's documents show that he is both a member of the Indonesian police force and of the Brimob Indonesian mobile unit. Documents show he is a 92% accurate shooter – sniper.

N.S.Meset a WI Airniugini pilot in Moresby wrote Isaac a secret letter, telling him what to say so he would be granted permissive residency...

Mr. Visser made several recent trips to Jayapura. Customs Moresby issued a summons for smuggling. In response Visser made a radio statement criticising security officers.

On 16/6/1976 he [Visser] was suspected of carrying PNG Currency to Irian Jaya. He was not searched. Recommendation: that Visser's multiple entry visas be cancelled...

⁹ Apparently significant Irian Jayans, but not known to the writer

Over recent months Bupati has “forgotten” or inaccurately advised on patrols. EG once said it was 6 men but it was found to be 12 etc. etc.

17/6/1976 Waris’ Tua village burned down accidentally. This village was right on the border. People told [by Indonesia] to rebuild further west.

Hans Palo, a permissive resident wrote some time ago, mentioning the vague planned Indonesian invasion of PNG. He visited Vanimo unannounced. He said he came through Sissano. He has valuable information but will not pass it on. This is typical of the attitude of Permissive Residents. Among themselves they have an excellent information system and a [behavioural] code that forbids passing on information about other permissive residents to the PNG Government.

An Indonesian warship Unidentified, but seen on June 19th, 20th 21st and July 5th, 8th, 12th 13th 15th. The ship comes across the border at night without lights. Seldom are there warships at Jayapura. The Bupati said the warship was inspecting the border. The Wutung people were terrified. Defence Force DC3 is to commence patrols near the border.

Unidentified plane from the west at 1,000 to 2,000 ft. at 11.00 pm. Cessna size and lights like a Cessna. Checked with Civil Aviation who knew nothing of it.

Morse code signals have been intercepted but unidentified. Both Police and Civil Defence picked them up recently. Undoubtedly they monitor both our frequencies and in a real situation our ability to crack their codes would be tested.

July August 1976 In a meeting with OPM, details of alleged Indonesian spies were passed on by OPM. OPM claims Indonesia intends to take over PNG – no proof.

OPM claims to have support from 40 countries and from the local population. Anti-Indonesian action is planned to coincide with PNG elections next year. PNG was asked by the OPM for medical aid and supplies and financial support as well as support to send a delegation to USA to lobby for support. Indonesian communism is said to be on the rise again.

OPM resent last year’s amnesty attempt and do not trust our intentions now. Doubt if future OPM plans will be made available to us.

Isaac Samuel Fathan says that May next year is a date set to confuse the Indonesians – the actual fight will be in December this year. He claims to be a commander of Jayapura based freedom fighters.

Jacob Prei left Markas Victoria after a leadership dispute – the seriousness of the dispute not known. Prei went recently to Green River and Amanab villages to see post Independent PNG.

7/8/1976 A Warship – described as a Naval supply type - was seen near the border. It came out of Humboldt Bay to the border then went north. A helicopter [Jet Ranger type] flew out of it when the hull was low to the horizon and flew south, behind the mountains at Wutung.

Adrianus Visser. A canoe was seen crossing the border on the day the warship was seen...it was not located. The canoe re-crossed from east to west at 4.00 am on 9th August 1976. Visser’s employees say on the night of the 8th, Visser with two small boys from Yako or Musu village left and went along the coast road in the late pm/early am with several cardboard cases. Visser returned without the cases.

Suggestion: The cases were delivered to the canoe.

It is easy to smuggle into and out of PNG. Visser seems to have got away with it again – less than a month after being fined K100 for an offence against the Customs Act.

Concerning the warning from the Indonesians that there may be arms being smuggled to the OPM through PNG; Visser's activities; the possible influx of refugees if the OPM take action this year and the recent capture of fishing boats [Taiwanese as well as canoes] indicate that more suitable arrangements will have to be made to protect the border coast. Immigration [Department] is to be asked why Visser has a multiple entry permit.

9.30 pm 10/8/1976 – Unidentified ship off Wutung/Warimo – probably Taiwanese.

Communists supplying arms to OPM Quoting Indonesian radio and newspapers as sources the NBC reports a communist country is supplying arms to freedom fighters in Irian Jaya. The Indonesian army claims to have encircled the group in the northern part of the province near the PNG border. The source of this information is said to be recently surrendered documents. Brigadier General Soetran, Governor of Irian Jaya said the rebels had ceased to be a threat, but were an obstacle to the administration and must be crushed.

Assessment: The Indonesians recently made several claims the OPM had been wiped out, and 100 surrendered and the rest scattered into the bush. This seems to be propaganda. Vietnamese war surplus seems a logical source [of arms]. Indonesia expects there will be attempts to smuggle arms, possibly through PNG. The report can only hearten the OPM, who were previously said to have been crushed – now apparently getting help from the outside.

This report about PNG being a possible route reached PNG a month after it was issued in Djakarta, it is a pity Foreign Affairs did not pass it on. Defence Provincial Affairs and police working together on security need this data as soon as available.

The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade worried about: An Indonesia statement that they will not allow OPM to interfere with the 1977 elections, [and] the Indonesian reaction of a [potential?] OPM attack Jayapura, so close to the border. Foreign Affairs say Indonesians will follow OPM if they cross the border.

Bupati's office – is now very busy and unavailable. A suggestion that a liaison meeting be held has been ignored by Bupati's office. The reply: "Bupati will be advised and will advise you in due course". No notification received.

UN Commission for refugees The [UNHCR] Commissioner has approached Foreign Affairs over the Fathan case. How did they hear about it? Indonesians now accuse Fathan of stealing 13 million rupiah. Fathan denies it. [We] doubt his anti-Indonesian activities. OPM say they will take him to Markas Victoria in the bush when released [from Vanimo gaol]. His family is still here. Two of his brothers have been killed by Indonesians. Decided to allow Commissioner to investigate the case and liaise with the Indonesians.

16/8/1976 Otto Ireeuw is the Siau Local Government Council Driver [Aitape]. Augusta, his wife is the [Aitape] hotel cook. Lien, their daughter, is married to Adrian Visser. [She is] usually with Visser, but last few months with parents in Aitape...

PC twice interviewed Otto Ireeuw and Charles Amsor.

Conclusion: The build-up of border tensions and strained international relations between Indonesia and PNG over border issues could be the stuff of a John le Carre novel and smacks of the 1939

Churchill/Chamberlain debates over Nazi intentions. Happily in the PNG case the outcome fell short of an Indonesian invasion.

A proper understanding of the permissive residents' situation needs to separate the '**traditional border crossers**' from '**genuine refugees**'. Traditional border crossers are "bush" people living traditional subsistence life styles on tribal lands the international border just happened to cross. Genuine refugees on the other hand are those who fled fearing persecution¹⁰. The latter included the displaced Jayapura urban elite, including the Irianese intelligencia with nationalist sympathies. It was the latter group who were of primary concern to the Indonesian authorities.

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A Brief review of the International Context

Writer's Note: The story of West Papuan 'refugees' in PNG is international in nature. Therefore, to briefly describe the wider stage upon which this aspect of Sepik history was played out, I have drawn on Diana Glazebrook's annotated bibliography *A History of Flight, Repatriation and Resettlement of West Papuans Seeking Political Asylum in PNG 1962-2000* [Version: last updated August 2002]

Three events occurred in Irian Jaya between 1961-1969 which led to government and military policies deemed oppressive; inciting resistance, retaliation and flight to attain asylum.

1. President Sukarno's declaration of TRIKORA [People's Triple Command for the Liberation of West Irian] on 19/12/1961 – calling for a total mobilisation to destroy the intended independent West Papuan nation-state.
2. The New York Agreement on 15/8/1962 when the Dutch ceded control of West New Guinea to Indonesia resulting in a United Nations transitional authority [UNTEA] until 1/5/1963 when Indonesia took full control.
3. The voting of eight assemblies in the "Act of Free Choice" [PEPERA] – July 14th to August 2nd 1969 resulting in the declaration of Indonesia's 17th Province.¹¹

In the period 1963-1969 4,000 official crossings were noted into the West Sepik and Western Districts and 6,000 Indonesian troops were used in West Papua to suppress uprisings. Australian Administration warned West Papuans against illegal entry if they were unable to provide adequate reasons to support an application for permissive residency. It was said that the Somare government took a much tougher line on WP refugees than had the previous colonial administration...Sir Michael Somare was quoted as saying the acceptance of refugees with OPM sympathies could affect PNG's relations with Indonesia.¹²

On 5/2/1984 The West Papuan flag was raised on the provincial assemble building in Jayapura resulting in the shooting of at least one West Papuan. A general uprising 'in part the consequence of a new solidarity within the [resistance] movement' (May 1986: 113) has been planned and in early February 1984. 100 West Papuans from an ABRI Battalion deserted and broke into the arms depot taking weapons and ammunition. They launched a series of small scale attacks on Indonesian detachment and facilities around Jayapura. These resulted in heavy reprisals...OPM activities in the border area were countered by 3,000 additional Indonesian troops and the transmigration program projected an increase of 138,000 families¹³ – [Javanese to be settled on tribal lands in Irian Jaya].

It was estimated that in 1986 there were 10,000 West Papuans living in border camps in West Sepik and Western Provinces. [An estimated 3,075 in West Sepik in camps at Blackwater, Kamberatoro, Amanab, Wassengla [Imonda area], Green River and Yabsiei, and 6,838 in Western

Province in camps at Kuyu, Niogamban, Dome, Kungim, Tarakbits, Atkamba, Komokpin and Telefomin.^{10]}

From 1984 onwards there was pressure from several sources for the United Nations High Commission for Refugees [UNHCR] to be involved. These was a turning point on 31/8/1984 when about 100 UPNG marched to the Indonesian embassy in Port Moresby demanding UNHCR involvement in repatriations. After the deaths of 51 refugees at Komokpin camp, the PNG government denied it had tried to starve refugees back to Irian Jaya. On 12/12/1984 the Indonesian government agreed to UNHCR monitoring of repatriations¹⁴.

On 19/9/1984 Western Province member Warren Dutton announced that the Awin people were willing to accommodate Irianese in the Kiunga area. (Blaskett 1989:292)¹⁵

Meanwhile during 1985/86 the PNG leadership differed widely in their attitudes on refugees until PM Wingti made the necessary final decision:

1. Sept. 23-26 – PM Somare...PNG had no intention of resettling Irianese refugees.
2. Early Oct. – Deputy PM Momis...all 10,000 refugees could be accommodated in PNG.
3. 16/1/1986 – PM Wingti...approval was granted for screening of refugees with those deemed genuine to be granted permissive residency and moved from the border area prior to resettlement in PNG or a third country, others would be repatriated.¹⁶

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Resettlement in Papua New Guinea

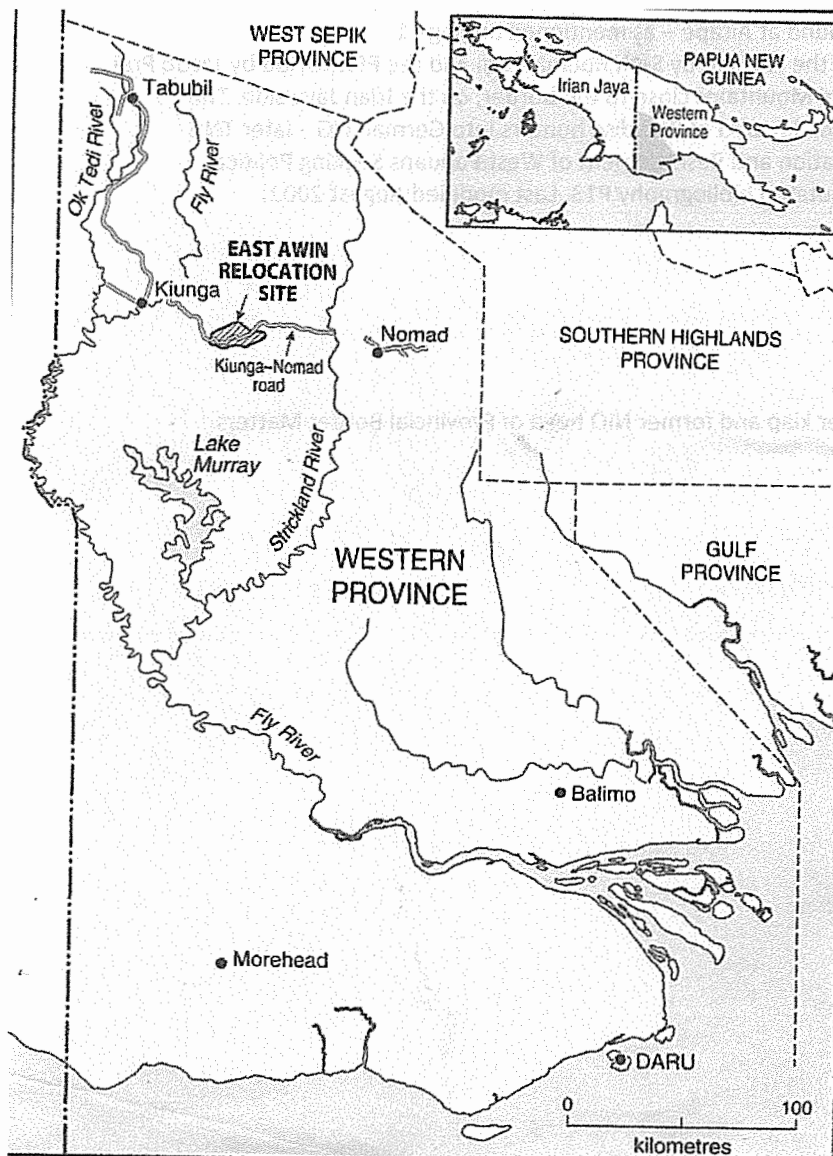
In March 1986 it was announced that the PNG Government had decided to relocate refugees to East Awin, Aitape and Wabo [the SMEC/Nippon-Koei \$10 million+ camp in the Gulf Province – lying idle for several years after the Purari Dam feasibilities were completed in 1977¹⁷]. The plan proposed the employment of 7,000 refugees on the established of a rubber plantation in East Awin. This pre-existing plan had failed to eventuate due to the absence of marketing infrastructure.¹⁸

Refugees from Blackwater appealed to the UNHCR not to be resettled at East Awin. The PNG Government considered two other sites for their relocation, one of which was Aitape. A proposal to relocate ‘political activists’ at Blackwater by segregating and relocating them to Wabo, which had housed 150 West Papuan refugees between 1979-81, was rejected.

Several events involved Blackwater camp in early 1988: In March, an OPM raid on an Indonesian transmigration camp at Arso, – south west of Vanimo, saw hostages taken and later released, and in April approx. 20 Indonesian soldiers entered the West Sepik to raid a village said to contain those involved in the Arso raid. Previously, 90 West Papuans had deserted Blackwater camp along with an OPM leader, to resume guerrilla activity around Wutung. It was surmised that the Indonesian government pressured the PNG Government to close Blackwater camp, claiming that the refugees had been involved in the attack, contravening terms relating to security in the International Border Agreement.

Writer’s Note: Word from reliable West Sepik sources was of an Indonesian ultimatum to the PNG Government – ‘*You move them, or we will*’.

¹⁰ Tony Friend who served in Telefomin during the time the camp existed, confirms the camp was a short distance north of Telefomin station towards Misinmin, so it was in the West Sepik, not Western Province..



Relocation to East Awin began in February 1987 with an advance party of some 40 men from Atkamba [Western Province] and saw-millers from Blackwater [West Sepik]. The East Awin site was called Iowara. The advance party spent three months preparing shelters. Telefomin camp was the first to relocate followed by Yogi, Dome, Komokpin, Kuyu, Kungim, Tarakpitz and Niogamban. In May 1988, northerners at Blackwater near Vanimo were compelled to relocate to East Awin when the PNG Government closed their camp.¹⁹

Opposite - The map is taken from Diana Glazebrook's article *Permissive Residents – West Papuan Refugees Living in Papua New Guinea – Monographs Anthropology Series – ANU E-Press 2008.*

Sepik 5 Chapter 11 *Ex-kiap Experience and Skills Applied to PNG Resource Industries*

elaborates further on Iowara and the permissive residents there – from the perspective of ‘the Kiap System’, an important on-going theme throughout Sepik history:

Sepik 2 *The Winds of Change 1885 – 1941*

Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War 1942 – 1945*

Sepik 4 *Coming to Grips with the Future 1946 – 1975 and beyond.*

Sepik 5 DDS&NA Instructions Policies and support documentation

End Notes Chapter 30

¹ Warrillow C. email 26/1/2016. There were precedents for such administrative divisions. In 1960 [The Central Province contained east and west central divisions]

² Information provided by email in January 2016 by long term Sepik kiap -Bill Brown.

³ Bragge Field Officer Journal entry of 25/6/1966 [at Oksapmin] – Bragge Sepik Research Vol 11.

⁴ Establishment of Government Stations – New Guinea. Now item 280 in vol 9 Bragge research notes.

⁵ Yohana Susana Yembise – *Austronesian Languages in Papua.* – Uni. of Chenderawasih, Jaya Pura 2013 page 3

⁶ Extracted from the dozen pages of notes found at Aitape – as mentioned on page 1.

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- ⁷ Extracted from the dozen pages of notes found at Aitape – as mentioned on page 1.
- ⁸ Wikipedia: The OPM divided into factions - the TPN led by Seth Roemkorem and the PEMKA led by Jacob Prei
- ⁹ The Tami River flows north from the Bewani Mountains close to the border, on the Irian Jaya side. The Tami was the access route used by Malay Bird of Paradise hunters into German NG – later TNG
- ¹⁰ Glazebrook D - A history of Flight, Repatriation and Resettlement of West Papuans Seeking Political Asylum in PNG 1962-2000 – An annotated bibliography P13. Last modified August 2002.
- ¹¹ Glazebrook D. Aug 2002 P 1 & 2
- ¹² Glazebrook D. Aug 2002 P 2 & 3
- ¹³ Glazebrook D. Aug 2002 P 6 & 7
- ¹⁴ Glazebrook D. Aug 2002 P 9
- ¹⁵ Glazebrook D. Aug 2002 P 15
- ¹⁶ Glazebrook D. Aug 2002 P 10
- ¹⁷ 2016 Personal communication from former kiap and former NIO head of Provincial Border Matters
- ¹⁸ Glazebrook D. Aug 2002 P 15
- ¹⁹ Glazebrook D. Aug 2002 P 17

Sepik 4. Chapter 31 From the PNG Legislative Council to House of Assembly - 1951-64

Historical Background.

The constitutional arrangements made for British New Guinea in 1888 provided for Executive and Legislative Councils. In 1892 the first unofficial member was appointed to the legislative council

After the Colony was transferred to Australia and the name was changed to Papua, the Papua Act of 1905 created a new Legislative Council in which the six official Members of the Executive Council sat with three unofficial nominated Members. The European population sought in vain the introduction of elected members in 1911, 1912 and 1913.

In 1924 The Commonwealth passed a new Papua Act which reconstituted the Legislative Council with eight official and five nominated members, including one from the Christian missions. These provisions remained in place until 1942.

In the Mandated Territory of New Guinea, a proper Legislative Council was not introduced until 1933 with eight official and seven non-official nominated members. As in Papua, the non-official members chose one of their members to sit in the Executive Council.¹

Both Papua and New Guinea's pre-war Legislative Councils were nominated bodies, each with an official majority. There were no native members and non-official members spoke primarily on behalf of specific interests. In both Territories the matter of native representation had been raised and rejected on the grounds that official members were charged with the safeguarding of native interests.²

The Papua-New Guinea Provisional Administration Act of 1945 provided for civil administration of both Territories on a combined basis for the first time, but did not make provision for a Legislative Council. This was remedied by the Papua and New Guinea Act of 1949, which completed the work of unification by providing a common legislative structure...Although an official majority was retained with 16 official Members against 12 non-official Members, there were now three Members elected by the European population and three indigenes nominated to represent the native population...No provision was made for non-official membership of the Executive Council.³

The Minister for Territories, Paul Hasluck placed importance on the restoration of a Legislative Council. The Government sought to introduce home rule gradually; the Legislative Council would – at first – be dominated by officials and used by their Minister to implement government policy...The first nationals appointed and those later elected to the Council had little knowledge of national government as their experience of Local Government had not given them an adequate preparation for the role as members of a remote national institution.

The 1951 Legislative Council had twenty-eight members, and Assistant Administrator Cleland as President.

16 senior government officers became official members.

3 non official members representing the Missions

3 non official members representing plantations and commercial interests

3 indigenous representatives of the people of the country.

3 elected Europeans representing Papua, New Guinea Mainland and the New Guinea Islands

The nominated indigenous representatives were Merari Dickson of the Kwato Mission Extension Society – Milne Bay District, Papua, Pita Simogun, of Dagua, near Wewak, a former

member of the New Guinea Police who had served with Coastwatchers in New Britain and who had been awarded the British Empire Medal⁴ for outstanding service - Sepik District, NG Mainland and Aisoli Salin, a school teacher from New Ireland District, in the New Guinea Islands.

The inauguration of the Legislative Council of PNG which took place in Port Moresby on 26 November 1951 was a ceremonial occasion in which the speeches recommended a co-operative Legislative Council which was to be mindful of the paramountcy of the Australian Government. The first meeting took place in a bare hall belonging to the Red Cross. No major reforms of this Council were to take place until 1960 when the Council was reconstituted. At that time it moved to a reconstructed hospital building on Tuaguba Hill.⁵

In the first four Legislative Councils between 1951 and 1961 the indigenous members played a very minor part. Only Pita Simogen [also known as Simogun Peta and Simogen Peta] served in all four Councils and was subsequently elected to the 1964 House of Assembly. He proved to be the most vocal indigenous member.⁶

Pita Simogun was a prime mover in the Dagua Rice Project of his home area. There was only one Bill on which all the native members of the Legislative Council spoke. That was the Native Women's Protection Ordinance (Repeal) 1962...⁷

From the beginning, the minority of 3 elected members to the legislative Council sought participation in how government money was spent. They were rebuffed. The Government took the view that they had no right to participate in the allocation of what was predominantly Commonwealth money...

External pressure from the United Nations now began building. On 26 June 1960 the United Nations Trusteeship Council by an 8-5 vote called upon Australia to set target dates in the fields of political, social, economic and educational development...to create favourable conditions for the attainment of self-government and independence.

Another influence affecting PNG and the Australian awareness of it was the growing Indonesian pressure in West New Guinea where a representative legislature was being introduced. On 17th August 1960 Indonesia broke off diplomatic relations with Holland. There were also subsequent developments such as the Indonesian arms deal with Russia at the end of 1960 which intensified the uneasiness...⁸

In July [1960] Hasluck met with a number of European and native groups among whom there was general agreement on the advisability of a reduced government majority, increasing native representation and the setting of complete adult suffrage as a goal. The fourth Legislative Council was opened...on 17th Oct 1960...The Commonwealth Government had prepared reforms to increase elected and native membership – five nominated and six elected members.

On 19th October 1960 the Legislative Council Bill 1960 was introduced. There would now be 12 elected¹ members [6 European and 6 Indigenous]⁹

On 16 December [1960] the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a resolution calling for the end of colonialism by a vote of 89 - 0. Meanwhile in PNG the European electorate continued to be apathetic with only 55% of those enrolled bothering to vote. Under the Legislative Council Ordinance 1960, passed in October, nominations for the six indigenous Council seats closed on 7th February [1961] with over a hundred candidates nominated:

¹ Election was indirect through Local Government representation, not by a common roll

| | |
|--------------------------|----|
| West Papua ¹⁰ | 13 |
| East Papua | 11 |
| NG Coastal | 7 |
| Highlands | 40 |
| NG Islands | 25 |
| New Britain | 12 |

Between 7/2/61 and polling day on 18/3/61, each Local Government Council had to select its voting representatives. Voting by secret ballot took place in Port Moresby, Samarai, Lae, Goroka, Kavieng and Rabaul.¹¹

In the 1961 election, a group of Europeans known as the United Progress Party UPP, sought to nominate expatriate and Indigenous candidates for each seat....So far as could be ascertained the U.P.P. label helped no one in the elections. After one or two public meetings after the election the party disappeared

A Bill to increase the size of the Legislative Council and provide machinery for elections on a common roll basis was introduced on 19 October 1960 after amendments had been made in the Australian Parliament to the Papua and New Guinea Act¹².

On 20 Oct 1961 Hasluck predicted the future with incredible accuracy:

Political pressures are likely to bring about political Independence in PNG within a shorter time than the Australian Government would have wished if its objective of preparing the people and the economy were to be properly recognized...Can [the Territory] finance its budget, service its loans and have a satisfactory balance of payments? All the indicators are that all three conditions could not be achieved in the foreseeable future...yet because a transformation of the people is taking place; we have to recognize... We may still be paying after we have lost any hope of choosing what we pay for.

There could not be any real prospect of an ideal withdrawal being achieved. Too many factors were beyond prediction¹³.

The minister for External Territories presented a Bill to create an expanded 5th Legislative Council as a major constitutional advance...a single common roll...The reconstituted Council met on 10 April 1961 with the general assumption that it would remain unchanged for perhaps a decade. In fact it was already an archaic institution and recognized itself as such by seeking its own demise as soon as possible so that House of Assembly with a clear majority of Papua New Guineans could be elected from a common roll. ¹⁴

The 1961 reforms enacted by the Australian Parliament and the elections did produce a larger and more representational membership: 12 of the unofficial members were Papuans or New Guineans, in a Council of 37 members, presided over by the Administrator as President there were still 14 official members and 10 appointed non official members...so the Territorial Government could rely on 24 votes.¹⁵ In later Legislative Councils John Guise, Somu Sigob, Dr. Reuben Taureka and Vin Tobaining accounted for more than half of all interventions¹⁶

The 5th Legislative Council opened on 10th April 1961 and on 3rd March 1962 Lloyd Hurrell moved for the appointment of a Select Committee on Political Development to consist of two official members, two elected native members and two elected non-native members. Hurrell's nomination of Dr.Gunther, [Assistant Administrator] W.F.Carter [Director of Posts & Telegraphs], John Guise, Somu Sigob, Ian Downes and himself was accepted.¹⁷

Meanwhile, at the time of Sir Hugh Foot's United Nations Visiting Mission to PNG, which arrived on 8th April 1962, the first elections in Dutch West New Guinea had chosen a legislature in which sixteen elected natives constituted a substantial majority. The subsequent absorption of West New Guinea into Indonesia was an issue of serious concern in PNG which reinforced concerns for a continued Australian presence.¹⁸

The Foot mission report released on 5th July condensed the evidence presented to it as follows

1. The people were grateful for Australian assistance and wanted continued help...to self-government.
2. They wanted local Councils to have more authority in local affairs.
3. They needed more training in agricultural, vocational and commercial training before they could contribute equally in the development of the Territory.
4. They wanted greater participation in administration by taking over more and higher public service posts.
5. They wanted more primary, secondary and tertiary education
6. They thought that their landownership system would have to be changed, favouring individual ownership.
7. They wanted a higher standard of living through higher prices for primary products, higher wages, more assistance for primary producers, better communications, new cash crops and industries.
8. They wanted to be equals of the Australians with the elimination of all types of discrimination

The mission saw the principal needs of the Territory of New Guinea as three:

- A full review of the economy.
- The identification and training of potential leaders [by the creation of a university]
- The development of representative democratic government [A parliament of NG and Papua of about 100 members elected by adult suffrage under a system of single member constituencies ...before the time fixed for the next elections of the Legislative Council early in 1964.

The Foot report brought all discriminatory practices into the open, particularly re intoxicating liquor. On 16 Oct 1962 the Territorial Government introduced the Liquor [temporary Provisions] Bill which effectively ended liquor prohibition. A related topic was the repeal of the Native Women's Protection Ordinance [Sepik 4 Part 2 Chapter 10]

The lack of national unity was identified as a problem. Foot suggested a national flag and emblem should be accepted for the whole country. But most Papuans and New Guineans showed no enthusiasm for national units; but John Guise twice tried to raise the matter in the Administrators Council. He was not encouraged.¹⁹

Meanwhile, independently of the Foot Visiting U.N. Mission, the Legislative Council Select Committee on Political Development toured the country taking evidence. Chairman Dr.Gunther stated on 6th September 1962:-

We regret that we are acting on such short notice, but we have been forced to do so by the Visiting Mission, rather than by any clamour of the people for change.

Mr. Hurrell stated:-

Development had to be based upon the wishes of the people expressed through the Council, and that any pressure from without had to be resisted.

On 15 October, the First Interim Report of the Committee was presented to the Council. One finding was that the UN suggested hundred members was associated in the people's minds with self-government which was feared and unwelcome at this time.

Also, the report mentioned that several reasons advanced by the Indigenous people for their insistence on having elected non-indigenes on the Council. These included:

- a. Greater experience and higher education – information sources and advice and guidance especially on economics, commerce and trade.
- b. They would act as a stabilizing force.
- c. They would fill an educative role in training the indigenous members on technical procedures...
- d. They would represent the non-indigenous section of the community; those who pay the greatest proportion of the tax revenue.
- e. The fear that PNG would be left to fend for itself. Elected Australians would indicate Australia's continuing interest and discourage would be intruders.
- f. If there were no Australian members, would Australia continue to provide the money?
- g. Encouragement of investment...non-indigenous members would provide a sense of security

The Committee considered 44 elected members, 10 non-indigenous elected on the Common Roll²⁰ Amendments to the Papua New Guinea Act passed in 1963 repealed provisions for a Legislative Council and established the first House of Assembly of sixty-four members:

10 Official members appointed by the Governor General [of Australia] on the nomination of the Administrator; 44 persons elected by electors of the Territory in "Open Electorates"; 10 persons not being indigenous inhabitants of the Territory, elected by voters of the Territory to "Special electorates".²¹

Debate in the Australian Parliament at this time reflected signs of things to come with E.G. Whitlam quoting John Guise as follows:-

I have sat in the new Legislative Council and the Administrator's Council since they were founded in 1961 and I can tell you that important policy matters still do not originate with us. Most of them originate in Canberra with the Minister and Department for Territories²².

End Notes Chapter 31

¹ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P8-9

² Grossart I – Native Members in the Legislative Council of the Territory of Papua New Guinea 1951-63. In *Journal of Pacific History* Vol, 1 1966 P 148.

³ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P9

⁴ Grossart I – 1966 P 151.

⁵ Downs I. 1970 . P 93-97

⁶ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P10

⁷ Grossart I – 1966 P 158

⁸ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P13-14

⁹ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P15-18

¹⁰ Not to be confused with Netherlands New Guinea

¹¹ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P20-23

¹² Downs I. 1970. P 216.

¹³ Downs I. 1970. P 217.

¹⁴ Downs I. 1970. P 218.

¹⁵ Downs I. 1970. P 218

¹⁶ Grossart I – 1966 P 158

¹⁷ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P29

¹⁸ Bettison D.G.,Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P29 -30

¹⁹ Downs I. 1970 . P 240-243.

²⁰ Bettison D.G., Hughes C.A. & van der Veur. 1965 P34-37

²¹ Downs I. 1970 . P 306.

²² Downs I. 1970 . P 250.

Sepik 4 Chapter 32 The 1964 House of Assembly Election.

In the immediate post war years, the Australian Administration focused on reconstruction of the war-torn territories and later placed emphasis on the recognition of equality in PNG's evolving multi-racial society.

Under Hasluck, a policy of pragmatism and caution was expounded and deliberately pursued. The goal of self-government was thought to be some decades away. However, beginning in 1960, the process of political change began to accelerate.

Political developments north of Australia, particularly those in West New Guinea, and the rising tide of anti-colonialism throughout the world, combined to push the Australian Government and the Territory Administration into more rapid reforms. Contributing to this process was the first serious intervention of the United Nations in Territorial affairs through the Foot mission [of 1962] to the Trust Territory of New Guinea, and the readiness of some officials and some non-official expatriates in the Territory to plan for the transition of a regime in which indigenes would have the weight of numbers.¹

This accelerated political development described in the previous chapter. The description of accelerated political development is continued here.

The Necessary Legislation.

On 7th May 1963 the Minister for External Territories introduced the Papua and New Guinea Bill 1963 in the Australian House of Representatives. He had stated the day before :-

The Government's declared intention is that we will stay in New Guinea as long as the people need us. The judgment of whether we are needed or not rests with the people themselves. The government continued to reject fixing target dates.

Meanwhile within PNG, the Territorial legislation implementing the Select Committee on Political Development's reports passed through the Legislative Council smoothly. On 4th June 1963 the Electoral (1964 Roll) Bill was introduced and was passed the same day. Then on 12th August the Electoral Bill and on the 13th August the Electoral (Open Electorates) Bill and the Electoral (Special Electorates) Bill were introduced²

The Electoral Preparations.

In September 1962 the Chairman of the Select Committee on Political Development Dr. Gunther, approached the DDS&NA Conference meeting then being conducted in Port Moresby, as to whether it was possible to compile a Common Roll in time for an election in early 1964 and whether the ideas of preferential voting and representative government could be conveyed to the people?

The program of systematic patrolling to compile the Common Roll started in January 1963. The exercise appeared to be one of simply visiting every village, checking the village population register, recording specified details of everyone 18 years and over and rendering a return through Departmental channels to the Chief Electoral Officer. In conducting electoral education, the Department of Native Affairs introduced the basic principles of elections and representative government. Until the ordinances were passed in September 1963, co-ordination had to be achieved largely by commonsense and good will. Until September 1963 the electoral education programme was

carried out very much as an individual affair by officers of the Department in the Districts and outstations...each officer had to rely very largely on his own judgment of what techniques to use.³

Some 500 patrols were made to 12,000 villages, 60,000 pamphlets in English, Kiwai, Motu and Neo-Melanesian [Pidgin English] were distributed.

On 19th August the Christian Committee for National Development [CCND] was formed – due to “the profound concern felt by a number of people at the inadequate political education and preparation of the indigenous peoples in view of the elections to be held in 1964”⁴ The CCND was supported by representatives of Anglican, Lutheran, Methodist and Roman Catholic Churches. Although some influence existed in Rabaul, the CCND did not achieve influence elsewhere and disbanded shortly before polling day.

The sudden flurry of attention on elections resulted in the people conducting some analysis of their own. During December 1963 reports were received that in the large towns particularly there existed a wide spread belief that the election implied a dramatic change in the authority of the Australian Administration and that Australian owned property would be taken over after the election...The Administration countered this with political education “Notes” broadcast over Admin radio stations and other means. The message was this :-

Q. When the election is over, will the native people take over plantations and other properties now owned by the white people?

A. No. Whatever the white people have, they have paid for and worked hard for. If there is to be any transfer of property between white people and the natives, then it will be done in accordance with the law and at a fair price.

Q. Is a member of the House of Assembly a sort of boss of the people? Can he hold courts and imprison people?

A. No. A member of the House of Assembly is there to act for all the people in his electorate and to represent their views in the House of Assembly. He cannot hold courts, nor can he do anything illegal. If he does he will be charged before the court and if he is found guilty he can be punished.

Q. When the election is over, will the elected member do the work the *kiaps* do now?

A. No. You have been told before what the elected members can do. Your *kiaps* will remain and they will continue to help and advise you.⁵

Forty-four officers of the DNA were appointed as Returning Officers for the Open Electorates. As indicated in Sepik 4 Part 1 Chapter 8 there were 64 seats in the first House of Assembly; 44 Open seats, 10 Special Seats and 10 Members nominated by the Governor General of Australia.

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The 1964 House of Assembly Election at Green River – Upper Sepik Open Electorate.

I, [the writer] spent 1963 in Sydney attending the ASOPA in-service training course and so missed the massive field tasks of Common Roll preparation and electoral education. I had also been transferred from the Eastern Highlands to the Sepik District, where I was posted as Officer in Charge of Green River Patrol Post in the Amanab Sub District. I arrived at Green River a fortnight before polling was to start. What I learned of the election was that :-

1. there was a month long polling period nationwide – 13th February to 14th March 1964.

2. I was appointed as presiding officer for the electoral period. There would be two electoral patrols operating out of Green River. One led by me and another led by Roland Kekedo, the Assistant Patrol Officer from whom I was taking over at Green River. There would be an assistant Presiding Officer accompanying each patrol. Accompanying me was the Agricultural Officer from Amanab, Geoff Harvey.
3. Patrol schedules setting out where polling would be conducted had been established and publicized and the polling booths were to be open from 8am to 6pm.
4. Polling would be for two electorates – Upper Sepik Open and the Sepik-Madang Special Electorate

Because of the sparseness of the population, both the Open and Special electorate were geographically huge. The Upper Sepik Open electorate included the Ambunti, Telefomin, Amanab and Vanimo sub districts; some tens of thousands of square miles.

At 11am on the 13th February 1964, a light plane landed at Green River. District Commissioner Bob Cole and a senior officer from Headquarters, David Fenbury¹ met with me and discussed the election preparations. These senior officers apparently satisfied themselves that the situation was under control. Mr. Fenbury then asked me about the border situation, and I could only tell him the little I had read in the files. Clearly he knew I had just arrived and seemed pleased when I mentioned that I had checked the station armory and having found three of the rifles to be faulty, I had sent them in for repair or replacement. They re-boarded their flight and continued checking of preparations at other border stations.

The schedule for the patrol I led was in two parts; a leg through the Iuri Mountains along the Indonesian Border and then a river leg on the Sepik and August Rivers.

On the afternoon of the 13th February the patrol marched westward and camped at Auia village, where we retained our Green River carriers for the next day's journey as insufficient carriers were available in Auia. On the 14th we departed from Auia at 8.45am and walked up into the Iuri mountains, which were alive with small black leaches that latched onto passing bodies and, usually unnoticed sucked blood until they were bloated and dropped to the ground to digest their meal.

Heavy rain started falling at 11am and we arrived sodden and cold at Iuri No 1 at 1.15 pm. Here we saw more of the people were in traditional dress. For the men this consisted of a decorated ball shaped or elongated penis gourd. The women wore knee length grass skirts. Those wearing traditional dress were usually older people; most of the younger generation wore second hand clothes, presumably supplied from Mission stores.

After settling into the rest house we commenced the routine that we would follow throughout the patrol. We addressed the people present about the machinery of representative government, the polling to be held next day for both the Open and Regional electorates and the reasons for these. Then we answered questions.

Between 7 and 8am next morning we prepared the polling booth, which was of heavy duty cardboard which folded outwards to make a three sided box. The voter stood at the fourth side, his or her body obscuring the view of outsiders. Some feet away the presiding officer sat at a card-table on which the Common Roll was open and ready. Polling commenced at 8am. The village people were familiar with census revision and followed a similar technique of coming forward in family groups. The Roll

¹ Twenty years earlier Messrs Cole, Fenbury, then known as Fienberg, and others were distinguished ANGAU officers working with Australian troops to clear the Sepik inland south of the Torricelli Mountains of the Japanese 18th Army. This is covered in detail in Sepik 3 – *The Sepik at War*.

included the village names and the individual's name was identified and marked and ballot papers were initialed and handed over. Next an appropriate notation was made on a Sex Tally sheet.



They pick MPs from pictures

From ELGIN REID

MT HAGEN, NG, Mon. — In the Valley of the Wahgi River, Papuans voted at the week-end by pictures.

In Koibuga, there was a long tent. Ballot secrecy was preserved by having the actual place where the Papuans voted well away from the waiting 500, so that others could not hear what the voter was telling the electoral assistant, often through an interpreter.

The assistant was not permitted to name a candidate. He could show the Papuan the ballot paper with pictures of all five candidates in this electorate

—two European and three Papuan — and ask him which candidate was his "numba wan" choice, which his "numba two" and so on.

From their talks afterwards the Papuans seemed to have a wide range of choice.

It was one of two booths I visited here, 12 and 25 miles north of Mt. Hagen, and at each about 500 Papuans were assembled.

The Papuans were enjoying the experience of the election and were treating the poll as an opportunity for a family outing and a get-together with relatives and neighbors.

A NATIVE voter studies wall photographs of candidates, which are being used in the new picture voting campaign to help illiterate voters.

if a voter can point to the photograph to indicate his choice of candidate, electoral officers fill in his ballot paper in the presence of a witness.

Australian newspaper reports on PNG Elections – below - Melbourne Sun February 1964 above

The patrol also carried documents to record the details of eligible voters who had been missed when the common roll was compiled. We recorded quite a few of these as Green River was then regarded as a "primitive area" in which extended family groups, not previously registered, sometimes drifted in from distant sago, hunting and garden camps to have their family recorded, or to seek medical aid from the patrol while in their village. At Amanab, a week before the patrol departed, Assistant District Officer Gus Bottrill had discussed with me the suspected presence of around 2,000 uncontacted people in the West and Landslip Ranges in the border area between Green River and May River patrol posts. Clearly these people were not recorded on the common roll and just as clearly they were not expected to come in and demand their right to vote in the 1964 election.

NG VOTES... WITH EYE ON SKY

AAP-Reuter

PORT MORESBY, Today. — Voting in Papua-New Guinea's first truly general elections started this morning.

Throughout the territory more than one million people are starting to go to the polls in what must seem to outside observers to be the world's strangest election.

In a country where the Administrator, Sir Donald Cleland, said on election eve "there is no political issue," natives, Asians and Australians are voting to elect 53 members to the 64-member House of Assembly from 298 candidates.

Election officials in Port Moresby are hoping the weather will "hold" over the next 4½ weeks, which is now the territory's monsoon season.

Territory natives have a long-standing tradition, according to experienced native affairs officers, of not turning up to a gathering of any sort if it rains.

The Presiding Officer's instructions required that each voter who presented himself/herself at the polling station should be asked if they would like assistance filling out their ballot paper. We soon dispensed with this as all the voters we processed required assistance; the few who were semi-literate were not sufficiently confident to vote on their own. Photos of all candidates were on display and voters could point to their choice or whisper the name of the candidates they wished to vote for. The Assistant Presiding Officer then entered the voter's choice on the ballot papers in the presence of a witness, who was usually Interpreter Mongo.

There was a total of eight candidates - five

for the Open electorate and three Special electorate candidates. Although voting was preferential, a ballot paper would not be ruled invalid if the voter did not enter a number against every name. The completed ballot papers were folded and dropped into the slot in the top of the officially sealed ballot box. A numbered lead seal had been crimped onto a string tie that officially secured the lid shut.

The patrol stationery box also carried a few ballot papers for each of the other electorates in case voters from elsewhere presented themselves to vote. The documentation to record the particulars of such absentees were to be made out and placed with the voter's completed ballot paper in a special envelope that was then sealed and put in the ballot box.

The polling place was to remain open from 8am until 6pm on each polling day, but by 3pm all the people who were going to vote had done so. Iuri No 1 polling place was for voters from the villages of Iuri No 1, Iuri No 2, Tengirabu, Fongwinam and Auia. In all 134 votes were cast that day at Iuri No 1. At the close of polling each day the figures had to be balanced by cross referencing Common Roll notations, Sex Tally Sheets, and ballot papers issued.

On 16th February our patrol departed Iuri No 1 at 8.35am and wound its way back down through the mountains to arrive at Kambriap in the headwaters of the Green River at 2.45pm. Our routine was

the same as at Iuri No 1, and on the 17th we conducted polling for Kambriap, Terauwi and Panangan villages – recording 101 votes.

We broke camp on the 18th and found our departure was delayed by a lack of carriers. Four Kambriap women were keen to earn some money, so they carried with the men, bringing the patrol gear to our next polling place; Iburu. It proved to be a deceptive walk, which the village people well knew and hence the reluctance to serve as patrol carriers. The straight line distance from Kambriap to Iburu was about seven miles, so we estimated we might walk it in four hours. It actually took the best part of eight hours. We arrived exhausted, not so much from the physical exertion, but from the mental strain of constantly dashed expectations of seeing Iburu around the next bend in the track.

After electoral education and polling on 20th April, the patrol walked the easy two and a half hours to Green River patrol post, our next polling place. On 21st April we recorded 154 votes and an additional 22 absentee votes – mainly from police, public servants and mission workers from other electorates, who were stationed at Green River.

Our arrival back at Green River station ended the first leg of the election patrol. I had arranged to hire a canoe and 10 horse power outboard motor from the Christian Mission in Many Lands CMML at Green River, which I would drive, while Geoff drove the Government canoe with an 18 horse power motor. On the 23rd February the patrol walked an hour and a half to Dieru where the canoes were moored on the Faringi River, a tributary of the Sepik.

After conducting the polling at Dieru on 24th we loaded the canoes on 25th April and headed down the Faringi. The canoes were hollowed out cedar logs between 40 and 50 ft. long and a couple of feet wide, with a transom fitted at one end to which an outboard motor was fitted. There was no outrigger so, like riding a bike, stability was a minor problem until I got used to driving it.

At one point the Faringi River was blocked by a log jam of flood debris. We did some cutting of debris and dragging of the canoes to get by, then continued downstream until we emerged from the Faringi onto the giant Sepik River and turned upstream. Even here, some five hundred miles from where the river flows into the Bismarck Sea, the river is about 400-500 yards wide; a great grey mass of water which appeared to slide by, carrying logs and debris with it. We arrived at Iaburu at the junction of the Green and Sepik Rivers in the early afternoon; a journey of four hours. The moment the breeze caused by the forward momentum of the canoes eased, clouds of mosquitoes descended upon us.

The plan for the River leg of the patrol was to go to the topmost polling place on the Sepik River and conduct the polling as we came downstream and through some August and Idam River polling places. So it was that on the 26th April we continued upstream, seeking Kaseiru village. After two and three quarter hours we came abeam of Kobararu village, soon after, as we passed the mouth of the August River the 10 horse power outboard motor abruptly stopped. In retrospect and with later experience of outboard powered canoes on the Sepik, I am sure such a small motor was never intended for the workload we expected of it. The larger canoe took the smaller canoe in tow. We were not to reach Kaseiru that day. At 5.35pm we pulled into Biake No 1 at the mouth of the October River, and while we still had day light we attempted some engine repairs and finally got the engine to run.

On 27th April we took only what we would need for two days at Kaseiru and continued upstream in the larger government canoe. The single canoe journey to Kaseiru took one and a half hours. Kaseiru is the second last village on the Sepik River below where the river flows back into

Papua New Guinea from Indonesia. The voters of the border village of Auksianam would vote at Kaseiru.

On 28th April, the polling at Kaseiru was extremely slow as the small local population had not the slightest idea what polling was or why we wanted to do it. If the electoral education campaign had reached then, it most certainly had not left its mark. The electoral education that we conducted there was received with polite interest, but to me it seemed clear that the Kaseiru and Auksianam people's day to day sago production, hunting, fishing and community issues were far more important to them than this latest government idea the kiap apparently wished to impose upon them.

Over the next fortnight the patrol successfully conducted polling on time at the remaining polling places on our schedule: Biake No 1, Wauru, Idam, Iaburu, Mukuasi, Maha, Baio and Weidoru, which is close to Green River administrative area's boundary with the Yellow River area. From there we made our way back upstream and stood the patrol down at Green River station on 14th March. I sent word to Roland Kekedo's patrol to send in his ballot boxes, so I could have them airlifted with ours to the Returning Officer for the count.

While the patrol was for electoral purposes, I took the opportunity to inquire into other matters as time and opportunity allowed :-

The International border:

Our patrol used PO Calcutt's 1956 exploratory route through the Iuri Mountains along the Indonesia border and while there, I learned of the former Dutch Catholic Mission station, Amgotro and a little further on the government station called Waris, which District Officer Wakeford had mentioned to me on my way through Wewak.

The people told me they have no contact across the international border and knew nothing of the Indonesians. Neither they nor I knew where the border actually was and the chances of village or tribal land boundaries actually coinciding with the 141st Line of longitude were nil; to these people at that time, the border was meaningless.

Traditional stone axe trade:

At Kaseiru I examined a stone axe. I learned from the Kaseiru people that traditional trade brought stone axe blades presumably from the Yali tribal axe makers some distance inside West New Guinea. However since steel axes had replaced stone axes, the traditional trade had ceased. Years later I learned that Telefomin people traded their "Fubi" stone blades from a long way west of their sacred Mount Fublian, where the Ok Tedi mine would be established. The "Fubi axes and the blades traded into Kaseiru and elsewhere in the Upper Sepik were presumably from the Yali tribal source.

The use of helicopters and concerns about cargo cult:

Helicopter usage in PNG was in its infancy in 1966 and the House of Assembly elections saw patrols air lifted from one remote polling place to another. Our patrol was lifted from Wauru in the August River hinterland to Idam on the Idam River. On this occasion the airlift was not critical to the patrol's success, in fact a weather delay meant it would have been quicker to walk the distance.

In preparation for the patrol the people of Wauru had been asked to clear an area upon which it could land. They had never seen a helicopter before and were fascinated with it. The location of Wauru was described to the pilot as "somewhere near the Sepik/August junction", so we saw the helicopter long before its searching pilot saw us. We lit smoke fires to attract it and finally the pilot saw us and landed. I realized that none of this was lost on our Wauru hosts. I told them that the

helicopter would not come back here as it had been hired for our election use only. I paid £6.10.0 for the work they had done on clearing the helipad and suggested they plant a garden there. Cargo cult was a concern in the Sepik and elsewhere in PNG, and I needed to discourage any idea that the helicopter might return and deliver the elusive “cargo”.

Six days later in the Sepik River village of Maha during the electoral education discussions, I was asked “*If Andrias [Andrias Augwi², an Ambunti candidate] is elected, will he bring cargo up river to Maha?*”

Downriver trickery and resulting ill will over the Upper Sepik crocodile skin trade.

At Maha, resentment was expressed over Ambunti crocodile shooters coming up river and shooting crocodiles in local waters without permission or compensation being paid to local landowners. European crocodile shooters on the other hand were welcome as they paid fair compensation for the skins they took. By chance three Ambunti hunters arrived while the patrol was in the area. Constable Ininga investigated local claims and the Ambunti hunters paid arbitrated compensation.

The uncontacted communities of the West and Landslip Ranges.

The tributaries joining the Upper Sepik’s east or right bank all flow from the West and Landslip Ranges. At Idam, Maha and Baio villages I took down details of a number of uncontacted groups of people living in the headwaters of local streams and what I could learn about the linguistic relationships. My informants emphasized their fear of the reputed powerful sorcery of these hill people.

The “hill people” were eventually contacted, mainly from May River, and constituted the third ethnic group of that region after the Iwam and the Mianmin; the third group were named the “Birua” [Pidgin word for ‘enemy’] as they were the enemy of both the Iwam and the Mianmin. - see Chapter 17 *The Exploration of May River 1956* =>

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Wegera Kenu of Vanimo won the Upper Sepik Open seat and Frank Martin of Wewak won the Sepik-Madang Special seat. Wegera Kenu then aged 31 was recorded as a farmer/trader. He was a Pidgin speaker of the Roman Catholic faith.⁶ Frank Martin of Wewak then aged 35 had been in Papua New Guinea for 15 years. He was a business man and was of the Church of England faith.

Of the fifty four Open and Special electorate members of the first PNG House of Assembly, a total of seven were ex-patrol officers. They were :-⁷

- J. Stuntz – East Papua Special Electorate
- I. Downes – Highlands Special Electorate
- H. Niall – North Markham Special Electorate
- R. Neville – West Papua Special Electorate
- B. Holloway – Kainantu Open Electorate
- G. Pople – Gumine Open Electorate
- J. Pasquarelli – Angoram Open Electorate

In a by-election in Kaindi Open electorate following the death of sitting member Bloomfield, Anthony Voutas, another ex-patrol officer was elected.⁸

² Andrias Augwi of Brugnowi village was a Senior Constable stationed at Ambunti in 1961. He had also been a member of Captain Taylor and Lieutenant Boisen’s coast watching party in the Sepik before he with Special Constables Baras and Kandamari were captured by the Japanese in October 1943. See Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War*. Chapter 35

The two faces of New Guinea



From ANGUS SMALES in Port Moresby

ONE Friday night a group of Papuan and New Guinean parliamentarians in dark blue suits and carrying briefcases, took their seats in the air conditioned House of Assembly in Port Moresby.

On the same night a group of Papuans sat almost naked behind the bolted trapdoors of their smokey, primitive homes in the Papuan highlands while they discussed their own pressing affairs of state — the murder of their neighbors.

On the Saturday morning before the Parliamentarians had left their beds in houses, flats and hotels in Port Moresby, 10 people were already dead in a savage massacre in the highlands.

Those 10 men died while the House of Assembly was sitting in Port Moresby, 300 miles away.

For the emerging Papua - New Guinea there is nothing strange in primitive, uncontrolled violence existing side by side with the reasoned trappings of parliamentary procedure. It is typical of this country today.

The country's big

problem as it moves towards nationhood is the disparity in development between about 300 racial groups.

No matter what Australia does, there is little doubt that Papua-New Guinea will eventually reach nationhood with many of its people steeped in the cults and savagery of the past.

Coastal Papua has been exposed to Western influence for about 70 years and the New Guinea island for a little longer.

In the centre of the big Papua-New Guinea land mass, there has been contact for only 20 years.

Only last month the government reported that one of its patrols inland from Wewak had met people who had never before seen a white man.

Near Telefomin, in an area officially classified as "restricted", another patrol is still in the field entering areas unknown to the outside world.

The southern highlands where the recent massacre occurred, was opened up only in the past 20 years.

Mr M. G. Toogood, now an assistant secretary in the Department of the Administrator, was the first district commissioner there when the administrative district was established.

He described the state of perpetual war which traditionally existed between scores of parochial societies.

BURNED

When Mr Toogood went through with one patrol only 13 years ago he found acres of burned out land where tribesmen had laid waste to the food gardens of their enemies.

As his patrol went into each primitive village trapdoors on the houses were slowly opened and quickly shut by suspicious men.

This attitude still lingers today. Increasing outside pressures are forcing Australia to justify in the United Nations and elsewhere the extent of her work in New Guinea.

It is sad that the very evidence Australia produces contains in itself the seeds of further obstruction.

U.N. VISIT

An example of this is the current visit to the United Nations by two Papua-New Guinea political leaders whose education will give the impression that the country is ready for immediate nationhood.

But for every political

J.K. McCarthy, the Director of the Department of District Services and Native Affairs, was one of the ten nominated official members...

The other Sepik MPs in the first House of Assembly were :-

Pita Simogen - Wewak Aitape Open Electorate

Pita Lus - Dreikikir Open Electorate

Pita Tamindei - Maprik Open Electorate

Mo Makain - Lumi Open Electorate

Female candidates - PNG wide.

Only three women candidates nominated in the 1964 election; two were Papuans and one was an expatriate wife of a patrol officer. None were successful. "failure of women candidates is not surprising as only 3 of 4,472 Local Government Councillors were women - 2 Mekeo and 1 Rigo."⁹ In the 1968 election only one woman, a Papuan, nominated as a candidate. She was not successful.¹⁰

The Cargo Cult implications of the 1964 election.

Cargo cult beliefs lie dormant in the cosmology of most PNG societies. The traditional religious beliefs in many PNG societies quietly grapple with deep questions that their ancestral myths and legends and oral histories are unable to explain; such deep questions as:

- What is the origin of the Whiteman's superior technology and manufactured goods - the Cargo?
- What rituals must PNG people learn and conduct to also have access to the Cargo?

and for every skilled man whom Australia displays there must be 100 others sunk in the primitive traditions of the past.

Australia — and the Papuans and New Guineans themselves — do not suggest that everyone must be skilled and sophisticated before self-determination can be achieved.

But the primitive factor in Papua - New Guinea society is much greater than is generally acknowledged and vitally affects the approach of nationhood.

"FLOWER MAGIC" IN PNG ELECTION

From The Sun's **ELGIN REID**

MADANG, New Guinea, Thurs. — "Magic" is expected to be an important factor in the voting in a string of north New Guinea electorates at Saturday's election.

It is "magic" based on war-time memories of Brisbane suburban gardens and mixed with primitive sex ritualism.

An old native, Yali, believed by thousands of natives to have supernatural powers, is contesting the electorate of the Rai Coast, where the assault on Saidor was made during the war.

Yali is also helping European candidates in other electorates north and south of Madang, where a cargo-type flower cult he inspired nearly 20 years ago still has many followers.

Yali, who worked with Coastwatchers during the war and was decorated, visited Brisbane at least once in a submarine.

There he saw long lanes of suburban homes with garden flowers which were picked and taken inside. He also saw less edifying wartime sights.

On his return to the Saidor area after the war, a suburban-type native community of houses in long rows developed there.

Cut flowers decorated the huts and these, and sex rituals, became the ingredients of the flower cult.

Members believed their

furnishings like a Brisbane home.

Fertility was also associated with the cult.

As a result of incidents involving Yali and some of his young male retinue with native women, Yali was gaoled for six years.

Free now for several years, he has taken another and younger wife—his fourth—and his reputation is such that he still receives gifts of money from native communities.

Residents here say that Yali does not himself claim to possess supernatural powers but that he does not discourage superstitious natives from believing it.

They say that his speeches to natives have been generally sound and that he has urged them to work hard to plant more crops and thus obtain more of the good things of life for themselves.

But they say also that Yali is a shrewd and gifted orator and that natives draw different meanings from what he has said, much of which is heard secondhand by jungle "wireless."

Outbreaks of flower decorations and the construction of palmleaf arches are likely to follow reports that

Critical to this second question above is the belief that the Whiteman has a vested interest in not revealing the secrets of the cargo, as he does not want to share. It follows from this belief that it was the all-knowing PNG ancestors who had sent PNG's cargo entitlement, but the Whiteman intercepted the goods which rightfully belongs to the people of PNG, and diverted them to his own selfish use.

Such beliefs usually remain dormant until some tribal visionary or event stirs the people to believe that their cargo is about to be delivered. Such an event was the 1964 Election. The two events described below reflect tips of "icebergs" in cult thinking. The widespread dormant beliefs were not really displayed until the second House of Assembly election in 1968 in which the final [voter turnout] figure of 63% was explained as the disappointment of many voters that the first House of Assembly had not delivered cargo.¹¹ In 1964, the comparative poll was 72.3%

Sgt Major Yali [mentioned above] of the Royal Papuan Constabulary survived the ill-fated "Harris" expedition west of Hollandia weeks before the allied invasions of Aitape and Hollandia in April 1944. He made his way overland back to the Sepik coast where he met the allied advance. He returned home a war hero.

The post war Australian administration

used him as mediator in an attempt to curb long standing Cargo Cult activity in his home Madang District. Yali was an intelligent and respected leader, who has been written up in Peter Lawrence's *Road Bilong Cargo*.

Yali reluctantly became a renowned cargo cult leader on the Rai Coast east of Madang. His popularity was due largely to the people's belief that he had mystical powers which would deliver the cargo.

In the Madang district some 3,220 informal votes were cast. The factor was enchantment with Yali Singina, who was standing in Rai Coast. Yali had campaigned in the southern part of the Madang Open Electorate adjacent to his own electorate and in the Saidor area from which he comes.

In Ramu Open electorate there were 3,523 informal votes. [Ramu Open Candidate Ben Hall] had brought Yali to the electorate to campaign for him, and it appears Yali's presence activated his supporters, and led to their refusal to support any local candidates.¹² Yali was defeated in his own electorate of Rai Coast Open largely because the pro-mission and anti-cargo cult sentiments, and active antagonism of the mission – particularly the Catholics.¹³

The President Johnson Cult.

Although distant from the Sepik, it is interesting to briefly examine the President Johnson Cult on the Island of New Hanover (Lavongai), 40 kilometers west of Kavieng, New Ireland, which reached its climax in 1964. The cultists simply wished to “buy” the American President Johnson or at least have him come to Lavongai and take the island over. They reasoned that this would be a solution to all their problems because the wealth and power of the United States would be used to assist them. To emphasize that they were serious, they resisted taxation and rejected Administration authority. They were successful in drawing the attention of the Administration to the fact that in comparison with other parts of New Ireland they were a neglected community.

In the general election for the House of Assembly in 1964 some of the people refused to vote for a local candidate and “wrote in” the name of President Johnson. They delivered \$400 to Bishop Stemper and later \$800 to the district office in Kavieng to purchase an air ticket for the president. The money was returned through the president of the Tikana Local Government Council in Kavieng.¹⁴

On 12th June 1964 the Director DS&NA stated that only 28% of New Hanover's eligible voters had voted and these were in the north-west and south-west where the cult had not taken hold. Supposing that 70% might have been expected to vote normally, this suggests a shortfall of 40%.¹⁵ [attributed to the Johnson Cult]

Post Script - The Mt. Turu cultists support of Matthias Yeliwan in the 1972 election.

Chapter 48 describes the largest cargo cult ever experienced in the Sepik. The cult leader Matthias Yeliwan was so popular that he was elected to the PNG House of Assembly in 1972. Supporters in other electorates also voted for him in large numbers, only to have their votes declared informal. The power of belief in cargo cults and in cult leaders in the Sepik cannot be understated.

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The development of Political Parties

Political parties were not in evidence at the time of the 1964 election. If we set aside the U.P.P. mentioned above, the evolution of party politics in PNG may be traced back to 1966 with twelve young men and a former missionary, based at the Administrative College in Port Moresby. In a submission to the Select Committee on Constitutional Development in April 1966, over the signatures of Cecil Abel and Albert Maori Kiki, they demanded Self-Government by 1968 and among other things for the Administrator to be replaced by a Governor General.

This was followed by a full submission in 1967 signed by all thirteen - who were :-

1. Cecil Abel – Admin College Lecturer.
2. Albert Maori Kiki – Patrol officer – Gulf District and student
3. Michael Somare – a broadcasting assistant and publicity officer – Wewak.
4. Dr. Reuben Taureka a/ Assistant Director for Medical Services, from Marshall Lagoon
5. Ebia Olewale an Education Officer from Western Province.
6. Joseph Karl Nombri, Patrol Officer from Chimbu, a student at the Admin College.
7. Oala Oala Rarua from Pari – Central Province convener of the lapsed New Guinea United

Party and President of the Port Moresby Worker's Association

8. Elliot Elijah of the Trobriand Islands, a training officer with the Cooperative Centre
9. Dr. Ilimo Batton from Yangoru in the Sepik and then stationed at Daru.
10. Sinaka Goava of Hanuabada, a student at the Admin college in a magistrate's course
11. Gerai Asiba of Western Province, a student Patrol Officer
12. Kamona Walo of Hula, a student at Admin college in a magistrate's course
13. Penuelli Anakapu – magistrate student at Admin college.

Not surprisingly they became known as the 13 angry men. Other submissions to the Select Committee came from MPs Anthony Voutas, Barry Holloway [both ex-kiaps] and Lepani Watson.

It was not long before a brigade of discontent joined the 13 angry men with some members of the House of Assembly and other nationalists. On 13 June 1967 they formed the PANGU party [Papua New Guinea Union]. Members included Paul Lapun, Pita Lus, Barry Holloway, Nicholas Brokam, James Meanggarum, Anthony Voutas, Paliau Maloat, Wegra Kenu, Siwi Koronda – all elected members from NG, Maori Kiki, John Guise, Eriko Rarupu MPs from Papua. Thomas Tobunbun, president of the Rabaul workers' union soon joined.¹⁶

From the beginning PANGU was held together by the drive of Albert Maori Kiki and the shrewd political organization of Tony Voutas. Michael Somare emerged as a leader with a talent for effective compromise. They became the first significant political group to contest an election in PNG.¹⁷

Elections were held for the second House of Assembly in February and March 1968. This time there were 15 regional seats with a qualifying education standard of PNG Intermediate Certificate. Two Papuans, two New Guineans and eleven Europeans won these seats.

Political parties were not recognized by the electoral office. However the publicity Pangu received resulted in other parties forming in the pre-polling period :-

- All people's Party APP
- National Progress Party NPP
- United Democratic Party UDP
- Agricultural Reform Party ARP

All these parties had candidates but few of them stressed party affiliations. In terms of party results the 1968 election was disappointing :-

- Pangu - eleven seats
- APP - two seats
- UDP - two seats
- ARP - one seat

Voutas campaigned openly as a Pangu candidate in his defeat of the former Speaker and his former District Commissioner Horrie Niall.¹⁸

The new indigenous members were probably better educated than their predecessors. Only 26 had no formal education, 19 had some post primary education, two had completed one year of University education, all could speak English, Pidgin or Motu and 31 had Local Government Experience. The largest known Christian representation was 26 Catholics.

Pangu made it clear that its members would not accept ministerial positions. Michael Somare was critical of the appointment of four DCs as official members [H.P. Seale, S.M. Foley, R.T.

Galloway and C.G. Littler with T.W. Ellis former DC and now Director of DS&NA] as this group had a formidable influence on national members.

[T.W. Ellis periodically dropped into Ambunti in 1971/2 to informally visit Nauwi Sauinambi MHA during the writer's posting as ADO Ambunti]

Michael Somare developed into a competent leader of the Pangu Pati. Voutas, a founder of the party had sensibly renounced parliamentary leadership in order to hold the party together as an indigenous movement under his direction.¹⁹

End Notes Chapter 32

¹ D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. The Papua New Guinea Elections 1964. ANU Canberra 1965 P6-7

² D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P44-49

³ D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P53-59

⁴ D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P60 A quote from one of the CCND pamphlets.

⁵ D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P66-67

⁶ D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P448

⁷ D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P447

⁸ Ian Downs, The Australian Trusteeship of Papua New Guinea 1945-75. Australian Government Printing Service Canberra. 1980 P 387

⁹ D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P428-9

¹⁰ Ian Downs 1980 P 388

¹¹ E.P. Wolfers, *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, University of Queensland Vol 1 No 13 P 273

¹² D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P403

¹³ D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P210-211

¹⁴ Ian Downs 1980 P 205-206

¹⁵ D.C. Bettison, C.A. Hughes & P van der Yeur ed. 1965 P404

¹⁶ Ian Downs 1980 P 385-7

¹⁷ Ian Downs 1980 P 388

¹⁸ Ian Downs 1980 P 389-391

¹⁹ Ian Downs 1980 P 394.

Writer's Note: My term in the Amanab sub district at Green River, Amanab and Imonda built upon my CPO training as described in Chapter 26. Amanab sub district provided me with field experience within the safety constraints of the "Kiap system" which prohibited junior officers from entering "uncontrolled" country until they had the necessary experience. I learned about administration of remote patrol posts, and how to look after the welfare and interests of outstation police, government servants and their families, prisoners in the local gaol as well as dealing with assorted village issues ranging from cargo cult, murder, and traditional beliefs and customs - some of anthropological interest, others which were repugnant to criminal law. In retrospect, it also showed me how rapidly the Sepik, and the operation of the kiap system within it, were changing.

To the PNG rural community at that time their local "Kiap" personified the "Gavman"-Government. There was nothing that was not the kiap's business, and as a result the officers in charge of outstations needed to be jacks-of-all-trades. They held concurrently the rank of commissioned officer of the constabulary, magistrate of the Court of Native Affairs, gaoler, paymaster, post master, welfare officer, dispute mediator, storeman, meteorological officer, border intelligence reporter, civil aviation representative, adviser to Local Government Councils and any other function you can think of, for which a specialist department did not have a resident representative.

My first Sepik posting was Green River Patrol Post, a place with a reputation as a punishment station for wayward kiaps. It seems a young officer, who need not be named, in the early 1950s so offended one of his seniors that he was banished to PNG's most unpleasant further-most posting from Post Moresby - Green River.

Upon my arrival in Wewak, en route to Green River, I jokingly suggested that I knew what I had done, but was not sure how much 'they' knew about it – a transgression which had earned me such a posting. I was told Green River had become strategically important since the Indonesian takeover of West New Guinea two years earlier – in 1962 - due to its proximity to the international border. Of course strategic importance did not change the unpleasant living conditions of the place.

In 1938 Patrol Officer Jim Hodgekiss, while working with Oil Search Limited, established the first airstrip there. He found an exposed desolate plain of white limestone gravel, a veritable desert upon which almost nothing grows despite the high rainfall. To build an airstrip, he had to do little more than mark out an appropriate sized rectangle. The 1938 airstrip was extended and Green River Patrol Post was established alongside it in 1951. The problem was that the white gravel plain reflected the dazzling glare of the sun's light and shimmering heat. Green River, although 500 river miles from where the Sepik River flows into the Bismarck Sea, is only 500 feet above sea level, a seriously hot place with seemingly nothing, apart from an excellent strategic airstrip, to recommend it.

On 20th January 1964 when I introduced myself at the District Office in Wewak, District Officer John Wakeford¹ looked at me and asked how old I was, and when I said 21, he exclaimed '*Oh God!*' He explained that he really wanted older men on the border stations as life there might be too nerve wracking for one as young as me. He explained that at Imonda Patrol Post the previous week, the patrol officer [Harley Rivers Dickinson] heard a plane approaching and saw the plane had

¹ We met John Wakeford in 1946 and 1947 in as a Patrol Officer in Maprik and Vanimo – Sepik 3 Chapters 67 @ 65.

Indonesian markings. When the plane was overhead, it released a number of parachutes which drifted down and landed on Imonda airstrip. It turned out that under the parachutes were bags of rice, not paratroopers.

A second Indonesian plane soon followed the first and landed at Imonda. Two Indonesian officers alighted and apologized to the OIC, explaining that the rice was supposed to have been dropped on Waris airstrip – 9 miles away on the other side of the border. The pilot had made a mistake they said, but they had a good look around and took many photos while in Imonda. They collected their rice and departed. For these officers to be in the vicinity in a second aircraft at that particular time suggested that rather than pilot error, the misdirected air drop was part of an intelligence gathering expedition.

Mr. Wakeford told me that the Green River administrative area was sparsely populated with only about 6,000 people; its strategic importance, he said, was because it included some seventy miles of the International border. There are no roads – access is only by air or on foot and, in terms of sophistication, the whole area was restricted until 1961. I also learned that it was Administration policy not to leave officers for long periods alone on remote one man stations like Green River, so I could expect a transfer out of there in the not too distant future.

Mr. Wakeford introduced me to the District Commissioner Mr. Cole. I saw him as a smiling friendly person of a little less than my height. At that stage I knew nothing of his wartime experience in the Sepik. Mr. Cole spoke about the International border and the importance of accurate and timely intelligence information - he outlined what sort of information I should seek and report. He made it clear that probably the most important kiap function was efficient information management. He also emphasized that there are no border markers in the Green River area and, incongruously, said '*... for heaven's sake, don't cross it.*'!

He spoke of the enclaves of the Trust Territory of New Guinea that had been administered by the Dutch and whose people spoke Malay [Bahasa] rather than Pidgin. With the Indonesian take over two years before, Australia took over the administration of the enclaves and they required special attention. Although there were no enclaves in the Green River area, there were three elsewhere in the Amanab Sub District – the Dera, Waina-Sowanda and Waris enclaves.

The Sepik District at that time was divided into two parts – the North Sepik Division, which includes the Aitape, Lumi, Amanab and Telefomin sub districts, and the South Sepik Division which includes the Wewak, Angoram, Ambunti and Maprik sub districts. North Sepik had the whole of the International Border in the Territory of New Guinea, while the South Sepik had the heaviest population concentration – centred on the Maprik area. Then in 1965-6 the North South division was officially adjusted to create the East and West Sepik Provinces – the latter was also known Sandaun [Pidgin - sundown] Province.² Vanimo patrol post now became the District headquarters with its own resident District Commissioner.

I learned that after the first House of Assembly election patrols that the priority along the Border was to establish Native Local Government Councils. This was part of the national policy of political advancement but it was also strategically important to have monthly gatherings of all village

² I can find no date for the change from North & South Divisions to East and West Provinces other than that my Imonda patrol report 1/1965-66 [Aug-Sept 1965] was a North Sepik report and my Oksapmin patrol report 1/1966-67 [Aug-Oct 1966] was a West Sepik report. I suggest the changeover happened between Nov 1965 and January 1966 while I was on leave, otherwise I would have noted the date in my Field Officer's Journal.

representatives in order to keep communications channels open for border intelligence gathering. One way or another it looked as though I had plenty of patrolling to attend to at Green River.

In order to live on isolated Sepik outstations, it was necessary that I put commercial arrangements in place in Wewak. I opened a bank account and arranged for my salary to be deposited there and I opened business accounts with local Wewak stores, Burns Philp, Tang Mow and other Chinese stores. This would allow me to have a standard order for frozen food goods sent on weekly chartered aircraft and to pay monthly accounts. I also purchased two months of patrol food and household odds and ends to take with me. For remote stations which were serviced by commercial flights on which airfreight had to be paid - there was a graduated scale of airfreight allowances. The highest rates in PNG were for Oksapmin and Telefomin. One of the heaviest items we had to fly in for personal use was 44 gallon drums of kerosene for lighting and powering refrigeration. The freight charges unfortunately made it uneconomic to fly the empty drums back out to retrieve the drum deposit of £2.

On 25th January I flew by DC3 to Vanimo Patrol Post where I met the patrol officer in charge David Moorehouse and CPO Peter Tatterson. The regular “milk run” flight included all the border stations (except Wutung), i.e. Pagei [later renamed Bewani], Imonda, Amanab and Green River. Unfortunately on that occasion the flight was delayed and I did not reach Amanab until 27th January, where I was met off the flight by ADO Gus Bottrill³ and PO Bernie Mulcahy. DO Wakeford had described ADO Bottrill to me an officer who, when he saw the need, departed, without a word to HQ, on patrol with half a dozen police and might be gone for a month or two. Headquarters came to expect that whatever job took him out in the bush, that job would be handled well, but in all probability the required report might not get written.

I found ADO Bottrill to be a very relaxed and engaging person, with a gift for languages; he was fluent in Motu and Bahasa as well as Pidgin and it seemed that he knew his sub district and its tribal peoples very well. I found myself taking notes each time we had a serious discussion because there was always a gem or two in what he said that needed following up when I was established at Green River. Some examples :-

“Oh by the way there is a reported murder you will need to look into...see if there are grounds for me to conduct a preliminary hearing [of an indictable offence] in the District Court – there’s a good chap.” I took down some scant details. It was a stabbing.

“I heard there is a custom of primo-geniture infanticide in the Nagu [I asked what that was and was told that it was the murder of the first born child]. Look into that when you are out that way will you?” At that point I had no idea where or what “the Nagu” was. All was revealed however with the passing of time.

“There is an estimated 2,000 uncontacted people in the West and Landslip Ranges to the east and south east of Green...we need to contact them...” Here he had my full attention – this, to my mind, was the sort of adventure that being a kiap was all about. But in the nicest possible way, he was way ahead of me; there was no way he was going to allow someone as inexperienced as I was to venture into uncontrolled territory, and rightly so. He did not say so at the time, but he had the perfect man for the job. Bernie Mulcahy had done this sort of work before during his time at May River [Chapter 18] When the time came I would do the airdrops to Bernie’s patrol.

³ Gus Bottrill was mentioned as ADO Kainantu in Chapter 26 *A 1961/2 CPO Training Experience*

There was always humour in much of what ADO Bottrill said. While browsing a book of mine he made a note of the word “inchoate” [meaning just begun or rudimentary development]. “Inchoate” would go into his next report for no other reason than “Waky” [District Officer Wakeford] would have to look it up. And, with reference to Green River’s reputation as an unpleasant posting he said: *“Oh, by the way, if you decide to commit suicide – do it by drowning yourself in the Sepik. By doing it that way, with any luck you will not be found until you reach Ambunti or Angoram – so they, not I, will have to do the Coroner’s hearing. Such a lot of paperwork”*

I was flown to Green River where I took over as OIC from Trainee PO Roland Kekedo who was required in Amanab, but would later be doing elections patrol work from my new station.

The first task I undertook, even before the election patrol, was to investigate the reported stabbing murder. I typed out statements from several witnesses and sent them to Amanab with the conclusions that I drew from the evidence. The witnesses described going into a sago stand after a wounded pig. Their movements were very restricted by swampy ground underfoot and sago fronds bristling with 4-inch sago needles. The wounded pig turned and charged the hunters. The accused murderer was closest to the pig. He held a ten inch steel arrow head, which had been forged from a length of hoop-iron from an old grass cutting [sarif] blade. He stabbed downwards at the pig as it came at him. The blade missed the pig was plunged deeply into the thigh of a hunter standing beside the blade wielder. An artery was severed and the man bled to death in minutes.

Legally in such cases, a Coroner needed to hear the evidence and record a finding. I was not called upon to give evidence before the Coroner, and as I heard no more about this case, I assumed that my conclusions were adopted.

I had no sooner completed and documented this investigation when a man called Seigon from Biake No 1 stabbed and killed his wife. Seigon’s arrest must have occurred without incident as I don’t remember it. The evidence was collected and presented in a preliminary hearing in the District Court in the second week of July 1964 and Seigon was committed to stand trial in the Supreme Court on a charge of willful murder. Then on 10th February 1965, a year after the killing, Seigon’s case was brought before Chief Justice Sir Allan Mann, who was the circuit judge visiting Amanab. After hearing the evidence, the Chief Justice set the case aside pending Seigon’s medical/mental assessment. The task of tracking down this additional evidence fell to me. It was not until the 9th of August 1965 that the case came again before the Supreme Court – Justice Frost on this occasion. Seigon was acquitted on the grounds of automatism, which is defined as *“action which does not involve conscious thought or intent.”*

We were also expecting an audit by a Treasury Department representative, but given the focus on the coming elections we were able to have it postponed. In my experience the usual problem with audit visits was that most OICs of outstations did not have the time to ensure that the store man kept the stock cards accurately up to date. Having just arrived at Green River, I had no idea what I had inherited in that regard. At that time labourers, Administration servants, such as clerks, store men, interpreters, and members of the Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary and their families and of course prisoners in the station gaol were rationed weekly with canned meat, or fish, rice, wheat meal, margarine, tea, sugar salt, tobacco, powdered milk, matches and locally purchased vegetables and greens. This required regular monitoring and timely ordering from the Government store in Wewak.

This system changed in 1965 both for the RP&NGC and Administration servants. They were all then paid a whole wage and were required to buy their own food. This was fine on stations like Wewak, Aitape, Vanimo, Ambunti and Angoram where there were established shops and trade stores,

but on the remote stations where there were no trade stores, and the people still had to eat. The solution was to set up buyer's club stores. Effectively, a trade store was set up which stocked the items the station people needed to buy. The Administration subsidized the airfreight and a small profit margin covered the wages of a store man and any stock losses. Such clubs operated tax free as this was before the time of the complexities of value added tax and the like. The introduction of buyer's clubs at Green River, Amanab and Imonda increased the OIC's work load. It was his responsibility to audit the books and to ensure appropriate orders were lodged in a timely manner to keep the shelves stocked.

My next task at Green River was the 1964 House of Assembly election patrol which is described in Chapter 33.

In late March 1964, I went to the Christian Missions in Many Lands CMML station just west of Green River Post and made the acquaintance of Brian Foster, a young New Zealand missionary/school teacher who was in charge, while the regular missionaries, Mr. and Mrs. Eden were on leave. The mission provided the health and education facilities at Green River and I sought Mr. Foster's assistance with information for the area study I was to compile as the Green River Local Government Council survey. Then on 2nd April Mr. Foster visited me with his own story to tell :-

A woman from Abaru had visited Miniaburu over the recent Easter weekend and while she was there a man from Biake No 1 [called Sangen/Savano] told how one night a couple of years ago he had heard whistling coming from the nearby burial ground. He had also heard the talk of a man called Ialie from Kobararu concerning the powers of dead ancestors. So he walked through the night to the source of the whistling sound and found his long dead mother standing on the surface of her grave. [He observed that] she was unchanged from her living state, except she was white. She handed him five shillings in cash then vanished into the grave. Sangen told the Abaru and Miniaburu present that he would go into their grave yard that night and get their dead ancestors to hand over cash to him for distribution to them.¹

Sangen happened to be at Green River so I interviewed him through Interpreter Mango in the presence of Constable Iakumani. After an hour and a half, Sangen admitted that the five shillings was his own. He said it had accidentally fallen from his pocket and he picked it up again. His white skinned mother spirit was not mentioned again. He agreed to accompany me back to Abaru and Miniaburu and explain to the people there that he was mistaken in what he told them and to recount that the money was his own.

It was important to do this as cult talk can spread like wild fire and Europeans are usually powerless to explain why cult beliefs are false because the local people believe Europeans have a vested interest of wanting to keep the cargo themselves. In company with one constable, Sangen and interpreter Mango I went to Abaru and stayed overnight at Miniaburu. My investigation made me conclude that an active cult would not result from Sangen's remarks because :-

1. Sangen was not spreading his own beliefs and prophesies, but relating what Ialio had said two years before. Ialio was gaoled and his prophesies failed to eventuate.
2. Sangen is a young man who had no traditional standing or local importance.
3. Cargo cult failed here in the past. Many people were said to have been gaoled. The people do not want that to happen again.
4. The village people are strong supporters of the CMML Mission and the missionary's Christian message includes discouragement of cargo cult talk.²

I was listening to traditional music on Radio Wewak one evening when there was a knock at my door. It was Corporal Poge and he explained that he been making his rounds of the station when he was amazed to hear traditional music from his own area, the Chambri Lakes. In his confusion he followed the music to my door. He was wide eyed in wonderment and asked to come in and listen.

Radio Wewak commenced broadcasting to the Sepik area in 1963³ and it was so popular that someone coined the phrase “*the awesome power of the Government radio stations*”. As time went by in the era before mobile phones, messages sent out through “Tok Save” [pronounced ‘talk sarvey’] program could reach anyone in the Sepik. If the intended recipient did not hear it firsthand, someone would tell him or her their message. I took a radio, battery powered of course, with me out on patrol so village people could gather in the evenings to listen.

Months later, while patrolling in the Dera enclave I distributed radios to each village. The radios were tuned to Radio Wewak so that the Bahasa speaking inhabitants could learn Pidgin English and be involved in Sepik, rather than Irian Jaya affairs. Sometime later, on another visit to the Dera I was not surprised to find that the radios had been returned to the Bahasa language stations, which I later learned were Radio Ambon and Radio Macassar⁴.

On 12th April 1964, I commenced Green River patrol No 6/63-4 accompanied by one constable, Interpreter Mango and a medical orderly. We were in the field until 28th May compiling an Area Study of the Green River local Iuri part of August River, and part of the Nagu area. Sepik 4 Part 2 Chapter 7 describes what is involved in Area Studies. This study, to construct a general overview of the district and its people, was accepted as the survey which saw the establishment of the Green River Local Government Council.

In addition to the census revision and data collection I had to conduct, the Administration required that the patrol conduct an anti-yaws campaign. Yaws is a common chronic infectious disease that occurs mainly in warm humid regions such as the tropical areas of Africa, Asia, South and Central Americas, plus the Pacific Islands... Yaws usually features lesions that appear as bumps on the skin of the face, hands, feet, and genital area. The disease most often starts as a single lesion that becomes slightly elevated, develops a crust that is shed, leaving a base that resembles the texture of a raspberry or strawberry. Almost all cases of yaws begin in children under 15 years of age, with the peak incidence in 6-10 year old children.⁵

Writer’s Note: In areas such as Green River at that time, where the disease is not treated, it is not uncommon to see adults with their nose and lips eaten away by the infection. The treatment requires the injection of procaine penicillin as a vaccine which, while it cured yaws, presumably reduced the efficiency of penicillin for the population when used to treat individual specific infections. In the **photos on the next page**, the child was suffering from yaws. He did not like the needle in his backside, but it probably saved his life.

Some significant report findings:

Background: While there had been a base camp at Green River before the war, the first real contact between the Green River people was when Green River station was established in 1951⁴. The whole area to be incorporated in the Green River Local Government Council was classified as “under control” in 1964.

⁴ While this statement was basically correct, I was unaware when I wrote this report that Germany’s Richard Thurnwald explored the Hauser/Green River system in February 1914 and named it “Hauser” due to the many isolated houses he saw along its banks [See Sepik 2 Chapter 20 & 21]



The Green River people's subsistence crop is sago and most of the time they are to be found in remote and scattered sago camps on their individual "clan" lands. Any random visit to the communal village as a result, usually finds the village to be all but deserted. The population was in the early stages of political development. Green River voters had voted in the recent election, but neither of the elected members [Open and Special electorates] had visited Green River. I noted in my report :-

The amount of knowledge the average Green River native had about Local Government is practically none. The people would probably be in favour of it if they had a clearer idea of what Local Government actually is.⁶

During a visit to Green River by DDS&NA Director J.K. McCarthy on 24th May 1963, the Green River people presented a petition signed by 53 village officials, which defined Green River's attitude to the Administration by raising three main points :-

1. **"We want the Administration to look after our hospital"** Health services, which had been established by the Administration, had been handed over to CMML agency. Whereas the Administration had rationed, i.e. fed hospital patients, the CMML did not.
2. **"The mission has a school on the station ... [but] our children have not learned very much at all"** The call was for administration schools throughout the villages.
3. **"We have no economic ventures...we have no way to earn money."** They requested training by the administration in regard to the crocodile skin trade and the establishment of cash cropping.⁷
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Initial contact with the Biksi people: When patrol No 6/1963-4 was at Kobararu on 15th April 1964, I was told that the Biake No 2 community who had resided on the banks of the October River, had moved inland and was living with an uncontacted group of people known as the Biaksi [the accepted spelling is now Biksi]. Also that two people from this side of the border had been killed in Irian Jaya, presumably during inter-tribal fighting.

On the 19th April the patrol canoed up the October River to the deserted village of Biake No 2 and then continued up the October until log jams made canoe travel impossible. We returned to Biake No 2. The patrol then walked through rain forest along the southern bank of the October River. After walking for fifty minutes, when we must have been close to the international border we found what I took to be a road clearing. The forest trees had been felled for perhaps a chain width for a considerable distance. I followed the "road" clearing for a mile in a south westerly direction before I satisfied myself

that to continue further would certainly take me into Irian Jaya. We met no people and so returned to Biake No 2.

On the 20th the patrol moved back down the October to the Sepik and back to Green River Patrol Post where I sent a coded telegram. As the “road” apparently crossed the border with Indonesia, it required a border intelligence report. Decisions taken in Wewak resulted in plans for a Pacific Islands Regiment [PIR] patrol to accompany me to inspect the “road”. As this took time I continued my Area Study research elsewhere away from the October River.

On 14th May I took my patrol overland through the forest from Miniaburu to Biake No 2; a four hour 20 minute walk. Some Biake No 2 people were in the village when we arrived. At dusk the PIR patrol arrived and made camp. Next day I led the PIR up the October to where the “road” met the river bank. There we met a group of Biksi men. Surprisingly some of them spoke Pidgin, having been recruited to work on coastal plantations. They said they had cleared the road to encourage the Administration [in the form of my patrol] to visit them.

We followed the “road” to a point at which the PIR officer suggested we go no further as we were either on or very near the border. The Biksi men said we were close to their village, but we went no further. I set up my census table and the medical orderly set up his medical box and we conducted the initial census and medical examination of the Biksi people. The Biksi people were in traditional dress and several cases of yaws were identified and treated. Two severe cases were escorted to Green River for hospitalization.

Questioning revealed that while Biksi and Biake 2 speak different languages, the two peoples are closely aligned and Biksi wishes to reside at Biake No 2 village. Such a move would eliminate the uncertainty of their location in relation to the Indonesian border. Of the Biksi language, linguist Dr. Laycock wrote :-

A previously unrecorded language...The language appears to show distant connection with languages of the Middle Sepik Super Stock, especially language which appears in lexicon and pronouns, but does not closely resemble any other language in the area. It is here classified tentatively, as a stock-level isolate within the Sepik Sub-Phylum. [Later research indicated this language is spoken in four villages west of the border: Afene, Kwutiye, Rapre and Raru⁸]

Other Border Issues.

On 17th April my patrol moved upstream of Kaseiru to inspect an Army astrofix site on the left bank of the Sepik at location 141 0027 degrees East by 4 0846 degrees South. The actual International border was marked nearby. The village of Auksianam which housed an Australian administered community was located some 500 metres over the border. I spoke with some Auksianam people and told them of their situation and instructed that the Australian flag was not to be flown in their village.

The next leg of the patrol took me back to the Iuri Mountains. I spent the 20th of May exploring and documenting a system of limestone caves and overhanging rock shelters which not only served as an ossuary but appears to be of possible archaeological interest - see Sepik Book 1 Chapter 50.

At Terauwi a woman was brought in with a fresh arrow wound in her back. The problem was that she came from Auiagalip, which I believed was in Irian Jaya. She needed hospitalization so I suggested the people with her take her to Green River. While I was exploring the Terauwi caves, they decided against going to Green and retraced their steps. When we reached Kambriap next day I learned they had crossed back into Irian Jaya. I also learned that a week earlier an Indonesian patrol had come to Auiagalip to investigate the fighting and had taken a large number of prisoners away with them.

The Indonesians had told the people that they were administered from an Indonesian station called Oebroeb [pronounced Ubrub] and they were to report to Oebroeb if Australians crossed the border, and that they were not to seek medical aid in PNG. So effectively Indonesia was following the same border surveillance procedures as was the Australia administration.

When I revised the census at Kambriap I found that many of the people were absent at Auiagalip. The next day, a dozen people from Auiagalip came to see me at Kambriap. Clearly there is a great deal of interaction between these cross-border villages. Auiagalip is not mentioned in Laycock's preliminary classification of Sepik languages, but Calcutt's Green River Patrol Report 2/1956-7 makes it appear that the close relationships that both the Indonesian administration and I found in 1964, also existed back in 1956. [Chapter 17].

The patrol route from Kambriap was upstream along Green River then via Turup Creek up a ridge on a steady climb that gained us 2,000 feet in altitude to Pannangan village at 2,500 ASL. There were more leaches along this track than I thought possible. When I wrung my socks out upon arrival, the expelled water was red with blood. As a measure of sophistication of the Pannangan people, I found that they still preferred payment in salt rather than money for the fresh foods I purchased.

I was told by Pannangan elders that armour was a prestige item, usually worn only by leaders. Such leaders believed they were invincible through some mystical power in the armour that went above and beyond the physical protection it provided the wearer. The 'armour' was simply cane woven in a round basket-like manner which covered the wearer's chest and back, being hung from the shoulders in a Ned Kelly manner. The armour-clad leaders led the way with the majority of their warriors who were not wearing armour staying behind them. The armour therefore protected not just the man wearing it - similarly war shields in Telefomin for instance protected the shield bearer and one or more archers.

My research also indicated that Pannangan, with a population of 120 people, was an exogamous group. I also learned that Iuri language group conduct marriage via a system of bride price, which is paid in dogs teeth and Tambu and Girigiri shells, whereas the Green River people of the plains area marry by the system known as sister exchange. The complexities of sister exchange became evident to me in a dispute I was asked to arbitrate in June :-

Ahenei [a girl from Abaru near Green River Patrol Post] is educated to grade three, a high level of education for any one from Green River at the time, and for a girl in particular. Ahenei looks after her appearance. She is always seen wearing a blouse and laplap [wrap around sari] – never a grass skirt. She planned to marry a policeman from Talasea [New Britain] but her family objected. The local marriage custom of "sister exchange" could not allow Ahenei to marry "outside" as this would deprive a local man to his customary entitlement to Ahenei as his bride. Such disputes are complicated further by a sense of independence from customary obligations that western education introduces into the thinking of educated girls like Ahenei.

A possible solution was a suggestion that Ahenei might consider marrying a Green River born constable who was then stationed in Manus. There was no point in me making a decision in such a complicated matter of the heart, parental authority and marriage customs as it would only be followed if it coincided with the eventual balance of opinion reached within the family. I explained this and withdrew from the case.

The patrol moved on to Fongwinam, then Iuri No 1 & 2, Tengirabu and Mongo villages. At Mongo the census brought before me a child in need of medical attention and I instructed the father to accompany the patrol as far as Tengirabu, so the child could be treated at the Tengirabu Aid Post. From Tengirabu the patrol went to Amanab via Mongorovei where I met up with ADO Bottrill who was conducting a patrol of the Dera Division and we walked together to Orkwanda, where we spent the night. From there we walked to Amanab via Lihen and Naineri. At Amanab I wrote the Area Study while waiting for a flight back to Green River.

Within days of my return, a man from an unknown Rocky Peak community called Aukeisa came to Green River to report that his brother had been killed by an arrow which struck him in the back so the arrow point protruded from his abdomen. His killer had made it clear that he would kill anyone who came to investigate. I made plans to take a patrol in to investigate. I had no sooner communicated this plan to the ADO at Amanab than he responded in no uncertain terms that I was not to go into that uncontrolled area. The murder would be investigated when Mulcahy's forthcoming Landslip Range & Rocky Peak exploratory patrol went there in the near future. Despite my youthful enthusiasm, I was clearly still too inexperienced for such a patrol. I was disappointed, but in retrospect I had to agree.

On 19th June 1964 I departed on a patrol to the Nagu census division. Nagu is north-east of Green River and borders on the Yellow River area. It is an area of sparsely populated and heavily forested plains country drained by the middle reaches of the Horden River [locally known as the Bapi], North and the Sand Rivers. In November 1914 Richard Thurnwald explored the Sand River and in December 1914 the North River. He had also explored the Yellow River in late 1913 [see Sepik 2 Chapter 21]. The Nagu people of the Nagatman [Gege] language reside primarily on the plains between the North and Horden Rivers. While the Busa speaking people [Gari language] reside to the west of the lower Horden closer to Green River Post and were included in the Green River Local Government Survey.

I was accompanied by EMA Peter Rooke, who not only provided excellent company, but was also of assistance in investigating the reported local custom of killing the first born child in Nagu families. I was also instructed to investigate a reported cargo cult at Karboni. The Nagu people made us very welcome in their land and sold us large amounts of fresh foods. This food supply proved necessary because I had brought with me a permanent carrier line of Green River men to ensure that we could traverse these sparsely populated plains country unimpeded by the possible lack of local men to carry. This patrol – Green River report No 7/1963-4 was in the field until 1st July.

Investigation into Primogeniture infanticide. Obtaining evidence of such a customary practice is difficult. The people were naturally reluctant to speak of such things. Peter Rooke and I approached it in two ways – through census revision and by medical discussions.

When the census is revised annually any obvious pregnancies are noted in the census register. Census revision a year later either records the new birth or asks what happened to the baby. The loop holes in such methodology are obvious and at best can only provide circumstantial evidence. Of the 23 pregnancies I recorded, six were noted as being after the mother had lost her first child.

We concluded that if the custom does exist it primarily affected the villages of Dila, Hila, Tera, Karboni, Weitera and Nagatman – i.e. the Nagatman language group. At Hila three men including the Luluai told Mr. Rooke that some people kill their first born child so that subsequent children can survive. The babies were said to be killed by strangulation or by having their bones broken. The Tultul of Hila mentioned that the first child is often “no good” and is either miscarried or born dead.

Mr. Rooke also mentioned that his recent patrol of the Nai-Faringi area adjacent to the west of Nagu found probable evidence that a similar custom exists there. Of 18 pregnancies recorded in the previous census, seven did not survive to an age of seven weeks.⁹ A month later while on patrol from Amanab at Iafar I noted two possible cases of the killing of the first child, but as usual solid proof was unavailable. With regard to Nagu I recommended that another census patrol be conducted in November to record the outcomes of the 23 pregnancies recorded in June. I also recommended increased medical and infant maternal welfare patrolling of this area to increase local awareness and to seek more concrete evidence.

ADO Bottrill basically agreed with my recommendations and suggested in his comments on my report that the only way to stop this custom was to educate the people. D.O. Wakeford disagreed. He believes we need to find evidence and get a murder conviction. He also indicated that he had applied for an anthropologist to come and study the custom. The outcome was that anthropologist Rosemary Oxer arrived and was accompanied by Bernie Mulcahy on a patrol to Nagu on 22nd September 1964. When I spoke with her later, she said her time in Nagu was too short to produce concrete evidence to confirm the suspicions I reported. There was a stepping up of patrolling; EMA J. Peters visited the area earlier in September.

Investigation into reported cargo cult at Karboni. On a flat area of grassland some 25 minutes' walk north-west of Karboni village on land called "Lugonda", Dino/Dane of Tera village led a movement to construct an airstrip. His logic was that the airstrip would attract the CMML missionary from Yellow River to settle there with the local people. The missionary would open a store and planes would come to deliver cargo for the store and the local people would purchase the cargo with the fresh foods they grew. The step of selling the fresh foods for cash and then to use the cash to purchase goods in the store was not understood. The "airstrip" consisted of an area of bare clay which was cleared of top soil over an area of 90 feet by 30 feet. This work had been done between March and June 1964.

Investigation revealed that in 1962, the Yellow River missionary while walking from Yellow River to Amanab mentioned to the Tera and Karboni people that the grassland area between their villages was a good airstrip site. When the CMML mission built their airstrip at Kwomtari, north of Karboni word was sent to the Nagu villages to send labourers to come and help. Also weekly MAF planes from Anguanak to Green River pass directly over Karboni village.

The basic cause of this misguided initiative was the desire of the people to better their economic lot, as the only cash that enters the area at present is from repatriated labourers who had worked on coastal plantations, or been paid as carriers on patrols such as mine. The movement was not thought to present any long term problem. Recommendations included :-

- CMML to make a statement as to whether they intend to have a presence at Karboni.
- Increase Administration activity in the area. Including DASF investigation of cash cropping, possibly including rice.
- Take Dino/Dane on an adult education course in Wewak or elsewhere to help develop and direct his initiative and drive, while demonstrating that the Administration does not see him as a criminal.

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Three weeks after returning from the Nagu patrol, I handed Green River Patrol Post over to Bernie Mulcahy and took up residence in Amanab. There I became reacquainted with an old Melbourne High School mate, Rod Knott who was then a CPO. As for me, I had apparently become

the North Sepik expert on Local Government Council surveys and the Amanab LGC survey was next. My instructions read as follows:

Sub District Office
AMANAB, North Sepik District
5th August 1964

Mr. L.W. Bragge. P.O.,
AMANAB

Patrol Instructions AMANAB Local C.D.

1. Please be prepared to depart on a patrol of the Amanab Local Census Division on Monday 10th August 1964.
2. Your duties will be to:
 - a. Prepare an Area Study of this Census Division as a preparatory step to the installation of a Local Government Council for the DERA, AMANAB and NAI-FARINGI Census Divisions.
 - b. Prepare a group at NAINERI on or about the 11th August for the recording of local music and talks for the officer from Radio Wewak.
 - c. Organize the cutting of grass on the vehicular road with special emphasis on the section AHERI-WAINERI. Peg road route from NAINERI for one mile towards KWOFINAU.
 - d. Check on what has been done with rice seed issued to all village leaders at AMANAB on 16th June.
 - e. Endeavour to obtain a medical orderly to accompany you.
3. Sergeant JIMBA, two experienced constables and two fresh recruits will accompany you. The latter will require careful training and guidance.

A.M. Bottrill. Assistant District Officer

A special drive had been made to recruit police from the former Dutch enclaves and we had a number of these stationed at Ambunti. Their names reflected their former Dutch Roman Catholic associations – names like Kaius and Amatus

While the patrol was in the field, ADO Bottrill was transferred to Aitape and David Moorehouse who I met as Patrol Officer in charge of Vanimo Patrol Post was appointed as acting ADO Amanab. On the 11th Sam Piniau⁵ visited my patrol at Naineri to record songs and stories. One story involved a bird called Yi ...

In researching Naineri social structure as required for the Area Study I heard about Yi. At Naineri and Kwofinau villages I found that people of both settlements claim unity under the name big name “Naineri”, which consists of five patrilineal clans, all of which claim descent from a small bird called Yi. Yi is therefore their totem. Four of the clans claim descent from Yi’s wings and the fifth from Yi’s body. I was also told that Naineri people are like Yi’s feathers; they are plentiful, they grow quickly and soon die, just as Yi’s feathers molt and are replaced. The people also spoke of an ancestor of old called Wai. Limestone outcrops on surrounding ridges are referred to as Wai’s teeth.

I was amazed when at distant Wamaru to hear more about Yi. The clan Muwaineri has representatives at both Wamaru and at Kwofinau. Muwaineri was reported to be the ancestor who

⁵ Samuel Piniau OBE 1941-2007 joined the Department of Information and became one of the first indigenous radio station managers. In 1964 whilst managing Radio Wewak, he recruited Michael Somare as a journalist. He was the founding chairman of National Broadcasting Corporation of PNG. In 1979 Somare offered him the position of High Commissioner to Australia – instead he went home to Rabaul to join the Uniting Church as a senior administrator. [Sydney Morning Herald 2nd May 2007]

killed Yi and scattered the feathers. Where the feathers landed [according to the Wamaru version] the various clans of both Wamaru and Umeda grew up. One such clan claims descent from a wing feather and another from a feather from above Yi's eye.¹⁰ The claim that Umeda, a different language group, also claims descent from Yi surprised me.

After Sam returned to Wewak, a/ADO Moorehouse reported :-

*The recordings made on the patrol were broadcast on two occasions recently... Because so few of the population speak Pidgin it is recommended than many more local recordings are made.*¹¹

The patrol now moved north through the Petaineri villages where, in 1960, the people had threatened a patrol led by patrol officer John Corrigan. [in 1970 I was to take over from John at Ambunti]. Back in 1959/60 he was the officer who established Amanab Patrol Post by upgrading a base camp that had been established by Mark Atwood PO. Amanab and Green River were then a patrol posts in the Ambunti sub district. It was Ambunti patrol No 1/1960-61, which was then in the May River area en route from Telefomin to Vanimo that came to his aid with an opportune show of strength which dissuaded the Petaineri from planning further aggression.

As Petaineri and Iafar were on the border of the Dera enclave and nearby Bambol within it, a number of children had attended the Dutch Catholic Mission school at Bambol, which is now closed. I recorded the names of all such students. Many more such students were identified in the Dera enclave, now the Dera Census Division. As these students spoke neither English nor Pidgin and were older than children entering primary schools, it was decided to open a primary technical school at Amanab where they could learn practical skills such as carpentry that would be useful in the villages, while learning Pidgin and English. The technical section of the school commenced in November 1963 and a primary section, during 1964.¹²

There had been a previous educational strategy for the Dera people. A Franciscan missionary within the diocese of Aitape established a mission at Kamberatoro, the central Dera village, very soon after the Indonesian takeover caused the cessation of Dutch Catholic work east of the border. The Administration appointed an Australian school teacher who was posted to Kamberatoro and shared the mission house with the priest for a short time. Predictably this domestic arrangement had its problems.

In a personal communication, the teacher who became a friend, told how he was cleaning his shotgun in the lounge room one day when the priest commenced his daily prayers on his knees before a small altar. This private and personal religious activity irritated the teacher who expressed his feelings by loading the shotgun and blasting the virgin figure off the wall in front of the kneeling priest. The priest leapt to his feet, snatched the shotgun, ran outside and fired a blast lengthwise down the teacher's laundry hanging on the clothes line. The teacher conceded that this made them about even.

I could not locate any official documentation as to why the Administration withdrew their teacher from Kamberatoro and established facilities at Amanab. The mission later established its own school at Kamberatoro¹³

From Bambol the patrol went through Sowanda, Umeda and Punda in the Waina-Sowanda enclave before returning to the Amanab area. The Waina Sowanda villages are established on a range of low ridges covered primarily with secondary growth. A bilingual Amanab guide/interpreter walked with me. At one point a voice spoke softly from the dense scrub; a polite question as to who we were and why were there. An equally quiet response brought a reply that we could pass through. Although the guard by the track was only feet away, at no time did we see him. The Waina-Sowanda attacked a

Dutch patrol in the early 1950s and had never been brought fully under the control of either the Dutch or Australian administrations. In an attempt to maintain some continuous contact with these people a medical Aid post was established at Umeda. The patrol stayed overnight at Umeda and I had a long discussion with the Aid post orderly to gain any available information on goings on in the Waina Sowanda area; I learned that all was quiet at that time.

Concerning the history of Dutch contact east of the International border, I reported :-

Although the Amanab area was not included in the [Dutch] enclaves, the first contact the Amanab people had with Europeans was with the Dutch.

The first contacts were made early in the 20th century by Dutch hunters of birds-of-paradise. Two such expeditions are remembered by the old men. One entered the area from the east from the Kwomtari villages of Yebtibi and Baibai, and visited nearly all of the Amanab villages before returning the way it had come... This party of one European and several natives made friendly contact and passed through the area without incident.

The second party came from the west through Kwofinau, Naineri, Aheri, Ibagum then up through Wogineri. This party was evidently completely made up of natives. The first contact with the Australia administration was in the early 1950s with labour recruiters. The labour was signed on in Lumi and went to work in Rabaul.¹⁴

Bipan village was recognized by many Amanab people as the place from where their Amanab ancestors originated. One Bipan clan recognized its origins as being descent from the pandanus totem. Groups claiming descent from this same totem include both the Oweniak clans, Masineri, one Iframinag clan, one Wogineri clan and the Ifigiri clan.

A system of federations of communities also exists in the Amanab area. While these are still recognized, they seem to have little importance at the present time and were evidently the traditional fighting alliances. The only communities that do not seem to be included in any federation are Bipan, Iframinag, Ifigiri, Wamaru, Ibagum and Wogineri. There appears to have been seven such Amanab federations :-

| Federation name | Communities included | Population |
|------------------------|--|-------------------|
| Iafar | Iafar Nos 1,2 & 3 | 183 |
| Komar | Petaineri No 1 & 2, Kabaineri, Muwaineri & Einokneri | 466 |
| Naineri | Naineri & Kwofinau | 404 |
| Aheri | Aheri, Seraminag, Waineri & Bahanag | 261 |
| Kombarana | Ivieg, Aurump & Wofneri | 366 |
| Oweniak | Oweniak, Nai No 2, Masineri & Mouri | 261 |
| Yumoro | Yumoro No 1 & 2, Nambaineri & Akramanag | 261 |

I found some evidence that the reported Nagu and Nai-Faringi custom of killing the first born child may also be practiced in the Amanab Local area. But there was not enough evidence upon which to lay charges of willful murder before the Supreme Court ...

Neo natal mortality records showed that seven of the fourteen children whose births were recorded in the 1963-4 census, who failed to thrive were first pregnancies...Interpreter Babino...did admit that some people used to kill their children in the past...but this has ceased.

Medical Orderly Simiba/Wi of Iviieg said: *“In the Amanab area some newly married people kill their first born child...[because] the husband considers himself to be old if he is a father. Such children are killed by the woman immediately after birth upon the man’s orders. People with a lot of children also often kill a child. I do not know of any legend about this custom, but our ancestors have always killed children and the Amanab people still do.”*¹⁵

I hurried to complete and submit Patrol Report 2/1964-5 as I had the opportunity to accompany an Australian Army helicopter survey of the West and Landslip Ranges. One of the Army party was Bill Malenstein, a fellow former student of Mt Beauty high school. The helicopter survey was to be conducted from Green River. The first day’s flying failed [19/9/64] to reach the objective because of cloud and diverted to the May and Frieda Rivers. We observed a double canoe “house boat” on the lower Frieda and landed on a sand bar. PO Robin Barclay and EMA Neville invited us in for lunch and discussions.

The army’s interest in the unexplored West and Landslip Ranges was to establish a helicopter pad and camp on the highest point, being Mt. Blue with a summit of 6.800’ ASL. From there they would conduct mapping observations. In order to facilitate this, my instruction was to climb the mountain and establish the helipad and camp. The nearest place the helicopter could land to commence this exercise was a gravel bar in the headwaters of the Idam River at a point five miles north of the objective. My preparations for this journey were to take three police, four carriers and a Blimo language speaking youth called Bagarapi who PO Noel Cavanagh brought back to Green River from the Wagarabai River after his 1962 patrol. The limited patrol gear we could take, including an A510 radio, axes and food was nine carrier loads – we each would carry our own. Helicopter flights would deposit us in the drop-off place. The distance to the top was not great, so we expected a resupply of food at the top in a couple of days.

I went in with the first helicopter flight on 23rd September and we waited two days before weather allowed the last of the party and food to be landed. On 26th our party followed the Idam headwaters upstream from whence we climbed a ridge and followed it southward. After a nine hour exhausting day we made camp in dense forest. Next day we continued on through cold moss forest and reached the top in heavy rain after a six hour climb. I made radio contact with Green River. On 29th we cleared a helipad and in the late afternoon our resupply was flown in. We extended the clearing of the summit and maintained daily radio contact.

The ice-cold early mornings were clear of cloud and I could see the snow clad tops of the Star Mountains in West Irian. Back towards Telefomin mists cascaded like slow motion waterfalls from mountain ridges down into two valleys, which I now know to be the Aki and Tabu which in turn are the headwaters of the August River.

We met no local people during this patrol but on the 30th September we heard distant voices. Bagarapi translated...*“We know you are up there...”* I had him call back that we were friends and asked them to come and meet us. No one came and no further voices were heard. My lingering memories of those three weeks were of intense cold, collecting cooking and drinking water from rain running off from our tent fly, food shortages because of helicopters turning back due to weather, and my need for a hot shower and a change of clothes after 23 days without either.

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Mauiyan of Mongorovei [a Dera enclave village] was a male student enrolled at the Amanab primary technical school. He became ill and was admitted to the Amanab hospital with his father Luluai Nungwaimo/Babugu as his guardian. When Mauiyan's condition worsened he and Nungwaimo were transferred to Vanimo hospital where Mauiyan died and was buried. Luluai Nungwaimo was flown back to Amanab where he confronted Assistant District Commissioner Moorehouse demanding compensation for his son's death. The request for compensation was declined and Nungwaimo returned to Mongorovei.

The Medical Assistant at Amanab hospital had responsibility to resupply scattered village aid posts when the aid post orderly came to Amanab with his list of requirements. So it was that the Tengirabu aid post orderly from the Iuri area with three Amanab carriers were making their way back through the southern Dera villages in September 1964 with Tengirabu's regular resupply. Nungwaimo takes up the story :-

We met three men walking up the track. I was in my garden house when I saw the Aid Post Orderly and the people accompanying him one morning. After sleeping the night I saw Tauipa, Tiapu, Nauina, Karua and Imauina and I said "We will follow these men and kill them." I was still thinking about my child so we went down to meet the men and hold them [on their return journey from Tengirabu].

Tauipa grasped the last man of the three and I helped him. Tauipa held the man immobile from the front and held his throat. I was standing behind the man and also held his throat. The man who came first was grasped by Karua then Igwabia and Nauina. Imauina said "Why are you doing this sort of thing? Do you not think of the government? If you want to go to gaol, then go to gaol." He ran off without laying hold of anyone. The intended victim who had been walking in the middle also ran off.

When the two men were dead Igwabia and Nauina put stinging nettles on their stomachs and said "get up". We wanted them to get up so they would return to their villages and die there. We tried to wake them up but they were completely dead. So we threw their bodies away and we ran away.

Immediately prior to these events I [the writer] commenced Amanab patrol No 4 of 1964-5 to the Amanab Local and Dera areas to peg a road route towards Kamberatoro and conduct a survey for a timber lease at Ibagum. Naturally when these murders were reported the main focus of the patrol became the murder investigation.

The obvious starting place for my investigation was to locate and interview the one carrier who had managed to avoid death by running away. The survivor was Akai/Pom of Akramanag. He gave me a clear picture of the Mongorovei attack on their party. The remaining two men, who were classified as missing, were from Iviég. At this point six Iviég men asked if they could come with us to identify and take home the bodies – if indeed they were dead. They were heavily armed with bows and steel tipped arrows. I was against this but ADC Moorehouse, in his capacity of coroner, agreed they could come. With Sergeant Latubu and fourteen other police and the six Iviégs, I went to Mongorovei. Before going there however I had the bows and arrows securely bound to the carrying poles of patrol boxes. At Mongorovei on 7th November I went to the scene of the killings and viewed the bloated, decomposing and flyblown bodies of two men. The coroner allowed the six relatives to bury the bodies.

Given that the killings were allegedly done by Mongorovei men with links to Irian Jaya, it was clear to me that their best chance of avoiding apprehension would be to cross the border and wait there until, with the passing of time, the police were withdrawn. To this end I sent three police to Mamambra to watch for border crossers. There were no reports of border crossers to that time. Meanwhile two reports came in - the Tultul of Mongorovei had been seen at Mongo, and Luluai Nungwaimo and others were said to be on relatives land in the Yamamainda bush.

The patrol moved to Yamamainda where I interviewed people who had seen the accused men the day before. In the late afternoon I left Yamamainda with six police and local guides and headed south over rough broken limestone country, arriving at a steep valley two hours later and saw smoke. We quietly made our way to a bush shelter some five hundred metres downstream from the source of the smoke and settled down for the night with guards posted.

At 4.30am next morning we positioned ourselves. I waited with two police on the bush track while four police and the interpreter formed a cordon behind the camp. Myself and police then approached the front of the small ground level bush shelter and as we came near, a woman brought a small child outside to urinate. Just yards away we stood stock still and the woman did not see us. The child finished what it was doing and the pair went back inside. Both our parties followed and, using the element of surprise to advantage, quickly secured our prisoners without incident and handcuffed them. As it was a significant walk back to Yamamainda, I allowed our prisoners and their family members to cook and eat a morning meal. At this point we had arrested alleged murderers Nungwaimo Tiapo and Tauipa.

In terms of the police investigation, my first responsibility was to caution the accused after the arrests and to take down their statements if they chose to speak. However I had no means of verbal communication, so no statements were taken at this time. The prisoners knew exactly why we were there of course, otherwise they would not have been hiding in that remote location. Luluai Nungwaima said in halting Pidgin "*It is your fault! You did not give me pay.*" After this he showed no sign of understanding or speaking Pidgin.

The patrol moved to Orkwanda and I sent Constable Kalyo and two other police to Mongo to investigate reports that some of the wanted men were hiding there. They made the arrests and the patrol returned to Amanab. At Amanab hospital I spoke with EMA Peter Rooke who explained that the sudden unannounced departure of the ADC and me with the whole police detachment had people thinking – they assumed that it a serious border issue. As a result, bands of heavily armed Amanab people were wandering watchfully around the station. For several days the tension was high.

At this time Len Aisbett, the ADC from Vanimo, was asked to come and advise me on how best to take the confessional statements from the six accused. There could have been a problem in having these statements accepted by the court because of the unavoidable period between the arrests and the taking of the statements. It was necessary that the court understood why the delay was unavoidable. In his comments on this patrol ADC Moorehouse noted in part :-

It is a fact that the Mongorovei murders have created a division between the Dera and Amanab Local folk, and fear of retribution exists. As staff permits I hope to maintain an officer in the Dera as much as possible.

In his comments, acting District Commissioner Wakeford wrote in part :-

I refer to the patrol report submitted by Mr. L.W. Bragge. I congratulate you both on your prompt actions in apprehending the alleged murderers. I am more than pleased with the general tone of the people...I also feel that future carriers should be, for the time being at any rate, accompanied by a policeman.¹⁶

The Mongorovei case was processed quickly and the Chief Justice heard in at Amanab in late February 1965. I worked with both the Prosecuting and Defence Counsels in preparing their cases. The Defence had the hardest job. He interviewed the accused men, seeking an angle by which he could construct a defence for them. They told him exactly how and why they committed the murders and he could not find a viable defence in that.

My evidence and the submission and acceptance of the confessional statements were the crux of the case. All six were found guilty and sentences to death were passed upon them; death was the standard penalty for willful murder. All such sentences were commuted to periods in prison. The duration of the sentences depended largely upon the Judge's assessment of the antecedent report, which I provided. Given the historic circumstances of the Dera area, my report suggested that leniency was appropriate. I did not hear details of the final sentence.

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In November 1964 we became aware that the Department of District Services and Native Affairs was now changed to the Department of the Administrator. Until that time the District Commissioner had been in the Dept. of the Administrator - now we were in a straight line of command. Our ranking also changes. PO Grade 2 now became ADO. The old ADO became District Officer. DO's in charge of sub districts were ADCs - Assistant District Commissioners. The old DO position was now a Deputy District Commissioner.

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The remainder of my 1964-5 posting was tied up with the establishment of the Local Government Councils for which I and others had done the surveys in the previous twelve months. In doing this I worked closely with Senior Local Government Officer Stan Pegg, Local Government Assistant Baldwin and visiting Patrol Officer Roger Bourke. Baldwin and I conducted the initial elections, while Roger showed me how to set up Local Government Councils accounting, budgets, and procedures before leaving it to me to do these things for the Green River, Amanab and Walsa [Imonda] Local Government Councils as follows:.

- 2/3/65 -24/3/65 Amanab PR 7/64-5 Iuri Part Nagu, Green River Local Council elections
- 5/4/65 – 30/4/65 Amanab PR 11/64-5LGC education Amanab & Dera & Small pox vaccinations
- 25/8/65 – 2/9/65 Imonda PR 1/65-66 Initial Walsa LGC elections Waina Sowanda
Kaipu Memafu APO did elections of remainder of Walsa LGC
- 2/10 – 18/10 Amanab PR 2/65-6 Amanab Council Elections

Local Government elections were done under writs issued by the Chief Electoral Officer and the procedures to be followed were as strict as were required in the then recent House of Assembly election. The other area of serious formality was the inaugural meetings of Local Government Councils. A special part of the proceedings was the presentation of certificates for service rendered by the village officials – the former appointed Luluais and Tultuls who were replaced by the elected Local Government Councillors.

I was transferred to Imonda on 16th August 1965 so I could lead the Walsa LGC election patrol into the unpredictable Waina Sowanda area. I took over as officer-in-charge of Imonda Patrol Post from Philip Bouraga, who I met at Minj in 1962.

Philip had been transferred to Imonda after a patrol was threatened in the Waina Sowanda earlier in 1965. The issues were kept confidential, but as I understood it, the patrol had made an arrest at Sowanda. This was apparently the first in the area and at the flag lowering ceremony at 6pm at Umuda next day, Sowanda warriors rushed the patrol and freed their man. The officer-in-charge fired a shot in the air to disburse the riot, at which the Sowandas said something to the effect “*Right, we will be back with our bows.*” Rather than face an attack on the patrol, the decision was taken to walk through the night to Imonda. I understand that of necessity, some stores and equipment were abandoned.¹⁷

DDC Wakeford’s exasperated response to this was reported to be “*Will they never learn from Telefomin?*” – presumably a reference to the fatal attack on a patrol near Telefomin in 1953. The policy in such cases was spelt out by DO Horrie Niall in Chapter 3 which stated that after an attack, ...it was imperative to again make contact with the attackers in an effort to resolve issues and establish harmonious relations before the patrol departed the scene. Any withdrawal would be seen by the attackers as a sign of weakness, thus encouraging further aggression the next time a patrol visited. In the Sowanda situation above, it is believed the Administration expressed its displeasure at the conduct of the officer-in-charge by transferring him out of the area.

My first impression of Imonda was of two ghost towns. The plan in 1965 was that Imonda would replace Amanab as the sub-district headquarters. Imonda Patrol Post was located in the former Waris enclave, it was closer to the border and border intelligence issues, and it had an airstrip which was capable of being extended if and when required. Amanab on the other hand was further away and was not located in any of the former Dutch enclaves. Amanab also had a marginal airstrip with a deep saddle in the middle and a major drop off at each end making it incapable of extension. In preparation for this move rows of new houses had been built along the northern side of Imonda’s lawn-like airstrip. As it turned out the transfer of the sub-district headquarters never eventuated. I presumed that this related the gradual cooling of border issue concerns.

The second Imonda ghost town seen in 1965 was positioned opposite Imonda station on a huge outcrop of pinnacle limestone, a now abandoned fortified village of Imonda. Since Imonda Patrol Post was established three years earlier, and defense was no longer a necessity, this village has been abandoned and a new village built on the nearby open plain. The new village took the name Imonda, and the old was known as “Imonda on the rocks”.

I went with Trainee Patrol Officer Kaipu Memafu to explore Imonda on the rocks. The abandoned houses were small and built on spindly timber posts on the tops of jagged pinnacles or clinging precariously to the sides of cliffs. There seemed to be only one way in and that was up a limestone cliff face. It seemed the village could have been defended by two well-placed and well-armed men. Below the outcrop upon which the abandoned village was located was a large cave with a stream running through it.

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For the Walsa Local Government elections I was appointed Assistant Returning Officer and school teacher John Hayes was the Presiding Officer. Kaipu would lead the election patrol through the villages other than those in the Waina Sowanda. As I made my patrol preparations, I maintained a strong interest in any reports coming out of Waina Sowanda. Both of the last two Imonda patrols had come under threat of attack. Additionally it had been reported that a Punda man had been hit by two arrows fired by two Umuda men. The report said one arrow hit him in the groin and the other in the abdomen and that when the arrows had been pulled out the barbs broke off and it was expected that the man would die.

The patrol's absolute priority was to conduct the polls, but the Umuda people did not know this and would regard our visit as a threat to them. We took the necessary precautions and the patrol set out on the 25th August. After six hours walk we approached Umuda with caution, only to find it overgrown and deserted. We moved into the rest house and police barracks and waited. Eventually some local men came in and gave us a friendly reception, but we saw no women or children. I made radio contact with Amanab.

Next day we were disappointed that very few people had come in. The people seemed apprehensive over what we might do about the wounding of the Punda man; Umuda it seemed was awaiting my next move. The next move was prompted by a visitor from Sowanda No 1 who had come to tell us the people there were assembled and waiting for us. We immediately packed up and went to Sowanda No 1. We would come back to Umuda. On 27th Father Cletus of the Imonda mission arrived, having come through Sowanda No 2 village where he met people on the move as they distanced themselves from our patrol. Nominations closed at Sowanda No 1 and a successful election was conducted.

On the 28th the patrol moved through Sowanda No 2 and onto nearby Wiala where polling was conducted on the 30th. The Waina election was held on 31st and we moved from Waina back to Umuda, where Luluai Wia made his anti-Local Government feelings known. Despite our earlier poor reception here and Wia's antagonism, we were able to conduct polling and the election of a Councillor from Umuda. On 1st September we made a day trip to Punda where polling saw the election of the fifth and last Waina Sowanda Councillor.

Back in Umuda, with my electoral duties completed, I made inquiries about the shooting of the Punda man. His name was Pena and he was said to be still alive. Those who shot him with arrows were from the Umuda hamlet of Udakabei. Luluai Wia and other Umuda men stated that the offenders were hiding and no one knew where they were. While this was obviously untrue, my task was to lead the patrol out of there and accompany the five elected officials back to Imonda so they could attend the inaugural meeting of the Walsa Local Government Council, which I did on 2nd September 1965.



The Green River Local Government Council Common Seal shows the cane armour of the Iuri Mountains people and the war shields that were used by the plains and river people. The significance is the unification of the two.



The Amanab Local Government Council Common Seal shows the sago bark paintings of clan totems which were reminiscent of Lake Sentani tapa cloth paintings. While these were common throughout the Amanab area in the early 1960s, by the 1990s when I next looked for them – nine were to be found. The people did not even remember them.



The Walsa Local Government Council Seal shows an impression of the ancestral village "Imonda on the Rocks" together with a wooden trumpet – traditionally used to call the people to assemble

Two weeks later I handed Imonda Patrol Post over to PO Terry O'Donnell and returned to my duties at Amanab. One of those duties was to apply my artistic skills and design the Common Seals – above - for each of the three Councils I helped establish in the Amanab subdistrict.

I packed my gear and departed on leave to Australia on 11th November 1965. My posting after I returned from my leave would be to the Telefomin Sub District.

End Notes Chapter 33

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- ¹ Bragge Sepik Research volume No 14 – Diary notation on 4th April 1964.
 - ² Bragge L.W. Green River Patrol Report No 5/1963-4 P2
 - ³ Encyclopaedia Of PNG Melbourne Uni Press and UPNG Press 1972 Page 122
 - ⁴ Encyclopaedia Of PNG Melbourne Uni Press and UPNG Press 1972 Page 122
 - ⁵ Internet description of Yaws.
 - ⁶ Bragge L.W. Green River Patrol Report No 6/1963-4 P32
 - ⁷ Bragge L.W. Green River Patrol Report No 6/1963-4 Appendix reference 51-1-1 dated 15/5/1963 by W.Muskins P.O.
 - ⁸ Laycock D.C. 1973 P 20
 - ⁹ Bragge L.W. Green River PR No 7/63-64 Appendix A-2
 - ¹⁰ Bragge Sepik Reference Volume 14 – 25th August 1964
 - ¹¹ Moorehouse D.B.a/ADO Area Study Amanab Local – Amanab Patrol 2/1964-5 ref 67-1-6 dated 18th October 1964
 - ¹² Amanab Patrol Report No 2/1964-5 page 8 paras 50 & 51.
 - ¹³ Amanab reference 67-1-5 of 23rd January 1965 – Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 1
 - ¹⁴ Amanab Patrol Report No 2/1964-5 page 2
 - ¹⁵ Amanab Patrol Report No 2/1964-5 Appendix C
 - ¹⁶ Wewak reference 67-3-9/617 of 13th January 1965.
 - ¹⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 15 diary comment 17th September 1966

Sepik 4 – Attachment 1 - The collation of notes on 37 Sepik Cults or “Nativistic Movements”:

This attachment seeks to trace the chronology of documented outbreaks of cargo cults and nativistic movements in the Sepik.

1930 - #1 The “God the Father cult” at Suain – Aitape east coast. Map 2.

This cult is reported to have existed, but no details are known.¹

1931 - #2 The “Four Kings cult” – Aitape east coast. Map 2.

In an older [Catholic] mission periodical...Brother Bartholomew wrote “Last year” [1931] one ‘King’ appeared in the bush at Kep.¹ Three more black rascals imitated him. People said the “King” spontaneously shot up out of the ground like a mushroom. A mass of natives made a pilgrimage to the four ‘Kings’. Father Dingels, too, went to see them. They came towards him walking in single file and muttering in their teeth of all kinds of nonsense. They looked terrified, and Father Dingels did not get anything out of them; they were totally impervious. The first ‘King’ said only that his mother, who died long ago, was staying in the mountain at Kep and made all sorts of things for the natives. The white-men however took these things and sold them to others.

The second ‘King’ gave himself out to be a medicine man. All those who received medicine from him would never get sick; neither would they die. They promised the people everything possible: pots, canned meat, drums of petrol; everything would just come out of the ground.

It was reported to Aitape that the people of Walman² actually smashed their pots to pieces then waited tensely for new pots, canned meat etc. to appear from the soil.

Since the ‘Kings’ also acted against the Australian government and told the people they did not have to pay taxes, the Administration sent four policemen to arrest the four ‘Kings’. In Wewak they were sentenced to three years’ exile on the Islands of Hasamatia in British New Guinea.³ The superstition of the pagans is so deep that, when I commented on the absurdities, they told me: ‘You just wait, a great deluge will sweep over the place of the government [Wewak], and everyone will be destroyed.’ Others warned ‘don’t talk against the four [Kings], because they hear everything, and it will be bad for you. Overnight your head will turn back to front’, so that I always have to walk backwards. Up until now, however, I have my face to the front.²

Another view of the Four Kings Cult:³

It is difficult for us, with our knowledge of colonialization to realise that the native notion of the Whites would not stay long was a reasonable one in view of their past experience – [the 30 year presence of the Germans]. The shock of realization that the days of independence were gone forever must have been traumatic for such people...

Therefore, when four prophets arose near Aitape, promising that all Europeans would leave the Territory in a few months, people took notice of them, especially since these men claimed the government had no authority over them, nor the police or village officials. The

¹ Kep is/was presumably located inland of Suain or Dagua.

² Walman is the language group consisting of Lemieng, Chinapelli, Vokau and Pro east south-east of Aitape – Map No 3.

³ By 1931 British New Guinea had been “Papua” for 25 years. The writer cannot identify these Islands.

prophets claimed to be ‘Kings’; they had been miraculously born and had supernatural powers...

The Black King movement was also reported from Wewak where the four ‘Kings’ declared that the ancestors had made all the cargo but that the Whites had illegally deprived the natives of the goods.

Early 1930s - # 3 Activities at Magendo and other Lower Sepik Villages. Map 1.

In the year after the four Kings cult the elders of Moagenda [Magendo – near Angoram] took the missionary [Father Kirschbaum] into their sacred house and offered him finest of the sacred figures, which were then dragged in procession onto the mission vessel *Stella Maris*. As the vessel proceeded along the river, village after village was found to be awaiting the arrival of the boat, with their sacred images ready for loading. Soon the boat was crowded with images. In one village the news of the cult was received in the middle of an initiation ceremony which was quickly brought to an end.⁴

These events are also recorded in Sepik 2 Chapter 13, which describes the earlier burning of Bien River haus tambarans and destruction of sacred objects of the Aion people – downstream of Magendo.

1941-1943 – #4 The Black King of the Wapei cult – Lumi. Map 3.

The description of this cult came from three sources which are described chronologically:

First source:

A number of small movements started in the 1940s. Two men were responsible: Molou of Sugaite village and Deni [Teni] of Tauwete village. These two men were among the first to be recruited to work in places like Rabaul and Madang. At the end of their contracts they returned home and saw that there were only simple things to be found. They started their movement thinking of the greater development they had seen [while working on the coast.]

One explanation that was given related to a dream about a relative’s death. Some said it was only a dream. Another explanation involved the fact that they were mentally sick [home sick?], but that when they came home they missed the plantation food – they longed for better things.

They tended to be possessed by spirits and would speak an unintelligible language. After an hour or so they would return to normal and tell the people what the spirits demanded to be done. Molou tended to be less extreme than Teni, who gained more followers and told the people when they could expect the cargo. The movement was then followed up by another man, Yanepi. He would have been 50 – 55 when he died two years ago [1974]. His approach was entirely different from the other two; a lot of Christian teaching was involved. His movement started in about 1950 or 1951.

Of the three Yanepi was the most influential. He used to be a church leader in his parish. He began to crudely interpret certain biblical events such as the flood and apply them to situations he knew.

He claimed that he had a certain ointment given to him by a priest. If this was sprinkled on a person’s head, that person’s eyes would be opened to the wealth in the **ples tudak** [the dark place] or unknown place where only the anointed were permitted to see such wealth...he got a lot of support. Of course, he did not anoint anyone and everyone believed he would do so at some time in the future and it would not be good manners of them to ask questions...He was regarded as the upholder of their destiny and their fate depending upon

their good behaviour...they had to please him...Yanepei was arrested and sent to serve a gaol term somewhere outside Aitape, probably Rabaul.

Molou and Deni, once out of gaol did not gain support again, but Yanepei did. The people believed that Yanepei had been sent away to where the cargo was made. So when he returned he still had supporters. He was narrowly defeated in the first House of Assembly election in 1964. When he died, the people's expectations died with him.⁵

Second source.

ANGAU Lieutenant Fryer's report "Benabena - Aitape January 31st – October 1943"⁶ made a passing reference to the Black King of the Wapei, stating that Teni of Tauwete in 1941 had led a movement of believers who claimed 'The White men had long robbed the Wapei of the cargo sent by the ancestors...' Teni was gaoled for a month in Aitape in December 1941 and by 1943 Fryer [then in Lumi behind Japanese lines] could see no remnant of the cult.

In Lumi Fryer left a cache of supplies in the care of Medical Orderly Makain [presumably a Medical Tultul]. Unfortunately Makain, cult leader Tenei and other Wapei men including Molou were then Japanese agents. Teni's cult ideas now stated that the Japanese had come to deliver the cargo. These agents reported the supply cache to the Japanese at Aitape and they sent patrols to Lumi to take the cache and to pursue Fryer and party, without success. The Japanese agents were told to capture Fryer's party and deliver them to Aitape.

By late August 1943 Fryer needed to re-visit Lumi to re-supply his party. Makain who had responsibility for the now missing cache was worried and contributed to a plan to capture the party at Seinum, before they reached Lumi. The attempted capture at Seinum on 2nd September 1943 came as a total surprise to Fryer's party, but they were to escape after killing two of their attackers.⁷

Third Source.

Things that strengthened the Allied cause were that the Black King of the Wapei had set a date for the cargo to arrive and it passed with the Japanese who were supposed to deliver the cargo, failing to do so.⁸

May-June 1946 - # 5 Longap of Suain – Map 2.

Aitape monthly report for June 1946 mentions this cult being reported separately under references WKT 24/2/1 and WK14/1/3-2 – No details given. The July 1946 report for Aitape noted:

The prompt arrest of Longap of Suain...Longap has been sent to Wewak for onward forwarding to Angoram to serve his gaol sentence.

August 1946 - # 6 Angoram area [no specific villages named] Map 1 and 2

Angoram monthly report for August 1946 noted:

During the month a new type of Vailala madness was reported, this time in quite a mild form. The new cult is based on the old Timbuna-Kago [Ancestor-Cargo] theory but there is not the common symptom of destroying their present possessions in anticipation of the goods to come. An interesting aspect is the making of shrines in cemeteries, where feasts are held, in which the ancestors are supposed to join. The matter now appears to be fairly well under control.⁹

May 1947 - # 7 The Sabio cult Kombio area – Dreikikir. Map 2

When PO Young-Whitforde arrived to reopen Dreikikir station he became aware of a cult led by Sabio of the Kombio region;

The first evidence of the cult was detected in Aitape in March 1947 when Sabio sought to open a bank account and deposit a £120. Investigation revealed Sabio had completely swayed the Kombio village officials and natives into believing in cargo cultism. The Sabio cult is fully described in Sepik 3 Chapter 65. The return of the Administration to Dreikikir in 1947 was so well received that Mr. Young Whitforde was able to successfully defuse the cult and return the contributed cash to the contributors.¹⁰

Also noted was Aitape monthly report for June that:

...also a patrol report by D.M.Fienberg on the Kombio area dated 10th July 1944 reported cargo cult in that area – no copy of the report is held.

Writer's Note: This may relate to the cult documented above, or a separate matter.

1947 - # 8 Cult activities in villages south-west of Maprik – Maprik Patrol 1/1947-8. Map 2.

Cargo cult leaders Pai-wi, Kwusiga and Arimes all of different villages in the area south-west of Maprik, told the villagers to decorate cemeteries, build houses over graves and throw away the red paint associated with magic to ensure a good crop. The villagers were also told to kill their dogs which would otherwise guard the tracks and prevent the ancestors returning along them with the cargo.

Associated with the cult was the breaking of traditional taboos – women and children were taken into the haus tambarans and shown the sacred flutes, an act previously punishable by death. Villages made decorated tables with flowers arranged in the centre – a black flag was flown to symbolize the black people. People were told if they did not carry out these instructions, their houses and gardens would be destroyed and the men would become impotent. Destruction of bilums that had been used to carry materials and paint used in magic spells and sorcery were also associated with the cult.

When people asked Pai-wi why the cargo had not arrived, he told them to put a long bamboo pipe into the ground and listen to the talk of the ancestors. The people said they had adhered to the cult through fear of consequences of non-cooperation and also because they thought it would bring about the destruction of sorcery of which they were very afraid.

There had been an influenza epidemic the previous year which caused many deaths and people were taking elaborate precautions to prevent similar cases of “poison” i.e. the sorcery to which the influenza was attributed.

ADO's comments on this report: It was intended to allow the prime-movers of the cult to remain on Maprik station as guests for a month.⁴ It was also noted that in one village a catechist appointed himself as Pope and others as Bishops and Priests. They were removed from “Office” by Father Cruysberg at Marui mission.

October 1947 - # 9 Maprik area – a “Black Magic” purge [This may or may not be related to # 8 above.]

⁴ This is taken to mean sentences of one month's gaol each.

ADO K.W.T.Bridge in his reference W.K.M of 23rd February 1948 to DO Wewak noted:

During October 1947, a short lived native movement passed through the area. It had as its object the purge of black magic from all native society. Whole villages burnt or threw away their witchcraft equipment and women discarded the sorcery accessories of birth control. The movement was largely sponsored by returned labourers, influential police NCOs, Mission teachers etc. The movement was general and it was found that the police at Wewak, Aitape and Angoram were likewise concerned.

...the natives said that whereas education, health services, technical improvements were quite beyond them, yet they could co-operate with the White man's plans and promises by removing the all-pervading obstacles of all native endeavours – black magic...

The Maprik Monthly report for October 1947 added the following:

The abolition of black-magic is unfortunately accompanied by denouncing the haus tambarans and native rings⁵ etc. Also garden magic appears to come under the ban...

It is known that the mission, particularly from the But coast, [Map 2] had been lately conducting an active campaign against the institution of the haus tambaran and it is noted that some of the leaders are ardent converts.¹¹

November 1947. - # 10 Cargo Cult in the Porapora area [Map 1] attributed to cult leader Yali of Madang.

The Angoram monthly report for November 1947 reported an outbreak of cargo cult in the PoraPora region where the influence of cult leader ex-Sergeant Yali of Madang was in progress. See Chapter 4 for full details. ADO Angoram's strategy was that the PoraPora area will be closely watched. The PoraPora is also the subject of other Chapters with cargo cult overtones:

Sepik book 2 Chapter 13 Destruction of traditional culture/religion in Bien River area.
Sepik book 4 Chapter 43 The Bien River cultural revival – 1970s.

Writer's note: The three references in the last para, covering a time span of half a century, demonstrate that deeply held beliefs in any society can lie dormant through time until an inspirational leader, a vision, an eclipse, catastrophic event or some other 'Sign' can re-activate a movement with religious overtones.

1947 - # 11 Torembei cult – Map 2.

Two village elders told the writer of the Torembei cult. The **first** was Catholic Catachist Alois Kawaun of Yamuk who said:

The Mission did not start this work. It was the work of men who had twisted thinking and some men who had dreams they thought to be true visions. Usually it started with a dream.

It started in the Sepik first at Torembei, I heard it was in 1947. A man of Torembei 3 said money would come...from the graves. Namangoa and Aurimbit [village communities]

⁵ Native rings were manufactured from giant clam shells as an important form of traditional wealth used particularly in bride price payments. Important rings are marked for each successive bride price in which they were part of the payment.

came and tried this work. They took sago and limbum shoots and decorated the graves. They sacrificed chickens and ate them. Later they slept and when nothing came of it the leader would say 'There are still some things wrong, kill a pig' ...until all the pigs and chickens were finished. Later they realized that their faith was badly placed. The man who started this at Torembei was Andrias Noramanji. He is still there [1972]. He was a catechist [until] his head became fouled. After we [SVD Mission] established Torembei station he came up as a good man again and he went back into the church and he was accepted back.¹²

The **second** informant was [then - 1972] Local Government Councillor Yapi of Torembei, who explained:

In 1948 some *wok bembe* [cargo cult] started at my place Torembei 2 and 3. Tobias Petnowi, Patimaus Erikumban and Andrew Paramanjui started the work. They cleaned and decorated graves and looked after them; then they called us. I was young and I went to see the work. They had received some money and some drink like whiskey or rum and they drank it. They worked at night and we believed they got it from the graves. They showed us the money, I saw it was mostly silver [coins].

The work remained for about three years. They spent a lot of time on religious ceremonies and in meditation in their individual houses – this was not public. In the afternoon they would get up and speak to each other in a language I did not understand. We went with them in the night to work. They would plant a stick and say “dig here”. The people would dig and find coins 1 shilling and 2 shilling pieces. Some found three dollars, some four and some seven. I watched and I do not know where the money came from or who put it there.

The work continued until 1951 when father Cruysberg and father Kowalski came from Marui and took them [the cult leaders] back to Marui. I went with them...they did not go to court. They had all been Catechists. At that time there was a strong earth quake and a violent thunder storm and I told my father we should run away. He said we would remain. In the morning at dawn the father roused [turned us out] us and said:

Take your work with you and stop it. It is not true. If you big-head against the mission the Government will put you and many men and women and children in gaol”. The people believed this and the work stopped.

Before the war Andrias and Tobias went to Kairiru Island to be trained as Catechists. The war came and the Japanese captured them. They escaped and were back in our village by the time the Japanese arrived in Torembei...In 1947 Andrias' brother died. They buried him and started thinking and mourning. This is what started the cargo cult.¹³

1947 - # 12 a Cult at Gaikarobi – Map 2

Informant and Catechist Alois Kawaun stated:

At Gaikarobi too, they had a cult. They put things in a bottle and put it in the haus tambaran, so later [they predicted] there would be a noise like thunder, which they said would be the Masalai [spirit]. They tried it, but it did not work. They believed this would cause the world to change; everything the people wanted would be available, skins would turn white, people would have good houses. This change was supposed to take place as the transition from darkness to light – [enlightenment like] night to day.¹⁴

Writer's note. Gaikarobi and nearby Nogosop villages are believed to be at the place of the creation – Mebinbit. These villages are home to Sawos language philosophers such as

Kolion, who in Chapter 58 explained to the writer the meaning of life from the Sawos perspective.

January 1948 - # 13 Torembei, Kabriman and Vanimo cults and the DO's perspective – Map 2 & 3.

A “cult” described in the Sepik District monthly report for January 1948 as a minor outbreaks of ‘a few cases of something akin to Vailala Madness’ in Tolombi [Torembei] village – Map 2, Kabriman [Korosameri River area] – Map 2 and Vanimo – Map 3. DO Niall continued on in a later report:

March 1948. Sepik. – Minor outbreaks of “cargo cult” – caused no harm. “In fact it is probably all for the good that these occasional manifestations occur, as they provide outlet for depressed feelings and desires and it is hoped that each outbreak will educate the natives of the fallacy of their beliefs in the existence of spiritual cargo being sent by their ancestors.”¹⁵

December 1948 - # 14 The Ambuwonmeri cult at Parembei Map 2

Mr. Ormsby's Angoram monthly report of January 1949 states:

The outbreak of cargo cult in the Palimbai [Parembei] area has been reported on fully in my patrol report of even date.¹⁶

The Patrol in question was Angoram Patrol Report No 4/48/49 which was conducted by ADO Ormsby and PO Cahill. The area patrolled was the Main River from Ambunti to Angoram: the purpose of the patrol was to investigate [reported] cargo cult at Kanganaman, Parembei and Malingai. Ormsby wrote:

...As usual there are two types of leaders; the visionary and the opportunist, but I am not prepared to say which in this case. Ambuwonmeri was formerly an employee of DLO [District Labour Officer] in Madang. He started operations by setting himself up as a village leader and assisted the Luluai for purposes of keeping the village clean. He stated that he had no idea of preaching cargo cult and was only repeating what he heard his employer telling natives in Madang District.

He denied stating he was appointed by Yali or was in communication with him, but the weight of evidence suggests he definitely used Yali's name. He made a practice of visiting other villages and haranguing them on cleanliness etc. in order that they might be fit to receive future benefits. He was well received in Parembei and Malingai and appointed a number of bosbois and “Police bois” to supervise his instructions. In other villages he had little success but did affect some people in Aibom and Suapmeri.

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Village informants reported to the writer that AMBUOL [who I take to be one and the same as AMBUWANMERI].

...who is now the [Local Government] Councillor of Indabu [A Parembei daughter village], while he was living at Parembei in 1949...said we must burn the old ancestor carvings. We did that and killed chickens and pigs and buried them in the graves of dead men. The idea was that the dead men in whose graves the animals were buried would come back and give money to us. We made plenty of writing and put the pages in the graves.

Ambuol lived in the Parembei settlement on the land called Magambo, where the SDA mission had a church. He married a Malingai girl and they were SDA church goers. In 1954 the kiap said the land belonged to Kanganaman and ordered the Parembei's to get off it. The SDA church went at the same time and Ambuol migrated to Indabu. Many people believed in Ambuol's movement, but the money did not come and the cult broke up. Kero came later and took his place.¹⁷ [see 1958 # 21]

December 1948 - #15 The Bowi cult at Aibom Map 2

Also in Angoram No 4/48-9 Mr. Ormsby reported:

During December [1948] a native named Bavi [Bowi in later reports] was repatriated from Bulolo to Aibom and he brought with him a typical cargo cult story of a vision of his ancestors and [the need] to prepare for the cargo. He is probably a genuine visionary, although he had a large house built for his personal use. Since Mr. Cahill's visit he has made a feast in payment for this house.

He was followed by a similar case in Parembei where one Sibirindambwi had garamuts etc. destroyed and promised kerosene well. He appears to be a genuine fanatic. The Yambiyambi affair which started in November appears to have died a natural death.¹⁸

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Patrol 4-1948-49 was followed up by J.Cahill on a nine day journey in the Chambri Lakes and hinterland – Ambunti Patrol No 4-1949/50. After comments concerning the excellent native situation and the fact that the cult at Aibom, he reported:

A report reached my ears that the wife of the leader. BOWI claimed to have given birth to a male child, and resembling a European in every way. As expected the story was untrue...the woman had never had a child. This was never taken seriously, but indicated a change from expecting a return of the ancestors...to hoping for the birth of a new race.¹⁹

Ambunti Patrol No 1/1950-51 R.Orwin reported in part: There has been no recurrence of the cargo cult which took place in 1949.

In February 1954 Ambunti Patrol No 2/53-4 led to the Chambri lakes by PO Wenke noted:

Bowi of Aibom is again involved in a nativistic movement. Bowi claims:

1. If I give permission to the people of this village to listen to the village officials, they may, otherwise, No.
2. When I give the word to eat, all may eat.
3. At the time the Luluai summons all with the garamut to busy themselves with village work, I must go first, if I do not appear for work, no one can.
4. Everyone with courts or complaints is to come to me.
5. No one has permission to attend the official's meetings unless I am present.
6. I am in charge of all the affairs of the village.

Mr. Wenke's report also noted:

PO Thomas in 1950 noted in the village book, that Bowi [claims he was] "in possession of a letter which gave him authority to do anything he leased"...However as his last two efforts failed miserably and landed him in gaol he adopted a more subtle approach, rather than claiming to work miracles.

Bowi was charged under sect 83 (b) of the NARs [spreading false reports giving rise to trouble] and sentenced to 6 months hard labour.²⁰

Writer's Note: During my 1970-74 patrols which visited Aibom several times, I spent evenings recording the stories of the elders. In 2013 I re-read what I recorded back then and I found excellent mythology and pre-history notes on Aibom, but to my surprise, no mention of the Bowi cult. My notes revealed that my informant in 1970-74 was none other than Local Government Councillor Bowi together with other elders of Aibom. No wonder nothing was said!

The Writer's assessment of this was twofold:

1. Bowi obviously retained sufficient local support to be elected by the Aibom people as their representative in the Gau Local Government Council.
2. In the period when the Mt Turu cult was raging in Yangoru and impacting all Sepik communities, there appeared to be no evidence of Mt Turu influence in Aibom. This might have been because:
 - a. Bowi had learned his and Aibom's lesson, or [as is far more likely]
 - b. I was not being allowed to see what was going on. At the very least I suspect that there was a watchful eye on Mt Turu/Yangoru 'just in case.'

November 1953 - #16 The Telefomin uprising, a quest to return the "Min" people to pre-contact utopia. Map 5

The Telefomin uprising is not usually described as a "nativistic" movement. I have included it here as it meets the same criteria as other "movements" described in this section.

The Telefomin people experienced fleeting contacts with the outside world in 1914 [Dr. Thurnwald], 1927/8 [Karius and Champion], longer exposures in 1936-7 [The Ward Williams expedition], 1938/9 [The Taylor & Black Hagen-Sepik patrol] and 1944/45 [The glider men – construction of a wartime emergency landing airstrip]. Then a permanent government station was established beside the airstrip in 1948.

On 6th November 1953 an uprising occurred in which a PO, a CPO and two Constables were murdered, and by luck the remainder of the outsiders then at Telefomin narrowly escaped the same fate. Telefomin elders had long since evolved a plan to eradicate all outside influences and return their people to a perceived pre-contact utopia under the traditional beliefs and rituals associated with the legend of the ancestress Afek. The plan was set in motion when the Administration split its forces by conducting two separate patrols of the Eliptamin valley, creating three smaller targets [the 3rd being Telefomin station itself] for which three separate surprise attacks were planned.

This complex story is covered in Sepik volumes 1-5 covering *The Creation of the "Min" World; the Story of Afek*, early contacts with Dr. Thurnwald 1914, Karius & Champion 1927-28, Ward Williams expedition 1936/37, Archbald expedition 1936/37, Taylor and Black 1938/39, Thurston Expedition 1942, The "glider men" builders of the emergency landing field 1944/45, Establishment of Telefomin patrol post 1948, the Telefomin uprising of 1953 and the Min Cosmos in the late 20th & early 21st centuries.

March 1956 => # 17 Kavan of Arinjone/Nyaurengai's business cult Map 2.

Kavan's business cult which is described in Chapter 20, like cult # 20 gave cause to the Administration to fear for the safety of officers on patrol in the cult area. A warning note was dropped to the patrol, but the patrol was able to continue on without incident.

April 1956 - # 18 Dreikikir cult – Map 2

Wanute of Wam had informed Namu of Nambolei village that a woman called Kikmin of Albulum was alleged to have carried out a dance accompanied by the singing on hymns in a cemetery. Together Wanute and Namu had gone to Albulum where they witnessed a performance by Kikmin. They, thereupon, decided that she must have had some sort of vision and quickly set about turning the situation to their own advantage.

They did this by returning to Nambolei and instructed the people that they had all been let into the inner sanctum of a new movement; that they had received a message that obliged them to tell the people to decorate the cemeteries, stand guard at them and to perform a particular type of dance and to pretend to be mesmerized by the so-called “high priests”, namely Wanute and Namu, and to jump up and down as if in a fit. Should the people adhere to these rules then they would material benefits in the form of cargo which would come to them through the medium of their dead ancestors.

Other stipulations were that the people were to leave off fending for their gardens, were to eat sparingly of only one particular type of food, there was to be segregation between males and females and the amassing of the people in the central village, whereby more attention could be given to dancing in the cemeteries.

Having received this information Wanute was sent for and I [ADO Maprik Mr. Ron Neville] together with Mr. Waters, [Medical Assistant] departed for Nambolei where the people were called together. I interviewed about 3,000 people at this centre. The majority of the people were distrustful of the new regime, or outright against it...The meeting was highly successful...I departed...feeling that there was little to be concerned about.

At Albulum...I found Kikmin to be nothing more than a harmless religious fanatic, being slightly sub-normal, whose whim it was to sing hymns...

Arriving at Landingwap, the situation had a slightly different twist. There, two quite influential men, Melming and Minyelam admitted to me that whilst they were the leaders in the area, to them the whole affair was just a means of gaining power, by both frightening and threatening the people into complying with their wishes. Extra activity in the form of new buildings has been going on, the object being to gather the people together and later force them to plant rice from which they [Melming and Minyelam] would receive most if not all of the proceeds of the sales...

Melming and Minyelam had also broken into the Roman Catholic catechists' house and had stolen vestments belong to Father Schwartz, the inference being to add religious fervor to the happenings. In this area it is most interesting to note that relatively sophisticated people were drawn into the cult; people one would give credit for having a greater degree of worldly knowledge. Such people included several N.G.V.R. members who had excellent war records [New Guinea Volunteer Rifles]...

At Tau No 2, a native Okwerika, had set himself up as leader of the cult in this area. He had been instructed by Namu that this was an opportunity to become an influential man. Okwerika was a particularly offensive type of man; an ex-Constable who had been dismissed for procuring while on patrol. When he was later reinstated he assumed the attitude of being knowledgeable. His particular slant on the cargo cult had been its accent on sexual relations and he preached that, with the coming of the new regime, sex relations were to be promiscuous with no person bound to one particular partner...sufficient evidence was found

to bring a charge of rape against Okwerika. He was arrested on this charge and with being vitally concerned with the outbreak of the cargo cult.

Conclusion. Dreikikir Patrol Post has not been manned for some time [from late 1953 when – J.W.Macgregor left, until 1957 – when CA Trollope arrived - according to the staff postings lists on file]. Mr. R.T. Neville continues:

I am concerned that one of the major causes of this outbreak of cargo cult is the fact that the natives have been left for too long without an officer to whom grievances can be brought and discussed. The natives told me on numerous occasions that they desire to have a “Kiap” re-stationed at Dreikikir as they feel they are being neglected...coupled with this...is the resultant feeling that the government may or may not catch up with them. I feel this cult (which is not a cult in the true sense of the meaning as it lacked the religious fervor that is usually associated with such happenings) set to motion by the principals who, being just ordinary members of the community, had the desire to become rich and powerful at the expense of the population. Upon these people who were arrested rests the whole blame. The others who participated were merely trying something new for the novelty, but I have no doubt that had the cult not been dealt with early, serious repercussions would have eventuated, such as an assault on Father Swartz.

...the people realise they have been victims of a hoax and that the culprits must be punished. They were, in general, glad of the advent of the patrol and expressed the desire to see more of the government...²¹

May 1956 - # 19. The Seim-Monadin Cult – Palei/Dreikikir area – Map 2.

Neldin and Uram of Marakumbe, Nasa of Sumambo and Bombom of Yawan brought tidings from the Aitape area that the people should burn their European type clothes, axes, European implements and amenities and revert to the implements and the old ways of bygone days. Should they not do this then their “countrymen” (presumably some organization such as the N.G.I.B.) and White men could come and cut their throats.

PO W.T.Brown from Aitape and a/ADO R.Neville from Maprik jointly investigated this matter and as the reports allegedly came from the Aitape area PO Brown returned there to investigate while ADO Neville continued on to Dreikikir. ADO Neville concluded that they had not been able to establish any cause for concern in the Palei/Maimai area.²²

At Nambolei I [Neville] met Father Schwartz and conducted a police investigation into an assault against him...the defendant is awaiting trial in the Supreme Court.

August 1956 # 20 Lumi sub district – Puang/Yemnu area – Map 3 ²³

Lumi Patrol Report 2/1957-58 noted that:

...a very active cargo cult has been operating in the Puang/Yemnu area since August [1956] and has spread in all directions over the last few months. The first reports of the cult were received from Fr. Gerald Walsh OFM (Ordo Fractum Minorum – Franciscan Friars Minor) at Yemnu.

The instigator of the movement was Yangliei of Tumintonik...he claims that while in Wewak looking after a younger brother in the native hospital he was approached by a certain man [name unknown] from an Amiun village [whereabouts unknown] who asked him if he knew of a Puang village. When Yangliei replied in the affirmative. He was given three laplaps [loincloths], one of which had the letters NH on it, and told him to give them to the leader of Yemnu village. He was also told of the cult’s teachings by the mystery man.

When Yangliei returned from Wewak he visited Puang village and conveyed the NH laplap and the cult teachings to the Aid Post Orderly there – Waiawi. Waiawi was impressed with the cult teachings...and with Yangliei began to assemble the Tumintonik and Puang people daily for talks about the cult...

The cult teaching is that if the ancestors are pleased, there would be no hold up to the arrival of the cargo. To please the ancestors the people were forbidden to eat certain foods – namely tulip [greens from a tree], kapiak [bread fruit], arang [a species of pandanus], wild pig and other wild animals. Also the people were to remove any surplus firewood and non-essential articles from their homes. A considerable number of pigs were killed in anticipation of the arrival of cattle and horses.

A large forested area, about 500 yards square was cleared and burnt to serve as a landing field for the ancestor's aircraft. Several large houses were built on the edge of the cleared area to serve as bulk stores...The arrival date for the cargo was marked as January 1958. The aircraft to be used was described...as larger than a Cessna but smaller than a Norseman...When the aircraft first arrived it would bring some cargo and one ancestor... and so on until all the cargo and all the ancestors have arrived.

The cargo that was expected to arrive included trucks, building materials, tools, rice, meat, tinned food, bedding, clothing, pressure lamps, fuel, livestock, medicines, and mosquito nets – the list was endless. The ancestors will be equipped with rifles and bayonets, and they will bring their own flag.

Upon arrival the ancestors and leaders will behead those who opposed or were not fully behind the movement. After the distribution of the cargo the ancestors and Americans (who would materialize from somewhere) will join forces with the followers of the cult (who will be raised to a frenzy of excitement by their leaders) in an attack on Lumi station where the government people will be beheaded and a Black government formed.

The major cause of hostility was the belief that all cargo brought to Lumi was rightfully theirs, but was stolen from them by the government. The aircraft that passed south of the villages (to Green River) were the ancestors watching over them, and deciding whether they were ready to receive the cargo or not.

A month after the cult's inauguration, Yangliei announced that one night he had seen Waiawi's ancestors in a dream and upon awakening he found ten shillings and two large pictures on his pillow. These had been sent by the ancestors. One of the pictures, a visual aid training poster, will be enclosed with this report.

Although it was first thought that the cult was anti-mission...I am now aware that it is mainly anti-government and to some extent anti-White. The first impression was formed after it was learned that a small number of Catholics were forbidden under threat of being beheaded, to attend church, school, or to visit the priest. Also Fr. Gerald had received word that his house would be burnt down. However it was ultimately learned that the reason for these threats was that the leaders feared the frightened Catholics would tell the priest and that he would inform the government at Lumi.

...enough has been stated to show the seriousness of the movement and the necessity for it to be suppressed. The area involved is in a high state of unrest, and the plight of those few intelligent enough to realise the stupidity of the whole thing can well be imagined. It was these few who became the original source of information.

It is interesting to note that a separate cult started at Piem and Anguganak, but later joined the main movement.

There is no doubt that the cult is an expression of economic frustration and has become anti-government mainly because it is believed that this body is the cause of their economic backwardness. This frustration is universal throughout this entire sub-district and was expressed most forcibly...to the Minister for Territories when he visited Lumi earlier this year. The soul source of income for the Lumi native is as a plantation labourer and the area has reached a stage now when the more sophisticated type is more interested in earning an income agriculturally within the sub-district than away in the Islands.

The leaders of the movement were sifted out from each village and charged under Regulation 83 (d) of the Native Administration Regulations. Thirty five were convicted and sentenced to terms of imprisonment varying from two to six months. Perhaps as a result of the removal of the leaders, the physical aspects of the cult may have been suppressed, but the mental aspects are no doubt still active, and will remain so for a considerable time. Talks were given to the assembled villagers explaining logically and simply why the cult was wrong, and why it was frowned upon by the government. However I do not think talks made much impression whatsoever; in most cases they put their heads on their chests and gave no response. When the same talks were given to villages not involved, the audiences were obviously more receptive, nodding their heads and verbally agreeing with many points and arguments put forward.

Therefore when the leaders return to their villages later, a keen watch will have to be kept on their activities as the cult may blossom again with renewed vigor.

1958 # 21 - Kero of Malingai's movement 1958=> Map 2

Malingai village elders told Kero's story thus:

In 1958 Kero marked one elder from each of the families. There were ten marked men; they were like the posts of a house as far as their families went. They had the job of assisting Kero. Each of the ten families provided a girl. The story had it that Kero had *to see inside* all the young girls. This resulted in a lot of sexual intercourse. The people suspected foul play on Kero's part and some took their daughters back. The girls were not all assembled in one place; they remained in the houses of their fathers - the "posts".

Kero said 'You workmen of mine will get the knowledge I possess and will be able to get the money and give it to your families. Now you must get from your families a young girl and she will work like a wife for you. Your own wives cannot cook food or roll smokes, because the power of this work will be lost if they do and the money will not come. If young girls do the work the money will come up; it is the young girls who attract the money to us. The actual way the money would come was not made clear to me [the informant]

The confidence trick he used was to advise one of the families that tonight was their night. He would then collect \$20-30 from them saying that he would make his work on that money and plenty of money would result. Exactly what "work" he did on the money is not known. Kero would put powder on his skin and go into the room of the lucky man. If there was anger between any persons of the family or any illegal associations he would say 'You have done wrong and cut the power.' He would then return the money first given him.

He greased all the families and took their money and spent it on himself and his wives. Kero did many things to convince the people to believe in him and his movement. He would ask the people to put a mat on the floor and to string a mosquito net. Dressed only in underpants he would say 'Look I have no money or anything'. He would open his mouth and brush his hair to show he had nothing hidden in his possession. He would then do something and \$10 or \$20 would appear on the mat and the people thought it was true.

The money of the ten families had been given to him. He put it in a strong box, which he took to the cemetery and buried it in a grave. No one goes into the cemetery at night, so no-one saw him. The talk reached Ambunti and the police came down.

Kero went to jail in Ambunti. When the wet season came [and his sentence was served] he came back and dug up the box of money. He dug a new hole in the hills [higher ground] on which the coconuts grow, above the flood level. He used the money and the people of Malingai did not press for the return of their money as they believed in what Kero said so they did not take him to court to get their money back. But the people from Kararau, Suapmeri Parembai, Kandingei and Aibom did take him to court and he repaid their money. The Kararau people had brought Kero a girl during the cult.

Kero's wives and he ceased to live by tradition; they did not fish or trade for sago; they lives on rice and [tinned] fish and other trade store things until the money was finished. During the movement he also demanded and received chickens which he ate, saying he needed the bones upon which to put the money the people gave him, otherwise the money would not come up.

He held meetings in which he told that the money could be created in various ways and that he had the secret. No one at these meetings spoke against him because on the few times they did Kero would reply "Hey you are cutting the power now" He would then demand and receive compensation to restore the power.

My brother Wiat and I were the only ones here to stay out of the cult work. He [Kero] said "A saw will cut you both". I replied "If you are talking of your power or of sorcery you may try it against me. The Government is like my father and I will report you.'

Kero had no mission background. He obtained his ideas when he was working at Karkar. He told us in a meeting that a European there had given him the secret. They had been up on top of the mountain at Karkar and seen a hole [crater] there. There had been seven Europeans, the plantation owner for whom Kero worked and six Europeans from Madang. They cut the bush from the lip of the crater and put up tents. The stores and goods they had brought with them, they put in the tents. They had two rolls of rope.

They wrote a note and tied it to the end of the rope and lowered it down into the crater. The rope was short, so they joined the other rope to the first. Down in the crater they could see palm trees and dense vegetation through the smoke and steam...One of the Europeans tricked then saying the mountain was about to erupt, causing the Europeans and the natives to run away leaving the tents and the stores on the lip of the crater. They arrived in ones and twos at the coast at the foot of the mountain.

But one European had stayed up on the top. Kero was boss-boi and when they were eating he counted only six Europeans in the dining room. After lunch when he dispatched the

labourers to cut copra, Kero went to see the manager and asked why they had played the trick and left one European on the mountain, the manager became agitated and said 'Do not talk about it. If you want to know come to my house.' In the afternoon he went to the house and the manager gave him the secrets.

Kero killed the Luluai of Malingai through some power he possessed. The Luluai was not sick, he just died and we buried him. It is our tradition to keep well clear of new graves. But that night without fear of interference from others Kero dug the body up again. He cut the body open and cut out the liver and re-buried the body. The knife he used was a new one from the store. The dish was new as was the towel he put over the liver in the dish. He took smell-powder [the one with the picture of a Missus on it] and scent, all newly purchased from the trade store. He put plenty of powder and scent on the liver and worked on it until it went strong through and through. He put it in a large cigarette tin and he is still carrying it around with him, but if he was to be searched it would not be found; then, when the kiap is gone, he takes it again, puts it in his bilum and carries it around with him.

He claims the power he receives from this liver and the smells, together with the secrets he got at Karkar, give him the cargo power. He still says we should believe in his cargo power, but the people do not believe him anymore. We know about the liver because he told us. When the Yangoru talk started and the Peli Association was formed he said "They can do theirs first. I will wait for my time and make the money. The Kararau people still believe in him. They came and took him down there last week and brought him back with the Councillor's motor canoe a few days ago."²⁴

Ambunti patrol No 10/1959-60 – Main River. John Cochrane conducted a 29 day patrol in November and December 1958, in which he reported on the down turn in the crocodile skin industry. He went on:

With the present low prices, only a couple of buyers are now operating on the river as compared with the numbers of a few years ago. Thus with existing forms of cash revenue drying up and the Administration trying to discourage excessive numbers of male natives from seeking work outside the district, for the good of the remaining villagers, it is not surprising that the people are searching for other forms of obtaining money – namely by sorcery or cargo cult movements.

The recent mild outbreak mainly took the form of many meetings presided over by a leader who professes to obtain money from his skin, plus a store being kept at Malingai village. The leader was waited on by three women, who could be called his hand maidens. It is their duty to light his cigarettes, prepare his foods and see to his comforts in general. The leader was also assisted by a number of men who are called his 'committee'. This was dealt with a couple of months ago. There is no further sign of an outbreak.²⁵

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As Mr. Ormsby said cult leaders are usually either visionaries or opportunists. To non-Sepiks and many Sepiks alike, Kero was so clearly an opportunist that the question arises "how could Malingai people be taken in like that?" The short answer appears to be that their dearly held traditional beliefs made them want to believe.

March-April 1958 - # 22. Wewak area Turengi cult – Map 1. ²⁶

The Turengi cult started in March or April 1958 when Waiamali dreamt that his deceased father's spirit spoke to him and told him to visit the cemetery and [there] he would find things. Waiamali decided to have an assistant in acquiring wealth. His nephew Hasfosi decided to put things in the cemetery to deceive people that these things had been put in the cemetery by the ancestors.

They got many supporters and built two separate cult houses. The cult ritual was only carried out on Friday nights and sometimes when the trips to the cemetery were fruitless Hasfosi claimed the village is dirty and[or] there had been disputes in the village which displeased the spirits.

Word of the cult spread rapidly to neighbouring villages, which brought gifts of food. The two cult leaders, after they had admitted deceiving the people agreed to address a gathering of natives...and told how they had deceived everyone.

The cult was a manifestation of frustrated ambition for rapid economic advancement. There has been a great deal of emphasis placed on cash cropping in the last five years, but due to the lack of access to markets, their produce has rotten in many cases. The cult started before a vehicle was purchased.

Late 1950s? - # 23 The resurgence of Haus Tambarans Map 2 and 3 ²⁷

One of, perhaps quite significant manifestations of native thinking is the re-emergence of "haus tambarans" in the Maprik and Vanimo areas. This is probably due to the desire to restore village coherence and unity of purpose...

1959-69 - # 24 Numbuk of Korogo's cult. ²⁸

a/ADO Ambunti R.J.Daugherty, who led Ambunti Patrol No 2/1959-60 to the Main River, produced the following detailed report dated 27th July 1959 concerning Numbuk's activities:

...Subtended please find a brief report of the situation at Korogo village.

Activities. This man [Numbuk] is given to practicing a crude sleight of hand trick. In preparation he places a few shillings in his hair at the top of his skull. He then feigns a type of trance and begins to rub the sides of his head with his fingers gradually moving them to the apex of his skull, thus dislodging the money. He gave two demonstrations of this and prior to the second one the writer removed a certain number of coins from his hair. He was alleged to have produced from £7 to £10 by this method. He claims that the method was revealed to him in his dreams.

Action taken. An explanation was given publically to a large gathering in the village as to how this trick was performed and they were also told that there is nothing objectionable in doing these things provided the operator did not practice fraud on other people. In the case of Numbuk any money produced was to be handed on to the Luluai who would show it to the next Administration officer. The whole tenor of the explanation was to "under-play" the whole affair.

History. Numbuk is alleged to have worked in Rabaul pre-war, but has been in the village since about 1941. He is from Korogo village, quite well dressed and wears a watch allegedly given him by a relative. He claims to have had no access to money since the war. [my own view is that the money produced was probably a portion of a War Damage Compensation paid to him.] He impresses as being slightly psychopathic but he also seems to have some influence in the village. When questioned about his activities he was, after an initial hesitation, reasonably frank.

General. I am by no means sure that the villagers are convinced of his chicanery, although there are some doubters. His activities, however, fit neatly into the patterns of mysticism which is current in the Sepik at the moment. The people believe in him, not through any rational process, but because they want to believe and because their growing economic aspirations will be realized in this manner. The only true remedy is to show them that they cannot expect true economic progress from these conceptions.

This village, in common with most other Sepik villages is aware of the consequences in participation in the various cult movements and over the past few years a number of people have been imprisoned. I am very doubtful of the value of imprisonment in what is basically a struggle for the people's minds.

Imprisonment may of course be called for when the overt practices of a cult lead to clear breaches of the law i.e. Assaults, threatening or indecent behaviour and indecent practices. For these reasons therefore no action was taken against Numbuk under the Native Administration Regulations, but a very close watch is being kept on his activities.

Any comments you may care to make will be appreciated [asking the District Officer]

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Four months after ADO Daugherty's patrol, PO Mulcahy conducted Ambunti Patrol No 12/1959-60 to the Main River. His report added more detail concerning Numbuk.²⁹

Numbuk of Korogo. In 1954 Numbuk went to Yangoru and met Luluai Hauwina [Howina] of Marambanja village, who was one of the economic leaders of the area. He told Numbuk stories of acquiring wealth by economic development and by cult activities; the former being used to cover the wealth acquired by the latter, He would not tell the cult secrets to Numbuk, but said he would tell other Luluais at a later date.

Numbuk made monthly visits to Yangoru until 1958, taking gifts, which witnesses said amounted to £100 cash, five pigs, dogs and numerous baskets of fish for Howina. He was keen from the start to learn the cult secrets. In 1958 visited Korogo about a proposed road from Yangoru to Korogo. Numbuk gave him expensive presents and was shown the secrets.

Numbuk states that Howina took him to his house and when the two of them were alone, produced £1 in shillings by rubbing his thighs. He gave the money to Numbuk together with a bone charm wrapped in a cloth, a sinew allegedly from a man's arm, a bottle of water made from vines, some leaves known as *kauwat* and a list of six names. He impressed upon Numbuk the importance of combining the cult with economic development.

Known details of the cult. Numbuk built a small house furnished with a table and a chair and a picture of the Queen; a house in which women were forbidden to enter. A small amount of water was to be drunk and the *kauwat* leaves chewed with betel nut and the juice swallowed. The leaves themselves after being chewed were placed under the pillow on Numbuk's bed. The process evidently induced sleep. But before going to sleep the eyelids were to be coated with a mixture of powder and ash of a small piece of sinew that had been previously burnt.

Howina told Numbuk that during sleep he would dream of a deceased relative who would help him with the cult. Having done this money would have to be placed in the hair or between the fingers, the bone charm held in one hand and the six names on the list repeated.

The money was then “played with” and thrown out on the ground. During the process the money was alleged to multiply.

Numbuk stated that by swallowing the juice of the Kauwat leaves a drunken state is reached and the participant then goes to the cemetery and talks with his dead relatives. During his absence money appeared on the table.

Numbuk did not visit Yangoru again – he was detained over another cult and when released was keen to start a cult of his own in his own area. On returning to Korogo Numbuk practiced the cult in his own house which he built. He dug up bones of a relative who was helping him dream. The PO found the bones in the house.

In February [1959] while at Japanaut Numbuk showed Wili [his magic] by producing five shillings. Wili made regular trips to Korogo to learn the secrets and told people at Japandai, Yamanumbu, Aranjone, Japanaut and Nyaurengai. Village officials sent representatives to Korogo to learn the secrets. Numbuk refused to give further demonstrations and after fruitless trips Wili gave Numbuk £10 and then £25 and Numbuk showed Wili the secrets. Then deputations from the river and the Burui Kunai came and handed over large sums of money to get the secret. Numbuk did not ask Wili for money, but accepted it when it was offered.

Numbuk then gave wholesale demonstrations in his house and made arrangements for cult houses to be built in each village and arranged to visit each village and to give the secrets to one man in each place.. This was done in Japandai, Yamanumbu, Japanaut, Nyaurengai and Yamuk. The secret was not given to Yamuk – Yamuk is a Sawos language village where as all the others are Iatmul speakers. Each was given charms; Yamanumbu and Japanaut removed bodies from the cemetery and put them in their houses. [There was no similar evidence from other places]. The bodies had been returned to the cemetery by the time of the [Mr. Mulcahy’s] patrol.

When Numbuk arrived in the village a feast was held and he insisted that only good behaviour be associated with the cult – no stealing, no adultery. The rest was how Howina described it. The six secret names are Wavibik, Dicaia, Kondarrap, Baimul, Auina and Simon.

The Burui Kunai interest resulted when Wili visited Wereman, Bensim and Kampupu and collected £45 and promised to bring the secret when Numbuk showed him. The Burui Kunai people then went to Numbuk. The first patrol [No 2 1959-60 –Mr. Daugherty] then came and everything went quiet at Korogo for a month. Some other villages continued for a while but it fizzled when it was found it did not work. After the departure of Mr. Daugherty’s patrol the villages which had not received the secrets demanded their money back and some were paid.

Since patrol No 2/1959-60 Numbuk and two Nyaurengai men made at least two trips to Jama, Rugako, Bungarago and Tumbugo., When the patrol visited them the active participants had already been detained in Maprik, Numbuk gave a charm to Korinya of Yama and the cult eventually spread through the area [northwards] to the Maprik sub district.

When interviewed Numbuk was a little afraid, but frank. He admitted that the cult did work, but this was only because the sinew, water and Kauwat leaves received from Howina had finished. He said he was about to go to Yangoru to get more. He appeared slightly psychopathic.

Action taken. The investigation was into fraud aspects of the case, not cult aspects. The money collected was returned to the people - £50 short. All villages involved were visited [by Mr. Mulcahy's patrol] and the "secrets" explained to all the people. The people were told that the Administration did not stop cults to prevent a possible source of income, but to stop trouble and fraud. Patrol recommended that Numbuk not be gaoled and for the cult to die a natural death.

ADO Maprik's comments. In Maprik Numbuk apparently demanded money for his secrets after finding the cult was false. He was out to make money by fraud. He will therefore be tried in the Court of Native Affairs in Maprik.

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On 5th January 1960, DO Clancy made the following comments on Mr. Mulcahy's patrol report:

...The cult described is almost a classic of its type and the course it runs. I am in full agreement with the course of action taken by Mr. Mulcahy. Little could have been gained by gaoing Numbuk. But I do think the money he stole or enticed from his victims should be repaid.

Cargo cults such as this are manifestations of wishful thinking or probably autism and are indicative of the people's unwillingness to face the stern hard facts of life. They represent attempts to find short cuts to pleasures and avoid "unpleasures" but ignoring the less agreeable aspects of reality. Such conditions of mind have been viewed by Freud as being a stage in mental development. This wishful thinking does not replace the desire to satisfy basic aims, but is rather an attempt to replace labour with magic.

It is extremely difficult to know what to do in cases like this. In Australia the trickster can be gaoled or fined, but one rarely hears of sellers of "lucky charms" being punished and this is more or less what Numbuk has done. I certainly do not think a stealing charge would be certain to be sustained.

In the mean, until we have resolved the economic and welfare problems of the Ambunti area we could well continue on with the present policy. You should not have a great deal of trouble with Numbuk as he has been well flushed out into the open... This is a very good report and Mr. Mulcahy is to be commended on his approach to the problem.³⁰

November 1959 - # 25 Cargo cult at Haunbugwe village – Yangoru Map 2.³¹

Yangoru patrol report No 4/1961-2 states:

The first report of this cult was 13 months ago [Nov 1959]. The instigator was Palibe, a village native. He has had constructed in the village, a store, an office and a radio shack with aerial mast. He has also had issued 6 x 3 inch oblongs of paper to many natives claiming that these would soon turn into currency which would replace Australian currency as legal tender.

The store was to be filled in due course with the cargo, which would be coming by unspecified means from the usual ancestral source. The reasons for Palibe's [court] conviction were made clear to the people to avoid presenting him as a martyr. The village will be visited again in the New Year and DASF has been requested to pay attention to the area.

January 1962 - # 26 – Malin-Salin villages of Suain - Aitape sub district – prediction of the end of the world. Map 3.³²

Aitape patrol report 6/1961-62 states:

Eighteen months ago it started [mid-1960s]. This group was spreading the talk that on the day of the eclipse of the sun the world and the people should prepare for it by destroying their gardens and killing their animals.

There was an aged man at Suain who had witnessed a partial eclipse about 70 years ago. There was a resident priest who had been instructing the people about the eclipse. In Yakumul there was also a policeman on leave who had been instructed in Lae about the sun's movements. There is nothing further reported on this event.

April 1964 - # 27 – Eisu village Green River – Green River Patrol Report No 5/1963-64 L.W.Bragge PO.³³ Map 4.

The CMML Missionary passed word to the OIC at Green River that talk among women at Biake No 1 involved cargo cult activity that had occurred in the area a couple of years previously, when a dead woman was said to have appeared at Eisu. A short patrol investigated and found that there was nothing of concern happening.

June 1964 - # 28 – Seim, Nuku area – Map 2.³⁴

The present cargo cult seems to have originated from Kembien village in the Seim area, through the agency of Tamasambo of Kembien. The cult has spread to all the seven villages in the Seim census division...

The rationale of the cult is that in some respects the people must act like Europeans; meals are prepared European style with large tables, European prayers are said in English. This aspect appears similar to the outbreak at Kembien fomented by Tomasambo in April 1963. (Mr. Tierney's 51-3/31 and 51-3/34)...the people have to obey the rules of the government as this is part of the road to the cargo. This obedience goes to ridiculous lengths – for example Mr. Cochrane recently suggested that villages would be cleaner and more hygienic if grass was planted in the usually muddy village square and on roads and if people built raised "house verandahs". In most of the affected villages...grass planting...has become a cult ritual...

Other manifestations are the drinking of the juice of boiled crotons. Which, with continuous dancing in the nights tends to induce hysteria, causing the people to shake...and gives them the courage to act like their spirit clan ancestors...The Catholic Mission doctor at Seim reports the wide spread prevalence of hysteria...and that the drinking of croton juice has adverse [although apparently temporary] effects on the eye sight.

Tomasambo...is reported to have built a "house verandah" and holds meetings there attended by people from Dreikikir and other parts of Nuku area. The main attraction is that Tomasambo shows everyone a plate full of money, presumably obtained by cargo ritual. Tomasambo was questioned by POs Terry Heuston and ADO John Cochrane...he showed signs of nervousness and denied any actions...Mr. Cochrane declined to prosecute.

On 30th April ADO Lumi reported to DO South Sepik, Wewak, that...the movement was in decline.

1964 - # 29 Dreikikir Patrol Report No 3/1963-64 – the "Bokis" cult. Map 2³⁵

This information comes from Dreikikir Patrol Report 2/1963-64.

Luluai Akolasa was attempting to revive interest in a 1959 cargo cult in which he was involved. The cult had organized prostitution in the area. This interest had been revived after some men heard that the men of Duman [?] had been obtaining money by forcing their women into prostitution.

The cult leader, Waimgrana had become afraid that word would reach Dreikikir and that action would be taken against him, as he informed the people to take back the cases and boxes [presumably part of the cult ritual]. The people were rather hostile at this suggestion because of the expense they had gone to buy suitcases and they threatened him with sorcery and violence. They refused to take back the boxes, saying they realized they had made a mistake, so the boxes could remain in the houses and rot.

Various rumours concerning the House of Assembly and the local Member were circulating in the area. These were not of a serious nature, but were having an unsettling influence in the area and involved "Promises" supposedly made by the local member concerning "Cargo" and of the powers he would have once he returned from Moresby.

[The report notes a parallel here with the teachings of mission staff from...] "the ambiguous phraseology of their teachings, much of the doctrine centres on the return of Christ and the reward he would give to all believers.

Writer's note: The information in #29 comes from a card index. Dreikikir Patrol Report 2/1963-64, which the writer has not seen, no doubt clarifies the connection between Luluai Akolasa's prostitution cult, the activities of cult leader Waimgrana and the House of Assembly MP. To the writer this looks like two or three completely separate cults.

July 1964 - # 30 Nagu census division, Green River. Green River Patrol report No 7/1963-4 – PO L. Bragge Map 4³⁶

Green River Patrol Report No 7 of 1963-64 reported:

In 1962 a missionary from Yellow River while walking through the Nagu division en-route to Amanab mentioned to the Kaboni and Tera people that a kunai grass area between their villages was a good airstrip site.

On the basis of this passing comment an airstrip was built by the local people in order to attract a missionary to settle there and open a store. The cargo from the store would be available to the people, who would make purchases with fresh foods. The interim steps of selling the food to earn cash and then using the cash to buy goods in the store was not clear to the local people.

An apparent contributing factor was that the mission strip at Kwomtari to the north was built by the natives, who were not paid. The Kaboni/Tera strip was not functional, and as far as is known was not further developed or used.

1964-65 - # 31 Dreikikir – Bongos area cargo cult. Map 2.³⁷

Dreikikir Patrol Report No 3/1964-5 reported:

Communications in the area are non-existent, cash cropping negligible and education facilities non-existent. The Catholic Mission which has had a station at Bongos for the last 10 years has made very little impression on the traditional beliefs of the area and on various occasions relationships between the inhabitants and the mission have become so strained that the mission staff has been required to leave the station.

The Bongos area is well known for cult activities [non actually described in this patrol report] and for non-cooperation with the Administration and private concerns such as the missions.

At the time of the patrol...the inhabitants were involved in a considerable amount of work that was required... to bring village conditions up to a satisfactory standard.

[The inhabitants are] a frustrated group of people who require a considerable amount of contact with the Administration and whose future development will have to be carefully planned. To improve communications would allow for closer contact...and would increase economic development.

Writer's note: While no cargo cult is described in # 31, the cause of previous cults is suggested, at least in part, to result from lack of economic development.

1967 - # 32 Somoro and West Palei cult, Lumi Sub District. ³⁸

Lumi Patrol report No 9/1968-69 reports:

In 1967 Ludwig Yilawen of Amaitem village, Somoro census division started collecting money from men, women and children...He [reportedly] had in mind when collecting the money – Cattle projects, [trade] stores and gold sluicing machines. By...early 1968 he had \$365 from the people.

In addition to cash they had mined gold and handed it over to him for sale. When he received the money for the gold he did not hand it back to the people who had worked it... He started building three trade stores; ...Inebu, Kokoi and at Eretei No 2. He ordered goods from R.Parer in Aitape and put them in the stores...The store licence was in his name.

In all the villages visited [the Assistant PO] discussed Ludwig with the money contributors... They said that Ludwig did not discuss with them his plans for the money he collected. He just went through the villages collecting money...

People at Yebil gave him money because they thought he would buy cattle for them. Later people paid money because they thought he was going to buy gold sluicing machines which would make it easier to look for gold. He collected about \$200 in gold from Eretei No 2 and other villages...this was a sort of cargo cult. The people put money in without knowing what Ludwig was doing...some thought it would eventually develop the area because there was practically nothing in the area that would bring income...they thought they would get more money in future for nothing.

Some people still want to leave money in Ludwig's pass book because they want Ludwig to buy them cattle...after explanations by the writer [Assistant PO J.Koibo] the people agreed to get their remaining cash back...

1969 - # 33 Boiken area cult Map 2 ³⁹

Patrol Report 2/1969-70 [a Wewak report?] stated: The people of Kremending and Koiken have been following the teachings of a man called "Kik" Mendigau for seven years. He told them he can show them the way to obtain cargo, but that he cannot bring it personally. During his many "five minute visits" to America, Japan and many other countries he is alleged to have made a way for them. Part of his teachings were that they must kill all animals and that are not fenced in [They have cattle at Kremending] because animals can eat part of your body when you die and you can never return to earth when if cargo comes [if you are] injured.

Using the bible to substantiate his words he had forbidden them to sleep with their wives, or to allow young people to marry. During the seven years he seems to have been able to persuade the village women that this rule does not include their having intercourse with him. This man's teachings, which supposedly terminated in March 1969, has successfully eliminated any economic ventures the village except for the purchase of a Toyota Dyna.

Kik's house in Kremending was burnt down by the people in March [1969] and he has since retired to his two houses in the hills above Sauwaring and his new house on the Wewak Brandi road. Occupying these houses at alternative weekly intervals he has been a menace to the women of Sauwaring, who will not go to their gardens near the man's houses for fear of being propositioned or interfered with.

July 1971 – # 34. The Mt Tutu cargo cult and subsequent related cult activities. Map 2

This was the largest and most complex cargo cult to have impact the Sepik District. It is the subject of Sepik book 4 – Chapter 47.

November 1972 - # 35. The Messiah cult of Ulupu – Maprik sub district. Map 3

Various media coverage including Post Courier of 16th November 1972 report how:

The cult belief was that the people have discovered the secret incantation that would allow someone to die and then to return to life bringing the secrets of the cargo back with them... The Chant as "Frere Jacque". They tested it out on a girl who was "killed" by being struck on the head. After five hours of chanting the girl returned to life; she had actually been unconscious. Not surprisingly, in local thought, she brought back no secrets from the dead – she was just an expendable girl.

Satisfied now that the incantation was correct, two important elders with the great cultural knowledge that would allow them to bring back the cargo secrets were struck down and killed. This time they were actually dead and could not be revived.

The murders were investigated by ADC Maprik, Bob Beck. Mr. Beck said the people, who had been singing Frere Jacque over the bodies for days, were in a trance – in another world – and he, Mr. Beck, did not recall being so frightened in all his life.⁴⁰ These events were covered by the media as follows:

"Two villagers volunteered to be beaten to death...the man called 'The Messiah' then picked up a heavy club and beat both men to death...The police [also said] other people had also been hurt jumping off buildings carrying bibles in the belief they would not be hurt."

The "Messiah" was arrested, but exonerated when the police established that he was not there and others were arrested. – eight men were gaoled⁴¹.

1978 - # 36 – Alleged cult activities Paiawa – Aitape District Map 3⁴²

Aitape confidential reference C3 – 1 of 8th March 1978 stated.

Yali of old Paiawa has secretly been collecting cash from the villagers of Paiawa, Kopoam and Kawa-Ausi since last year. The people of these villages ensured that no other village people knew about their cargo cult activities.

Yali left Aitape last Friday 3/3/78 and is heading for Vanimo. He is taking the money to a man called Julie [Joli] of Poko village, [the story goes that] Joli will give the money to the Administration secretary who will order their cargo.

...information about a special house for cult activities in old Paiawa is that the house has only one door and no windows and is made of bush materials. [Of the activities] the words are:

1. Anyone who reports what is going on will have his throat cut by the ancestors.
2. Whoever does not contribute will be a labourer for those who have contributed towards the cult activities.
3. The cult will cause everything to suddenly change. There will be permanent material houses with cars outside their doors and many other things that the Europeans have.

Writer's Note: In 1978 Joli was under investigation for providing support for the OPM [Free Papua Movement] rebels who were sheltering illegally in the Vanimo bush and conducting raids into Irian Jaya against Indonesian interests. Whether or not Paiawa cult money found its way to the OPM or not is not known. There was no finalization of either Paiawa or Joli's activities before the writer departed from Aitape in December 1978.

End Notes Attachment 1

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- ¹ Worsley P. *The Trumpet shall sound* – Granada Publishing London 1957 Page 109
 - ² Aerts. T – *The birth of a new religious movement: a comparison of Melanesian Cargo Cult and early Christianity*
 - ³ Worsley P 1957 Page 110
 - ⁴ Worsley P 1957 Pages 110/111
 - ⁵ L. Taru – *Cult Movements at Lumi - 1976*
 - ⁶ Angau War diaries
 - ⁷ Fryer – *ANGAU War Diaries – Benabena – Aitape January 31st to October 1943.*
 - ⁸ E. Watson PO – *Patrol Report and Native Affairs – Wapei area. "Melip" 3/11/1943 – ANGAU war diaries.*
This episode is written up in detail in Sepik 3 *The Sepik at War* Chapter 38
 - ⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p32
 - ¹⁰ Dreikikir Monthly report April 1947
 - ¹¹ Maprik Monthly report October 1947.
 - ¹² Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18 p 288.
 - ¹³ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18 p 221
 - ¹⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18 p 288
 - ¹⁵ Hatanaka cargo cult notes Vol 4: 2-3-1-1-2 Ambunti. [Bragge referencing system]
 - ¹⁶ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p3
 - ¹⁷ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p75
 - ¹⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 74
 - ¹⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p75
 - ²⁰ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p80
 - ²¹ R.T.Neville a/ADO – Maprik reference 31 of 28th April 1956
 - ²² R.T.Neville a/ADO – Maprik reference 31.3.3 of 29th April 1956
 - ²³ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.2 Lumi Patrol No 2 1957-58
 - ²⁴ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 18 p 150/152
 - ²⁵ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 p 88
 - ²⁶ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1. Wewak Patrol No 3 1958-59
 - ²⁷ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1. card index mention only – no document held
 - ²⁸ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 pages 89-90
 - ²⁹ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 pages 92-94
 - ³⁰ Bragge Sepik Research Notes Vol 20 pages 93.
 - ³¹ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.1 Yangoru Patrol No 4 1961-62
 - ³² Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.4 Aitape Patrol No 6 1961-62
 - ³³ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.5 Green River Patrol No 5 1963-64
 - ³⁴ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.2 Nuku reference 51-3 of 21/4/1964 *Interpretation of the Native People to the Administration. – Cargo Cult at Seim.*
 - ³⁵ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.3.1 Dreikikir Patrol No 3 1963-64
 - ³⁶ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.5 Green River Patrol No 7 1963-64
 - ³⁷ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.3.1 Dreikikir Patrol No 3 1964-65

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- ³⁸ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.2 Lumi patrol report No 9 1968-69
- ³⁹ Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.2 “Wewak?” Patrol report No 2/1969-70
- ⁴⁰ Personal communication by Laurie Bragge with Bob Beck.
- ⁴¹ Post Courier 16th November 1972 and 2nd December 1972
- ⁴² Bragge Cargo cult files Vol 4 – 2.3.1.4 Aitape reference C3-1 of 8/3/1978

Sepik 4 Attachment 2 Telefomin BEET Sorcery

Correspondence relating to "BEET" Sorcery – Telefomin.

Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

File TEL. 14.
Patrol Post
Telefomin.
Sepik District

The District Commissioner,
Sepik District
Wewak.

20th August 1953.

Remarks on sorcery cases.

The following are the details, to the best of the writer's knowledge, of two recent sorcery cases, both of which occurred near the station.

On 14th July (1953), it was reported that a woman of Telefolip village had been the victim of a type of local sorcery known as 'beet'. A constable and interpreter were sent to Telefolip and returned with the woman concerned. An examination by the writer disclosed a small round puncture in the woman's side which was claimed to have been caused by the insertion of a bone needle which is always connected with this particular type of sorcery. After giving the names of her attackers and having the wound dressed, the woman returned to her village with instructions to report to the writer the following day. Police were sent to a garden area in the Nonk valley to apprehend the natives reported to be responsible for the attack.

On the morning of 16th. N.M.O. Suau made a small incision above the puncture and withdrew a sharpened length of bone. The N.M.O. brought the piece of bone to the office where it was examined by Mr. G. Harris and the writer. An examination was also made of the incision and there is no doubt in the writer's mind that the N.M.O. is honest in his claim to have removed the bone from the woman's side. The men named as the woman's attackers were questioned in the presence of most of the local headmen who, on completion of the enquiry, were unanimous in their decision that the four men questioned had attacked the woman and inserted at least one piece of sharpened bone. It was decided that the accused should remain on the station until a full report be made and your direction in the matter received.

The woman's wound reacted favourable to treatment but on 27th. news was brought to the station that she had died the previous day. This report was confirmed by a constable who was sent to the village to investigate. During that afternoon, the body was examined by Mr. G. Harris and N.M.O. Bunat, but neither could discover any wound or abrasion which could have caused her sudden death...

Details of the persons implicated:

Female

Banansimen of Telefolip

Alleged attackers

Tambunkengim of Bogalmin

Ogalsep of Bogalmin

Wasimnok of Bogalmin

Biriksep of Bogalmin.

Writer's Note: Mr. Nolan's report notes that the victim, who he neglected to name, died on 26th July 1953. He indicates there were four named male attackers. There is confusion as to who the woman Banansimen of Telefolip was and as to what was her involvement. Mr. Nolan continued :-

A second case of this type of sorcery was discovered by the writer during his recent visit to the Eliptamin sub-division. A male native reported to the writer that he had been ambushed by ten men who performed the ritual connected with the sorcery 'beet'. He was sent to the station and some of the natives named as his attackers were apprehended. On being questioned by the writer they admitted having beaten Katorok with sticks but denied having performed any sorcery ritual.

Some days after arriving at the station, a sharpened piece of bone was removed from the lower abdomen of the native Katorok after having made an incision in that area. Katorok was sent to Wewak for medical attention and the first seven on the list below are being held on the station. As yet attempts to apprehend the other three have been unsuccessful.

Details of persons implicated;

Victim Katorok of Terapdavip

Reported attackers.

Alimisep of Utemtagin

Wagesep of Utemtagin

Munengim of Utemtagin

Timsobengim of Utemtagin

Frepmaragengim of Utemtagin

Omengim of Agamtavip

Koloweng of Agamtavip

Toksep of Utemtagin

Iamsep of Utemtagin

Kultemengal of Utemtagin

It would be appreciated if guidance be given by you on any further action to be taken in these two cases by the writer or his successor.

Sgd. L.T. Nolen – OIC Telefomin.

In response DC Timperley's undated WK 14-1-5/2 asked "*What is the present position please?*"

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Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

File TEL. 14.

Patrol Post

Telefomin.

Sepik District

20th September. 1953

The District Commissioner,

Sepik District

Wewak.

Report on sorcery cases.

Your WK 14-1-5/2 undated and Tel 14 of 20th August 1953 refers.

The alleged attackers Tambunengim, Ogalsep, Wasimnok and Birisep, all of Bogalmin village, and the female native Banansimen of Telefop are still in custody pending the District Commissioner's visit. By the nature of the 'beet' operation it seems possible that this case could be considered more seriously than it being a case of sorcery, that is, it may be necessary to charge grievous bodily harm.

Regarding the second case. Katorok of Terapdavip, the victim and main witness, is still in hospital in Wewak. The following alleged attackers are still in custody:

Munengim, Timsobengim and Frepmaragengim of Utemtagin, and, Omengim and Kolowen of Agamtavip.

Alimsep and Wagesep of Utemtagin broke custody about a month ago and are still at large. The three other alleged attackers – Toksep, Iamsep and Kultemgengal all of Utemtagin are still at large. They are believed to be in the Om River.

On my arrival at this station, three police were sent by Mr. Nolen to try and arrest the escapees and the three other natives. They were not successful. Since these people remain hidden in the bush at the approach of a patrol and there seems little co-operation from the other natives, the writer has held the matter in abeyance pending the arrival of the District Commissioner, which has been expected daily.

Your advice on this matter would be appreciated.

Sgd. Gerald Szarka O.I.C. Telefomin

Writer's note: The Telefomin files contain no conclusions on the matter of 'beet' sorcery. Just weeks after Mr.Szarka's letter, he and three others were murdered in the Eliptamin valley as described in Sepik 4 Chapter 12.

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ATTACHMENT 3.

Appendices – Investigation of the Yellow River Massacre 9th August 1956.

- “A” Victims of the massacre
- “B” Survivors of the massacre
- “C” Villages and hamlets of the IWAM group
- “D” WANIMOI men who took life (Amuno clan)
- “E” WANIMOI men who took life (Amwap clan)
- “F” IWAMs present at the massacre but did not kill
- “G” Care of dependents of massacre victims.
- “H” Victims clothing at time of massacre.
- “I” Yellow River natives who killed Kwaso of WANIMOI
- “J” IWAM natives in contact party
 - Yellow River natives in contact party
 - WANIMOI men who attended meeting in AMUNO men’s house

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Appendix A: Victims of the massacre

| <u>From IRIMUI village</u> | <u>Sex</u> | <u>Approx Age</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|-------------------------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------|
| WAMU/KAUIOK | M | Middle aged | Contact party |
| MARANI/ABIWA | F (W)of Wamu | Middle aged | Contact party |
| ARAWO/WAMU | M Son of Wamu | 6 years | Contact party |
| PAIDEI/WANO | M single | 18 years | |
| KOMAPEI/KABAGWANU* | M single | 24 years | |
| POROGAN/PARAWA* | M single | 16 years | |
| YEMIEI/MARITO | F (W)of Yaubei | Aged | Contact party |
| <u>From PANYEWAI village</u> | | | |
| WORIPA/YAMO | M married | 38 years | |
| <u>From ABIRAMI village</u> | | | |
| ABIA/MANIYA * | M | 30 years | |
| DOGEI/PENAU | F (W) of Abia | 23 years | |
| AWONO/ABAI | M son of Abia | 3 years | |
| <u>From TIPAR village</u> | | | |
| OWINAWAKI/ALAMEI | F widow | Aged | |
| WARISO/ALIBITO* | M (H)of Yegiei | 27 years | |
| YARIMEI/MIOWI | F single | 15 years | Contact party |
| IROLAI/MIOWI | M (H)of Owian | 23 years | Contact party |
| OWIAN/POBAGAI | F (W)of Irolai | 21 years | Contact party |
| NAWEPOGO/ILAMNAN* | M married | 25 years | |
| LEINEI/LIJARAWI | F (W) Nawepogo | 19 years | |
| WOLALI/YAWINO | M married | 35 years | |
| MAIBELI/NEIJO | F (W)of Wolali | 32 years | |
| SAMONA/WOLALI | M son of Wolali | 7 years | |
| ISOMUKURAI/YENIAUI | F (W)of Taigwe | 36 years | |
| WAKANI/TAIGWE | F (Dau) Taigwe | 14 years | |
| TARITORI/LIJAIWI | F adopted Taigwe | 12 years | |
| WITUMAREI/MAIO | M child | 8 years | |
| MEINIA/LITJAUWI | F (W) Moronabi | 19 years | |

| | | | |
|-------------------|----------------|----------|---------------|
| YOANI/YAUINERI | M (H)of Napowi | 24 years | |
| PALEI/WAIAGA | F (W) of Logo | 20 years | |
| BAILELI/AURIAWORI | M single | 19 years | Contact party |

Repatriated labourer *

Appendix B: Survivors of the massacre.

| <u>PANYEWEI villagers</u> | <u>Sex</u> | <u>Approx Age</u> | <u>Comment</u> |
|---------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|---|
| NAPOWI/SAPEI | F widow | 25 years | |
| WAREI/MAKU | F single | 12 years | didn't cross to massacre site |
| <u>IRIMUI villagers</u> | | | |
| MIWANI/TSORAM | F (W) Wamu | 34 years | |
| <u>TIPAR villagers</u> | | | |
| AIYENALI/MAIOWI | F single | 12 years | viewed bodies on sand bar |
| MATIEI/AMUNAKI | F (W) Wolali | 21 years | didn't cross to massacre site |
| KILOWI/LITJAUWI | F | Aged | Mother of Isomukurai |
| ARUKOMEI/YAUWINO | F | 28 years | widow of Lijaiwi |
| ILAMARIWARI/MAGA | F child | 12 years | |
| YIGINEI/WOGWE | F (W) of Wariso | 19 years | viewed bodies on sand bar |
| YANI/WOLALI | F child | 12 years | didn't cross to massacre site |
| TAIGWE/YOUNERI | M (H)Isomukurai | 38 years | |
| WUNIBEI/MIOWI | M (S)Owinawaki | 16 years | Contact party & viewed bodies on sand bar |
| YOUNERI/LITJARI | M single | 16 years | Contact party & viewed bodies on sand bar |

The foregoing were members of the Yellow River party who were at DARE (also known as AUSIN and YORO) at the time of the massacre but survived. Only the last three named males were actually present on the site of the massacre and escaped. The women had returned to their temporary camp on the opposite side of the river when the attack began.

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Appendix C: Villages and hamlets of the IWAM group.

WANIMOI [WANAMOI], PAIKWEI [PEKWE], OBUGEISU [ABAGAISU], AUMIN [AUMI], PAINU, YABINAN [IAMBREM], BROMAI [BURUMAI], ARAI, WANIAP [WANIUM] In the [square brackets] are Laycock's classification spellings.

Hamlets appear to be established and disbanded and within memory the hamlets of WAUMO. TABIAK, NANGWEI, AGWI and APIN have been moved or abandoned.

The entire IWAM group are not involved in the massacre, only the AMGWAP and AMUNO clans of WANIMOI village and one man from AUNI being responsible. The people of WANIAP are on friendly terms with the Yellow River village of PANYEWAI [PANEWAI] and this is the only friendly contact between the Yellow and May River people.

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Appendix D: WANIMOI men who took life (Amuno clan)

| | | | | Probable victim | |
|-----------------|-------|--------|--------|------------------------|-------------------|
| x NUKURAM WAINE | REPAT | Single | Axe | M | WAMU |
| NARU NUMNIA | M | | Spear | M | WOLALI |
| NAHI NABIA | S | | Spear | | |
| HOGOMAT NANEI | M3 | | Spear | | TAIGWE (Wounded) |
| NAIWO NANEI | M | | Spear | F | |
| INIA MASIO | REPAT | 2M1 | Axe | AF | YEMIEI |
| NOSE KWASU | S | | Spear | | |
| x MOM NANEI | M | | Spear | YF | |
| NAMI MAIGWA | M | | Spear | M | YOANEI |
| x NABREIK WAINE | S | | Spear | MC | ARAWO |
| YEPSU NANEI | S | | Spear | | |
| NAMUNO NUSE | 2M1 | | Spear | FC | |
| NAKUNO WAINE | M | | Spear | M | PAIDEI |
| NAKAM MAINI | M2 | | Spear | | |
| x GWAINA NANEI | REPAT | S | Spear | | WUNIBEI (Wounded) |
| NAHI MIGU | M2 | | Dagger | FC | |

LEDEND

M; Male Adult
 YM; Young Man
 MC; Male child
 (); Skull recovered
 F; Female adult
 YF; Young female
 FC; Female child
 AF; Aged female

x - Accompanied contact party
 Repat - Repatriated labourer
 2M3 – married 2 wives 3 children
 Spear – Spear used on victim
 Axe – Axe used on victim
 S – Single
 /F/ - Skull taken but not recovered

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Appendix E: WANIMOI men who took life (Amwap clan)

| | | | | Probable victim | |
|-----------------|-------|---|-------|------------------------|-------------------|
| x NARI NUMO | REPAT | S | Spear | M | IROLAI |
| x AUSA NAWOP | M4 | | Spear | YM | BAILELI |
| NAGASAK KWAINIS | S | | Spear | MC | SAMONA |
| N'HABE MASIO | M1 | | Spear | M | ABAI (Beheaded) |
| x NAINI KWASU | REPAT | S | Spear | YM | POROGAN |
| x TSIAUI KWASU | S | | Spear | | |
| NERU NASIN | M1 | | Spear | F | DOGAI |
| NAIDI INWANO | S | | Spear | MC | |
| x WINI NAMI | S | | Axe | YM | |
| x NAMI NAKUNO | 2M4 | | Held | | |
| NADIMORO NOIEN | S | | Spear | F | |
| KWAINIS KWASO | S | | Spear | | |
| x TSIA NARU | S | | Spear | F | |
| NEIMNO NUMNO | REPAT | S | Spear | MC | AWONO |
| NAGASAK HOPIN | 2M2 | | Spear | YF | MARANI (Beheaded) |
| NAWOP NERU | M3 | | Spear | /FC/ | |

| | | | | |
|---------------|---------|-------|------|-------------------|
| KWAINIS NABA | S | Spear | | |
| NASIO NEINI | M1 | Spear | FC | From AUNI village |
| NEINI MUNO | 2M | Spear | /FC/ | WAKANI |
| NABA NONEI | 2M | Spear | M | KOMAPEI |
| NASIN NONEI | S | Spear | | |
| MUNA NUKEI | REPAT S | Spear | M | WARISO |
| NAUNEI KWASO | M | Spear | AF | OWINAWAKI |
| x NABI AIWUSA | REPAT M | Spear | MC | |

NASIO/NEINI is not from WANIMOI village but from AUNI village. The bodies of the two victims of NAWOP/NERU and NEINI/MUNO were taken to WANIMOI but the skulls were later destroyed, and have not been recovered. Only the heads of the victims ABIA and MARANI were taken to WANIMOI, the bodies being left on the sand bank where they were killed.

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Appendix F: IWAM people present at the massacre but who did not kill.

AMUNO CLAN

MASIO Mother of KWASO
 WANARU Sister of KWASO
 WANWAI NUMNIA

AMGWAP CLAN

HOPIN MAIGWA
 KWAINIS TUKBE
 NAMINET KWASU
 NARU KWAINIS

NABA of PAIKWEI [Pekwe]

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Appendix G: Care of dependents of massacre victims.

...All dependents have been absorbed into the society and have protectors and breadwinners. They are not in any apparent need of assistance.

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Appendix H: Victims clothing at time of massacre.

Unfortunately, all women and children were wearing the traditional and uniform dress without individual distinctive features which would assist in identification. However most of the men had some distinctive clothing which is listed below:-

| | |
|----------|---|
| WANU | a coconut phallocrypt |
| PAIDEI | a short phallocrypt |
| POROGAN | a red lava and white singlet |
| KOMAPEI | a white lavalava |
| WORIPA | a long phallocrypt |
| ABAI | a red lavalava |
| WARISO | black shorts and check shirt |
| IROLAI | a red lavalava and shirt with horizontal stripe |
| NEWPEOGO | white shorts |
| WALALI | long phallocrypt |
| YOANI | penis tied off |
| BAILELI | faded khaki lavalava |

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Appendix I: Yellow River natives who killed Kwaso of WANIMOI.

| | | |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|
| ARIWO of ABIRAMI – in village | | SIBI of TIPAR Now away at work. |
| KAIWAN “ “ | | WARISO “ killed in massacre |
| ABAIRO “ “ | | WOLALI “ “ “ |
| SAMBIN “ remained in canoe | | IROLAI “ “ “ |
| WIO’AU “ “ “ | | (dec) |
| WABURAU “ “ “ | | |
| ABIA “ | | killed in massacre. |

The above party came down the Sepik in two canoes and attacked the IWAM party who were also in two canoes. They pursued the IWAM canoes but one which was close to the right bank escaped into the May River. The other canoe with KWASO and NABREIK was close to the left bank and its escape was cut off by the Yellow River canoes. KWASO and NABREIK went ashore on the left bank and tried to escape in the bush. NABREIK succeeded but KWASO was hampered by his large swollen elephant leg (elephantiasis) and was overtaken by the eight Yellow River men and killed. The body was pin-cushioned with arrows and the left forearm removed and taken away. This killing was to avenge NANAU of TIPAR who had been killed by IWAMs in about 1950.

The IWAM party consisted of

KWASO/WAINEI, NABREIK/WAINEI, KWAINIS/TUKBE, NUAT (wife of KWAINIS) and NAGASAK/KWAINIS – all of WANIMOI.

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Appendix J: IWAM natives in contact party

First canoe.

NASIA N’HABE of AMGWAP
 AUSA NAWOP “ “
 NABI AIWUSA “ “
 GWAINA NANEI of AMUNO
 NABREIK WAINE “

Second canoe.

NARI NUMO of AMGWAP
 TSIAUI KWASU “ “
 NAWOP NARU “ “
 NAINI KWASU “ “
 NAMI NAKUNO “ “
 PIAM WANOWAI “ “
 WINI NAMI “ “
 NUKURAM WAINE of AMUNO
 MOM NANEI of “

Yellow River natives in contact party.

Men

WAMU KAUIK of IRIMUI
 ARAWO WAMU “ “
 PAIDEI WANO “ “
WUNIBEI MIOWI “ TIPAR*
YOUNERI LITJARI “ *
 IROLAI MIOWI “ “
 BAILELI AURIAWORI “ “

Women

MARANI ABIWA of IRIMUI
 YEMIEI MARITO “ “
 OWIAN POGAGAI of TIPAR
 YARIMEI MOIWI “ “
AIYENALI MATOWI “ *

*Indicates people who later survived the massacre – all others were killed

WANIMOI men who attended meeting in AMUNO men's house

AMUNO CLAN

NUKURAM WAINE
NAHI NABWI
HOGOMAT NANEI
MOM NANEI
NABREIK WAINE
NAKUNO WAINE
GWAINA NANEI
NUMNIA WAINE *
NAHI MIGU

AMGWAP CLAN

NARI NUMO
AUSA NAWOP
NAINI KWASU
TSIAUI KWASU
WINI NAMI
NAMI NAKUMO
TSIA NARU
NAWOP NERU
NABI AIWUSA
HOPIN MAIGWA *

*Indicates people who did not later take life. All others did.

Sepik 4 Attachment 4 Additional Detail re the Atbalmin Massacre 1956

Appendix A

Natives of Mianmin killed by the Atbalmin (first killings).

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>FATHER'S NAME</u> | <u>SEX</u> | <u>REMARKS</u> |
|-------------|----------------------|------------|---|
| WANINAP | NAMANAP | M.A. | of URAPMIN group |
| BALUWENGAP | DABINOR | M.A. | of URAPMIN group |
| UKBUP | HOKBUP | M.A. | of URAPMIN group |
| AYEMANING | DAMSOGIN | M.A. | of URAPMIN group The child of headman Damsogon |

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Appendix B

Natives of Atbalmin killed by the Mianmins in their first raid.

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>FATHER'S NAME</u> | <u>SEX</u> | <u>REMARKS</u> |
|-------------|----------------------|------------|----------------|
| UTIM | KOLANGIM | M.A. | of DAGIAMDAL |
| ABATKAM | KOLANGIM | F.A. | of DAGIAMDAL |
| MANIPKAN | FIOLIM | F.A. | of DAGIAMDAL |
| ATIEN | DISATALIENG | F.C. | of DAGIAMDAL |

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Appendix C

Names of victims of Massacre – killed by Mianmin.

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>FATHER'S NAME</u> | <u>SEX</u> | <u>AGE</u> | <u>REMARKS</u> |
|-------------|----------------------|------------|------------|--|
| URIAPNOM | BALIPIAP | M | 23 | |
| BALIPIAP | name unknown | M | Aged | Father of No 1 |
| ANTOGONOK | ASANAM | M | 35 | Cut up and removed him left stomach only. |
| WIKSEP | NIKSIM | M | 19 | Removed legs and one arm. |
| NUBIAP | KAFOMSIM | M | 20 | Left only stomach. Recognised by cane belt. |
| MUNSIM | BUMTALING | M | 28 | as above. |
| TAGAILOK | BAGAVIPIAP | M | 23 | Took only legs |
| NOGANIP | BAGAVIPIAP | F | 27 | Removed all of her. Recognised by grass skirt. |
| SIMILEN | AGIAKOP | F | 21 | Left one hand and head |
| NANIPKAN | AMDONIN | F | 23 | Took both legs only |
| SOGOFOLIN | FOGOYIEN | F | Aged | Removed all of her. Recognised by grass skirt. |
| ABUDAVIEN | YETIM | F | 5 | Left stomach only |
| ABUDAVIEN | TONIM | F | 7 | Left stomach only |
| ABUDAVIEN | TONIM | M | 5 | Left stomach only |
| ABUDAVIEN | TONIM | M | 1 | Saw only his blood |
| ABUDAVIEN | YETIM | M | 1 | Left stomach only |

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Appendix D

Names of Atbalmin women abducted.

| <u>NAME</u> | <u>FATHER'S NAME</u> | <u>SEX</u> | <u>AGE</u> | <u>REMARKS</u> |
|-------------|----------------------|------------|------------|-----------------------|
| KOGUMKAN | DIXIN | F | 25 | Recovered by patrol. |
| MAGANIP | BUSIPIAP | F | 23 | Escaped from TIMELMIN |

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NB. Some names may be wrongly transcribed – original document is a very poor photocopy.

Appendix E

DETAILS OF PARTS PLAYED BY MIANMIN MEN IN THE ATBALMIN MURDERS.

| <u>Victim</u> | <u>Name of Mianmin credited with death of victim</u> | <u>Remarks</u> | <u>Assisted by (X denotes indicated for Trial)</u> | <u>Remarks</u> |
|----------------------|---|--|---|--|
| One Male | DAMBEROK of URAPMIN | Related to [URAPMIN] deceased BILUWENGAP. Held victim and stabbed him in the throat with cassowary bone knife. Later cut off complete leg | URISUMAP of URAPMIN YATAMAP of TIMELMIN (X) WATUPNOK of TIMELMIN (X) TABIAKNE of URAPMIN (X) | Shot one arrow into victim. Later cut off a leg. Shot an arrow into victim – said to have caused death. Later cut and carried off victim’s right lower arm. Later ate portion of flesh. With group that surrounded village, burnt houses. Given half a leg by DAMBEROK. Later cooked and ate flesh. Took no actual part in killings. Carried DAMBEROK’s leg home after searching for escapees. Later ate some of flesh. |
| One Female | AMIN of URAPMIN | Shot victim as she tried to escape. Arrow passed in one side of body and out the other. Chased and held her. Later cut and carried off complete leg and part of buttock. | BAK BAK of URAPMIN DIDIMAP of URAPMIN SABRISAP of URAPMIN (X) APAN of KAREMIN (X) | Shot victim while she was being held by DIDIMAP. Cut and carried off victim’s upper leg. Generally assisted holding woman. Cut and carried off lower leg. At head of raiding party. Stabbed woman with bamboo arrow in side. Cut arm from body. Later ate portion. Arrived after killing had been completed. Saw the above men carrying a female body. Cut and |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------|--|--|---|
| | | | | carried off an arm. Later ate it. |
| One Male | BEITOK of TIMELMIN | Caught and held onto a man who struggled violently and looked like he might escape. Later cut and carried off complete leg | DIRORUPSEP of URAPMIN MURUMAP of TIMELMIN DOTAM of TIMELMIN (X) | Came to BEITOK's assistance shooting an arrow into victim. Cut off leg. Stabbed victim with an arrow. Cut off an arm Had sore on leg. Arrived later than most. Carried BEITOK's leg home. Ate some of the flesh. |
| One Male | MEGRIAP of TIMELMIN | Held and stabbed victim in throat with cassowary bone knife. Later cut and carried off one of the victim's legs | FURURUREPSEP of KAREMIN (X) WAKIMSEP of TIMELMIN (X) KABIKABAT of TIMELMIN DANGANUP of URAPMIN WAKIN of TIMELMIN SEWE of TIMELMIN (X) | Stabbed victim in neck with bamboo arrow. Later cut part of leg from body. Ate flesh. Shot victim in stomach with bamboo arrow. Later cut stomach out and carried it away. Ate portion in village. Shot bamboo arrow into victim in area of heart. Later cut and carried off an arm. Ate portion of flesh. Shot an arrow into victim. Later cut and carried off an arm. Shot an arrow into victim. Later cut and carried off lower leg. Did not take part in actual killing. Cut flesh from the leg that MREGRIAP had obtained. Later helped cook and eat flesh. |
| MANGANIP female abducted | BEITAP of TIMELMIN (X) | Chased and held victim. Took her back to village did not harm her. She escaped 6 days later | FURURUREPSEP of KAREMIN (X) | Wanted to kill this women. Stopped by BEITAP. Went on to help MEGRIAP see above. |

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------|------------------------------|---|---|--|
| <p>One Male</p> | <p>DAMDIMAP of URAPMIN</p> | <p>Held and stabbed victim in throat with cassowary bone knife. Later cut and carried off victim's leg.</p> | <p>NENAKIEM of URAPMIN (X)</p> <p>ABENAP of URAPMIN (X)</p> <p>KOMONAP of TEMANMIN (X)</p> <p>SEGERUP of TEMANMIN (X)</p> <p>YESIN of URAPMIN (X)</p> <p>KAPSIT of TEMANMIN (X)</p> | <p>Shot victim with an arrow. Took corpse's lower leg. Ate portion of flesh.</p> <p>Took no part in actual killing. Took corpse's arm back to village. Ate flesh.</p> <p>On arrival at garden saw DAMDIMAP and NENAKIEM standing near a body. DAMDIMAP, NENAKIEM, KOMONAP and SEGERUP had cut the body about. Cut off the buttocks. Later ate some of the flesh.</p> <p>Arrived late due sore on leg. Cut an arm off the body. Ate portion of flesh.</p> <p>Took no part in actual killing. Was given share of DAMDIMAP's leg. Ate portion of flesh later in village.</p> <p>Youth. Took no part in actual killing. On return to village ate some flesh given him by AREMAP.</p> |
| <p>DANOK-TONIM. Male child</p> | <p>MOROTAP of TIMELMIN</p> | <p>Caught the child. Later cut and carried off the victim's left leg</p> | <p>HARANGE of TIMELMIN (or AKANGERAP)</p> <p>KUIFAM of TIMELMIN (X)</p> | <p>Shot an arrow into the boy's chest. Later cut and carried off the right leg of the victim.</p> <p>Boy was still alive struggling for breath. Axed him twice. Cut down through neck and collarbone. Once across ribs. Killed victim carried left arm away.</p> |
| <p>One Male</p> | <p>SIGIRONSEP of SOGAMIN</p> | <p>Held victim stabbed him in neck with bone dagger. Carried off victim's lower right leg.</p> | <p>AREMAP of SOGAMIN</p> <p>SIGIMAP of SOGAMIN</p> | <p>Shot arrow into victim's left side near navel – came out back. Cut off victim's right leg – lower leg given to SIGIRONSEP.</p> <p>Shot arrow into man.</p> |

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|-------------------------|---|
| | | | SINAP of SOGAMIN (X) | Shot victim. Arrow struck shoulder blade did not penetrate body. Cut flesh from buttocks later eaten. |
| | | | AMUSEP of TIMELMIN (X) | Shot victim in the back – arrow tip emerged other side. Caused death. Did not cut body or eat any flesh. |
| | | | SERAKMAP of SOGAMIN (X) | Shot arrow into ATBALMIN's right thigh. Took flesh from left thigh. Later cooked and ate. |
| | | | KAREMAP of TIMELMIN | Took no part in actual killing. Carried left lower leg away. |
| | | | HORIM of TEMANMIN (X) | IMAUSEP and ABANIAR of SOGAMIN. Killed an ATBALMIN male. HORIM on arrival at the garden searched for possible escapees – found none. Later ate flesh given him by IMAUSEP (Buttocks) and AREMAP (arm) |
| | | | MOTUMAP of TIMLMIN (X) | Took no part in actual killings. Travelled in middle of line. Chased two ATBALMINS but lost them. Ate some flesh from female body given him by BENGSAK. |
| | | | NENTAP of TEMANMIN (X) | Went up to village above garden with WATUPNOK (see page 1). Ate portion of the leg which WATUPNOK received from DAMBEROK. |
| | | | TETANING of SOGAMIN (X) | Went with raiding party at back of line. Took no part in actual killing. Given portions of leg by SIGIRONSEP. Ate some flesh. |
| | | | DAMSOGIN of URAPMIN (X) | Ringleader of the second ATBALMIN raid. Took major part in instigation and organisation. When |

| | | | | |
|--|--|--|--|---|
| | | | | raiding party returned to the village ate flesh and brains of an ATBALMIN male. |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |

Acronyms used in Sepik 4:

| | |
|--------|--|
| 1812 | Ex-War time 40 ft work boat. |
| 7.A | Seven Association |
| ABSM | Australian Baptist Mission Society |
| ADC | Assistant District Commissioner |
| ADO | Assistant District Officer |
| AIB | Allied Intelligence Bureau |
| AIF | Australian Imperial Force |
| ANGAU | Australia New Guinea Administrative Unit |
| AN&EF | Australian Naval and Expeditionary Force [WW1] |
| AOG | Assemblies of God |
| APC | Australian Petroleum Company |
| APP | All People's Party |
| ARM | Assistant Resident Magistrate [Papuan administration of ADO] |
| ASL | Above Sea Level |
| AWCU | Australian War Crimes Unit |
| BEM | British Empire Medal |
| BGD | Bulolo Gold Dredging Limited - employer of Sepik Labour |
| BMR | Bureau of Mineral Resources |
| Capt. | Captain |
| C in C | Commander in Charge |
| CCND | Christian Committee for National Development |
| CI | Circular Instruction |
| CILM | Commission of Inquiry into Land Matters |
| CLTC | Christian Leadership Training Centre |
| CM | Catholic Mission |
| CM | Circular Memorandum |
| CMML | Christian Missions in Many Lands |
| Const. | Constable |
| CPA | Communist Party of Australia |
| CPO | Cadet Patrol Officer |
| CSB | Commonwealth Savings Bank |
| DASF | Department of Agriculture Stock and Fisheries |
| DDC | Deputy District Commissioner |
| DDS&NA | Department of District Services and Native Affairs |
| DLO | District Labour Officer |
| DNE | Deceased Native Estate |
| DO | District Officer |
| EMA | European Medical Assistant |
| EPL | Exploratory Prospecting Licence. |
| FOJ | Field Officer's Journal |
| FORMIL | Four miles to the inch – Map scale |
| HQ | Headquarters |

| | |
|----------|--|
| HQ 8 MD | Headquarters 8 th Military District [PNG] |
| JP | Justice of the Peace |
| KM | Kilometre |
| LGC | Local Government Council |
| Lieut. | Lieutenant |
| LL | Luluai |
| LTC | Lands Titles Commission |
| MA | Mataungan Association |
| MAF | Mission Aviation Fellowship |
| MAL | Mandate Airlines |
| MHA | Member of the House of Assembly |
| MP | Member of Parliament |
| MTCDA | Mt Turu Christian Democratic Association |
| MTT | Medical Tultul |
| MV | Motor Vessel |
| NARs | Native Administration Regulations |
| NCO | Non- Commissioned Officer |
| NGAU | New Guinea Administrative Unit |
| NGIB | New Guinea Infantry Battalion |
| NGRU | New Guinea Research Unit |
| NLGC | Native Local Government Council |
| NLO | Native Labour Ordinance |
| NMO | Native Medical Orderly |
| NORCOM | Northern Command |
| NPP | National Progress Party |
| NTM | New Tribes Mission |
| NWPO | Native Women's Protection Ordinance |
| NVC Ord. | Native Village Courts Ordinance |
| OFM | Ordo Fractum Minorium – Franciscan Friars Minor |
| OIC, O/C | Officer in Charge |
| OPM | Free Papua Movement [West Iirian] |
| OR | Other Ranks [Non commissioner] |
| OSL | Oil Search Limited. |
| OTML | Ok Tedi Mining Limited |
| PA | Prospecting Authority |
| PA | Peli Association |
| PANGU | Papua New Guinea Union |
| PCB | Production Control Board – a Rabaul employer of Sepik Labour |
| PIR | Pacific Islands Regiment [of Australian army] |
| PMV | Passenger Motor Vehicle |
| PNG | Papua New Guinea |
| PNGDF | Papua New Guinea Defence Force |
| PNGVR | Papua New Guinea Volunteer Rifles |
| PO | Patrol Officer |

| | |
|---------|--|
| POIC | Patrol Officer in charge |
| PSC | Public Service Commission |
| Pte | Private |
| QCC | Queensland Criminal Code |
| R&R | Rest & Recreation |
| RAAF | Royal Australian Air Force |
| RAN | Royal Australian Navy |
| REV | Reverend |
| RN | Royal Navy |
| RM | Resident Magistrate [Papuan administration equivalent of DO] |
| RPC | Royal Papua Constabulary |
| RP&NGC | Royal Papua New Guinea Constabulary |
| R/T | Radio Transmission |
| SDA | Seventh Day Adventist |
| SGT | Sergeant |
| SIL | Summer Institute of Linguistics |
| SIV | Stores Issue Voucher |
| SLGO | “SLUGO” Senior Local Government Officer |
| SM | Stipendiary Magistrate |
| S/MJR | Sergeant Major |
| SPCA | Sepik Producers Cooperative Association |
| SPOS | Small particle of shit [senior kiaps’ reference to CPOs] |
| SSEM | South Seas Evangelical Mission |
| STANVAC | Standard Vacuum of New Jersey |
| SVD | Society of the Divine Word – Catholic Mission |
| TNG | Territory of New Guinea |
| TPNG | Territory of Papua New Guinea |
| TT | Tultul |
| USS | United States Ship |
| UDP | United Democratic Party |
| UN | United Nations |
| UPP | United Progress Party |
| VOC | <i>Veernigde Oost-Indische Compagnie</i> Dutch East India Co |
| WNG | West New Guinea |
| W/T | Wireless Transmission |
| WW 2 | World War 2 |

People, Spirits and Gods in the order they appear

Chapter 1 The Kaiiambi massacre 1946- An Example of Raw Tribal Violence

- Okiapis, a woman of Kaiiambi
- Kanaga of Yau – Okiapis lover
- Yenwanga – Okiapis' guardian
- Wiliau – Okiapis' betrothed Killed at Yau
- Amul of Yau
- Sapsuma of Kaiiambi killed at Yau
- Mokai/Kwomlisi
- Wutam/Makitawaun
- Wautama/Kludis
- Biam/ Kapiya
- Yo'usiv/Kra'umbi
- Inagara
- Alomb
- Sau'usad
- Olu
- Nangra
- Sambasau – writer's informant
- Walter Behrmann – German Geographer
- Karandaman of Malu – writer's informant
- J.K.McCarthy
- Luluai Kauga of Kaiiambi
- Galagala, later Tultul of Kaiiambi
- Gurara
- Sinapi
- Wiliau
- Laurie Doolin – ADO Angoram
- Orwin – Patrol Officer
- Namgoibol of Swagup – writer's informant
- Lufak, a Kaiiambi women killed by Swagup
- Yagi of Swagup killed by Kaiiambi
- Yorokosiba of Swagup
- Faip, a Swagup warrior of note
- Kaiiambi fight leader also called Faip
- Nubudef of Swagup
- Kabruawa – a Kaiiambi survivor
- Golio of Kaiiambi beheaded
- Siboauwi of Kaiiambi – eaten
- Sibiando – a Swagup garamut
- Bisok
- Ulambo
- Amkol
- Nobusbunei
- Kasakoro of Swagup
- Kansua – wife
- Kiatimp of Kaiiambi
- Dimiep of Swagup
- Dit of Swagup
- Nanplas of Kaiiambi
- Administrator McNicholl

of Kaiiambi

Killed at Kaiiambi

of Yessan

Kaiiambi ancestors

Kaiiambi men recruited pre-war as plantation labourers

Swagup people killed at Kaiiambi

C.J. "Jack" Cahill Cadet Patrol Officer
Horrie Niall District Officer
J.J.Murphy a/District Officer
Neil Grant Patrol Officer

Chapter 2 War Graves Quest to Recover Lieut. Barracluff's Remains Oct. 1946 to Nov. 1949

Lieut Joseph Barracluff – killed by Japanese
Capt Burnett War Graves investigator
Bill. Macgregor explorer, gold miner and now acting Patrol Officer
Dr, McInterney
Constable 2408 Dopi
Police Cpl Bengun
Constable Bangua
Constable Wensikin
P.K.Moloney Patrol Officer
Ralph Ormsby ADO Angoram
Administrator J.K.Murray

Chapter 3 Patrols in the Uncontrolled Palei-Mai Mai Region Part 1 – PO George Morris 1947.

J.Hodgekiss Patrol Officer
Lieut Fryer
Des Martin Patrol Officer – Dreikikir
George Morris Patrol Officer
Dudley Young Whitford Patrol Officer
R.H.Boyan a/ADO Aitape
Constable Turu
Constable Nangi
Sgt Major 2232 Simogun
Constable Dani
Mr Zweck Patrol Officer
Mr Bloxham ADO
G.A.V. Stanley Oil Search Geologist
The late J.Hyde Patrol Officer
The late Mr Elliott Patrol Officer
J.H.Jones a/Director
Safu a girl married to Keiwoa of Makafim
Waki – elderly lady
Wailiwan – Makafim leader
Geibi of Weyon hamlet – Next of kin – wife Masawoa
Wolmo of Weyon hamlet – Next to kin – mother Salmi
Bauwi of Wamanakoa hamlet – no NOK
George Oakes Patrol Officer – established Nuku Patrol Post 1957-58
J.R.Halligan – Administrator's Secretary

} Killed in the attack on
Morris' patrol

Chapter 4 Patrols in the Uncontrolled Palei-Mai Mai Region Part 2 – PO J.D.[Des] Martin 1951.

J.D. "Des" Martin Patrol Officer
Sgt Nemo
E.Wilson European Medical Assistant
Des Clancy – District Commissioner [West Sepik]
Yowi Tultul of Maimai
Makut of Awelva
A.R.Haviland ADO Maprik
Mr Wearne – ADO Aitape
PB Wenke Patrol Officer

Chapter 5 Aspects of Dreikirik Anthropology frozen in 1951-53 time

Denys Faithful Patrol Officer
Waniambu of Warasai
Allan Timperley District Commissioner
Thomas C. Aitkin
DR.P Karberry Anthropologist

Chapter 6 A history of Sepik Cargo Cults, and Nativistic Movements.

Professor Peter Lawrence
Kavan – cult leader
a/ADO Daugherty – Ambunti
Numbuk – cult leader
Father Blasig

Chapter 7 The Return & Increased Diversity of Christian Missions in the Sepik

Father Eberhard Limbrock
Sir Hubert Murray
Monsignor Ignatius Doggett
Alois Kawan from Tarawai Island
Father Puff
Father Karl of Torembei mission station
Father Kowalski at Marui
Father Jansen at Chambri then Kapaimari
Father Leo
Father Toth
Ambo of Burui
Father Segal re-constructed Burui
ADO Ralph Ormsby
Mr & Mrs Gander of the SDA Mission
Mr Orm Speck and his wife SDA Ambunti
Jack Cahill Patrol Officer
Bowi cargo cult
Gau/Dambwi – nolle prosequi on carnal knowledge charge
I.F. Champion a/Director
M.C.W.Rich a/Director
J.H.Jones Director
Reverends Orr and Kronert of Baptist Mission visiting the Sepik
Stan Dale seeking access to Telefomin [but see Chapter 41]
H.W.West ADO Telefomin
Dr Kenneth Pike – President of Summer Institute of Linguistics
Osmar White of the Melbourne Sun newspaper
S.A.Lonergan Government Secretary
Jack Green – Baptist Mission Baiyer River
Ian and Jill Flatters – Baptist Mission Tekin
Paul Minter SIL Director
Liddle family – Christian Missions in Many Lands – Green River
Roy and Kay Austin CMLL Amanab
Makain of Lumi
Paul Flemming – founder of New Tribes Mission
Sachiko Hatanaka
Philip Moore Patrol Officer
H.W.Gill Cadet Patrol Officer
Barry Ryan ADO Ambunti

Peter Colton Patrol Officer
 J.C.Corrigan ADO Ambunti
 W.Van Rixoord Patrol Officer
 Ruediger Treutein Patrol Officer
 Robin Barclay Patrol Officer
 Father Campbell of Kubkain mission station
 L.Binjari Trainee Patrol Officer
 Dennis Mahar Patrol Officer
 David Stevens Cadet Patrol Officer

Chapter 8 The Iatmul tribal Colonization of Chambri Lakes

Wineri of Yanget
 Yuomoli
 Yuandublangai
 Watnagwan
 Wungunyambi
 Meivan of Kandingai
 Ararabi of Kandingai
 Father Pull of Maiwi mission purchased sago for Kandingai
 Sangerembanga
 Wapi
 Kworopnau of Kilimbit
 Patrol Officer Gilbert
 Patrol Officer Thomas
 Patrol Officer R.G.Orwin
 a/ADO Zweck
 Lands Titles Commission

Sought access to access to Gungusa sago market channel– denied by Yentchanmangua – a fight developed

of Indingai sent message to Kandingai inviting Them to occupy Timbunmeri Island

all tried to resolve the Timbunmeri Isl land dispute

Chapter 9 The Swagup head hunting raid of February 1952

Biko – Local Government Councillor – writer’s informant
 J.Cahill Patrol Officer
 L.J Doolan ADO Angoram
 R.G.Orwin Patrol Officer
 Mungurebi – Luluai of Brugnowi
 Sinowi a man
 Kaimank wife of Wungurebi
 Wasanda wife of Sinowi
 Yambundimanga
 Napal – elder of Swagup speared Sinowi
 Nabusgol of Swagup
 Kauwun of Swagup
 Yimbon of Swagup
 Manuwet of Swagup
 Wogiowei of Swagup
 Yangur of Swagup
 Gina of Swagup
 Mangen of Swagup
 Sambudep of Swagup
 Divei of Swagup
 Gusap of Swagup
 Tiuo of Swagup
 Sabis of Swagup
 Ukunowi – Sacred wooden trumpet

All killed in Swagup’s head hunting raid 1951/2

Swagups allegedly killed by Brugnowi long ago
 They were actually killed by Yambon

Yambugunauwi Sacred wooden trumpet
 Aru - sacred flute
 Bib'bakap – sacred flute
 Ablas – Kauiembi elder brought in by the patrol
 Kiliptab – Kauiembi elder brought in by the patrol
 Tultul Galagala – Kauiembi brought in by the patrol
 Yangusumei of Swagup speared Constable Alu
 Magiwau – a Swagup elder speared Constable Ambu
 Nagarauwus – a Swagup woman was shot dead
 Nasidwarok female was shot through the canoe and through the thigh
 Divei [Duvei] }
 Pio } Swagup prisoners taken away on *Osprey*
 Masinuwau }
 W Crellin Patrol Officer in charge Green River
 Magantawa – female of Brugnawi was a witness
 N.Minmister – *Osprey's* half caste engineer
 a/ADO Reintano
 Yabi of Yambon
 Tumak of Yambon
 Sumuro of Swagup
 A.T.Timperley a/District Commissioner
 P.Wenke Patrol Officer
 John Cochrane Patrol Officer
 Ross Allen Patrol Officer
 Jack Mater Patrol Officer
 Arthur Marks Patrol Officer
 Avandugu of Kauiembi
 Tim Gill Cadet Patrol Officer
 J.Hunter Patrol Officer
 Murray Tomlinson Patrol officer
 Baipwon/Bino of Swagup
 Yaganau of Swagup shot Baipwon dead

Chapter 10 The Yagisimari Massacre April/May 1952

P.B.Wenke Patrol Officer
 Tami Luluai of Mari
 Nargus of Yagisimari [also known as Upper Mari]
 Bedu/Nangas [Nargus]
 Narwei of Yagisimari
 Mawi an elder of Mari with arrow wounds
 Medau – female wounded with an arrow
 Seia }
 Monito }
 Bedu }
 Wama } Seven men of Mari and Yagisimari killed in a raid by Inaru Bugiaui and
 Wasa } Namu - No arrests were made or convictions recorded
 Samanga }
 Gibogis }

Chapter 11 Establishment of Telefomin Patrol Post 1948, and events to Late 1953

Richard Thurnwald – German explorer discovered Telefomin 1914
 Charles Karius and Ivan Champion 1927/8
 Ward Williams expedition 1936/37

Taylor and Black 1938/39
 Michael Leahy – Squadron Leader 1944/45
 Bill Gammage Historian and author
 Femsep } Telefomin leaders
 Nefinim [Nifitamin] }
 Afek – “Min” ancestress
 Sune of Fogilmin – Interpreter
 Frank. D.Jones ADO
 Ivan F.Champion
 Jim Glindeman – Aviation Inspector } Two night visit 1948 – preliminary to station set up
 Bobby Gibbs Pilot of Gibbs Sepik Air }
 Desmond Clifton Bassett a/ADO } Opened the
 A.J.Zweck Patrol Officer } Patrol Post
 J.S.Arthur Superintendent Dept Civil Aviation
 J.M.Rogers Patrol Officer
 Joel Robbins – author
 H,R.Niall – District Officer Wewak
 Harry West Patrol Officer
 Laurie Doolan Patrol Officer
 Laurie Nolen Patrol Officer
 Colin Simpson -author
 Ruth Craig – wife of Barry Craig – school teacher
 J.A.Gauci Cadet Patrol Officer
 K.Graham Cadet Patrol Officer
 G.B.Harris Cadet Patrol Officer
 Robert Melrose a/Government Secretary
 Gerald Szarka Patrol Officer
 Mr Aldridge – Baptist Missionary
 Deboming – Telefomin head man
 Fafilmin of Utemtagin } Patrol carriers drowned in May river during Nolen’s
 Wanameng of Misinmin } 1953 patrol
 Uramin of Abunkamin }
 Tubuweng of Dimiduvip }
 Barupsep of Urapmin }
 A.A.Roberts a/Director
 George Richard Gluyas Wearne ADO
 John Mowat Wearne ADO Telefomin 1966
 Rhys Healey European Medical Assistant

Chapter 12 The Telefomin Uprising of November 1953

Gerald Szarka Patrol Officer } Those killed during the Telefomin uprising of
 Geoffrey Harris Cadet Patrol Officer } 6th November 1953
 Constable Buritori }
 Constable Purari }
 F.D.Jones ADO Telefomin
 Justice Gore of the PNG Supreme Court } Some who have written about the uprising
 W.A.Lalor }
 James Sinclair }
 Bill Brown }
 Ivan James }
 Phil Fitzpatrick }
 Tim Flannery }

Barry Craig
 Paul Johnson
 Tim Flannery
 Paul Quinlivan
 And others

} Others who have written about the uprising

Rev. N.W.Draper of the Baptist mission
 A.T.Timperley a/District Commissioner
 Sitkuningim – headman of Terapdavip
 Kalmafagegim of Terapdavip
 Koresip of Ankeivip
 Dumarogim of Ankeivip
 Novonengim of Okfekamin
 Sebemnok of Okfekamin
 Kabaramsep of Telefolip
 Okmansep
 Nemisep
 Foritgim
 Yamin

Bragge Note. Jones' excellent account contains endless names which I see no point listing

Geoffrey Brodrib Harris
 Constable Mulai of Sapa – Waria valley
 Constable Paheki of Mumuni – Poppondetta
 Constable Kombo of Palimbiri – Mt Hagen
 Bunat of Moin – Sepik River Medical Orderly
 Sinoksep of Tagatemtigin – Interpreter
 Tegori of Oksivip – Harris' servant

} Harris ' party at Terapdavip
 6th November 1953

Damugim of Misinmin struck Harris in the face with an axe as he was getting out of bed
 Kalmafagegim of Terapdavip hit Harris across the forehead with an axe
 Nemisep fired an arrow into Harris solar plexus
 Tegori took word of the attack to Telefomin
 Fagegim struck Constable Kombo in the right shoulder with an axe
 Constable Kombo shot Damugim in the shoulder as he raised an axe over Harris
 The sound of the shot caused the attackers to run
 Tinkukumining, Sinoksep's uncle from Tagatemtigin agreed to assist Harris party
 Constable Paheki stood guard and received an arrow wound in the forehead
 Harris died at 5.20 pm
 Constables Yendabari and Lego arrived from Telefomin
 Sinoksep was awarded a Loyal Service Medal.

Gerald Leo Szarka
 Constable Buritori of the Waria valley
 Constable Purari "Buka" of Buna
 Constable Mulai of Talasea
 Ludwig Scolding Szarka's servant of Muschu Island

} Szarka's party at Uguntemtigin
 6th November 1953

Agarming of Komdavip Interpreter
 Purari and Agarming were sent on to Misinmin
 Kaiorengal seized Szarka
 Novonengim seized Buritori
 Tigimnok struck Szarka in the throat with an axe. He then cut the body in two at waist level,
 Then cut off both legs
 Buritori broke free but was struck between the shoulder blades with an axe by Arolengim
 Sartemgim struck Buritori in the throat with an axe

Kankesep fired an arrow into Buritori's solar plexus
 Constable Mulai in the bush cutting bed sleeve poles returned to find rest house vacant
 Skoldi had been laundering clothes, met Mulai, later separated. Skoldi went to Telefomin
 Tovipnok of Komdavisip took Mulai in and protected him
 Binaminip, a woman went ahead with a ceremonially broken arrow meaning "peace"
 Carrying this symbol before them a Komdavisip party escorted Mulai to Telefomin

Purari and Argaraming arrived at Komdavisip

Ivasimnok
 Moniaksep
 Fobonening
 Nasimnok
 Arinening
 Asogoning
 Digimening
 Aningapnok

All of Komdavisip struggled with Purari and killed him
 and threw his body over a waterfall

Sauweni – Lance Corporal of police – took control

Rev Draper radioed District Commissioner

Kusimnok – Telefomin constable

Owisimnok – Telefomin constable

Femsep

Kabaransep } Telefomin leaders taken into custody by L/Cpl Sauweni

Kornsep

G.R.G.Wearne

L.R.Healey } Set in by DC to investigate

B.A.Ryan CPO

S.Elliott Smith relieved Timperley as DC

B.R.Corrigan ADO

W.B.Giles ADO

W.W.Crellin PO

Kiaps sent into Telefomin to investigate and make arrests

A.Zweck PO

L.T.Nolen PO

F.D.Jones PO

a/District Officer J.Preston White conducted the preliminary hearing

Sub inspector Grainger – prosecuted

S.S.Smith and Mert Brightwell appeared for the defence

Nine natives sentenced to death for killing Harris

Ten natives sentenced to death for killing Szarka

Seven natives sentenced to death for killing Buritori

Eight natives were sentenced to death for killing Purari

Each sentence was commuted to
 ten years hard labour

Tobaronsep of Uguntempigin gave evidence in the Supreme court

Constable Autau

Binatang – Nolen's Telefomin mistress

Keith Bricknell Baptist missionary Tekin

John Stobart CPO

Chapter 13 Quinlivan's Important Discovery of "Min" Ancestress AFEK

Paul J.Quinlivan – Crown Law Prosecutor

Afek "The Old Lady" the ancestress of the "min" people

Afek killed her brother

Chapter 14 The Continued Exploration of the Upper Sepik

J.Cahill Patrol Officer

Ralph Ormsby ADO Angoram

J.L.Taylor
Lieut Joseph Barracluff
P.B.Wenke Patrol Officer
H.R.Niall District Officer
A.J.Zweck Patrol Officer

Chapter 15 Petroleum and Minerals Surveys in the August and Upper Sepik Rivers.

Capt P.H.MacIntosh [1917]
Anglo Persian Oil Company
G.W.L.Townsend District Officer
Harry Eve of Oil Search Limited [OSL]
Jim Hodgekiss Patrol Officer
Adrian Geyle Patrol Officer
Enterprise of New Guinea Gold and Petroleum Development – No Liability
Mert Brightwell Patrol Officer
A.Jentzsch of Wau – party leader
Mr Williamson
Sep. Paterson – Geologist and Party leader
John Frawley PO i/c Green River – escort 6/7/55 to 7/8/55
Mert Brightwell – escort from 7/8/55 onwards
Dr. Sturfels – consulting geologist
Corporal 4215 Nabundameri
L/Corporal 2198 Simon
Constables 5112 Lani, 3926 Jange, 6093 Muyae, 6737 Langa, 1877 Wanskin
3896 Alu, 4175 Bunaua, 7937 Karai and 8419 Kimbu
J.Perry – relieving resident geologist Wau
E.Harridge
Mr. Paterson
Dr Sturfels and Mr. McGrath
Dr. S and E.Harridge
D.Probert and E.Harridge
S.Paterson and D.Probert
***“What do the Dutch know of these activities
And what are they likely to find out?”***
Dr. Leonard Schultze-Jena 1910
Dr. Behrmann 1912/13
R.Thurnwald 1914
Karius & Champion 1928-29
J.Ward Williams 1935-36
G.A.V.Stanley 1938
W. Sykes. 1954
Shell Oil Co’s exploratory arm Pecten - the Nopan prospect 1984
Anderman-Smith Petroleum Prospect Licence [PPL] 120 Lower Sepik 1991
Mobil PPLs 144, 145 & 146 10,000,000 acres Sepik/Madang 1992
Louisiana Land and Exploration 1992

Chapter 16 The Yellow River Massacre of August 1956

Mert Brightwell ADO Ambunti
E.D. “Sepik Robbie” Robinson – pre-war
[James L.Taylor 1939]
The Thurston Expedition May 1942
R.C.Mackie – labour recruiter 1955
Karandaman of Malu

Kwaso of Wanimoi – Killed by Yellow River people
 Nari/Numa of Wanimoi repatriated labourer, appointed Tultul
 Nahi/Migu Wanimoi elder demanded payback for Kwaso
 Ausa and Gwaina of Wanimoi accompanied Nari to meet Yellow Rv people
 Irolai of Yellow River met on the Sepik peace arranged
 Paidei, Baileli, Wunibei & Youneri took message to Tipar
 Numnia of Wanimoi
 Naini/Imwano of Wanimoi gave Yellow Rv woman sago and fish
 Woripa, a Yellow Rv man and his child Witumereii tried to depart were called back
 Nakuna of Wanimoi speared Neru and the massacre took place
 Taigwe, Wunibei and Youneri – the only three Yellow Rv Men to escape death
 Yellow Rv women Aiyenali, Yegiei viewed the bodies
 Aiba, Owinawaki, Wariso, Palei, Marani and Yemieii – were the bodies viewed
 12 bodies and two heads had been taken by the Wanimois
 Mr Spencer – Manager of Tomlabatt plantation, Tabar Isl New Ireland
 F.Jones ADO Lumi
 A.L.Redmond Patrol Officer May River
 P.G.A.Conroy Patrol Officer
 Mr Sullivan Patrol Officer

Chapter 17 Aitape and Green River patrols – walking the 141st Meridian 1956

Thomas Aitchison District Officer Wewak
 W.T.Brown ADO Aitape } To patrol 141st meridian [Dutch New Guinea border
 B.A.Ryan Patrol Officer Vanimo } from the north
 Robin Calcutt Patrol Officer Green River to patrol the 141st Meridian from the south
 Ioranol the Koranou [Dutch Official – equating to Luluai] of Sekotchiau
 Weson the Mandol [Dutch Official – equating to Tultul] of Sekotchiau
 Sgt. Stavermann of the war-time “Dutch” party }
 Mr. Hodgekiss } references to past history
 Mr W. Hook }
 B.A.McCabe – Green River patrol 1/1952-53
 D.C.Laycock – Linguist

Chapter 18 The Exploration of May River 1956 =>

John Cochrane Patrol Officer
 G.J.McIntyre Patrol Officer
 A.L.Redmond Patrol Officer
 M.Brightwell ADO Ambunti
 Police Sgt Sauweni
 Paul Conroy Patrol Officer }
 Ron Neville ADO Telefomin } The subject of the next chapter – contacts with
 Geoff Booth Patrol Officer } Mianmin people administered from May River
 Allan Kelly European Medical Assistant }
 Minu of Pekwe
 Kwainas of Wanimoi threatened sorcery
 Nausa of Ogagaisu
 Neino of Aumi alleged sorcerer
 Sauwauasa an elder of the “Hill people”
 J “Jack” Mater Patrol Officer
 Lieut Adamson – Pacific Islands Regiment [PIR]
 B.H.Mulcahy Patrol Officer
 J.B.Schmidt – interviewed for entering restricted area without a permit
 D.O.Dougherty ADO Ambunti

Len Aisbett ADO Telefomin
 Jim Fenton Cadet Patrol Officer
 Tony Trollope
 B.H.Mulcahy
 Lieut Farry PIR
 Orsak of Temsenmin
 John Corrigan Patrol Officer
 B.A.Downes Patrol Officer
 D.Martin ADO Ambunti and Tim Gill
 Noel Walters PO and David Emery
 Jim Hunter Patrol Officer
 Harry West District Inspector
 Sachiko Hatanaka
 Tony Pitt Patrol Officer
 John White Patrol Officer
 Onai, Kaniai, Senu and Imso of Wanimoi females murdered, one eaten
 Woimau, Sumo, Nikiam/Gabuai, Nikiam/Wabusa, Nikiam/Savavai, Imari, Imo, Kerari, Yabuti,
 and Imamo - Naukwi men arrested.
 Suwuinau, Imei, Yamo, Imare, Weiko, Imauwa and Soiya -Mumuvura men arrested
 Tony Plumber Patrol Officer made 20 arrests – Nolle prosequi as no interpreter available
 Algernon Besasparis Patrol Officer
 L.W.Bragge Patrol Officer [Green River]
 Peter Rooke Medical Assistant
 P.S.Gall ADO Telefomin
 Luluai Yessim of Usagi
 M.Tomlinson Patrol Officer
 J.C.Corrigan ADC Ambunti
 Dennis Mahar – established Ama Patrol Post
 David Stevens
 Peter Walsh
 Nyarawen of Brugnowi – murdered at Panewai

Chapter 19 The Mianmin raid on Atbalmin 1956.

David Wren ADO Telefomin
 Ron Neville a/ADO Telefomin [Wren's successor]
 Geoff Booth Patrol Officer
 Dogomin – a Mianmin headman
 Damsogin – a Mianmin headman [Urapmin group]
 Unnamed, a Inantigin carrier died in an accident and was buried

} Telefomin patrol No 1
1956-57 The warning

Ron Neville a/ADO
 Geoff Booth Patrol Officer
 Paul Conroy Patrol Officer
 Alan Kelly Medical Assistant

} Telefomin patrol No 4/1956-57 seeking to apprehend the
Miamins warriors responsible for the Atbalimn massacre

Damsogin contacted
 16 Mianmin arrested, one shot dead in skirmish 22nd January 1957
 Booth, Conroy, 19 police & 88 carriers to Fak rv to receive re-supply
 Damsogin's wife and child in Patrol camp for medical treatment
 Kokomkan [also spelt Kogumkan] – an abducted Atbalmin women delivered to the Patrol
 Neville, Kelly and 19 Prisoners – to Telefomin
 Booth and Conroy – to Karenmin area
 Dirpsep/Damsogin
 Wapning, Dopmurap,

} Of Urapmin were present when the Raid was planned

Wananapsep/Nemekap
 Biluwengap/Aabofol
 Ukbep/Nokbul
 Amtamning/Damsogin

} Mianmin men murdered by Atbalmin. This was the reason for the 1956/57 raid against Atbalmin

Mr Rogers Patrol Officer - in 1950 reported 138 Elip people killed by Mianmin
 Damsogin, in poor health - captured
 Goble – European Medical Assistant

a/District Officer F.Kaad
 A.A.Roberts Director
 Jack Mater Patrol Officer
 Don Gardner Anthropologist

} Concerning Mr Booths patrol report

Chapter 20 Kavan of Arinjone Business Cult March 1956 =>

Kavan [Kavun] of Nyaurengai [and Arinjone] cult leader
 Anjin of Japanaut

Alois Kawaun of Marap – writer’s informant

Denys Faithful Patrol Officer

Luluai Yanju of Kandingei

Yameri of Burui

Luluai Kawang of Yamuk

S.Elliott Smith District Commissioner

D.R.Marsh District Officer

a/ADO Ambunti D.P. O’Sullivan

Kami of Torembei

Tiaid of Nyaurengai

Sui/Ambukaru of Yaunget

} Kavan’s reported henchmen

Mr Tierney Cadet Patrol Officer

Father Seigal of Burui mission received some serious reports

Mathias Yambumbei of Indingai

Deborah Gewertz – Anthropologist

Fredrick Errington – Anthropologist

R.J.Daugherty a/ADO Ambunti

Chapter 21 Kero of Maingai’s cult of 1958 =>

Kero of Malingai cultist con-man

Wiat – opposed Kero

John Cochrane Patrol Officer

Chapter 22 Cult Leader Numbuk of Korogo village 1959/60

Numbuk of Korogo – cult leader

D.J.Daugherty a/ADO Ambunti

Luluai Hauwina of Marambanja

Daniel Hauwina

Wili – Numbuk’s protégé

Korinya of Jama

B.H.Mulcahy Patrol Officer

D.J.Clancy District Commissioner

Chapter 23 Sepik Interest in Cooperatives and Local Government Councils

Paul Hasluck – Minister for External Territories

Brian Hull Cadet Patrol Officer

Chapter 24 The Suwana Massacre 1959

D.J.Daugherty a/ADO Ambunti J.P.

Jack Mater Patrol Officer

Lieut Adamson of the PIR
 G.J.McIntyre Patrol Officer
 Nauri an elder of Burumai
 Jack Mater and Jim Fenton conducted the investigation patrol
 Apominga }
 Kogoreniga } Suwana men killed in the Mianmin raid of January 1959
 Wabuo }
 Lausabo, a crippled female – killed in the same raid
 Bibabaisabo }
 Pamsibu }
 Orowi } Suwana women abducted in the January 1959 raid
 Eibagei - later escaped raised alarm }
 Sunagei – later murdered }
 Yalei }
 Maye – adult female originally abducted from Suwana
 Nagarame of Usage – Maye’s husband
 Sowasa – Maye’s half brother
 Kwini of Usage shot Kogoreniga with an arrow
 Kalamaua of Usagi shot Wabua with an arrow
 Kigakaua of Usagi claimed Orowi
 Kasikau of Usage claimed Sunagei
 Tafu of Usage claimed Pamsibu
 Kalamaua of Usage claimed Eibagei
 Not clear who claimed the other three women
 Lausibo unable to keep up – killed by Kaitak and Yumap
 Sunagei – killed with arrows fired by Titimaus, Atoning, Walantuwo and Bogugusep
 Kikekaua, Bogogosep, Damo, Atoning, Nagosuo, Titimaus, Bigiwida, Kalamaua, } Usagi men
 Tofu, Fafato, Didepmonabo, Kwini, Walantuwo, Kalaliwent, Dadap } arrested
 Nalu, Namau, Umbo, Sunaiyo }
 Naiti, Naggunua, Masio, Widinigi } Burumai men who accompanied
 Orosak of Temsenmin – whereabouts un known } the Usagi raiders
 All sentenced to death by Supreme Court – commuted to 4 years hard labour each
 David Pennefather Patrol Officer

Chapter 25 The NDU Language Family and Dr. Donald Laycock 1959-1973

Dr. Donald Laycock
 Father Kirschbaum –
 Ndu – means Man in these languages
 Margaret Mead Anthropologist
 Gregory Bateson Anthropologist
 Dr. Christian Coiffier
 Alexandra Aikenvald Linguist
 Alan Healey of Summer Institute of Linguistics

Chapter 26 A 1961-62 Cadet Patrol Officer Training experience.

R.I.Skinner District Commissioner Mt Hagen 1956
 Fred Dishon – Senior officer
 Ernest Mitchell a fellow Cadet Patrol Officer [CPO]
 Roy Andrews 1960 intake CPO
 Ken Cleary 1960 intake CPO
 Chris Wait – Patrol Officer
 Ian Downs – Korfena coffee plantation owner and former District Commissioner
 Explorer Danny Leahy

Joseph Searson
 Barry Holloway Patrol officer – later Sir Barry Speaker of the PNG Parliament
 Tony Power of Chevron Niugini
 Ken Connolly ADO Kainantu
 A.M.Bottrill ADO
 Otto Alder Patrol Officer
 Police Sgt. Gonene
 John Young-Whitford
 Ron Hiatt Patrol Officer
 Peter Emery
 Barry Griffin
 Jim Kent ADO Kundiawa
 Willie Kupo former kiap and Oil Industry Colleague

Chapter 27 “Wicked” Angoram – The Port Royal of the Sepik?

J.K.McCarthy Director
 Countess Ingeborg de Beausacq
 Lena Augis – author
 Mad Max [Kambaramba Village listed as a suitable film set]
 Father Kirschbaum of Marienberg
 Karandamann of Malu
 Malinowski – Anthropologist
 Erskine Caldwell author of “Tobacco Road”
 Tobacco Road – Angoram – the water front
 “Ai Gris” [flirtation] market Angoram
 Somerset Maugham
 Evelyn Waugh
 David Wall -writer and Angoram identity
 Don Bosguard – Clerk and Angoram Club President
 Kevin Trueman, Freddie Eichorn, “Sepik Robbie” Des and Clair Hill } some of the
 Jim McKinnon, Peter Johnson, Peter England, John Pasquarelli. } Frequenters of
 Adrian Bird, Geoff Liversidge, Ron Perry, Rudi Treutlein, Bob Mackie } the Angoram club
 Bob Cole – former ANGAU Captain and later District Commissioner
 Bob Mackie former ANGAU Warrant Officer and later Angoram beachcomber
 Bulle Ogier – French film actress [Film *La Vallee*]
 David Hay – the PNG Administrator and former war-time Major
 Rod Noble 1954 Cadet Patrol Officer
 Alex Zwicky former ADO Angoram
 “Bunny” Yoemans former ADO Angoram
 Film *Walk into Paradise* starring Chips Rafferty
 Chu Leong
 Elekama of Kiwim Chu Leong’s wife
 Patoman – Pasquarelli’s cook
 Warren Hansen – clerk at Ambunti }
 Martin Kerr – Patrol Officer } Public servants who resigned to go into
 Rudi Treitlein – Patrol, Officer } private enterprise
 Garry Luhrs – Patrol Officer }
 Wayne Heathcote }
 Norm Liddle
 Johnny Young – labour recruiter and trader
 Stan Christian – European Medical Assistant
 “Junior” Sir Dennis Buchanan

Shanghai Brown
Della – Shanghai’s daughter
Jimmy Pasquarelli
Pauline Hansen
Joe Kenny – owner of the Angoram Hotel
Dr, Mark Busse – PNG National Museum

Chapter 28 The Sepik Show of 1961.

James Hunter – Cadet Patrol Officer 1960
Des Martin – ADO Ambunti 1960-61
J.K.McCarthy Director
Robert R Cole – District Commissioner Wewak
John Wakeford District Officer Wewak
Xxxx Junior officer responsible – who need not be named
Father Jansen of Kapaimari mission
Paliwan of Parembei village
Senior Constable Augwi
Sarapuse of Kamanabit
Reverend Dale [see Chapter 41]

Chapter 29 Indonesian takeover of Dutch New Guinea 1962

Dutch East India Co [VOC] est. 1602
President Sukarno
Sir Hugh Foot – UN report 1962 – a wake up call
Michael Somare Sepik MP
Paul Langro Sepik MP
Angmai Bilas MP
Trainyan Kambipi MP
Tony Try Patrol Officer Wutung
Mr.Barnes Minister for External Territories
Mr.Freeth Minister for External Affairs

Chapter 30 Indonesian Border issues from an indigenous perspective

LW.Bragge – Oil Industry employee 1989
Diana Glazebrook academic writer
G.T.Linsley – District Officer North Sepik [which became West Sepik]
K.Jackson – District Officer South Sepik [which became East Sepik]
E.G “Ted” Hicks 1/District Commissioner Sepik – 1966 onwards DC of East Sepik
John J. Wakeford Deputy District Commissioner North Sepik
B.K.”Kerry” Lean Deputy District Commissioner South Sepik
D.J.Clancy – 1966 DC of the West Sepik [later called Sandaun Province]
The Amsor family
Charles Amsor
Joseph Amsor
Amsor siblings Oscar and Niki
Kapai and Purium of Sissano
Meriuk of Sissano
Nicholass Jouwe chairman of Komite Kemerdekaan Papua Berat [Front National Papua]
A.M.Bottrill ADO Aitape 1963
Arnold Amsor - Governor’s driver
Oskar Amsor – Mechanic
Elizabeth Amsor – Telephonist
Octovina Amsor – Telephonist
Three Male Amsor clerks

} Sepik District in transition 1962-1966

} Amsor family members employed in Irian Jaya

Gustav Amsor
 H.O. Fantaba
 Jon Wanggai
 Otto Ireeuw – handing out OPM membership cards
 Adrian Visser – Dutch trader in Vanimo with ties over the border
 Tamara – store manager
 Mr Bull - British Petroleum geologist
 Mr Campbell – Vanimo trader
 Gaspar Sajori
 Darius Asanai
 James Bunjabas
 Freddie Tom Karubada
 Tonni Nubobi
 Stafnat Sineri
 R.Maimasiki
 Yasaya Serewi
 Selfanus Fontaba
 Selfanus Maniani

} Irianese refugees in Aitape January 1974
 } All of Serui, but resident in Base G Jayapura came to Sissano

Itaar family of 11 arrived Aitape on *Dedele* 13/5/1975
 Rufinus Dahiy wanted for killing a woman in Wewak
 Joseph Ferdinands Wojoi – Foreign Affairs want him out of the West Sepik
 Brigadier General Seth Roemkorem of the OPM
 Leo Wisauri – illegal border crosser
 Peter Parera – at Yako – refugee from Portuguese Timor
 Batugati and Mabido d’Alkanis of Dili in Yako camp
 Anton Fonataba alias Anton Woisiri Bonai
 Mr Samuel Mustamu
 T.H. Meset – the Bupati [Official] in Jayapura
 Lama of Wutung
 Jacob Prie OPM leader in a rift with Roemkorem
 Dr.Maury
 Capt Nussy
 Markas Victoria

} Apparently influential OPM people

Isaac Samuel Fathan wanted by Irian Jayan authorities mid-1976
 N.S.Meset, a West Irian pilot for Air Niugini
 Hans Palo Permissive resident in PNG
 Warren Dutton former Patrol Officer, former MP and Kiunga businessman
 Deputy Prime Minister Father Momis
 Prime Pius Wingti

Chapter 31 The Legislative Council to the House of Assembly 1951-1964

Paul Hasluck Minister for External Territories
 Donald Cleland assistant Administrator 1949
 Merari Dickson of Kwato Mission Milne Bay District
 Pita Simogun of Dagua – Sepik District
 Aisoli Salin of New Ireland District
 Lloyd Hurrell Legco member
 Dr.Gunther Assistant Administrator
 W.F.Carter – Director of Posts and Telegraphs
 John Guise
 Somu Sigob
 Ian Downes

} nominated indigenous members
 } 1951 Legislative Council

Sir Hugh Foot

Chapter 32 The 1964 House of Assembly Election – Green River area

Dr. Gunther Chairman – Select Committee on Political Development

Roland Kekedo Assistant Patrol Officer 1964

Geoff Harvey Agricultural Officer

R.R.Cole District Commissioner

David Fenbury [formerly Fienberg]

A.M. "Gus" Bottrill ADO Amanab

Robin Calcutt Patrol Officer 1956

John Wakeford District Officer

Andrias Augwi – Ambunti candidate

Constable Ininga

Wegera Kenu of Vanimo won Upper Sepik Open election

Frank Martin of Wewak won Sepik Madang Special seat

J.Stuntz East Papua Special Electorate

I.Downes Highlands Special Electorate

H.Niall North Markham Special Electorate

B.Holloway Kainantu Open Electorate

G.Pople Gumine Open Electorate

J.Pasquarelli Angoram Open Electorate

Of the 54 electorates, seven
were won by former Patrol Officers

With the death of Bloomfield MP ex PO Tony Voutas was elected

Pita Simogun – Wewak-Aitape Open

Pita Lus – Dreikikir Open

Pita Tamindei – Maprik Open

Mo Makain – Lumi Open

Other Sepik MPs 1964 election

Ex. Sgt Major Yali – cult leader was not elected

President Johnson cult in New Ireland. 70% informal as they voted for Johnson

1967 development of Pangu party and other political parties

Chapter 33 Life on Sepik Border Stations with Indonesia 1964-5

John Wakeford District Officer – North Sepik

Jim Hodgekiss – opened Green River 1938

Harley Rivers Dickinson Patrol Officer Imonda

R.R.Cole District Commissioner

David Moorehouse Patrol Officer Vanimo later a/ADO Amanab

Peter Tatterson Cadet Patrol Officer

A.M "Gus" Bottrill ADO Amanab

Bernie Mulcahy Patrol Officer

Roland Kekedo Trainee Patrol Officer

Seigon from Biake No 1 village

Brian Foster CMMML mission

Sangen/Savanoio of Biaga No 1

Mango – Green River Interpreter

Constable lakumani

Corporal Poge

Aheni a girl from Abaru

Richard Thurnwald 1913 explorer of the Nagu area

Peter Rook European Medical Assistant

Rod Knott Cadet Patrol Officer – school mate Melbourne High school

Constable Kaius

Constable Amatus

Samuel Piniau of Radio Wewak

Simiba/Wi of Iviieg – Medical Orderly
 Bill Malinsein
 Robin Barclay Patrol Officer
 Mr Neville – European Medical Assistant
 Noel Cavanagh Patrol Office
 Mauyian of Mongorovei – Amanab technical school – died
 Luluai Nungwaimo - Mauyian's father
 Tauipa
 Nauina,
 Karua
 Taipu
 Imauina
 Akai/Pom a carrier who survived
 Police Sgt Latabu
 Constable Kalyo
 Len Aisbett ADO Vanimo – briefed me on police/court procedures
 Baldwin – Local Government Assistant
 Roger Bourke Patrol, Officer – specialising in Local Government
 Philip Bouraga – Patrol Officer, later Director
 Kaipu Memafu Trainee Patrol Officer
 Father Cletus of Imonda mission
 Pena, a wounded Punda man
 Terry O'Donnell

The killers of re-supply carriers to
 Tengirabu Aid Post – payback for Mauyian

Attachment 1 The collation of notes on 37 Sepik Cults or “Nativistic Movements”:

Brother Bartholomew 1931 The Four Kings Cult
 Father Dingels
 Father Kirschbaum early 1930s – Magendo giving up cultural items
 Teni, of Tauwete - the Black King of the Wapei
 Molou
 Yanepai
 Makain medical tultul
 Longap of Suain 1946
 Sabio cult in the Kombio area 1947
 Dudley Young-Whitford Patrol Officer
 Father Cruysberg of Maiwi mission station
 The Abelam [Maprik] “Black Magic” purge Oct 1947
 K.T.Bridge ADO
 Porapora area cult 1947 also see Sepik 2 Cpt 13 and Sepik 4 Cpt 43
 Alois Kawaun and Councillor Yapi informants - Torembei cult 1947
 Tobias Petnowi
 Patimaus Erikumban
 Andrew Paramanjui
 Father Cruysberg
 Father Kowalski
 Gaikarobi cult 1947 – Alois Kawaun informant
 Ambuwonmeri cult Parembei
 Ralph Ormsby ADO Angoram
 J.Cahill Patrol Officer Ambunti
 Bowi cult of Malingai
 Sibirindambwi destroyed garamuts
 Mr Wenke Patrol Officer commented

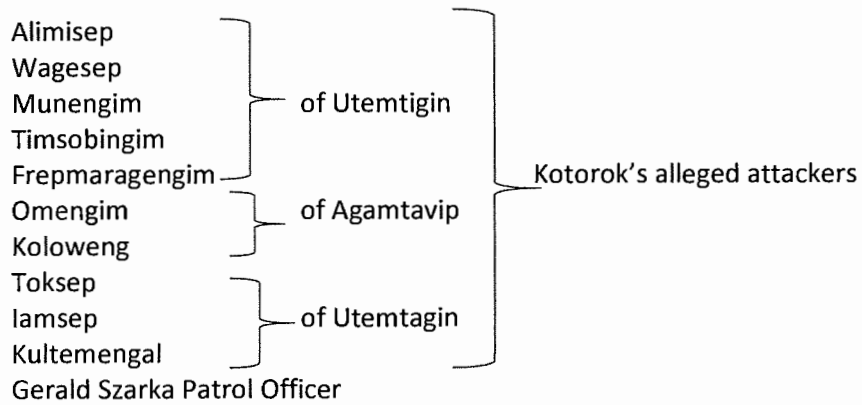
Teni's followers also see Sepik 3 Chapter 31 1942/3

Cultists all former pastors

Mr Thomas Patrol, Officer commented
 Mr R.Orwin Patrol Officer commented
 Telefomin uprising – see Sepik 4 Chapters 12 & 13
 Kavan cult 1956
 Dreikikir cult 1956
 Wanute of Wam
 Namu of Nambolei
 Kikmin of Alulum – a woman who liked singing “so called high priest”, but judged to be
 A harmless religious fanatic
 Ron Neville ADO Maprik
 Mr Waters Medical Assistant
 Father Schwartz
 J.W.Macgregor Patrol Officer
 C.A.Trollope Patrol Officer
 Seim-Monadin, May 1956
 Neldin and Uram of Marakumbe }
 Nasa of Sumambo } Brought tidings that if all European items were not
 Bombom of Yawan } destroyed, whitemen would come and cut throats
 Bill Brown Patrol Officer a/ADO Aitape and R.Neville ADO Maprik investigated
 Puang/Yemnu cult [Lumi area] Father Gerald Walsh reported it
 Yangliei of Tumintonik was the instigator
 Kero’s Malingai cult 1958
 John Cochrane Patrol Officer
 Turengi cult – Wewak area 1958
 Waiamali dreamed of his dead father
 Hosfosi put things in the cemetery
 Late 1950s – the resurgence of haus tambarans
 Numbuk of Korogo
 a/ADO R.J.Daugherty
 Hauwina [Howina] of Marambanja
 Tamasambo of Kembien – Seim/Nuku area 1964
 John Cochrane a/ADO
 Terry Heuston Patrol Officer
 Dreikikir’s “Bokis” cult 1964 – Luluai Akolasa seeking to revive 1959 cult
 Ludwig Yilawn of Amaitem village 1967
 J.Koibo Assistant Patrol Officer
 “Kik” Mendigau – Boiken area 1969
 Bob Beck – ADC Maprik and the Messiah cult Nobv 1972
 Yali of Paiawa – Aitape
 Joli of Poko village

Attachment 2 Telefomin “Beet” sorcery

Suau – Native Medical Orderly – drew out a piece of sharpened bone
 Banansimen [female] of Telefolip Exactly what her involvement was is not known
 I.T.Nolen Patrol Officer – witness
 G.Harris Cadet Patrol Officer – witness
 Tambunkengim }
 Ogalsep } The unnamed woman’s attackers – all men and
 Wasimnok } all from Bogalmin. The attacked woman died on 27th July 1953
 Biriksep }
A second case:
 Katorok [male] of Terapdavip attacked by 10 men

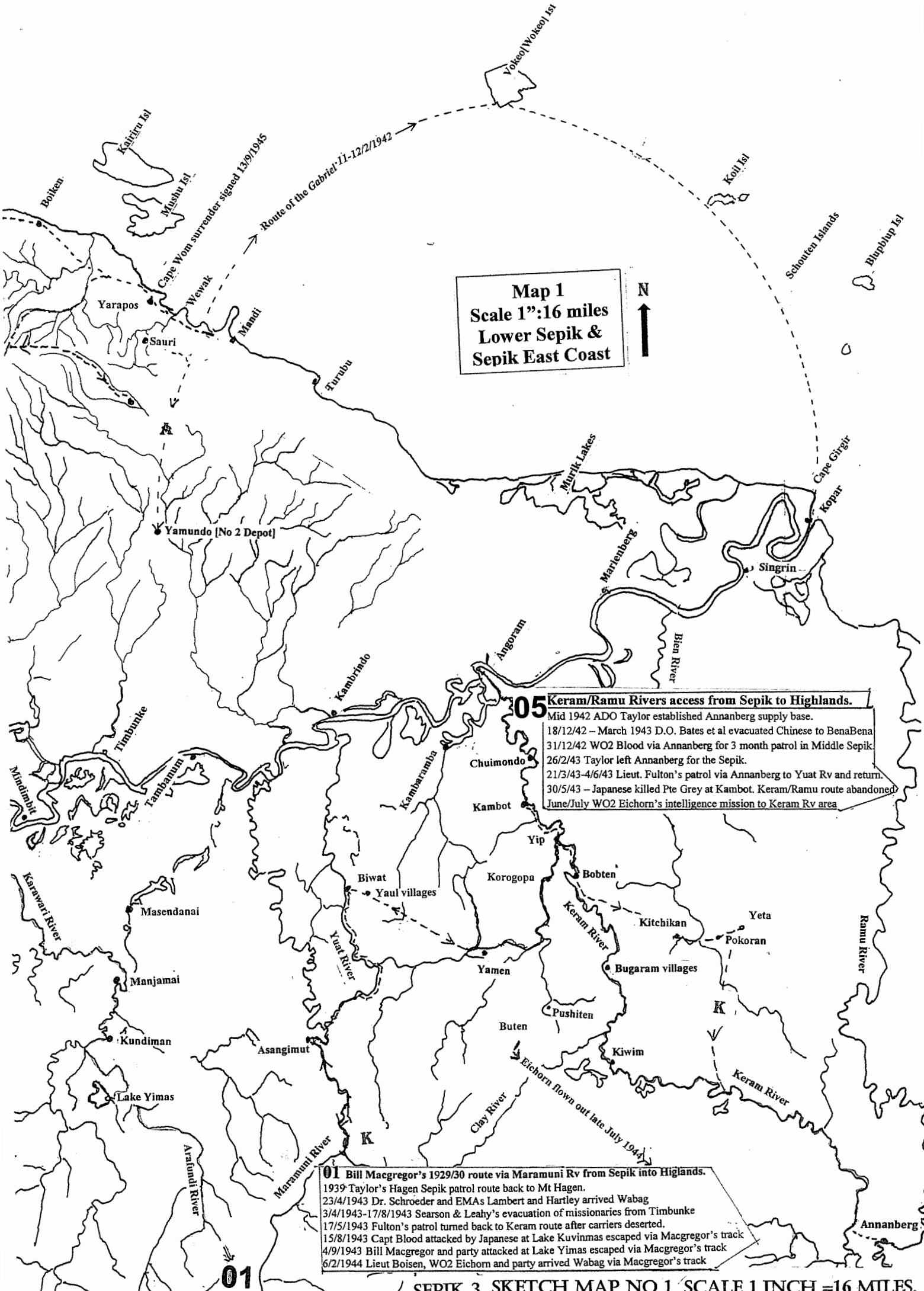


Attachment 3 Investigation of the Yellow River massacre 7th August 1956

Attachment 3 consists of a very well organised collation of evidence consisting of a six page lists of names, which need not be repeated here

Attachment 4 Additional details re the Atbalmin massacre of 1956

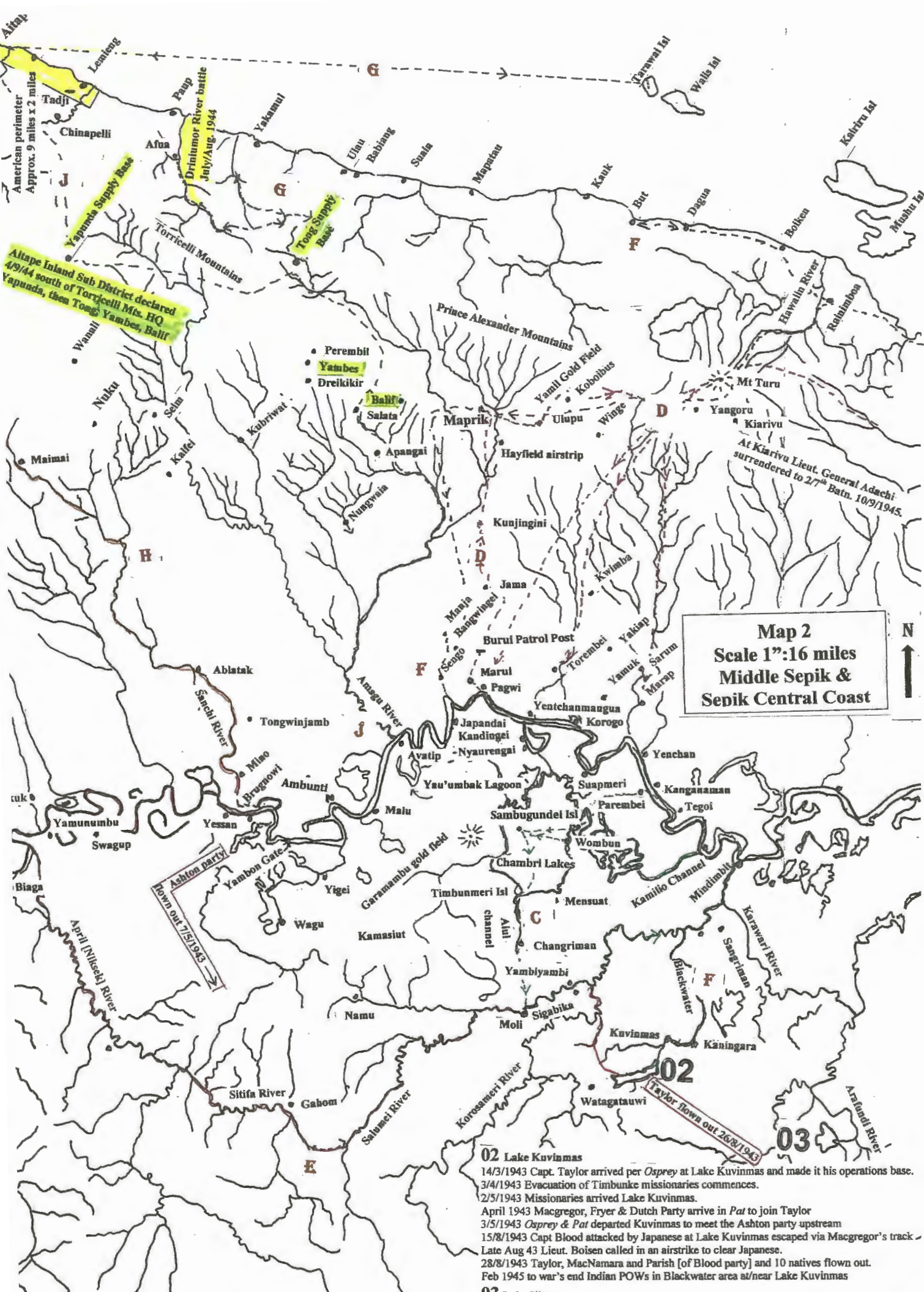
Attachment 3 consists of a very well organised collation of evidence consisting of a six page lists of names, which need not be repeated here



Map 1
Scale 1":16 miles
Lower Sepik &
Sepik East Coast

05 Keram/Ramu Rivers access from Sepik to Highlands.
 Mid 1942 ADO Taylor established Annanberg supply base.
 18/12/42 - March 1943 D.O. Bates et al evacuated Chinese to BenaBena
 31/12/42 WO2 Blood via Annanberg for 3 month patrol in Middle Sepik
 26/2/43 Taylor left Annanberg for the Sepik.
 21/3/43-4/6/43 Lieut. Fulton's patrol via Annanberg to Yuat Rv and return.
 30/5/43 - Japanese killed Pte Grey at Kambot. Keram/Ramu route abandoned
 June/July WO2 Eichorn's intelligence mission to Keram Rv area

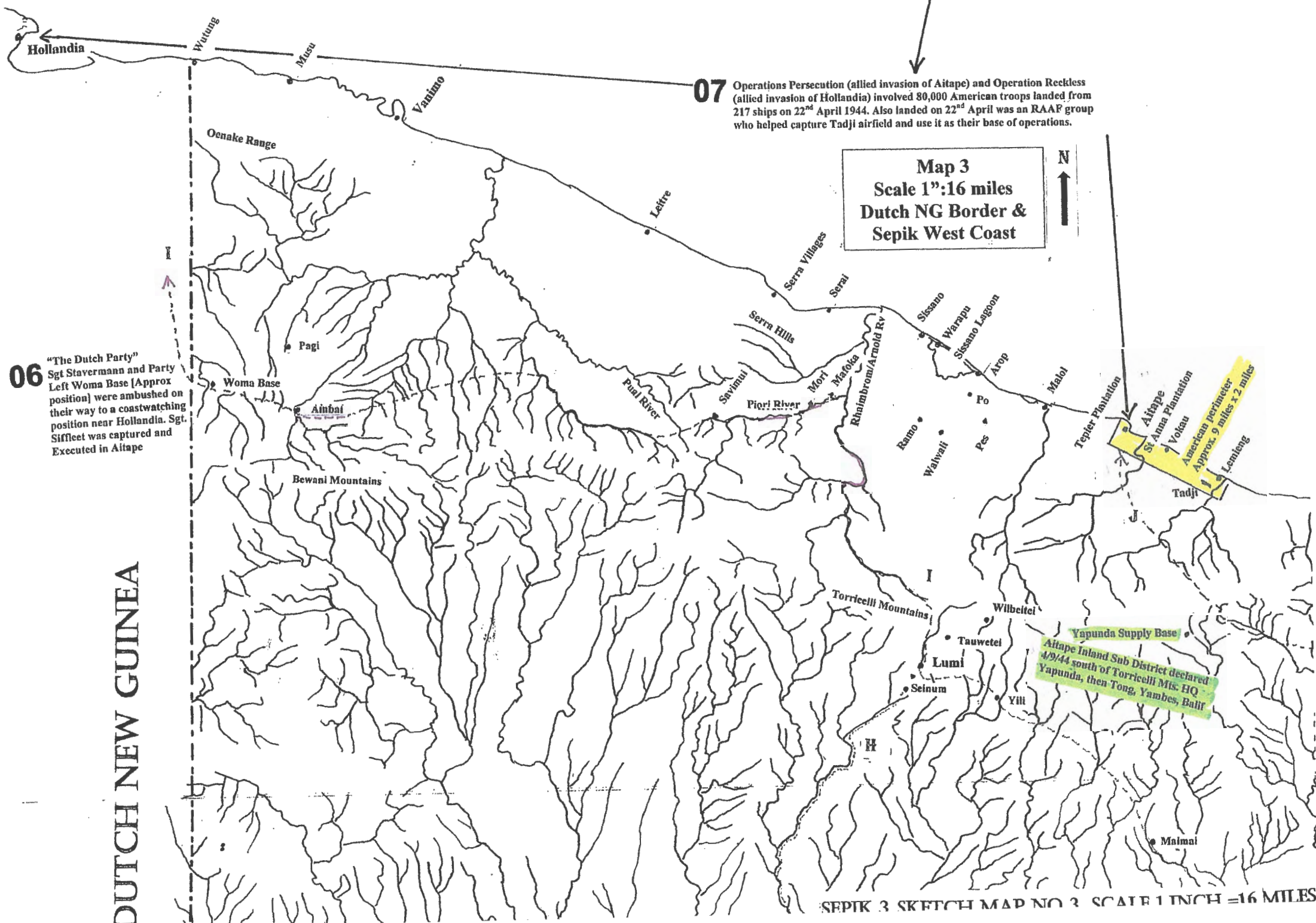
01 Bill Macgregor's 1929/30 route via Maramuni Rv from Sepik into Highlands.
 1939 Taylor's Hagen Sepik patrol route back to Mt Hagen.
 23/4/1943 Dr. Schroeder and EMAs Lambert and Hartley arrived Wabag
 3/4/1943-17/8/1943 Seanson & Leahy's evacuation of missionaries from Timbunke
 17/5/1943 Fulton's patrol turned back to Keram route after carriers deserted.
 15/8/1943 Capt Blood attacked by Japanese at Lake Kuvinmas escaped via Macgregor's track
 4/9/1943 Bill Macgregor and party attacked at Lake Yimas escaped via Macgregor's track
 6/2/1944 Lieut Boisen, WO2 Eichorn and party arrived Wabag via Macgregor's track



Map 2
 Scale 1":16 miles
 Middle Sepik &
 Sepik Central Coast

02 Lake Kuvinmas
 14/3/1943 Capt. Taylor arrived per *Osprey* at Lake Kuvinmas and made it his operations base.
 3/4/1943 Evacuation of Timbunke missionaries commences.
 2/5/1943 Missionaries arrived Lake Kuvinmas.
 April 1943 Macgregor, Fryer & Dutch Party arrive in *Pat* to join Taylor
 3/5/1943 *Osprey* & *Pat* departed Kuvinmas to meet the Ashton party upstream
 15/8/1943 Capt Blood attacked by Japanese at Lake Kuvinmas escaped via Macgregor's track -
 Late Aug 43 Lieut. Boisen called in an airstrike to clear Japanese.
 28/8/1943 Taylor, MacNamara and Parish [of Blood party] and 10 natives flown out.
 Feb 1945 to war's end Indian POWs in Blackwater area at/near Lake Kuvinmas

03 Lake Yimas.
 21/1/1942. DO Jones ordered Jack Thurston to establish the rear supply base at Lake Yimas.
 21/3/1942. PO Strudwick ordered from Lake Yimas to Timbunke, where he was murdered.
 1/4/1942-10/4/1942 *Thetis* & *Fanny* Timbunke - Yimas - Timbunke



Hollandia

Wutung

Masu

Vainiro

Leitre

Serra Villages
Serrai

Serra Hills

Sissano

Wiarapu

Sissano Lagoon

Atrop

Po

Pes

Ramo

Walwai

Tepier Plantation

Aitape

St Anna Plantation

Yokau

American perimeter
Approx. 9 miles x 2 miles

Lemteng

Tadji

Torricelli Mountains

Wilbeltei

Tauwetel

Lumi

Seinum

Yili

Yapunda Supply Base

Aitape Inland Sub District declared
4/9/44 south of Torricelli Mts. HQ
Yapunda, then Tong, Yambes, Balli

Malmal

07 Operations Persecution (allied invasion of Aitape) and Operation Reckless (allied invasion of Hollandia) involved 80,000 American troops landed from 217 ships on 22nd April 1944. Also landed on 22nd April was an RAAF group who helped capture Tadji airfield and use it as their base of operations.

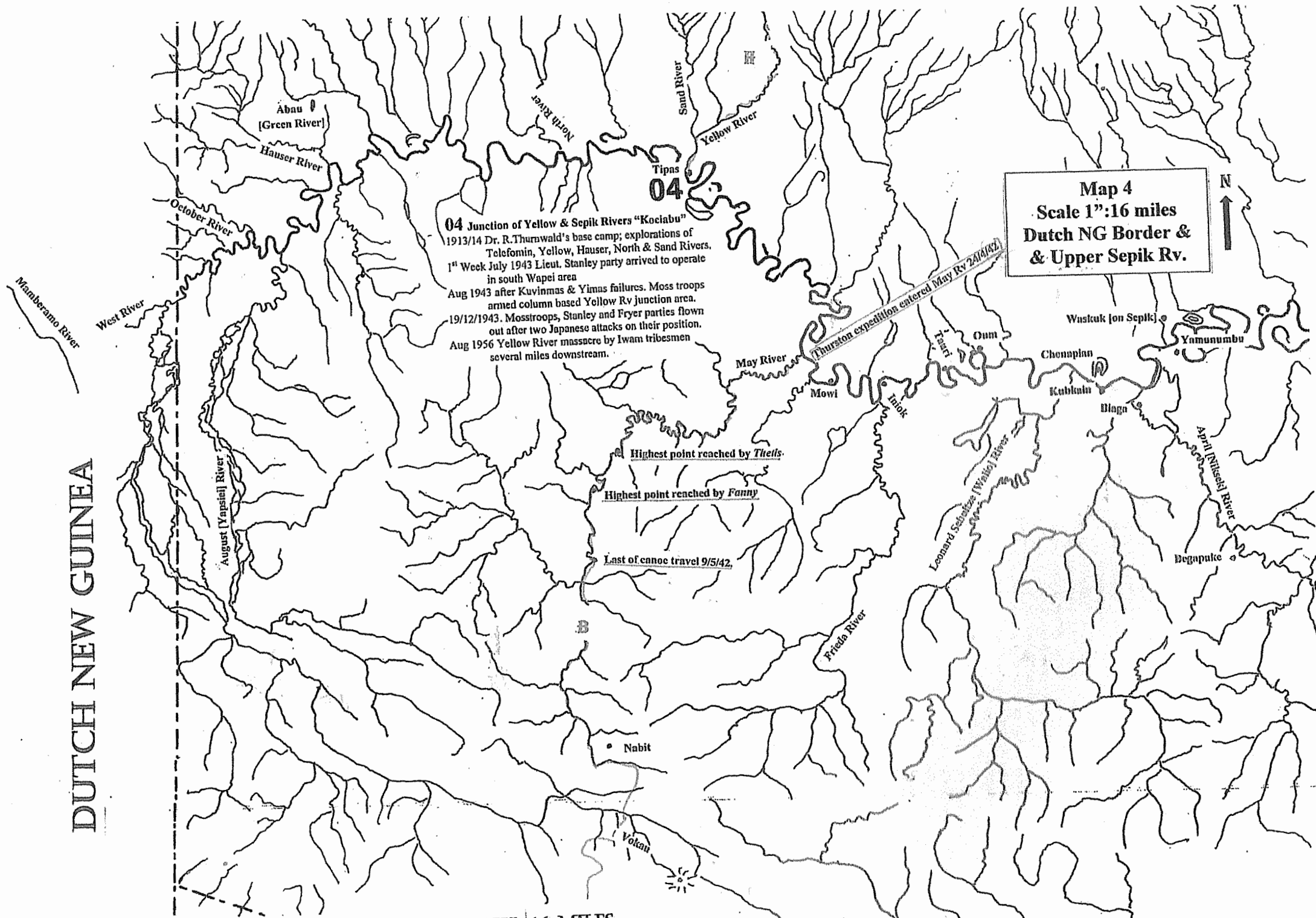
Map 3
Scale 1"=16 miles
Dutch NG Border & Sepik West Coast



06 "The Dutch Party" Sgt Stavermann and Party Left Woma Base [Approx position] were ambushed on their way to a coastwatching position near Hollandia. Sgt Siffleet was captured and Executed in Aitape

DUTCH NEW GUINEA

DUTCH NEW GUINEA



04 Junction of Yellow & Sepik Rivers "Kociabu"
1913/14 Dr. R. Thurnwald's base camp; explorations of Telefomin, Yellow, Hauser, North & Sand Rivers.
1st Week July 1943 Lieut. Stanley party arrived to operate in south Wapei area
Aug 1943 after Kuvinmas & Yimas failures. Moss troops armed column based Yellow Rv junction area.
19/12/1943. Moss troops, Stanley and Fryer parties flown out after two Japanese attacks on their position.
Aug 1956 Yellow River massacre by Iwam tribesmen several miles downstream.

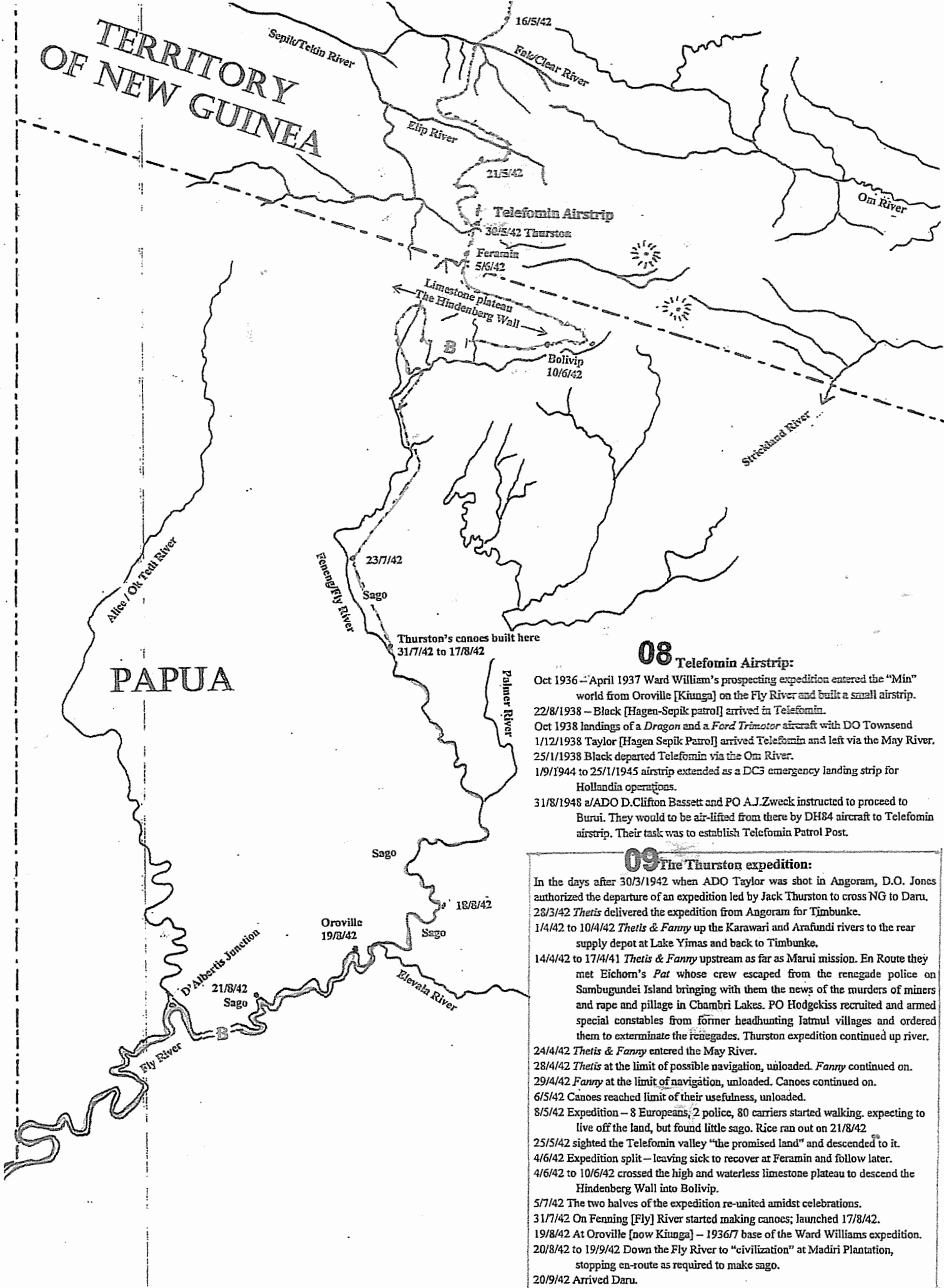
Map 4
Scale 1":16 miles
Dutch NG Border &
& Upper Sepik Rv.

Highest point reached by Thefts.
Highest point reached by Fanny
Last of canoe travel 9/5/42.

Thurston expedition entered May Rv 24/1/42

SEPIK 3 SKETCH MAP NO 4 SCALE 1 INCH 16 MILES.

TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA

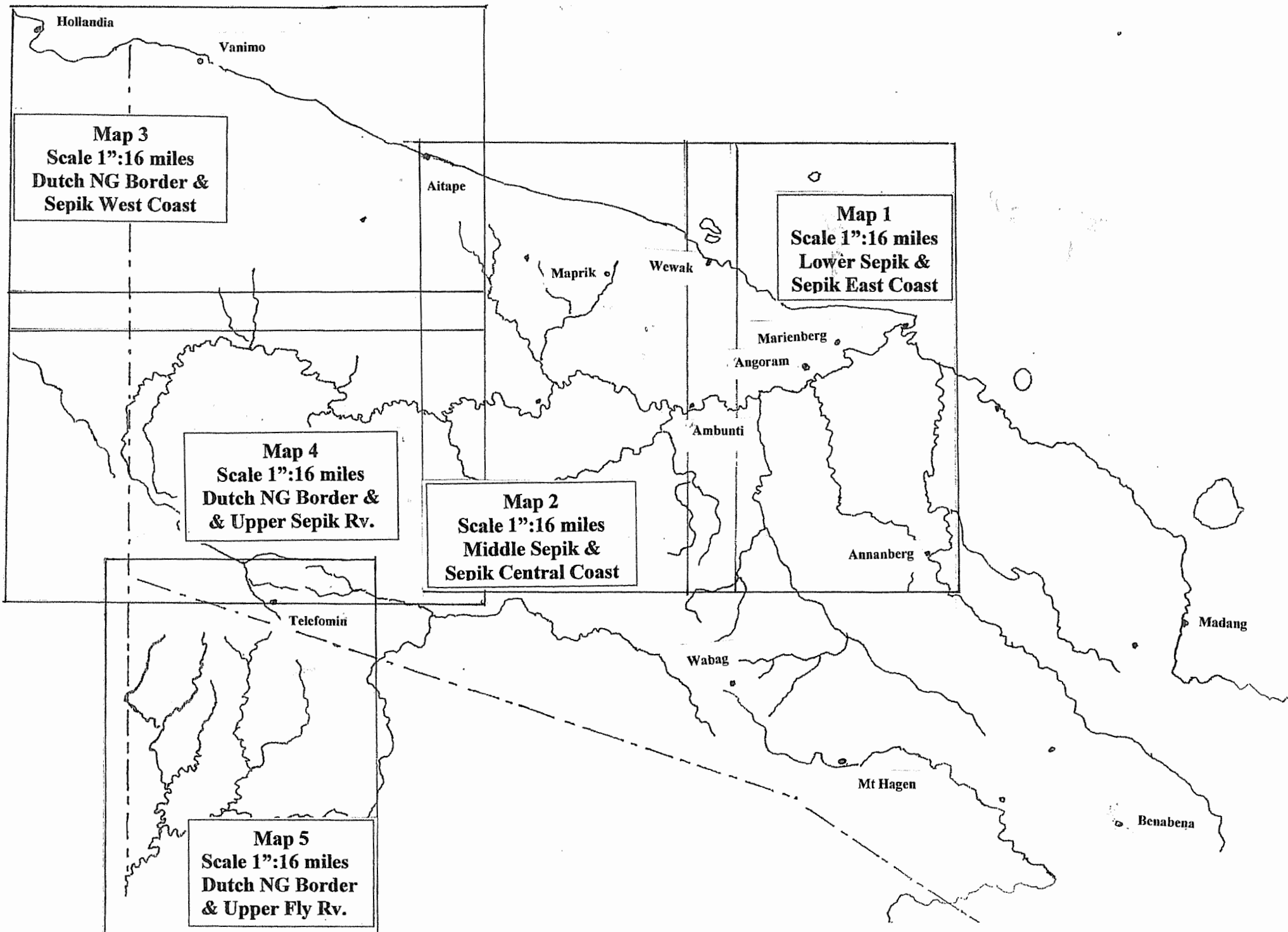


08 Telefomin Airstrip:

Oct 1936 - April 1937 Ward William's prospecting expedition entered the "Min" world from Oroville [Kiunga] on the Fly River and built a small airstrip.
 22/8/1938 - Black [Hagen-Sepik patrol] arrived in Telefomin.
 Oct 1938 landings of a *Dragon* and a *Ford Trimotor* aircraft with DO Townsend
 1/12/1938 Taylor [Hagen Sepik Patrol] arrived Telefomin and left via the May River.
 25/1/1938 Black departed Telefomin via the Om River.
 1/9/1944 to 25/1/1945 airstrip extended as a DC3 emergency landing strip for Hollandia operations.
 31/8/1948 a/ADO D.Clifton Bassett and PO A.J.Zweck instructed to proceed to Burui. They would be air-lifted from there by DH84 aircraft to Telefomin airstrip. Their task was to establish Telefomin Patrol Post.

09 The Thurston expedition:

In the days after 30/3/1942 when ADO Taylor was shot in Angoram, D.O. Jones authorized the departure of an expedition led by Jack Thurston to cross NG to Daru.
 28/3/42 *Thetis* delivered the expedition from Angoram for Timbunke.
 1/4/42 to 10/4/42 *Thetis* & *Fanny* up the Karawari and Arafundi rivers to the rear supply depot at Lake Yimas and back to Timbunke.
 14/4/42 to 17/4/41 *Thetis* & *Fanny* upstream as far as Marui mission. En Route they met Eichorn's *Pat* whose crew escaped from the renegade police on Sambugunde Island bringing with them the news of the murders of miners and rape and pillage in Chambri Lakes. PO Hodgekiss recruited and armed special constables from former headhunting Iatmul villages and ordered them to exterminate the renegades. Thurston expedition continued up river.
 24/4/42 *Thetis* & *Fanny* entered the May River.
 28/4/42 *Thetis* at the limit of possible navigation, unloaded. *Fanny* continued on.
 29/4/42 *Fanny* at the limit of navigation, unloaded. Canoes continued on.
 6/5/42 Canoes reached limit of their usefulness, unloaded.
 8/5/42 Expedition - 8 Europeans, 2 police, 80 carriers started walking. expecting to live off the land, but found little sago. Rice ran out on 21/8/42
 25/5/42 sighted the Telefomin valley "the promised land" and descended to it.
 4/6/42 Expedition split - leaving sick to recover at Feramin and follow later.
 4/6/42 to 10/6/42 crossed the high and waterless limestone plateau to descend the Hindenberg Wall into Bolivip.
 5/7/42 The two halves of the expedition re-united amidst celebrations.
 31/7/42 On Fenning [Fly] River started making canoes; launched 17/8/42.
 19/8/42 At Oroville [now Kiunga] - 1936/7 base of the Ward Williams expedition.
 20/8/42 to 19/9/42 Down the Fly River to "civilization" at Madiri Plantation, stopping en-route as required to make sago.
 20/9/42 Arrived Daru.



Hollandia
Vanimo

Map 3
Scale 1":16 miles
Dutch NG Border &
Sepik West Coast

Aitape
Maprik
Wewak
Marienberg
Angoram
Ambunti
Annanberg

Map 1
Scale 1":16 miles
Lower Sepik &
Sepik East Coast

Map 4
Scale 1":16 miles
Dutch NG Border &
& Upper Sepik Rv.

Map 2
Scale 1":16 miles
Middle Sepik &
Sepik Central Coast

Telefomii

Map 5
Scale 1":16 miles
Dutch NG Border
& Upper Fly Rv.

Wabag
Mt Hagen
Madang
Benabena

