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Papua New Guinea Patrol Reports

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27/1/14 ✓



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA



PATROL REPORT

District of Western Highlands Report No. Wapenamanda No. 57/58

Patrol Conducted by J. Hannan Patrol Officer

Area Patrolled Middle Lai census division

Patrol Accompanied by Europeans Nil

Natives

Duration—From 25/3/58 to 9/5/58

Number of Days 32 days

Did Medical Assistant Accompany? No

Last Patrol to Area by—District Services 11/1953

Medical 2/1958

Map Reference

Objects of Patrol Tax-Census and General Administration

DIRECTOR OF DISTRICT SERVICES
AND NATIVE AFFAIRS,
PORT MORESBY.

Forwarded, please

309 1959

District Commissioner

Amount Paid for War Damage Compensation £.....

Amount Paid from D.N.E. Trust Fund £.....

Amount Paid from P.E.D.P. Trust Fund £.....

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.....
.....

DEPARTMENT OF NATIVE AFFAIRS

MEMORANDUM OF PATROL

Patrol No. ~~Wap.~~ ^{NO. 1} Sub-District Wabag District Western Highlands

57/58

Officer Conducting Patrol J. Hannan Patrol Officer

Census Division Patrolled Middle Lai.

Objects of Patrol Tax-Census and General Administration.

Date Patrol Commenced 25/3/58

Date Completed 9/5/58

Duration—days 32

SUMMARY OF CORRESPONDENCE ARISING FROM PATROL

Letter to District Commissioner to be minuted to Director, re
confirmation of appointment to permanent position of provisional
Village Officials.

Patrolling Officer's Signature

I certify that all necessary local administrative action has been or is being taken on matters arising out of this patrol and that the correspondence above indicated by a "tick" has been forwarded to the Headquarters, Department of Native Affairs, Port Moresby.

District Officer

TERRITORY OF PAPUA NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1.
Wapenamanda Patrol
Post,
Subag sub district
Western Highlands
District.
21st of June 1958.

To the District Commissioner
Western Highlands District,
MT. HAGREN.

CONFIRMATION OF APPOINTMENT TO PERMANENT POSITION
OF PROVISIONAL VILLAGE OFFICIALS WAPENAMANDA.

After completing a patrol of the Middle Lai census
division I would like to recommend for permanent appointment
the following village officials of the area who have been carry-
ing out their duties conscientiously for some years.

Yoboruta group	Luluai Kapa Tultai Uliango
Senela group	Luluai Lagan
Iaguan group	Luluai Yapan Tultai Pango " Kina
Kangibia group	Luluai Kepkep Tultai Ianio
Aran group	Tultai Tama
Wain group	Luluai Minjak Tultai Kica " Rilo
Waiminagan group	Luluai Pairo Tultai Tsiopiagi
Karshak-San group	Luluai Kobia Tultai Mana
Kandamanda	Luluai Paick
Idagora	Luluai Pissa Tultai Lais
Kandaurin group	Luluai Korolio " Pandagan Tultai Pingina

J. Hannan
J. Hannan

Patrol Officer
O. I. C. Wapenamanda

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

File No. 30/1-1163
(WHB.176)

District Office,
Western Highlands District,
WUPT HAHNE.

HIS:JMB

30th September, 1958.

Assistant District Officer,
WABAS,
Western Highlands District.

Subject: Patrol Report Wampananda No. 1 1957/58
W. O. J. HAHNE. 1958. 1958. 1958.
W. O. J. HAHNE. 1958. 1958. 1958.

Receipt of the above report, covered by your 30/1-3 dated 26th July, 1958, is acknowledged.

My comments:-

Diary:

Please have a new diary prepared. I cannot follow the route of the patrol or ascertain what happened where from this inadequate and badly prepared diary. Further, I cannot count the number of days camped so that I cannot approve the attached claim for camping allowance. This claim is returned to be re-submitted with the new diary.

Native Affairs:

Mr. Hannan is learning some of the ways of Highland people in the matter of disputes which occur much more prolifically than in coastal areas. The fact that the area had not been patrolled would have some influence on the incidence of these disputes but I feel that the answer may lie in a decrease in other activities which, in the past few years have kept these people busy. Road building and other public works constitute an excellent substitute for the type of tribal fights for which these disputes are themselves substitutes. Further contact with these people will aid Mr. Hannan in determining what needs serious attention and what can safely be discussed more or less lightly. Nevertheless, the position does not appear to be very satisfactory and, in fact, appears to have deteriorated in the past year. You must give the area your close personal attention and provide Mr. Hannan with any assistance or guidance he may need.

Land Matters:

I agree with Mr. Hannan that land matters in these areas are very, very tricky and extremely difficult to solve - even for the natives who understand their own customs and procedures.

It is regrettable that the Native Lands Registration Ordinance 1952 was given universal application before the Administration was in a position to provide

sufficient competent Lands Commissioners to give the application of the Ordinance a Territory-wide meaning.

Mr. Hannan provides examples of the attitude that it is better to have a dispute settled firmly and clearly than to have it prolonged by extemporization.

I incline strongly to the opinion that a Member of the Court of Native Affairs in dealing with a land matter should, in compliance with the law, regard the decision as relating only to usufructory rights but pronounce the decision in such a way as to leave no doubt in the minds of the disputants that the decision is as binding as though it related to ownership. It is a pity, in view of today's more enlightened outlook and the sincere desire of all Field Staff for native advancement, to forget that the people Mr. Hannan is dealing with are only one stage in history's page from where they were when Caesar crossed the channel and that they seek firm guidance and leadership in these disputes the solution to which they themselves could only find in warfare. To tell them some kind of a mystical dogmatism, whose being and function is so nebulous as to be incomprehensible, will ultimately set all right only tends to provoke them to attempt a definite settlement in their own way by violence.

By the time there are sufficient Lands Commissioners and by the time we know enough about these people to deal finally with land matters, they themselves will be able to understand what it is all about. Mr. Hannan is advised to keep these facts in mind, to remember that he is dealing with very down-to-earth people and to make less mention of "the distant drum".

Mr. Hannan makes some mention of the influence of Mission activities in these disputes but I feel that these influences are more involved than either he realizes or discloses.

These comments should not be taken as criticisms - I do appreciate the fact that Mr. Hannan has taken a keen interest in this most difficult problem and has applied himself assiduously to seeking a solution. I must confess that I am not able to follow Mr. Hannan's narrative with any degree of ease in some sections but that it is not a simple matter to expose. He would be advised to try to present his subject matter in better form but not to lessen his obvious interest in these matters.

From the fifth paragraph on page 5 it would seem that Mr. Hannan may have come under the influence of Kanakas, too. The idea that "God" put anyone on any piece of land is very new to these people.

Probably the answer to the problem seen by Mr. Hannan will be future resettlement but as regards trading in land, I presume the normal land acquisition and leasing procedure would apply when the time comes.

I would welcome some information on the hereditary leaderships mentioned by Mr. Hannan.

Referring to sixth and seventh paragraphs on page 6 - have you reached any conclusion which could be given? Perhaps Mr. Hannan could express the actual problem about which he wants an opinion more clearly and, concisely, stating the basic problem without including opinions, possibilities and irrelevancies.

The Director's copy of Court of Native Affairs Cases Nos. 171 and 172 will be forwarded. Mr. Hannan has gone into these cases with much care. I have no comment to make upon his findings.

Agriculture:

Scope for European development is virtually nil in this area but a market can be found for all native-produced coffee and as far as available land permits earlier efforts should be continued. This extract will be passed to the District Agriculture Officer with a request for his comment.

Customs and Statistics:

The break-up suggested by Mr. Hannan appears to be reasonable but I would have appreciated a more concrete recommendation from yourself.

I agree entirely with the comments concerning these families who are and consider their supervision of the tried and proved village books, in areas such as this, premature and unfortunate. I favour a retention to the village book until such time as it appears that transition of these people may be possible - in the remote future. Natural increase revealed is 489 - 257.2 births per 100 deaths, while increases due migration total 33 - a total gain of 925, based on Village Population Register figures.

Appendix "A" - Anthropological:

The theory that "Gad" provided ancestral grounds is a very new one indeed - and quite spurious. Close questioning will usually elicit the information that any given group can point out land which was "ancestral" before the migration which it is now dwelling (Vide (1)).

The other notes are of considerable interest and denote that Mr. Hannan has been thinking about his subject. I.e. "Kala" and "Tambori" classifications could prove useful but anyone who attempts to work beyond the arbitrary line set - (the time of the introduction of Administrative influence will need to be prepared to spend some years before giving a single decision - and be prepared to trace ownership of any small area in the much wider areas covered by the usual pattern of migrations into the bargain. It may not be entirely facetious to say that the Lands Commissioner or any other officer entrusted with the final settlement of these disputes will either commit foul de co, be murdered - or develop ulcers. The last is certain.

Appendix "B" - Missions and Education:

Despite the surfeit of eligible children and despite the absolute inability of the Catholic Mission to provide anything approaching adequate education to more than a mere handful of these children, I am now informed that members of this Mission are campaigning against children attending the Administration school at Saneibakes. You must campaign even harder for selected ones to attend.

Appendix "C" - Royal Papua and New Guinea Constabulary.

Apparently a good detachment - or possibly a well-controlled one.

Village Officials:

One copy of a memorandum of Patrol was received referring to a letter re village officials. In view of the fact that the more satisfactory old style report was used this was unnecessary.

In view of the recommendation contained in your 30/1-3 dated 28th June, 1958, the talials recommended are confirmed and the Director has been requested to confirm the appointment of the talialis recommended by Mr. Hannan. In future such recommendations should be dealt with in separate correspondence

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under correct file headings and with your recommendation attached.

These recommendations are a welcome step in the right direction.

Conclusion

I have drafted two sets of comments in this report - and am finally forwarding the original one - with some comments. Mr. Hanna has shown a great interest in his subject and has obviously worked hard. It is most unfortunate that his report is not better prepared, both in form of presentation and in conciseness and clarity. But I do not want to discourage Mr. Hanna - he is making a real and commendable effort to understand the problem of his area and I wish him success.

Coping allowance claim is returned herewith.

(R.I. SKINNER)
District Commissioner

c.c.

The Director,
Department of Native Affairs,
PO BOX 1000.

His comments are very full but the report contains much subject matter and I have found it hard to follow.
Copies of Court of Native Affairs Cases Nos. 171 and 172 are attached.


(R.I. SKINNER)
District Commissioner.

30.9.1958.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

File No 30/1-3

Sub-District Office,
Wabag,
Western Highlands District
28th June 1958.

The District Commissioner,
Western Highlands District,
Mount Hagen.

Subject. Patrol Report Wapenamanda No.1 of 1957/58.

Please find herewith in triplicate Wapenamanda Patrol Report No.1 of 1957/58 submitted by Mr J.N.Hannan Patrol Officer.

The Census Sub-Division known as Middle Iai with a population of over 20,000 is too large to be effectively covered by one Census Revision Patrol especially by the Officer-in-Charge Wapenamanda Patrol Post who is prone to interruption by other matters. As it is three months have elapsed between the commencement of the patrol and the submission of the report. Mr Hannan has already commenced the Ishak Valley patrol.

The District Agricultural Extension Officer who recently arrived at Mt.Hagen has been informed verbally of the position as regards coffee in this Sub-District and he will pay a visit as soon as possible. This report was prepared before the recent District Instruction as regards an extra copy of the Agricultural Section was received. If these people could earn sufficient money to take their minds off of land courts and gift exchanges most of their problems would be solved. Failing cash crops the Highland Labour Scheme would seem their only avenue of obtaining cash. More recruits are now required and I am giving preference to the Wapenamanda area.

The position as regards Village Officials in the Wapenamanda area as a whole, is unsound. There are more than 30,000 people for which 25 Luluais and 13 Tultuls have been given probationary appointments. In addition to the original instructions of getting these appointments confirmed where justified, I have informed Mr Hannan verbally to forward any recommendations for satisfactory candidates not already holding insignia under probationary appointment. He apparently has not felt up to this yet. The llickering between probationary officials and Bossbois will be lessened especially as many of the latter are hereditary leaders and would appreciate some official recognition.

Many of the disputes raised by these people both as to land and otherwise are affairs that one would normally expect people to decide themselves. A current patrol report by C.P.O. C.L. Cooper of the area adjacent to the one concerned in this report contains none of the problems outlined. Perhaps when the headmen are sorted out and given proper authority there will

(2)

be some improvement. Meanwhile by tying up the patrol officer they are preventing him from getting on with any development.

No separate correspondence has been raised by Mr Hannan as to aspects of land matters in which he is uncertain. The exchange of land for a consideration in which all parties were satisfied would seem to have as valid a title as land acquired by strength of arms especially as the latter method can be no longer adopted. The principle of "Caveat Emptor" would apply.

The picture given of the pre-administration does not cover the fact that different groups and even sub-groups took care to keep sections of unoccupied land between themselves as a measure of safety and to prevent annoyances such as the trespass of pigs from arising. People having lost their own land possibly resided on or near these neutral areas. Much of the present day contention centres around these boundary lands. Before the Wapenamanda area was regarded as "Controlled" and before the arrival of the various Missions and consequent alienation of land these disputes were not known unless someone was trying to stir up trouble to suit themselves.

An ideal situation would be for officers to spend some months at Wabag before being presented with these problems to solve as Officers-in-Charge Patrol Posts. Many of the problems are of recent growth but preceded Mr Hannan's arrival. He has energetically tackled the preparation of the drafts of the Tax Census Sheet system of recording names and deciding who may use various sections of land. A longer association with the peoples will lessen the problems.

Presumably a map will be submitted when the report on the Tahak Valley is forwarded.

The Department of Native Affairs copies of Wapenamanda Court for Native Affairs Cases Nos 171 and 172 are attached for reading in conjunction with the Patrol Report if desired.

Confirmation of the Appointment of Village Officials as raised under separate correspondence is recommended.

R.I. Macilwain

(R.I. Macilwain)

Assistant District Officer

TERRITORY OF PAPUA NAD NEW GUINEA

Patrol Instructions-Minyamba valley
Kapenemanda patrol. Middle Lai Census division.

1. You are to prepare to depart Kapenemanda on the 25th of March 1958 for census and tax revision of the Minyamba valley. This valley was included in the 1953/54 Middle Lai census division but not included in the 1956/57 revision.
2. Ascertain the most practicable means of of the tax-census of the 18,134 people enumerated in the Kapenemanda patrol report No 1 of 5/54 which could appear to be a too large population spread over too much territory to be covered by other than a hurried patrol.
3. The requirements of D.N.A. circular instruction No 221 of 11/11/55 will be observed except for the alienated land reported in Sabag Report No 3 of 5/58.
4. Arrange for police, Interpreter, and Medical orderly from Kapenemanda personnel.
5. Look into and assess the value of the probationary village officials with a view to having these appointments confirmed.

R. M. Anderson
Assistant District Officer

Diary of Patrol Report No 1.1957.58. Wapenamanda.

March 1958.

Tuesday 25th.

Began patrol 9.15 a.m arrived Yaramanda 10.15 a.m
Censused Wain-Iaan and Keban.

Wednesday 26th. At Yaramanda censused Wain-Kumbien and Piabin.

Thursday 27th. Yaramanda to Ruandari singsing ground 2 hrs.
28th. Censused Sengobagin, Piabin, Nenein.

Saturday 29th. Ruandari to near the Summit of Mt Hagen 8hrs 15min
over steep, narrow, but not arduous track,

Sunday 30th. From camp to summit Mt Hagen 1hr 45mins. Examined the
small lakes and tarns and returned down the mountain
to camp lower down on the mountain.

Monday 31st. From camp to Anji singsing ground 3 hrs began censusing
April Tuesday 1. Yobenta group. C.P.O. Lindsay arrived from Wapenamanda to
accompany the patrol for a few days.

Wednesday 2nd. Anji singsing ground to Pamanda singsing ground 1 1/2 hrs
Thursday 3rd. censused Yarabak San group

Friday 4th. Returned to station.

Saturday, Sunday, Monday, remained station.

Tuesday 8th. Began census of groups near station. Idagoin censused.

Wednesday 9th. Censused Iaguman-Puraidan-Kumbasagon

Thursday 10th. Censused Iaguman-Yaris.

Friday 11th. Iaguman-Kosban. censused.

Saturday, Sunday remained station.

Tuesday 15th. To Pompobos by Jeep. Censused Azain-Iok and Yandaman-
Yorgienda.

Wednesday 17th, At Pompobos censused Idagorni-Nenei, And Mupabara

Thursday 17th. Idagorni-Rundap censused.

Friday 18th.

Saturday, Sunday, Monday spent station.

Tuesday 22nd. At Pompobos censused Woiwiagun-Pizep.

Wednesday 23rd. " " " " -Kaidep. Pompobos to
Kaigin 1 1/2 hrs.

Thursday 24th. Censused Rungibin group returned station Anzac day.

Monday 25th.

Tuesday 29th. Talks, Land disputes, Courts.

Wednesday 30th.

May Thursday 1st. Looking for site of leproserium.

Friday 2nd. Censused the Kandaurin group.

Friday 3rd. finished census and moved on to Rauwanda 1 1/2 hrs.

Monday 5th. Censused Tsigin -Liunai, Tsigin-Wabai

Tuesday 6th.

Wednesday 7th. General work

Thursday 8th.

Friday 9th. Returned to station.

End of Diary.

Introduction.

The patrol covered the Minyamba valley and that part of the Lai valley between Wapenamanda station and the boundary of the Wapenamanda Patrol post area near Fina Catholic Mission station. This minus the Tshak valleys is the Middle Lai Census division.

Native Situation.

The area had not been completely patrolled for 4 1/2 years.

As could be expected the native situation was not as peaceful as it could be.

Symptoms of an unruly people were:

1. Disregard of the authority of the luluais by the men of the groups.
2. Rivalry between the Bossois and the luluais for control of the group.
3. Inability of any disputant to abide by the decision of the Village officials, or elders of the clan or group.
4. Numerous petty disputes.
 - i. Situation of boundaries of garden areas.
 - ii. Double use of particular garden areas.
 - iii. Ownership of Pandanus tree wild and planted.
 - iv. Pigs trespass and theft.
5. Unwillingness to follow the dictates of the Court For Native Affairs, both with my decisions and with the decisions of previous Patrol Officers. Examples,
 - i. Reluctance to return swiftly a pig as item in a bride price even when the defendant had admitted it was the property of the Complainant.
 - ii. The age old custom of trying to get a lost case reheard.

This was tried time and again. The reluctance to obey an order quickly or even to accomplish something within a generous time allowance made it necessary to follow up every decision with vigour to see that the necessary orders were carried out. Very little reliance could be placed on the village officials to see that an order was carried out.

The impression I gained was that the people were a seething mass of disputes.

The Wapenamanda Government station was no more than approximately seven hours walk away even when the patrol had reached a point furthest away from it.

The people of the area must have been taking their disputes to the patrol officer at Wapenamanda but from the number of petty disputes heard it seems they were leaving more behind than they were taking.

It could be argued that the 10000 odd people that live in the area indulge in litigation as a sport now that the practice of tribal fighting has been dampened. It could also be said that after 4 years 10,000 people would have the numerous disputes that they did have. Future patrols returning to the area may report just as many disputes which may indicate that the volume of squabbles is the normal thing but until such is found to be so I prefer to consider that it indicates that relations between natives in the area are not peaceful.

Native Situation continued.

Land matters.

1. Two matters concerning the disposition of land by Natives to other natives were investigated.
2. Two land use court proceedings were held and decided.

The two matters referred to in 1. came to the attention of the writer as disputes between individuals. On deeper investigation it revealed more than was at first thought. One matter arose in the Minyamba valley and the other in the Lai valley near Yabos Lutheran Mission.

Luluai Kepa the hereditary leader and village official of the Yobonta group of Walya, and also the manAmbil were preparing to deal out some ground that the Yobonta group had won from the Nenein group before the coming of the whiteman. It was also whispered that some of the ground won off the Sangobagin people might be negotiated for.

The pieces of ground that were to be put on the market as it were, were all pieces of bush which contained Pandanus trees.

Kaio of Nenein was the man who had just about clinched the deal to obtain some of his bush back. He was to pay for it with pigs and kins.

Iandau and Piabo of Sangobagin had heard that there might be some ground available from the lost territory of the Sangobagin people. They had heard covertly that the auctioneer would be the luluai Kepa. The two men had anticipated tendering for a piece of bush called Pogiaanda. With this in mind Iandau had collected together some bailer shell and other like valuable commodities.

If the payment had been collected and at the time was found to be not sufficient an agreement would probably have been made to effect the full payment when the Te ceremony was working through the area.

The above describes what will be done by Sigibe of the San group who has been given a piece of ground by Kaio of Yobonta.

Amenda of the Yobonta group was willing to give some ground to the two Sangobagin men Iandau and Piabo.

Piabo is related by marriage to the luluai Kepa. When he found out that he was not included in the negotiations for the ground he wanted to bring the luluai to court.

At first it appeared to be a simple dispute but the above were the ulterior ramifications of it.

This is an example of land negotiations beginning. Another dispute between the man Pida and the Luluai Kepkep of the Rungibin group revealed land negotiations completed but for the dissident man Pida.

Pidas accusation was that the Luluai Kepakep had sold his land, some hours later and after a lot of wrangling and aimless talk this story was revealed.

When the Yabos mission was bought by the government the people who were to receive the pay were the Tso clan of the Rungubin group. The two other clans of the group said to the Tso elders 'as are all one line lets share the money that the Government will give us for the Mission lease! The Tso people said they were quite ready to share the money if later the other two clans would give back to Tso some of the land that had been won off them before the advent of the whiteman.

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Native Situation continued.

Everyone agreed to this and the cash was shared out to all.

To complete the other side of the bargain the two clans got together and discussed it. It would appear from the accounts of the meeting complete agreement was absent, half wanting to sell the land and half not wanting to. However the deal went through.

32 pigs were distributed to three extended families among the remaining two clans.

29 pigs went to the Kia family.

25 " " " " Albaka "

28 " " " " Kepakep "

The payment was effected during the last passage of the Te ceremony. The transaction was combined with the usual complicated dealings between the various Kaimas, the pig agents, and their clients. A clod of dirt was placed on the stake of the pig that was to be exchanged for the ground.

With this business deal enters the religious ideal. The semi blind man Lazarus a Lutheran Mission devotee having heard the gospel wanted to return to everyone that which was stolen. To him the ground that was won in fair fight was stolen. Thinking this then, he induced the hereditary leader Waia and the Iulua Kepakep to start the deal. The two men being ordinary heathens were more interested in the business deal than the religious side of the thing.

The transaction went through and everyone except the dissident people were content. Some of the dissidents remain on the ground to make their disagreement a concrete gesture.

Waia also dislikes Pida because several years ago Pida killed a friend of Waia for which Pida served a term of imprisonment in the War Gaol.

Here we see a case of motives that surrounds dealings over ground.

It is the custom in this area to dispose of ground it seems. The examples above all concern ground that has been won from other groups and it cannot be given back or sold back to anyone but those who were the original losers, so I was told. (See Anthropological appendix).

After a fight the winners would deal with the ground in these ways.

1. Those routed left their ancestral ground and took refuge with their relations. The ground was then taken over by the winning group. The people who lived nearest to the ground that had been won in a fight would colonise it. The ground would then remain in their possession permanently.

2. Half the area that was ~~won~~ won was sold back to the losers for native valuables such as, pigs, salt, oil, etc. The remaining half or portion was firmly kept in the grasp of the winners.

3. The winners might relinquish all of the ground won in the fight and allow the routed people to come back. This might happen immediately after the fight or it might have taken several generations.

There are examples of the above situations all over the Wapenamanda area.

In every case when the routed people are invited back they bring with them pigs and gold lip shell to purchase the ground back. This payment I think, is separate from actual compensation paid to people who have lost relatives in a fight.

Native Situation continued.

There has been no tribal fighting, involving loss of territory, in this area for many years. There may have been fights between clans and groups since the Administration became firmly established in the area but no major shuffling of ground has occurred for at least 10 years. Now it appears that within the last year an exchange has occurred and in the very near future an exchange of ground would have occurred.

Previous to the coming of the whiteman this process served a valuable purpose of stabilising an explosive situation. In the days when the world of the men of the Lai was circumscribed by these hills and the clouds where they met, there was a limit to how far the people could be chased without disturbing the other groups and precipitating a total war. To invite the routed back on to part of their ancestral ground with the hope of negotiating for more placated them a little.

The Administration policy of considering all ground won before the advent of the administration in a particular area apart from providing a convenient starting point in a land dispute, tended to stabilise the land tenure in the area.

The above disposition of land won during a fight in the past indicate that the natives who are involved in the deals do not think that the possession of land at the time of the Administration is at all advantageous but must be subordinate to their interests.

When the people of the area talk about their ground they differentiate between that ground that 'God' put them on, and this is the ground which they won from their neighbours. When the money for the piece of ground was called Wapenamanda was doled out to the owners, the Iaguman people who had won it off the Woininagun people, they the Iagumans gave some to the Woininaguns because they were sorry for them.

So it appears that the winners and losers of a piece of ground in a fight before the advent of the Administration are not yet as sure as the Administration servants that possession at the time of the arrival of the first patrol officer gives them irrevocable rights over it.

As far as I know there is a provision in the Lands Ordinance that prevents the disposition of land between Natives. Land Ordinance 1922 as amended to date Part III, section 6. Whether this provision envisages transactions involving money is not known. Does this section of the ordinance which says that a native has no power to deal in land prohibit the 'sale' of land for Native valuables according to local custom.

As far as I am concerned, and as far as I can find out these deals are sales out and out to the other person. Sometimes the vendor will renege after some years and deny that a sale was concluded at all. This is what has occurred between the Iokointa clan or group and the Kingagun people it appears. The deal was concluded over a piece of bush near the border of their various areas.

The ramifications of this practice can be readily seen. There are several groups around the Wapenamanda area that were greater fighters than the rest. These people have much ground that could be negotiated away. We have seen that the losers of the ground still consider it as theirs even though it has been lost for generations. The unscrupulous of both sides could cause much trouble by indulging in these negotiations.

If all the groups leaders think that the business of land negotiation will be a lucrative sport to indulge in, chaos will ensue if the dissidents that are left as there will be start Court proceedings. There are enough land court proceedings in the future, to be looked into than allow a dubious practice to create more.

Native Situation continued.

If money enters into the transactions in the future as it will as soon as more of it becomes available how will the negotiators using it regard the transactions conducted in the past without the aid of money. Even today as mentioned above one group has apparently reneged on a transaction that was completed some years ago. If other dealers wishing to withdraw from a deal that is not as advantageous as was first thought all they need to say is 'what sort of a deal was that no money changed hands', and so the dispute will find its weary way into the court.

If it is desirable to allow these people to dispose of their ground in the manner described above, it will be seen that some system of control would be needed. It might be necessary to create a ~~system~~ and ordinance and regulations to control it.

As far as could be seen the people involved could see nothing wrong with what they had done, or the future implications of the transactions. Judging by the way the people were reluctant to reveal the business they must have guessed that there was something in it that the Administration might see wrong in it, or might have some objection to.

The people that were involved in the transaction over the ground Mariamanda near Yaebod mission were loathe to bring the matter up at all. Only for the ex-murderer who had nothing to lose being a discredited man of the group, the matter would have gone unnoticed.

In both cases the deal involved the Luluai who was also the hereditary leader of the clan or group, that is to say he would have been a leader even if he had been a 'civilian'. As far as can be found out the Lulusis involved could see nothing wrong with the business of getting rid of land. None of them appeared to be torn between the desire to serve their kin and the Government as well. It could be suspected that the 'brass' given by the Administration might have been used to influence the undecided in the deal.

After what was discovered a discussion with the people was held and the snares and the pitfalls were pointed out to them. They were told to maintain the status quo for the time being until I had written to the Assistant District Officer and the District Commissioner to see what they thought of the matter. Later when I had received some advice on the matter I would return and tell them.

The people of the Minyamba valley have already asked me whether I have received any word about the matter. The people of the Mariamanda ground have asked me whether they should give the pigs back and carry on as before.

I am sure that the people who stand to gain out of the land dealings will be interested to hear what the authorities have to say about the matter.

Land Disputes settled.

These both involved usufructuary rights. They are noteworthy because they highlight a desire by the natives to have the patrol officer put a boundary around their ground, or what they allege is their ground. (See Wapenamanda Court Cases Nos. 17-12)

This desire to have a concrete expression of the Patrol officer's opinion of where the land boundaries are is expressed every where there is a dispute or a whisper of a dispute.

The first area was marked by a boundary of posts against my better judgement because it was plain to see from present occupation and the marks of past cultivation that the two groups of people who were disputing had in the past lived and gardened in common. However the people on both sides were so insistent that if

Native Situation continued.

I went away without planting some kind of a mark the feud might drag on to the next patrol officer that came to Napenamanda. So a mark was planted. Everyone then expressed themselves satisfied. With the experience of having disputes brought to me which a previous patrol officer, the natives alleged, had adjudicated yet not being able to discover any records it I was forced to agree with the natives that some kind of concrete indication of my judgment should be left behind.

The practice of putting marks between clans that have been living side by side for generations with but few disputes, clans that marry with each other seems to be dubious. What was once a fluid system of ground exchange between the two clans, poor ground for more fertile ground, or leaving ground fallow to garden cooperatively with a relation while one garden area lay fallow, may turn in to a rigid system barring free intercourse between clans.

While I was at Hausanda during the land dispute there it appeared that the Lulusai had discussed dropping all these land disputes because all they did was cause vexation between the people. The Fakner Lulusai Waion was the prime mover in this solution to the problem. After all the land cannot be taken from this earth to the other life he said, so why should not we all sit down together peacefully. The influence of the various mission teaching can be seen here. The other Lulusai who do not subscribe to this view reply, 'what about the man who has a genuine grievance, where does he turn to but to the Kiap?'

It appears then that the natives are themselves ^{tired} of land disputes. Their solution to the problem of how to live peacefully is to codify, as it were, their boundaries by some concrete token. The concrete token satisfies them if it is substantial such as posts. Or to forego the habit of repairing to the court to decide their disputes and to all settle down peacefully, though by what ~~what~~ sanction they would live peacefully is not known.

This then is the picture that was presented. It is expected to be the same in the Tshak valley which is scheduled to be patrolled next.

8

Roads and bridges.

The road from the Lai to the Tomba gap was commented on in a report written in March 1958. No further comment is needed. The road between Wabag and Wapenamanda is well known to the A.D. & so no comment on that is needed either.

Medical and health.

Just before this patrol began a medical patrol by European Medical Officer D. Vincin covered the entire Wapenamanda area. Consequently I have nothing to report on the medical side. All the relevant comments could be referred to in his report at Wabag.

Agriculture.

The pattern of agriculture in this area is the usual pattern associated with the highland natives. A good picture of the agricultural activities of the area can be gained from Wabag report No 3 57/58. This deals with the agricultural pattern of the Tshak valley.

In the past there was some attempt, by the administration I think, to get coffee growing in the area. While on patrol I noticed a few fine stands of crotalaria growing but no coffee underneath. The mission stations around the area all have coffee growing. The native coffee growing attempted is according to the instruction booklet. It is planted in nine foot squares and is pruned where there is no crotalaria growing the coffee seedlings are covered with cones of kunai grass. No one has the number of three hundred trees specified for native growers they are all less than that. Very few have anything approaching an acre planted, mostly the plots would be about a quarter of an acre in area. There are four men, who have been trained in the planting of coffee at Korn farm, in the Wapenamanda area so should it be possible in the future to provide an outlet for their coffee the people could be induced to plant ~~more~~ more and the knowledge of these four men spread through the area would greatly help such an enterprise.

Perhaps in the future some kind of cooperative could be formed with a central fermentary to deal with the coffee grown but at the moment this seems to be a distant prospect. There is one coffee plantation in the area. It seems unlikely that there will be another one in the area because the Lai valley and the Tshak valley are so narrow and so populace. Towards Lumis the country becomes more dissected, though I think there ~~are~~ sufficient flat or undulating ground there to provide leases for European coffee ~~plantations~~ plantations. At present there is no European settlement down there other than a mission. With the sparse European settlement in this area at the moment it is difficult to see where the natives will get any knowledge of the coffee growing art other than through the few natives we have at present here who have been trained at Korn farm. In the Eastern Highlands district I understand the example of the European private enterprise has contributed as much to the natives desire to grow coffee as has the sponsorship of the Agricultural department. Unless the future native coffee growers in the area have some sort of marketing arrangement they may be forced to sell to the one or two coffee growers in the area. This may create a monopoly.

A lot of the foregoing discussion is hypothetical but unless an attempt is made to 'crystal ball' the future, ~~the~~ coffee growing in this Wapenamanda area may lag behind other areas by many years.

Census and statistics.

To break the estimated population down into three divisions of approximately ten thousand each the middle Lai census division has been reduced so as not to include the Tahak valley which will be a separate patrol. This will now mean that there are three census divisions.

1. The middle Lai.

Comprising the Miniamba/Minyamba valley and the Lai valley to as far as Rausaunda containing a population of 10,349 people present census.

2. The Tahak valley.

Comprising approximately 10,000 people according to the count of the Medical Assistant who was there in February.

3. The lower Lai

Comprising the Lai valley from The Main group boundary near Yaramanda to post Lumis to the Mt Hagen patrol boundary. The population is estimated to be between 10 and 12,000.

The Tax census was done according to the annexure "B" of the Circular Instruction No T.C.1-57/58.

It would appear that the tax census sheet is conceived to accommodate families without anomalies, i.e. families with Father and Mother alive, married only once, and with all the brothers and sisters true siblings.

If we are to follow annexure B of the circular instruction how are we to account for,

1. Adoptions. There is no provision for it. A child appears in the middle of a family with a different fathers name and no number representing his mother.

		Relationship	M. P. yr Birt
2. Stepchildren i.e.	268. Kadi/Pogo		29.
	269. Bilo.Zant	W. 268	31
	270.		
	271. Nab/Pit	c 269	55.
	272. Dinas/pit	c 269	57.
	273. Tib/Kadi	c 269	58.

It can be seen that the woman Bilo has had a child by Kadi but has two other children by another man who doesn't appear any where on the sheet.

3. Deceased mother. Every child must be entered on the sheet as child of B who is the wife of A. What happens when the man is a widower.

If the sheets are for tax purposes only they suit the purpose but they cannot compete with the old style village book where if the relationship was one that could not be plainly seen from the position of the name a small note made on the opposite page would clear up the mystery.

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(1)

Anthropological. Appendix A.

Here follows a statement made by Lulua'i Fife of Raa'sanda about how the people of the Wapenamanda area hold their land. Any discussion about land inevitably begins with a story of a fight, this one does. No attempt was made to get the Lulua'i to go into detail because it is my experience that when interrogating natives about their customs they hide some details, leave out others important details through forgetfulness, and when pressed to enlarge on some aspects of the particular custom in question add refinements which are not there and otherwise say yes and no in the wrong places. So while it is under the heading Anthropological it makes no pretence at being any way definitive about land tenure. Later it is hoped to get several such descriptions from different areas and compare them and later when some pattern has emerged to narrow down the enquiry to various specific aspects of the land tenure system. Very little attempt has been made to edit this story.

1. We have our ancestral ground that our ancient ancestors lived on on which God put them.
2. We also have ground which we won in fights.
3. We deal with this ground in several ways. After the losers have gone away to take refuge with their relatives we move on to the ground and build houses and gardens.
4. If the group that we won the ground from are a big group well we might not keep it for fear of them, because to approximately equal in manpower and fighting spirit we could not hope to hold it for long before they retaliated and drove us back from there land and took over some of ours.
5. However if this was not the case and the defeated went away and were afraid to come back we would sing out to them that they could come back to their ground if they brought some pigs to buy it. Usually the winners would keep a proportion of the ground; they would not bargain it all back at once, but would keep some to be given back years later perhaps.
6. They all may stop on the proportion that was given back but this does not mean that they cannot be roused again for some reason or other.
7. This invitation to come back followed after a lapse of time by a further fight and dispossession sometimes occurred several times over. Naturally the people to whom this happened if they became cynical about the invitations to come back and sometimes never returned. The few hardier ones would some times return to the ground. A few after seeing their hardier relations remain peacefully on the ground for many years might return again after spending 20 years away.
8. If the fight has been equal and no one has gained any advantage everyone may withdraw to their own ground.
9. After many years of continued residence with relations the dispossessed may try and negotiate with the occupiers of their onetime ground to give some of it back. These negotiations are usually conducted privately and with as much secrecy that can be kept. This is of course a little hard because everyone knows everyone else's business.
10. Those that have the final say whether the ground or part of it can be given back are the people who have settled on it after it was won. Only those people who were the ones using the ground and had clear title to it are allowed to negotiate for the ground. Not anyone can negotiate for a piece of ground to be given back. It has to be the people who have a clear title to it.
11. One man might successfully negotiate to be allowed to return to his ancestral ground and through his efforts others may be allowed to come to and occupy their ground. However the occupying or winning clan may have allowed one man to rebuy his ground but not allowed his relations to rebuy theirs. They may only be allowed to occupy the ground subject to the good will of

Anthropology appendix continued.

the sinner of the ground, hence a lot of confusion arises which leads to much litigation.

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The above mention of the refugee natives who take to the shelter of their relatives by marriage raises the question of what rights the refugee has to any ground that he may be given by his relatives. The answer according to Lulusi Pelianda of the Wabugin group is that these interlopers have no rights.

1. The interlopers are called Kuda. The people who they come and stay with are called Yasbari. This last word can be translated into Pidgin as 'Arse ground'.

2. If the two kinds of people, Kuda and Yasbari live amicably together there is never any mention of the one getting rid of the other.

3. If they do not get on well together they the Yasbari can send the offending Kuda home. In the days before the whiteman came to the area the Kuda would have gone away peaceably, if not his pigs would have been killed and then himself probably if he still did not go. Today a cross between Kuda and Yasbari finds its way to the court.

4. If the people who once took refuge with relations have remained on the ground peaceably for several generations they may consider themselves absorbed by the Yasbari and call themselves Yasbari also. This is quite legitimate.

The foregoing is a custom which causes a lot of disputes. According to custom the man who has been on the ground for twenty years may not have filled in the required residential qualifications to be considered a Yasbari. Yet his residence may have begun before the advent of the Administration. This problem is something for a Native Lands Commissioner to decide, how far can the dictum of possession at the time of the administration be followed and how far can the native custom on the matter be followed.

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Appendix B. Missions and Education.

The Missouri Lutheran Synod have a school at Yaisananda next to Yarananda. There they teach 42 children in Standard 1, 29 in standard 2, 5 in standard 3. These are natives ranging between the ages of 10 and 17.

The above school is taught by a European school teacher. The school at Pina Catholic mission is taught by the father and some native catechists trained to standard three. The father is not an accredited teacher.

The station school at Haneibakos near Wapenanda is nearing completion. It is built to accommodate 70 pupils. One European teacher is present and one Native Teacher.

There should be no trouble around Wapenanda as there is sometimes on the coast where two or three schools almost exhaust the population of eligible school children. There are enough children near Wapenanda station to fill several more schools.

Appendix C.
Report on the members of the R.P.N.G.C.
accompanying patrol.

Warrant-Constable Tovangaga. Reg No 2609.	Energetic, has good control over his police.
Constable Gagorime Reg No 278.	Conduct good discipline good
Constable Lingian Reg No 5181	Conduct good, discipline good.
Constable Degupa Reg No 6707.	" " " "
Constable Yarlegeti Reg No 3628	" " " "
Constable Yogoifa Reg No 277	" " " "
Constable Sumera Reg No 6844.	" " " "

J. Hannan
Hannan Patrol Officer.

Appendix D Alienated land.

Name of Lease. Yaramanda

Type of lease. Mission lease and agricultural lease.

Area. Mission lease 5 acres, Agricultural lease 53 acres.

Owner. Missouri Lutheran Synod.

Occupant. Reverend Otto Hintze.

Use. Educational and religious purposes

Improvements. 1 permanent European type house valued 6000 pounds
2 bush material European houses valued at 20 pounds
1 pit-sawn timber walled, and iron roof church and Sunday school valued at 300 pounds. Other outbuildings valued 100 pounds.

Description of property. The leases are on an undulating Kunai and Kangaroo grass plateau above the Lai river and about a mile from that river.

.....

Name of Lease. Yaisamanda

Type of lease Educational.

Area. 42 acres.

Owner. Missouri Lutheran Synod.

Use. Educational

Improvements. One prefabricated aluminium house value 1200 pounds. Class rooms and dormitories valued altogether at 150 pounds

Description. As for Yaramanda.

.....

Name of lease. Mambisanda

Type of lease. Special

Area. 28 acres

Owner. Missouri Lutheran Synod.

Occupant. Dr. Klosshaus and staff.

Use. For Native Hospital.

Improvements. Hospital made from milled timber, Hospital comprises three wards, operating theater, dispensary, laboratory European wards, chapel. This plus equipment value 200,000 pounds. Three permanent European type houses valued 18,000 pounds, two bush material European houses valued 20 pounds.

Description of property. Situated in a small valley off the Lai valley it looks out towards Yaramanda mission across the Lai valley. Built on a hill the buildings are disposed around the uneven site.

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Name of lease. Pomobos.

Type of lease. Mission and agricultural.

Appendix D continued.

Area. Mission lease 5 acres, Agricultural lease 60 acres.

Owner. Society of the Divine Word, Wewak.

Occupant Father Schwab.

Use Mission and education.

Improvements. One European milled timber dwelling value 3000 pounds
One church valued at 100 pounds. Assorted bush material
structures valued at 100 pounds.

Description. Situated about 4 miles from Wapenamanda station it
occupies a site on the left bank of the Lai river.

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Case No 172

TERRITORY OF NEW GUINEA.

In the Court for Native Affairs
at Wapenamanda and atRauwanda.

Holden this 21st of the month of May 1958.

Before J.Hannan M.C.N.A.

In the Case Of Lolusi Pelianda of the Liagani lineage

Vs

Iba of the Dep lineage.(for and on behalf of his relatives)

Cause of the proceeding.

To decide the right to the use of part of the ground
Pairap by Iba and his relatives.

Heard under regulation 59. of the N.A.R 1924 As amended to date.

Decision of the Court.
(see back)

Case No

2

Affirmed Interpreter Lemi.

Affirmed Luluai Pelianda of the Wabugin group, Pairap ground
Wapenamanda Patrol Post area. Wabag sub-District.

My name is Pelianda I am the Luluai of the Wabugin group. I am here to start Court proceedings against these five men (indicates the ~~five~~ three Defendants) I am cross over the ground Pairap.

My Grandfathers or Ancestors No 5. One of them was called LIAGANI, another TAUDO, another Paiaro, another IBABI, another TUNK, that is the Lot. Liagani had a son TARO; Taro had a son Rumarugari, Rumarugari had a son KEP, Kep had a son KAUGUA, Kaugua had a son INGINK, Ingink was my father. I am not the eldest son of my father No 1 brother stayed at home.

This ground Pairap is the ground of my ancestors. I said to these men you have before you (indicates the three men defendants before the Court) I said let us all sit down on this ground peacefully but they don't want to so I want to get up the Court proceedings to get these men off my ancestral ground.

Now I want to tell you of a woman from the Wabugin group who went and married a man of the Kumbagin. The name of the woman was Kauwanyimi, the name of the man was Imiliba. This man Imiliba lived at a place called KEREBUSAMANDA. Imiliba lived on this piece of ground and had two children both male. The first one was called PIAGAUBIN, the second was called KANYI.

The Tsigin group of people led by the man who is now Luluai PILO attacked the DEP group of which PIAGAUBIN and KANYI were members. My father INGINK at this time invited the two men named above with their families to come and live at Pairap.

These three men before you are the children of Piagaubin and Kanyi. They are not really the children of the two men mentioned above they are the grandchildren.

The DEP group are in the Locality of PAUWANDA. Tsigin-MANGALIA live scattered about near Pina Catholic Mission. The boundary between the TSIGIN-MANGALIA and the WABUGIN people is a ditch called PONELAI. This ditch starts near the water or creek called AIYERI and then goes for quite a distance to the head of the water MOIP. This creek MOIP goes and joins the water LAI. That takes care of the Boundary on the Moip creek side now I want to talk about the boundary of our ground on the AIYERI side. If we follow the ditch Ponelai in the opposite direction we will come to a tree called MARA which stands on the banks of a stream called by the same name MARA. This tiny stream runs into the big creek AIYERI. The Aiyer creek joins with the big river LAI. As I have said before this is the boundary of the TSIGIN group and us the WABUGINS.

One of the groups Tsigin has two small clans KWOIP and KARIP. These two clans have left their hereditary ground and come across the boundary of Wabugin ground. The name of their ground where they originally had houses is KABIAMANDA and POKALIBUS. There are a few people living on this ground mentioned but the majority of it is tall grass covered. MANGALIA too have occupied our ground. The Casuarina trees you (the Court) have seen ~~the~~ have been planted by my Grandfather my Father and by myself. No one has ever attacked us and routed us from our ground. On the North side of the river LAI we have been attacked and routed several times but never from the ground PAIRAP.

1. We the big group KANDAURIN are spread out on both the North and South side of the river LAI.

-
1. Wabugin are part of the KANDAURIN group. Ancestor Kandaaurin apparently had several children one of which gave rise to the Wabugin sub group.

All the men of these other groups have agreed to say that the WABUGIN boundary ends on the banks off the river Lai on the Northern side that is. All the Patrol Officers come and look at the river Lai and put the boundary of our people as that. This man IBA that is in the Court now was the one that first made this talk.

During the period before the Government came we fought with every body. Now we have not a great many men. But now there is no more fighting and soon we will have need of more ground. So I want to rouse the five men of KUMBAGIN off our land and get it back.

Before I wanted to sell some ground to the Lutheran mission. The Kumbegin men who are before you in the Court said no you cant sell it. We are the only ones who should receive pay for it. If the five men had said will you give us some pay, will you share the pay with us. We would have done but no they wanted to sing out to all their line to come. We had a fight I went to gaol and the Lutheran Mission said we dont want ground over which there is a dispute. It was Kleinig who said this.

Five men have been sitting down on the ground now they have invited two more men to come which makessa total of seven. Now I want to get rid of them all.

PELIANDA his mark

Read back No questions agrees it is correct.
Taken before me Member of the Court for Native Affairs.

Question by the Court.

Where is your house.

Answer. It is near the river Lai close to the banks on the ground Pairap.

Q. Are you the only one that owns the ground.

Answer. No I am the representative of the descendents of the five ancestors that I have named above in my evidence.

Q. What do you call yourself, what name do you give to the descendents of the five ancestors collectively.

Answer. We have no collective name. Each is called after the particular ancestor that originated the descendents. I, because I am the descendent of LIAGANI am the boss of the descendents of the other four ancestors because my ancestor happened to be the eldest of the five brothers. When I die my eldest son will be the leader.

Q. Why did your father invite these two men PIGAUBIN and KANYI only were they your fathers relations.

Answer. yes they were related; my Grandfathers sister, ^{Kausanyin,} my Grand Aunt went and married IMILIBA. They had two male children whom my father called Kantri in the Pidgin Language and ABANK in the Enga language. They were my fathers Cousins.

Q. Have not cousins the same rights to ground as anyone else among those who were descendents of the original ancestors who hold the ground.

Answer. Cousins have no rights when it comes to the actual ownership of the ground. If the real descendant of the ancestor does not want the cousins on the ground they can be sent away.

Q. In Court would like to know what are the customs of the area concerning those who have no true claim to the ground which they occupy other than the consent of the true hereditary occupiers.

Answer.

The name of this type of occupancy is KUDA. When our relations in other lines were attacked and routed we gave them haven amongst us. we gave them ground for their gardens and houses. We never put a boundary around them we just all lived together. After they have been sitting down on the piece of ground for a long time sometimes they say this is my ground now. when the original invitation was extended everyone understood that they the new comers had no right to the ground. After some years however when the interlopers make a claim to the ground they are refused and are sent back to their own hereditary ground. That was the way of the people before. however now that the whiteman has comeup they usualy start court proceedings. now that the Patrol Officers come and hear these Courts the KUDA occupiers all say we have a house and garden this is my ground. If the relations all live amicably

together the IAMBARI (hereditary owners) never send the KUDA (interlopers) away. If however the people who have been living with their relations want to go back to their own true hereditary ground they can go and the IAMBARI will not stop them.

If a pig of the KUDA people trespasses the garden of the IAMBARI then the KUDA people can be roused. If the KUDA don't want to go the IAMBARI can kill the pig cook it eat it and send the KUDA away.

Now the Patrol Officers have come all the KUDAs talk this is my ground, this is my ground, before we would have fought and routed the KUDAs if they did not go. Now that the Patrol Officer hears the dispute they say we will send the P.O. our houses and gardens and say to him this is my land. I am following the law of my ancestors in trying to rouse these five men only I am bringing it to the court instead of starting a fight.

Q. The Court would like to hear about some specific instances of other KUDA occupiers that have gone voluntarily or have been sent away because of some misdemeanour by the IAMBARI or this piece of ground PAIMAR, within recent years. Or who are at present living on the ground peacefully.

Answer. Pabon, Akemalio, Paimagari, Ango, Aiyir, Pau-u, that is the lot who have gone back to their true hereditary ground ~~ABABOONABABA.~~

Q. Who invited these people in the first place to come and occupy parts of PAIMAR ground.

Answer. My father Ingink invited all these men to come and live with us.

Q. How much time has elapsed since all these men have gone back to their hereditary ground.

Answer. Two years.

Q. Did they all leave at once, and what was the reason for their going.

Answer. Yes they all left at once and went away. One of the men Pabon had a house which caught fire and burnt his wife. They were then all afraid of her spirit and went away.

Q. What happened to the houses that were left.

Answer. Some of the houses that were left were occupied by the true owner or the ground others were occupied by some men of the Iain group.

Q. The Court would like to know more about this custom of KUDA.

Answer. For instance how long do you have to stop before the descendants of a KUDA can become a IAMBARI. That is, how long does it take before the original interlopers descendants who have lived amicably with the hereditary owners can be regarded by the hereditary as true owners of the ground which they have occupied for many years.

Answer. It takes several generations of occupation and intermarriage before the descendants of the original KUDA can be classed as IAMBARI.

Q. During the time the interlopers live with the hereditary owners there were times when there must have been quarrels between the two. How were those quarrels patched up.

Answer. By the usual method that we employ today. Compensation in the form of pigs or gold lip shells.

Q. Did the KUDA and IAMBARI intermarry.

Answer. No. They all married women of different groups we are exogamous.

PELIANDON J. S. Mank

read back and agrees it is correct

taken before me this 21/5/50. J. BARNAR R. O. B. A.

J. Barnar

interpreter Lezi affirmed.

18A male native of Palrap and Kerebusamanda ground, Kerebusamanda area, Wapens-
MAMAK manda patrol Post, Sabag sub-District, W, N. D.

Affirmed.

Dep is my ancestor, he had a son WAIMBA, WAIMBA had two sons KUMBAGIN and
KAGAUGIN, KUMBAGIN had two sons MOGI and AMAN,
there was a piece of ground called KORAUAM near the creek ALIBAI on this
MOGI lived. AMAN lived on the piece of ground called WAKO. KUMBAGIN lived
on a piece of ground called KOMBAMANDA.

KOMBAMANDA killed a man named KUMBAGIN of the KAGAUGIN clan, of the WAIMBA
group. All the WAIMBAS ran away and the ground was unoccupied. It was
that the father of the LULUAI Peilanda came on to it.

One woman called KALLAK from the WAIMBA group went and married KALLA
and they had a son INGINA.

INGIN fought with KUMBAGIN and routed them and their ground was vacant
Peilanda's father came and occupied it.

The father of Peilanda was a cousin of PALAPALI. Ingingk was living
on this ground. Ingingk invited the people of the KUMBAGIN group to come
back so my father came back and brought a pig and got the ground that
was used to occupy. My father came back to his ground and the LULUAI
father went back to his ground, KORO near KAPO's mission on the other side
of the KIRIKIRI river LAI.

There were a few men of the PALAPALI line that had been decimated by the
maraudings of other lines they came and lived on this piece of ground
Palrap. They number 7 altogether.

The Reverend ALBING from KAPO's mission was searching for ground and
came to PALAP. The LULUAI Peilanda brought him. I did not see them and
they put a mark. I came behind and took away the mark. (a line of sticks).
I roused the mark and three days later the Alap came.

We lined, both the WABUGIN and the KUMBAGIN together and we began court.

Peilanda spoke first. Yesterday he told the court about the boundary of
his ground. KAMBAGIN After he had spoken I got up and said my piece.

I said to Master Jack (probably Worcester) all the above things that I have
told you today. Master Jack asked the Peilanda if it was true if this
father of mine had brought a pig to buy the ground. This man before you
said it was true. His name is KUMU. Yesterday he said he did not say any
thing of the sort. Master Jack said that this man's father came and bought
the ground meaning me and that the LULUAI must go back to his own ground.
Master Jack said that the LULUAI had won the court. He was talking about
the former LULUAI of KUMBAGIN KAMBAGIN.

Peilanda said then to the LULUAI WAIKO of the KUMBAGIN group I wanted to
sell this ground to the mission but that is not to be so he spoke KAMBAGIN
with WAIKO and went back to his own piece at KEREBUSAMANDA.

Later however the LULUAI thought of the money that might accrue from
a sale of the ground and then brought all his line with him. Peilanda
then gathered all the LULUAI: the LULUAI of the KUMBAGIN the LULUAI of
KORO, AMBULIN, KANDANAGIN, a LULUAI of the WAMAK area near KAMBAMANDA named
KAAA, PIIQ, KALOR former paramount LULUAI of the KAPUPAGIN line. All the
LULUAI asked myself and Peilanda whose ground it was. I said it was mine
and he said it was his, they could not make any headway so they asked
the KAGAUGIN line. A man of this group got up and said WAIMBA used to sit
down on this ground. A man of the KAMBAGIN line said we fought
with KUMBAGIN who used to live on this ground. Some men of the WABUGIN
line tried to throttle the sad man then all the KUMBAGIN men got up and
we had a fight with WABUGIN. The LULUAI then lined everyone who was in
the right and took them to WABAGA. The outcome of this was that the two
WABAG men had their insignias taken away for a time. We went into the
prison for four months.

The Alap at WABAGA said we must not get up this court any more. As
soon as we left prison they brought all their people and enough wood and
built houses saying that behind when it was time to get up a court they
could have houses on the land that was under dispute and that this would
lend weight to their claim.

I have spoken to you before about some of the men of the Palrap group.
They are their yet. They have bananas and sugar growing.

when you came to do the census of the group the wabugins had newly erected a house.

Pairogin are part of the KAMBAUKIN group which is really the name of the wabugins. they are only a sub group really. now they have joined forces with the wabugins and the wabugins have got up the court. the house of the Luilai is at AGAMO. the house of the Luilai and his father is also at AGAMO. when the court was at the site of the dispute they showed you the houses which they occupied they have only now built them. All the ancestors that they called yesterday have never lived on the ground Pairo but have always lived at AGAMO.

Q. yesterday you said that there had been many fights over the ground which is under dispute, but the Luilai says that there have been no fights at all. how many fights were there over this ground or on it.

ANSWER. the first fight that I have heard of was when the Luilai group routed the Waimba group and in so doing caused my Grandfather to flee. the second time that a fight had occurred was when the Luilai line again attacked the Waimba line and my father was routed.

Q. what about the Pairogin group that yesterday you told me of. were they decimated in a fight over this ground or were they fleeing from ground elsewhere and came to Pairo for a haven.

ANSWER. these few people are the remnants of people who lived on the piece of ground called PIDIKAM. they are a sub clan of the KAMBAUKIN group. three men of the Pairogin group came to the ground Pairo. they between them had seven children two of which have been killed by the wabugins in the not so distant past. these people are descendants of the original wabugina ancestor MANDUWIN. they have come and occupied my ground.

Q. how many other people are occupying your ground. my father

ANSWER. After Luilai routed us they invited us back and I bought a pig and bought the ground back. Luilai still kept some and they sit down on it still. three clans of the Luilai like live on my ground MANGALIA, AULP, MAMIP.

Q. what is the name of the line or group that you belong to.

ANSWER. I am a member of the WAIMBA line or group.

Q. during my recent census of the area I did not count any of the WAIMBA people do they belong to the hall that Wabag looks after.

ANSWER. yes they work at Wabag they have a Luilai to.

Q. tell me the court or the boundaries of the Waimba group on the Wabag side

ANSWER. the LUWALI creek is the boundary between the WAIMBA group and the LIBIN. the boundary between MANDUWIN and WAIMBA is a creek call ALUAMIP. nearer to the Wapenamanda boundary the ALIBAI creek is the boundary between the Luilais and the Waimbas. the MUMBEGIN clan or sub group of the Waimba group are split in the middle by the people of the Luilai MANGALIA people. they are not intermarried or KUDA as we call them. they took the place of a line of people the PINAWAMIN who have migrated altogether towards MUMRI-IAA.

Q. what book have you got your name in, for census purposes.

ANSWER. I am in the book of the WAIMBA-MUMBAUKIN people. they are censused from Wabag.

Q. how many men of the MUMBEGIN line are living on the ground under dispute, or the ground MUMBAUKIN.

ANSWER. KATAS, IBA, BALIO, MAMIO, PIMIA, ALAMGARI, IMBAM, MANDUWIN, KANALIE. A KANALIE, KAKAGAN, ANON, KANALIO, these are the men that have houses on this ground. All those that come and plant gardens on this ground are so many that I don't know how many there are.

Q. would the Luilai Pellanda like to ask the Detachment IBA about anything he has given in evidence so far.

ANSWER. yes. you (to the man IBA) have said there are seven men on the Pairo ground when there is only seven, you have not told the truth to the patrol officer.

page seven.

Iba replies.

that there are not seven men only on the ground all the men live on this ground.

MAHAI PAIANDASAS IBA. nobody has ever fought with us over this ground. Gora pointed out that it was the MAHAI that Iba had said had been attacked.

MAHAI PAIANDASAS says that there has been no MAHAI group ever to live on this ground.

Iba replies that when Master Jack went to hear the Court originally that a man from the MAHAI line had told him that MAHAI had fought on the MAHAI group.

MAHAI PAIANDASAS says, yesterday you said one of your ancestors is or was MAHAI. you are calling my ancestor.

Iba replies. it is true that MAHAI is the ancestor of the MAHAI they were defeated and they came and stopped with us.

Read back and agrees that it is correct. Iba his mark. X

Taken before me *J. J. J.* this 21/5/56.

Interpreter Lari Affirmed
Lulua Pilo Affirmed.

My name is Lulua Pilo. This is what I have heard about the ground PAIRAP. Before it belonged to the Wabugin line. Our (the Tsigin group) ground is across the water Aiyeri. Kusbagin was living on the ground Pairap. One day one of their houses burnt down and accidentally killed a woman. Then the Kusbagin people afraid of a devil left the houses and went back to the ground Kerebusemenda. Their houses were left empty so some of the Tsigin people went and lived in them. Two men of the Tsigin line had been living there a long time before this though. One was married to two women, one a Wabugin meri and the other a Kusbagin meri. As far as I know there never has been a line called Pairugin. They have no book themselves they only have one name Wabugin. Several of these men have been there for years.

Question by the Court.

What are the Tsigin groups boundaries.

Answer.

Tsigin Mangalia have a boundary with the Waisba people at the water Liyindi. The Tsigin Mangalia Waisba mark follows the Maidela hill after it leaves the head of the water Liyindi. Still following the hill it follows Ubonali ground, and yet further along the same hill it follows the ground Iabagama. Thence it follows the barat Uwali which finally leads to the water Aiyeri again. Then following the Aiyeri up until it comes to the water Kuburink, thence up this to the Yisbir creek, follow the Yisbir creek to the water Ron, along this to the mountain Liotsanda. A small track is then followed to the Ibiogoro creek which leads to the Ya which in turn leads to the bush where I dont know where the mark is. Up there we have various marks to differentiate the pandanus and Kapul areas but that is all. Now we go back to the water Liyindi. Follow the water Liyindi to the Lai river. Then follow the Lai to the creek Lio to a flat piece of ground thence to the Ponelai barat until it comes to the water Aiyeri, thence along this to the water Lai. Thence along the water Lai to another creek which makes a boundary with the Kandaurin line.

Question by the Court.

Who worked the Ponelai ditch

Answer It is the custom to dig ditches on area where there is no natural features to mark the ground. The people that lived on this flat piece of ground must have worked them many years ago.

Question by the Court what was this other Barat or ditch that we followed this morning when we did the survey.

Answer We just followed an old ditch. Down below is Wabugin territory above too some Wabugin people have gardens and houses.

Read back and agrees that it is correct
Taken before me this 12th day of June 1958.

Pilo his mark &

E Hannan *E Hannan*

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Interpreter Leadi affirmed.
Luluai Ro affirmed

My name is Ro and I am the luluai of the Mangalia line of the Tsigin group. On the ground at Pina lived a line called Pinawangin. My father fought and defeated the Pinawangin people also the Kubaliwangin. These people lived on the ground Wedes and Kubaliwangin.

Pilos line fought with the Kumbagin people and roused them from the ground Kerebusamanda I took them in and gave them some ground to live on.

The Wabugins were attacked by the Ambulin line and came over to this line and settled on the ground that was vacant because of the exodus of the Pinawangins.

We fought with both the Kumbagin people and the Wabugin people and routed them without much trouble.

My grandfather killed Ibas grandfather but we did not send them away. We buried the people on the spot. It was not Mangalia alone that did all the fighting Tsigin-Liunai helped to.

Wabugin want to rouse the Kumbagin line and so are making this trouble I dont want any trouble so I am telling you my story.

My fathers mother was a Wabugin, during the fighting many years ago the Wabugins came and sort refuge with us their relations.

I have only one living place that is right here on this ground. Both the Wabugins and the Kumbagins have land elsewhere than here.

Read back and agrees that it is correct.

Ro his mark X

Taken before me this 12th day of June 1958. At Rawanda.

Comment.

The ground was examined by the Court and surveyed with a compass and chain.

From an examination of the area it would appear that the various people living on it have their various circumscribed areas.

The Wabugins claimed an area which also took in parts where the Tsigin Mangalia people are living, where the Tsigin Liunai were living and entirely circumscribed where the Kumbagins are living.

As each of these specified living areas was traversed by the compass and chain a pattern emerged. The Tsigin people occupied and claimed ~~that~~ a portion of the ground pairap that stretched across the width of this triangular shaped piece of ground. There mark was only a few chains from the Ponelai ditch that the Wabugins claim is the true mark. The Kumbagins occupied a smaller triangle bordering on the Tsigin Mangalia mark and the Lai. The remainder that was left was it seems the rightful property of the Wabugin people. Neither the Tsigin people nor the Kumbagin people have made any statement that the portion ~~left~~ left after they had indicated the boundaries of their own ground is not the rightful property of the Wabugin people.

Decision.

The intention of the Luluai Pelianda in bring^{ing} this dispute before me, namely to obtain the removal of five men of the Kumbagin group who are living there, is defeated. It is found that the Kumbagin people though not living on their true ancestral ground were invited to this area by either the Wabugin people or the Mangalia people (the evidence is conflicting here) and have been in residence for approximately 20 years may continue to do so, may the Tsigin people who though not directly involved are living within the boundary of the ground claimed by the Wabugin people, this occupation may continue ~~in~~ until such time as a Native Lands Commissioner can hear the Wabugin claim and decide who has clear title to the ground.

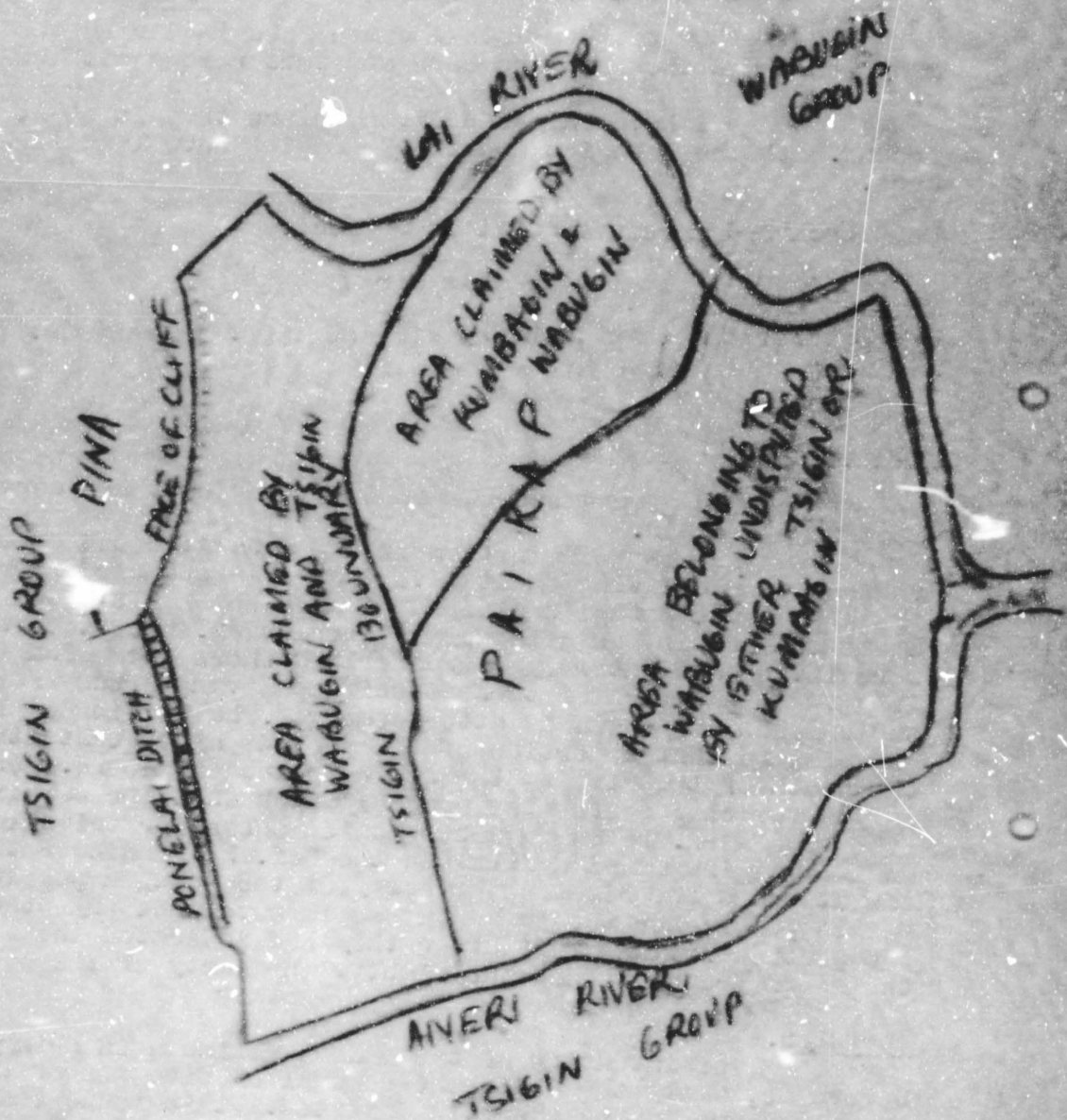
All the marks put in in the course of the survey are to remain as they were put to act as a guide to the Native lands Commissioner who is to hear the case.

In accordance with the provisions of Regulation No 59 of the Native Administration Regulations a copy of the foregoing is for-

warded to the Director of Native Affairs.

J. A. Under
Attorn. Secy to the Court
for Native Affairs.

SKETCH OF AREA UNDER DISPUTE



Comment.

On examination of the ground it is evident that several Landaragin men have got gardens across what is alleged to be the boundary, the Yambarin creek. It is also evident that the people of both Rundup and Landaragin are and have been gardening together on each others ground i.e. across each others alleged boundary. The ground in question is fallow and covered with Kunai and Kangaroo grass. Even with this cover the marks of pig ditches and old garden and house sites can be seen which bare witness to occupation by natives. The area of the land which is under dispute would be approximately 3 acres.

Decision.

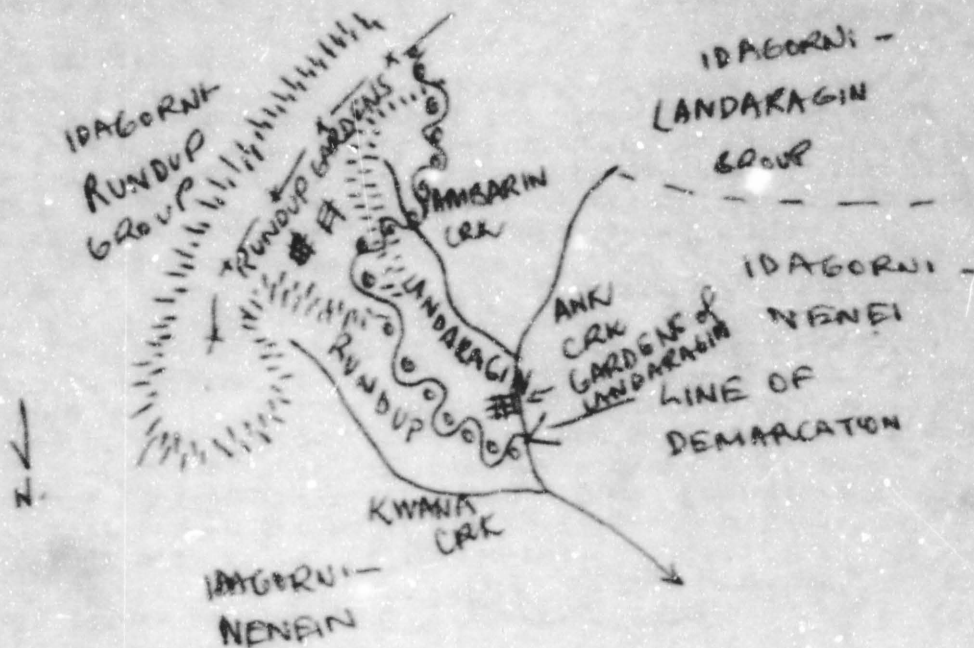
Those gardens that are at present being worked by either landaragin or Rundup are to remain. The vacant area between the gardens of the two groups can be gardened by both up to a line of posts which cuts the area in two halves approximately. This line is continued in a North and South direction until it reaches boundaries about which there is no dispute.

The status quo is to be kept until a Native Lands Commission is able to hear it and decide who has a clear title to the area if anyone.

In accordance with the provisions of section 59N.A.R. 1924 as amended to date a copy of the proceedings.

J. Hennan
J. Hennan M.C.N.A.

SKETCH OF AREA UNDER DISPUTE



Case No 171

In the Court of Native Affairs at
Kondamanda, Wapenamanda
Held on 18/4/58.

Before J. Hannan E.C.F.A.

Kolia of Idagorni-Rundup (on behalf of that clan)

Vs

Tambu of Idagorni-Landaragin (on behalf of that clan)

Case of the proceedings.

Kolia claims that the men of the Landaragin clan are encroaching on Rundup ground.

Interpreter Lemi affirmed.

Kolia affirmed.

My name is Kolia. Before Tambu and I worked a house and a garden on the ground Kondamanda. Now he is claiming it as his. Tambu and I have a mark on the creek Yambarin. Tambu lives on the other side of the creek. Before we worked our gardens together now we do not do this.

My house and the house of my half brother lie on the ground Kondamanda. Landaragin have trespassed on the Rundup clan ground and more particularly on the ground of Pisrai and myself.

All my ancestors have lived here on Kondamanda. We are called the Yambarenda we descended from a Yambaran meri.

Landaragin have recently edged over the line that is our mark. Tambu has recently moved over the mark.

The boundaries of my ground are the Yambarin creek and the Ank creek.

Read back agrees that it is correct. His mark.

Taken before me this 18th of April 1958.

Tambu affirmed.

My name is Tambu I am a member of the Landaragin people. The mark between the ~~Wabag~~ two clans is the top of the ridge Kondamanda. The side facing towards Wabag is Landaragins and the other side is Rundups. The garden near the head of the hill is Kolia's it is inside our boundary he is stealing our ground. The water Yambarin is in the middle of our land.

Before Nenei and Rundup fought and Rundup was routed. Landaragin was allowed to occupy the ground after everything became peaceful again. We were allowed back to garden in the area. It was the man Keramp who sang out to us to come back. He is from the Rundup clan. They were willing to give me back the garden that I had before. I gave them a side of Pork. We began to clean an area for a house and garden but they suddenly changed their minds and did not give me back my garden so I went across the water Ank to a place there.

Read back agrees that it is correct.

Taken before me this 18.4.58.

Keramp affirmed.

My name is Keramp. We had been routed by the Nenei clan and had retired to the hills. They invited us back so we returned. I had had a cross with my uncle and broken his wrist and they had taken me to the Kisp at Wabag and put me in gaol. I was cross over this so to get even I sang out to Tambu to come and sit down on some of the ground belonging to us. My relatives were angry about this and said that he can't stay on our ground he must go back to his own. So we sent him away.

Read back and agrees it is correct. Keramp his mark.

Taken before me this 18/4/58.

