National Archives & Public Records Services of Papua New Guinea

# PATROL REPORTS

District : Western

Station : Emeti

Volume : 3

ISBN NO : 9980-910-80-1

Accession No: 496

Period : 1968-1969

Filmed by/for the National Archives of Papua New Guinea Port Moresby 1995

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# Papua New Guinea Patrol Reports

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[2] 2 OF 1968/69	1-23	R. MAC BIAMOND CPO	GAHA RIVER CENSUS BIUSSION .	MAP	20.8.68 - 1.9.68	
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[9] 9 OF 1968/69	1-6	P.A. HARDE ADC	LOWER BANGU & GAMA RIVER C/D.	*	14.6.69 - 17.6.69	
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# WESTERN DISTRICT PATROL REPORTS

# 1968-1969

# EMETI

Report no.	Officer conducting patrol	Area patrolled
1-68-69	P.A. Hardie	Gama River, Lower Banu C.D.
2-68-69	R. MacDiamond	Gama River C.D.
3-68-69	R. MacDiamond Rive	Part Lower Banna Gama ers Lewer Banna & Gama Bivers
4-68-69	R.J. Staples	Maisave village-lara River
5-68-69	R.M. Diamond	Upper Bamu C.D.
6-68-69	R. M. Diamond L	Parts of Upper Bamu & Gama River C.D.
7-68-69	R.M. Diamond	Gama River & Lower Bamu areas
8-68-69	E.B. Reynolds	Specific fillage Lower Bamu C.D.
9-68-69	P.A. Hardie	Lower Baum & Gama river C.D.

PATROL REPORT EMETI 1-68-69 P.A. Hardie Gama River, Lower Bamu C.D.

67-3-10 20th December, 1968, The District Commissioner, Western District, PARROL BURNE NO. 1 OF 68/69. Your reference 67-11-1 refers. 2. I seknowledge with themis receipt of Amumal/Census - Area Study/Bituation Report by Mr. P. Hardie, Assistant District Commissioner to GAMA RIVER and LOWER BAST Cemsus Divisions. 3. A detailed, comprehensive and excellent report of this lass forcured area. 4. Potential for economic development is very poor. The people should be encouraged to increase their coconut plantings which would appear to be the only evenue of development open to them at present. (T. W. BLIJS) Director. c.c. Mr. P. Hardie, Assistent District Commissioner, Sub-District Office, BALIMO. ne Emay I wer 000 21/6/04

67.3.10.



# TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Telegrams.

Our Reference 57-11-1

If calling ask for RAC . bd

Department of District Administration, Weatern District DARU

25rd Octo er, 1968

The Director, Department of District mistration, KONEDOBU

## EMETI PATROL 1/68-69

Please find herewith report of a 21 day patrol to the GAMA RIVER and LOWER BAMU Census Divisions, submitted by Mr. P.A. Hardie, Assistant District Commissioner, BALIMO, in the form of a Situation Peport and Area Study for each Division.

The information contained in the Reports and Area Studies is presented in an excellent manner and is as complete and comprehensive as can be expected, considering his limited knowledge of the area and its people.

I seemmend the report to you as a fine example of reporting.

Sub-District Office, BALIMO, .... W.D. 4th Getober, 1968.

Distroff 67-3-1 PAH: np

District Commedianer, DARU.

# REPORT OF EMETI PATROL No. 1-68/69

Please find enclosed three copies of the Patrol Report of Encid Patrol No. 1 - 68-69. The patrol was an annual census type patrol, and therefore comprises:

(i) information required on the front of the Patrol Report jacket.

(ii) Patrol Diary.

(iii) A Situation Report.

(iv) Area Studies.

Village Population Registers have already been forwarded to you under separate cover. Other copies of the V.F.R.s are included with the Area Studies, as required by Departmental Standing Instructions. As two census divisions were covered b, the patrol - Gama River and Lower Equip - two Area Studies have been submitted.

fith Hadie

(Petre A. Hardie) Assistant District Conmissioner. Report No.

EMETI No.1 - 68/69

Sub-District

BALIMO

District

WESTERN

Non-Connail Area

Patrol conducted by

P.A. HARDIE

Designation

ASSISTANT DISTRICT COMMISSIONER

Area patrolled

GAMA RIVER, LOWER BAMU Census Divisions

Personnel accompanying patrol

E.TUKA Medical Assistant
R.M.DIAMOND C.P.O.
B.NEDE Interpreter
Const. 1/c ATA
Hospital Orderly MANEWA

Duration of patrol

Date out: 23rd July, 1968.

Date in:

12th August, 1968.

Duration:

21 days

Date and duration of last D.D.A. patrol to area:

Gama River C.D. March, 1968. 2 days Lower Bamu C.D. June, 1968. 2 days

Objects of patrol:

Census revision. Conduct Area Study: Carry out administration and quarterly visit to Lower Bamu area, as per Director's Instructions (J1 - 75 of 26.2.68).

Total population of area patrolled, 3,948

Map Reference:

Aworra River

1:250,000

Kiwai

1:250,000

Village Population Register enclosed.

eport of FMETI Patrel No. 1/68-69

#### PATROL DIARY

23rd July, 1968: Departed BALIMO by M.V. Heduru 1300 and arrive off Earl River Mission 2230. Night there.

21th July: Deliver mail to Mission, then proceed to Emeti Ease Camp where deal with correspondence and station administration. Depart Emeti 1100 in Heduru and proceed down Banna River calling at various villages en route to advise them of forthcoming census. Arrived Bunigi 1715. Night there.

Departed Burigi 0630. Buffeted by rough seas. 'Tempest' dingly being towed collides with 'Heduru' and breaks windscreen. Arrived mouth of Gama River 0930 and anchored Nemeti-Gimerome 1100. It being advised that river was too shallow to proceed furth supstream in 'Heduru'. set off (1400) with C.P.O. Diamond, In hypereter, and medical staff to Airua/Binori in 'Tempest' dinghy. Deposited patrol gear and went on up-river to Ukusi, arriving 1605. Told people to expect census on the morrow and returned Airua/Binori with gear-box trouble 1800. Long talk with village officials efter tea on House of Assembly elections, etc. Saniflies very bad. Night at Airua/Binori.

26th July: 0645 census etc at Airua/Binori. 0815 departed Airua/Binori in cance on incoming tide and paidled to Ukusi arriving 1000. Census etc of Ukusi and Kopirami villages at Ukusi. Departed Ukusi 1300 on outgoing tide and returned to Airua/Binori by cance, arriving 1430. Pickad up by 'Haduru' which C.P.O. Diamond had induced to venture further upriver. To Nemeti-Gimereme where spent night.

27th July: Consus etc. of Nemeti and Gimereme villeger.
By 'Heduru' to Giwe etcre. Census etc. of Giwaretore. Night where.

28th July: Departed Giwarstore 0900 and arrived Gamari 0915. Worked on gearbox of cutboard motor and got it working satisfactorily. Spant afternoon in Gamari village, where visited houses and chatted with villagers. Night at Gamari.

29th July: Jensus of Gamari. Thence to Mairave for census etc.. Night at Maisave.

30th July: Across river to Ibuo, where tide was out leaving great expanse of deep mud to pull dinghy through. No bely in this was received from villagers. Census etc.. Paid village official; all village constables in the Gama Piver Census Division have now been paid up to 30th June, 1968. Recovered green dinghy which Ibuo men had salvaged from the ses. Departed Ibuo 1325 and arrived off Pirupiru 1630 after 'Heduru' had had some gearbox trouble. Advised peoply of Pirupiru Nos.! and 2 and Sibara of the census on the forrow. To Bunigi, as no suitable anchorage off Pirupiru. Night at Bunigi.

31st July: Left Punigi 1615 and arrived Pirupiru No.2 0705. Census etc of Pirupiru No.1 and Pirupiru No.2. Moved to Sibara. Only three fit men left in village. Census etc.. Returned to Eunigi, on route advising people of Darave of census of morrow. Night at Bunigi.

Let August: Consus of Dunig: and Upati villages at Bunigi.
Devarted Bunigi 1300 and commenced census at Darave 1330. Theree via bamio and Angal i to Torobina, advising the people on route of census the next day. Night at Torobina.

3

2nd August: Census of Torobina and Aniad at Torobina. To Bamio, sticking briefly on sandbank en route. Through thigh-deep mud to village, where commence census at 1430 Local court held. To Sogers, en route advising the people of Wakau of the census the next day. Night at Sogeri.

3rd August: Census of Sogeri village. Thence to Wakau and census of that village. Thence to Sisiami No.2, losing and retrieving green dinghy en route. By dinghy to Sisiami No.1 with medical assistant in connection with new Aid Post. Returned to Sisiami No.2 where spent night.

4th August: A.M. spent working on out-Ward motor. P.M. census figures. light at Sisismi No.2.

5th August: Census of Sisiemi No.2 village. Then to Sisiemi No.1 for census. Beturned to enchorage off Sisiemi No.2 for the night.

6th August: To Oropai for census. Thence to Bina No.1 for census. Night at Bina No.1.

7th August: To Bira No.2 for census. Village Constable of this village is in gool for murds ing two men in a drunken brawl. On to Wario, where go ashore in dinghy through heavy sear. Census of Wario Pick up four T.B. patients and suspects. Anchor for night hid-way between Wario and Amagos.

8th August: To Amagoa where hold census of Amagoa and Etere villages. Pick up large number of patients with tropical ulcers. Some children unable to walk because of ulcers. Titere village Aid Post is said to be two hours paddling away. Village Constable and a number of other men in the village were war service decorations. On to Asaramio, for census of that village and the adjacent Tapapi village. To Emeti Base Camp, where drop off patients at midnight. Night at Emeti.

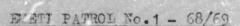
9th August: To Mruo, sticking on sandbank en route. Intercept 'Parama' and ask captain to take patients from Emeti to Balimo. Census of Miruo village. Theres to Rimaramio village where held census. Night at Binaramio.

To Aragi for census. Joined by Mr. and Mrs. Partridge of Mapoda Hansenide Colony for leprosy chark. Thence to Arikinare for census. This village can only be eached at high tide because of off-shore mudbank. Depart Arikinape 1600 by 'Tempest' dinghy and arrive Balimo 2000. 'Heguri' returns to Emetl with C.P.O. Diamond.

11th August: Diamond attends to station administration and then departs with 'Heduru' for Balimo. Night at Maroda.

12th August: Diamond arrives back at Balimo.

END OF PATROD



SITUATION REPORT



In accordance with Department of District Administration Instruction 67-1-0 of 21st June, 1968, paragraph 6, the following Situation Report is submitted in respect of the area covered by the patrol. Most of the information in this report will be found duplicate, and expanded in the accompanying Area Studies of the Lower Bomu and Gama R ver Census Divisions.

# (a) Political

The people in the ratrol area (Lower Bamu and Gama River Census Divisions), living as they do on the Papuan coast, have had a long history of contact. Most of the men have been away to work a number of times and some dozens have served in the Police and P.I.B. There are over 450 adult males absent from the area at present. They have therefore long been familiar with government machinery at the village and plantation level. This level has usually involved a fairly paternal and authoritarian relationship between the government official and the indigene. Despite this long period of contact, but perhaps partly because of the nature of the contact, the people are most politically unsophicticated, both in their knowledge of how the political eystem of the country operates and in their attitudes towards the system.

The villages of the patrol area still operate under the Village Constable system. The people of the Gama diver Census Division, with the exception of one village, say they have no desire to change this system for that of local government. In fact, they are strongly opposed to the introduction of local government to the area, for reasons that are discussed in the Area Study on the dama River Census Division. Until recently, the people of the Lower Bamu C.D. were also opposed to local government, but nearly all are now in favour of its introduction. As an indication of this, the people of Sogeri village, whose village Constable has recently died, have said that they do not want a replacement and prefer to do without one until such time as a Constil is introduced. It seems probable that this change of attitude is due more to a desire for economic development than for to a wish for more representative local administration.

The attitude of the Gema River people towards the House of Assembly is one of resentment coupled with a desire to have nothing more to do with that institution. This is a result of the people's belief that they are blatantly tricked by Mr.X. Tetley in his campair promises for the 1964 elections. (See Area Study and other previous reports of the area.) The incident shows a naive belief (at least in 1964) that individuel Members of the House have it in their power to distribute largesse to their constituents. The reason for this was,

probably, that the people were ignorant or confused as to the role and powers of the individual Member. (Talks on the subject were given on the patrol to every village of the Census Division, but the interest thou was negligible.) In the Lower Bamu area, the impression gained was one of apathy towards the House of Assembly rather than mostility. As far as the people are aware, nothing eventuated cut of the last House of Assembly and they have nothing to indicate that the present House will be any different. This attitude is unlikely to charge until the people are made consciously aware of decisions of the House impinging tangibly on themselves.

The people of Miruo in the Lower Bamu Census Division achieved some notoriety at the beginning of 1968 by threatening with violence two candidates for the 1968 House of Assembly elections. However, I do not believe their actions were prompted by political motives. (See Section (d) - Miscellaneous.)

Educational broadcasts may help to change the people's attitudes towards political institutions, or at least supply them with some information. The one person encountered during the patrol who knew the name of the local Member prior to the patrol's arrival had heard it on Radio Daru. However, owing to the fact that no one residing in the area has anything more than the most rudimentary education, such broadcasts would need to be pitched at a very low level.

## (b) Economic

The economic situation of the area is poor and its potential is low. Nevertheless, the possibility exists for a modest but useful income from copra if the people could be persuaded to expand their coconut plantings and improve the quality of their copra. Coconuts grow fairly well in the area and a certain amount of inferior smoked copra is now being produced. (The amount has recently been increasing.) Marketing facilities, though not good at present, have a potential for improvement. The Lower Bemu area lies on the Balimo - Moresby and Balimo - Daru shipping routes, and if there was sufficient production, it is probable that adequate marketing arrangements could be made to utilise these shipping facilities.

The people themselves are anxious to sell their sage, of which they say they have large quantities available. They have indicated that they hope a local government Council in the area buld organise the marketing of their sage.

There is no non-indigenous Lavelopment in the area.

## (c) Social

At the time of writing, there are no education, health, law and order, or other services regularly provided by the government or missions in the area, apart from one small bush mission school staffed by a poorly educated native teacher. Three Administration Aid Posts have been operating in the area in the lairly recent past, but the Orderlies have all been withdrawn for one reason or another usually to do with lack of support from the local people. (I anderstand that it is hoped to re-open two of these Aid Posts shortly.) There are no clubs or activities, such as women's or youth organisations operating in the area.

3.

The Banu and Gana River people are generally despised by their more developed neighbours from Daru, Belimo and Kikori. Native crew members from passing ships casually anchor off Famu villages and peremptorily shout for crabs and sago, which they purchase with stick tobacco, often with a contemptuous gesture. It is common for ships to anchor aff for the night off certain villages and procure village women for the night. (This information is from common report, including that of Mrs. Standen of the Banu River Mission.)

The practice of drinking tuba is common and widespread, and leads to numerous intra-village brawls, which are sometimes brought to court, sometimes hushed up if tempers have had time to cool. In 1967, the Village Constable of Bina No.2 village was convicted for Filling two fellow villagers in a drunked brawl.

#### (d) Miscellaneous

S

On 14th February, Mr.Robert Tabus, a Member of the first House of Assembly and a candidate for the second, visited Miruo village in the Lower Bamu Census Division on his election compaign and was threatened with an axe and ordered out of the village. It was subsequently learned that Mr. Ebia Olewale, another candidate, had also been threatened at this village. After Mr. Tabua reported the matter in Port Moresby, a patrol under Mr. James A.D.O. paid a visit to the area, patrolling from Nimo to Camari in the Gama Piver Consus Division. The object of the patrol was to investigate the incident involving Mr. Tabua and Mr. Tabua's claim that a cituation was feveloping in the Bamu where any inexperienced junior officer entering the area could be endangered because of the hostile attitude of the people.

Mr.James reported that he had found the people "friendly and calm", and doubted that Mr. Tabus had been in any script danger. I have myself visited Viruo twice since Mr.James' patrol, and though I should not call the people friendly, I concur that there is no cause for alarm either at Miruo or at any of the other Pro villages. The people

are neither friendly, as a rule, nor co-operative, but they are far from constituting a danger to officers in the normal course of events. The two men responsible for threatening Mr. Tabua were gooled for three months. While they were in gool, I had the opportunity to speak to them and observe them generally, and I found at least one of them to be a reasonable type. I have not been able to establish towny own satisfaction their reason for behaving in the way they did but believe that their action was probably more an assertion of independence, not an actual threat to the safety of the candidates. From Mr. James' report, it seems that it may have been the case that Messrs. Clewale and Tabua were confueedly thought to be part of a plan unilaterally to introduce local government to the Bamu, after the people had, shortly before, declared themselves opposed to it. The fact that the two candidates were indigenes from another area may also have contributed to the incident of there was any resettment in the village about the casual and high-handed treatment of Bamu villagers by natives from pressing ships.

Without excusing the actions of the two Miruo men, the directances are sufficient to explain how an incident like this could occur without it following that a dangerous situation exists generally. My own assessment of the situation is that, in the Lower Bamu Census Division, there is a certain amount of dislike of the Administration and its officers in general, but nothing which constitutes a danger to the safety of any wersible, well-behaved officer. In the Gama River Census Division, the situation (in the lower villages) is even less favourable to the Administration than in the Bamu, but again I consider it most sumlikely that any danger exists in the normal course of events. I would myself have no hesitation in sending a level-headed junior officer by himself into either of these areas.

The Hordie A. D. O.

(35)

## AREA STUDY - GAMA RIVER CENSUS DIVISION

#### (A) INTRODUCTION

- The Gama River Census Division comprises an area of about 450 square miles at the seaward end of the border between the Western and Gulf Districts. It is a low-lying, swampy region bordering the estuary of the Gama River and its tributary, the Wawi. The Census Division receives rain in both the S.E. and N.W. seasons, and has an estimated rainfall of 150 inches. ( No figures are available.) All the inhabited parts of the river are affected by tides, with tidal bores which inundate all villages several times each month. All the villages in the Census Division are situated on the banks of the Gama and Wawi Rivers, and at low tide can only be approached through stretches of knee-deep, viscous mud. At the head of the rivers are said to be extensive areas of swamp, but these regions are normally uninhabited except for visiting crocodile hunting and sago gathering expeditions. The banks of the rivers are covered in tropical rain forest, interspersed with sago palms and a few coconut trees. The soil is alluvium and contains no stone, sand or gravel. It is said to be of poor quality. Only a few mosquitoes were encountered on this patrol, but the sandflies were appallingly bad on occasions.
- (b) Access to the area is by water only. The Census Division is about 90 miles travelling from Balimo and about 50 miles from Kikori. In the S.E. season, April to November, seas in the vicinity can be extremely rough and block all communication with the area except by small ships of 50° or so. All villages in the Census Division can be approached by vessels drawing 5° or less, but care has to be exercised at low water. There are no aerodromes or wharves in the Census Division.
- (c) Since the gama River Census Division is on the Papuan coast, it must have had a long history of contact, but little information about this is available from Balimo records or from the people themselves. One highly significant experience was the murder of the Missionary Chalmers at nearby Goaribari Island in 1901. There are men still living who claim to remember the affair and its aftermath, and the Gama River people claim to have taken the part of Chalmers by killing Goaribari men who fled to their area (presumably after the two punitive expeditions). This is regarded as a fact of some significance by the people, who seem to think that they have been ill-used by the neglect shown to them since that time.

In 1950, a large-scale cargo-cult took place in at least the lower villages of the Census Division.

Mr.B.Hayes, who investigated the outbreak, reported that the cult involved mass sexual orgies which were presided over by "kings" in each village. The cult was said to have been inspired by the teachings of Tomu Kabu of Kikori, and involved the expectation that cargo would appear at a spot in each village on which repeated sexual intercourse was performed. The cult also had millenarian overtones: the earth was expected to turn upside down throwing all Europeans and their employees into a fire, thus allowing the cargo from the ancestors to come through to the native people without further interception from the Europeans.

(31)

In the Fifties, the predominant outside factor in the lives of the people was impact and by A.P.C. activities along the Bamu and Aramia Rivers. Whole villages of Gama people paddled to camp and rig sites and set up settlements nearby; the men found well-paid employment as labourers, and some are reported to have gained further income by prostituting their wives to the other camp workers. When A.P.C. withdraw from the area about 1958, the Gama people returned home, but it can hardly be expected that their social structure was unaffected by this upheaval.

In 1964, the Gama River people achieved notoriety by constructing a wharf and storetouse at Gamari village, in anticipation of the arrival of cargo (fishing nets, deepfreeze unit, water tanks) allegedly promised to them by Mr.K. Tetley to induce them to vote for him in the Mouse of Assembly elections of that year. Mr. Tetley has apparently not revisited the area since that time, and Gama River people, as a consequence, refused an bloc to participate in the 1968 House of Assembly elections.

## (B) POPULATION - DISTRIBUTION AND TRENDS

(a) A copy of the latest Village Population Register form is attached. No neo-natal mortality rate Appendix is available, as no record of pragnancies from the last census (nearly three years ago) could be located.

(b) There are no roads in the Census Division. The following villages only are linked by tracks of a sort:

UKUSI to KCPIRAMI 5 miles

GAMARI to MAISAVE 1 mile.

(c) The Gama River Census Division has a long history as a source of plantation labour, but figures over the past eight years show comparatively few adult males away from the area. In 1968 there were 28 adult male absentees

as compared with a male population 16-45 in the illage in 1968 of 170. It is not known whether this is partly due to a reductance by the people to seek work. However, I am informed by an expatriate familiar with the area that recruiters do not, as a rule, visit the Jama River for labour as the people have a poor reputation as plantation workers.

# (C) SOCIAL GROUPINGS

(a) The only distinct social groupings that could be discovered in the area are residential (village) ones. At present, there are right villages, but the rubber varies somewhat, as settlements divide and amalgamate. The former

village of UKUSI-KOPIRAMI has recently divided into two settlements, UKUSI and KOPICAMI, situated five miles apart. The village of GAMARI is an amalgamation of three different village groups, one of them from the Turama River area. Romnants of a clan system exist, but apparently in name only. No marriage prohibitions or land rights could be traced to clan membership. Families occupy a house each, but this is a late development, which the people claim was enforced by Admin stration officials to replace their communal long houses. A much more informal residential pattern is believed to exist when the village population disperses to their sago-gathering places which they occupy for much of the year. No clear-cut action groups could be found, except for the complete village population when it is engaged on duties for the Administration, such as constructing rest houses and cleaning village surrounds. All the people of the Gama River Census Division speak a dialect of the Lower Bamu language, with the exception of the people of UKUSI and KOPIRAMI, who share a separate language with the people of Matakaia in the Upper Bamu C.D.. Police Motu is widely understood throughout the area. Small numbers of persons in the lower ttle broken English. villages can speak a ! There appears to be little co-operation or (d) joint enterprise among the people of the Census Division. The people of Ibuo village appear to be somewhat more independently minded than the rest, and this may be traceable to a smattering of education received by a number of young men in the village. The rest of the villages, although they do not combine in any joint enterprises, do tend to combine to present a uni ed front to visiting officials. (It has been suggested that this solidarity is reinforced by threats of sorcery.) In discussing local government with the people on this patrol, all villages except Ibuo were unanimous in opposition to its introduction. However, it was noticeable that the upper river villages appeared willing to discuss the matter, but that the three villages of Gamari, Giwaretore and Maisave had a completely closed mind on the subject. At the social level, marriage does occur between villages, but the greatest number of marriages appear to be contracted within the village itself. (e) Most of the people are Bamu-speakers, and have connexions with the lower Bamu Census Division. The people also have connexions with the Turama River and Goaribari people, and occasionally visit Kikori. (D) LEADERSHIP on such a brief visit, it is impossible to do more than guess at who are the real scurces of influence

in the area. Only two men drew attention to themselves by the leading part they played in discussions with the patrol. These were RURIGO - CTORO of AIRUA and GADIMOI - GAGARI of CAMARI. Leadership status in both cases is acquired, I should

(39)

(b) KURIGO - OTORO: Age is indeterminate, but he claims to have taken a leading part in revenging the death of Chalmers on the fleeing Goaribari, which would make him over 80. However, he does not appear that old. He claims that he was gooled for a year as a result of head-hunting activities. He has an old head wound as a consequence of a raid he took part in on Bunigi village (Lower bamu C.D.) in his younger days. He claims to have been responsible for persuading the people of his village to shift to their present site, and that his advice is listened to also by the people of hometi and Gimereme.

GADIMOI - GAGARI: Aged about 45 - 50. This man is the chairman of the Gama River Demarcation Committee (which has never met). He is a slightly sinister - looking character, who has a fanatical style of oratory. He was apparently one of the leaders in building the wabrf and store at Gamari, and is presumably bitter about this disappointment, which, however, does not appear to have diminished his influence. A number of past entries in the Gamari Village Book laud his village for its heatness and well-kept houses. It is reasonable to assume that Gadimoi was behind this formerly progressive attitude, as he is described in the last Area Study of the Gama River C.D. as the "instigator of recent increased copra production". All copra production had ceased at the village at the time of the patrol, and Gamari was in a slovenly and run-down condition. Gadimoi spoke passionately to the patrol against the introduction of local government to the area, giving as his reason the likelihood of having the tax revenue stolen, and quoting an alleged instanc, where this had happened in the neighbouring Kikori Council. An attempt was made to reason with him, but it was obvious that he had a closed mind. It is thought that he is the moving spirit behind the opposition to local government in the Gama River area. Cadimoi's past history, together with the history of this area, give good reason to believe that he is a man to be watched. Unfortunately, because of distance, transport and staff difficulties, surveillance cannot be kept of this area.

(c) Because of my lack of acquaintance with this area, I am unable to say whether there are signs that the traditional pattern of leadership is changing, nor indeed, what the traditional pattern of leadership is. However, I can report (1) that older men were the spokesmen in every village in the Census Division, but that (2) Ibuc village, with a number of young men with a rudimentary education, need to have a more realistic outlook on affairs than the inward-regarding other villages.

# (E) LAND TENDRE AND USE

(a) Land appears to be gained through both cognates and affines. Individual ownership of 1 nd is claimed, as is ownership of sago swamp and economic trees. However, land does not seem to be particularly important to the Gama River people, as they are minimally dependent on planted crops, subsisting on sago gathering, fishing and hunting.

(b) No individuals hold land on lease from the Crown. The people have no knowledge of tenure conversion, and it would be of little use to them.

(c) The only cash cropping consists of a few coconut trees beside the lower reaches of the Gama River, and in a stand near the former site of Ibuo village between the mouths of the Cama and Bamu Rivers. These plantings are individually owned. No instances of group or communal effort in relation to cash cropping were encountered or heard of by the patrol.

#### (F) LITERACY

- (a) There are no schools in the area surveyed.
- (b) Enquiries in each village elicited the following information as to the number of adults in the Census Division who are semi-literate in the vernacular or Police Motu:

Airua Nil Binori Nil Gamari Nil Nil Gimereme Giwaretore Nil 10 Nil Ibuo Kopirami Majsava Maisave 1 Nii Nemeral Ukusi

All the above received their rudimentary education at a nowdefunct S.D.A. school at Maisave.

- (c) No persons residing in the area have received what might be termed higher education.
- (d) No students are away from the area receiving higher education.
- (e) There are radio receivers in the following villages:

  Gamari 1 (Administration denated)

  Giwaretore 2 (privately owned)

  Maisave 2 " "

All the sets are in working order. The owners said they regularly listened to the radio, and said they preferred Radio Daru to other stations, but were unable to give reasons for this preference apart from saying that they preferred the type of Police Motu spoken on Radio Daru.

#### (G) STANLARD OF LIVING

NAME OF THE PARTY OF THE PARTY

Housing is entirely of bush-meterials: black-pain and sage. Wearing of clothes is universal, and the traditional style of drass appears to have completely disappeared apart from the strings which persons in mourning wer around their arms and legs. Dishes, saucepans, axes, adzes, are universally used, and the people also have a large number of other possessions, such a 44 gallon drums, terpaulins (for sails), electricity insulators (for sail pulleys), salvaged from abandoned A.P.C. camps or rescred from the sea. There are three shot-guns in the Cansus Division; two at Gamari and one at diwaretore.



- (h) The staple diet is sago, fish and crabs. Coconuts, pawpaws and wild game are also eaten. Store foodstuffs are very infrequently consumed, partly because of poverty, partly because of distance from trade stores.
- (c) There are no Community Centres in the area. There are no organisations such as Red Cross, Guides or Scouts? The people play no organised sports.

# (H) MISSIONS

- (a) There are no missions operative in the area.
- (b) Not applicable.
- (c) A number of requests were received by the patrol for a mission station to be set up in the area. At Nemeti, the patrol was told (by one ROMO KIBA) that if a mission would come and settle in the area, the Gama River people would move to the head of the river (at present uninhabited) where, it is said, the land is less subject to inuvidation and which the people think would be a more attractive situation for Auropeans. I have the strong impression that this request for missionary activity in the area shows more of a desire for the material rather than the spiritual benefits of a mission settlement.

A Seventh Day adventist native teacher of some kind was reportedly stationed at Maisave village some years ago, but this Mission is no longer operative in the area. No trace of their activity remains apart from the rudimentary literacy of eleven young men.

#### (I) NON-INDIGENES

- (a) There are no plantations, factories or commercial establishments owned or operated by non-indigenous persons in the area being surveyed.
- (b) Not applicable.
- (c) Not applicable.
- (d) Mr.W.J.M. Senior of Kikori is applying for a lease at Maisave in order to set up a trade store and coprabuying point. The amount of local labour this place would employ would be negligible, but it would stimulate copraproduction and provide a badly-needed source of store goods which at present can only be bought after a long and sometimes hazardous cance trip.

# (J) COMMUNICATIONS

- (a) Roads: There are no roads in the Census Livision.
- (b) Sea: There are no wharves or regular services to the area. The Gama River can be entered by 85° small ships, and there is about 10° of water over the bar at the top of the tide. Entering the river at low water can be dangerous in the S.E. season (April to November). The only frequent visitor to this isolated area is Ur. Senior of Kikori, who passes the Gama River regularly in the M.V. Johmac on his trips between Kikori and Balimo. A wharf for small ships could be constructed without much difficulty in the Gama River.
- (c) Air: There are no aerodromes in the area, and it seems unlikely that a suitable site for one could be found because of the swampy terrain.

#### (K) TECHNICAL AND CLERICAL SKILLS

Emquiries yielded the names of the following persons only, who are said to have any technical skills:

GEANI - ITAU of AIRUA - deckhand on M.V. Kano

KESORO - GAIVERE of BINORI - Deckhand on M.V. Koki

UGI - TUMEI . GAMARI - " " "

#### (L) THE STAGE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

As the Cama River Census Division has been regularly contacted for seventy years, the people are certainly not new to the idea of government. However, they display little knowledge of the machinery of government and even less interest. At no village could the people tell me the name of their local Member of the House of Assembly. This situation is not altogether surprising, considering the isolated and unattractive nature of the area. I imagine that visiting officers feel little inducement to spend much time explaining the processes of government in such depressing surroundings to such obviously uninterested persons. Speaking for myself; one's inclination to keep people assembled to hear a talk on government is considerably weakened when both they and you are being attacked by sandflie. The area has no local government council and therefore has had no political experience of this kind. It is also a long way to the nearest large centro, so even the Administration field officer is a rare sight to most of the people. Administration broadcasts of an educational nature may help eventually, but these would need to be on a very low level for there people to comprehend. (Added to this is the fact that there are receivers in only two villages.)

Causes of the thent in the area are the allegedly broken promise of Mr.K. Tetley (see Section Ac) and the abandonment by the Public Health Department of the



Aid Post at Gamari. In this latter case, the Aid Post Orderly apparently left his Post in 1967 to take his sick child to Balimo and has not been replaced. The nearest medical post is the Bamu River Mission, two days sailing/paddling away.

No persons from the area have been away to Local Government or Co-operative Conferences, as Observers to the Legislative Council or House of Assembly, as representatives to the South Pacific Commission or to Australia.

#### (M) THE ECONOMY OF THE AREA

- (a) The only economic trees in the area are coconuts. A census of these trees was done in 1964, and the results of this census are to be found in the Loval Government Survey of the Bamu area done that year. Time did not permit this patrol to bring this chasue up to date. However, it was ascertained that no extensive new plantings had been made. Following discussions with the village people about their coconuts, it is estimated that the Gama River Gensus Division has a total coconut planting of 7,000 bearing value and 2,000 immature palms.
- (b) All the copra in the Census Division is bought by Mr. Senior at his stores at Emeti and Turama. He estimates that in the past year he has bought \$500 worth of copra from the Gama River people. It is not possible to give a break-up of this figure into individual villages, but it is clear that Thuo village produces by far the largest amount, and that the up-river villages reduce no copra at all.
- estimate the production from these trees, since information would have to be provided about spacing, soils etc.. However, given an annual production of thirty nuts to the tree, this would give an annual production of 35 tons. However, such a figure would be hopelessly unrealistic for this area. The locality is short of good drinking water, so much of the coconut production is used for trinking purposes. In addition, coconuts are also used extensively to mix with the sage diet of the people. It seems unlikely that copra production could increase to a significant figure without extensive new plantings.
- (d) There are no market gardening enterprises in the Census Division.
- (e) There is no wage employment within the area. At the time of the patrol, there were 28 adult males absent from the area an everage number. Some of these workers have not returned home for years and do not remit any mon a home. As none of the absentee workers has any occupation higher than that of a deckhand, the wages they earn would not be great. In addition, it is notorious that agreement workers from the area who are paid off at Kikori spend most of their accumulated pay at that centre before returning home. It is most improbable, therefore, that there is an annual cash inflow into the Census Division from wage labour of more than \$400.

(39)

No reliable information could be gained as to earnings from sale of crocodile skins. However, since there are only three shotguns in the Census Division, the number of crocodiles caught by this method must be small. The people spoke of a number of trips to Kikori over the past few years to sell skins, but could not be pinned down to when these trips took place nor how much they made from them. At a guess, I should say \$600 would be earned annually in the area from the cale of skins.

- (f) There are no Co-operatives functioning in the area.
- (g) There are no outstanding entrapreneurs in the areas
- (h) The patrol located 19 C.S.B. accounts in the Gensus Division with total deposits of \$19.31. Details as per Appendix.
- (i) ... No tax has been collected in this Consus Division.
- (j) If the foregoing estimates of income are correct, the Census Division has an average per capita income figure of \$2. It seems probable that the people living at the mouth of the river have a higher income than those further up the river.
- (k) Marketing facilities are poor for the areas two sources of income copra and omcodile akins. The nearest marketing point is Mr. Senior's store at Turare, which often bannot be reached by these people in the S.E. season. The alternative is a two-day trip to Maeti, and rough weather can prevent this also, Improved prospects with regard to access seem likely from an application by Mr. Senior for a lease at Maisave which will purchase copra and skins. A continuing disability will be the lack of competition from buyers.

## (N) POSSIBILITIES OF EXPANDING THE ECONOMY

- (a) Unlimited land is available for increased plantings of coconuts. Much of this land is periodically inundated, but this does not seem to affect the productivity of this crop.
- (b) There is no demand for the produce of market gardens, and no accessible market for such produce.
- (c) Wage earnings could be increased, but only if recruiters visited the area, which they are apparently not inclined to do. Any substantial rise in recruiting, however, would mean a fall in local village economic activity if such were being undertaken.
- (d) The only feasible 'new' crop in the area is sago.

Large sago swamps evict in the area and the people are traditionally sago gatherers. If some way could be found to utilise this source of supply by connecting it with markets in Daru, Port Moresby or Gulf District plantations, an increase in revenue would result. At present, however, shipping services and routes appear to rule out this possibility. There is some fish and timber in the area. Nothing is known by the writer about the quality or quantity of either, but marketing arrangements are once again a difficulty for any low level development in this sphere.

(e) I do not know the people of the Census Division sufficiently well to gauge their reactions with any certainty. However, they give the impression of being lethargic, interested in little outside their own local preoccupations, with a confused grudge against the Administration and a disinclination in normal times to do any more than they absolutely have to. It is clear that they think they have been tricked by promises of progress in the past. I feel that proposals for economic advancement could provoke the to greater activity, but doubt whether they could make sustained and regular labour. I do not see how any likely economic proposals could provoke these people to anything more than a token effort without atrict supervision or slaw immediate and lucrative rewards.

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# (O) ATTITUDE TOWARDS LOCAL GOVERNMENT

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At every village in the Census Division except
Tour, village spokesmen declared their opposition to the
introduction of local government. The reasons given were
confused - among them was the claim that the government
had not helped the people although they had been on Chalmer's
side in the massacre of 1901 - but seemed to stem from a
resentment over what the people evidently feel has been
their shabby treatment by the government and its agents.
Attempts were made to remove some of the misconceptions, but
difficulty was encountered in that one could not satisfactorily
account for:

(a) the abandoned Aid Post at Gamari
(b) the firm conviction of the people that they
had been outragedusly treated by Mr.K. Tetley (who, as M.H.A.,
was undoubtedly associated with the government in the people's
minds)

(c) the lack of development in the area.

The people in the upper river villages were at least prepared to listen to what I had to say, and in the end declared that they would follow what the majority df villages decided. At the villages of Gamari, Giwaretore and Maisave, however, no progress could be made at all. It was thus surprising to find in the last village visited on the patrol - Ibuo - that the people declared themselves ready and eager to join a Council. I am not alre what lay behind this declaration, but it was notizeable that this village was actively making copra - the only village at the time to be doing so. There seemed to be a larger number of young men than usual at this village, and as already noted, all but one of the semi-literate persons in the Census Division come from here. It may therefore be the case that their



inclination towards local government is due to a generally more progressive attitude.

It is difficult to know what considerations can, in conscience, be brought forward to induce the people to change their attitude towards local government. On any realistic assessment, the likely economic potential of the area is hopeless, and the introduction of local government is unlikely to change that fact. D.D.A. officers have hitherto been able to visit the area only at infrequent intervals; the last P.H.D. patrol reported in the Village Books was in 1966; D.A.S.F. and other technical departments do not appear to have ever visited the place. Because of its isolation, it is unlikely that the introduction of local government will change this. (It is being assumed that the Gama River people will have to join with the people of the Lower Bamu Census Division to form any sort of a viable organisation.)

On the other hand, the people have misgivings about prosecutions for the non-payment of ter and about the safety of their tax revenue. Councillors will have a long cance trip to get to meetings, and will be unable to attend when there are high seas around Bell Point.

A Council might provide an organ for the people to use to protest at what they consider to be their neglect. An energetic Adviser might also be able to help improve village conditions marginally by helping the Council to procure water tanks and similar amenities. A Council might help to give the people a wider perspective than the narrow attitudes they have at present. However, these are herily stirring inducements to people who have made up their richs that they want to have nothing to do with local government. I do not think that this opposition could never be overcome. The neighbouring Lower Bamu Census Division was also, in the recent past, united in its opposition to local government, but during this patrol swung over in favour of it in a majority of villages. I think that regular contact by a impathetic officer would in time bring the Gama River people around, but such contact is impossible at present because of staff and transport difficulties.

#### (P) ATTITUDE TOWARDS CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

The people of the Gama River Census Division do not tend to talk freely to visiting officers, and it is most difficult on a short visit accurately to gauge people's attitudes. However, it seems that the people of this area tend to think of the government only when and insofar as it impinges on them. They appear to have no interest in the machinery of government or in the idea of representative government, law making etc. The government to them is its officers who periodically visit their area. Since their chief or only contact with the government has been with D.D.A. and P.H.D. officers who, from the Village Books, spend a great deal of their time issuing instructions to clean up the village, build latrines, etc., and making threats of punishment for failure to do so, it seems probable that the people's attitude to the central government is one of dislike tinged with fear.

The only other contact with what the people would regard as the government has been in connexion with the House of Assembly elections. (With regard to this, see Section (A)(c).) Some indication of their attitude to this aspect of government is shown by their en blcc refusal to rate at the 1968 elections.

The people do not distinguish between the government and its agents, and have difficulty distinguishing between the legislative and executive functions. It is probable, therefore, that the edite incurred by Mr. Tetley attaches to the government generally. Talks were given during the patrol about the powers and role of a Member of the House of Assembly, but the people appeared to show little interest in them.

# (4) ACCOMMODATION, SERVICES, PACIDITIES

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015572

119657

1.000

42050

There are no hotels, guest houses, service stations, workshops, or stores in the Census Division. There are, however, rest houses is every village, and canoes available for hire.

TE CENT

Total de 1.00

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#### APPENDIZ A - C.S.B. ACCOUNTE

PASSBOOK NO.	PANE	VILLAGE	<u>AMOUN Y</u>
017134	KONIOI	BINORE :	\$4.05
033051	GADIMOI	GARGART	1.40
07245 HATART	Trustee for CLAI	-4	0.45
017695	KINDA		2.00
015570	PERLAG	WINESON'S	0.48
015652	KLX)		e. 30
017133	WAGELA		0.65
017554	GUMAE		1.62
25399	GADWO	GIWARETORE	010
016288	AMAU		( 0.50
019671	mul -	1 47 1 2 2 2	0.20
015076	GEWANT		0.10
015672	NAIGA:	# 14 mail	0.90
015657	NAVEL	MAISAVD	( +, 30
017692	WARIE	•	11.20
013100	GMAT	• 44.	1.62
015660	BI'WARI	•	0.45
015659	KAVI	*	0.30
012290	BADE	UKUSI	1.89



# (A) INTRODUCTION

ca) The Lower Bamu Census Division comprises the estuary and delta of the Bamu River and is situated just west of the border between the Gulf and Western Districts. All of the land is low-lying, most of it being inundated several times a month by the high tides. Rainfall is about 180 inches per year. Vegetation is rainforest, sage and nips palms. Glearings have been scratched out of this vegetation cover on the river-banks, and all villages in the Census Division are situated on these narrow shelves, which are saldom more than 200 yards wide. At low tide, one has to wade through stretches of sticky mud to get to the villages from the river; there are practically no internal laid communications between villages.

There are about 3,000 persons in the Census Division. All of them live by fishing and gathering sage. Only a part of their time is spent at their nominal villages; the rest is spent at their sage making places. Travel is by cutrigger cance and is regulated to co-incide with by tides which flow strongly among the islands of the dalta.

(b) The nearest boundary of the Census Division is about 50 miles by water from Balimo Sub-District Headquarters and 10 miles from Emeti Base Camp. The sea route to Balimo from Daru and Port Moresby traverses the Census Division. There are no serodromes in the area. There are no wharves in the area, but small ships (up to 85') are capable of using the Emeti wharf at high tide.

(c) Being a Papuan coastal region, the area has had a long period of contact: since the turn of the century. However, no records prior to World War II are available locally, and no coherent account of the area's early history could be gleaned from the local inhabitants. It is probable that recruiting has been carried on in the area for 40 years or more. There have been no permanent European settlements in the Census Division. Mr. and Mrs. Standen of the Bamu River Mission established a station ('The Mission in the Mud") at Maipani just south of the Census Division before the War, and this was shifted to Iowa, near the present site of Emeti Base Camp, in 1948. This Mission has at times had Europeans stationed in the Census Division (a market gardener at Sisiami, a nurse at Amagoa), but their only establishment in the area at present is a small bush school at Torobina.

During the War, numbers of Bamu men served as carriers and as soldiers with the P.I.B. - chiefly in Bougeinville. At Sisiami village, the patrol was greeted by six men with campaign medals. Medals were also in evidence at other villages. It was said that a boatload of soldiers

and carriers, being repatriated after the War, was wrecked off Mibu plantation in the Fly River and seven Bamu men dramed. In the latter part of the War, a government station was established (by Mr.Marsh?) at the present site of Sislami No.2 village, but was withdrawn after a short period. After the War, the area was administered from Gaima on the Fly River, until the Sub-District headquarters were shifted to Balimo in the middle fifties.

In 1950, the area schieved notoriety for a cargo cult which affected nearly every village. The cult was investigated and described by Mr.B.hayes (Gaima Patrol Report No.4 - 50/51). It involved a military type organisation, the appointment of "kings" in each village, and the teaching that the Europeans were intercepting the cargo meant for the local people. A bizarre feature of the cult was the practice of mass sexual intercourse, performed in public at an appointed spot in each village, the emission from the intercourse to be deposited on the ground; the theory was that wealth would arise from the spot so fertilised. Most of the cult leaders were punished, and there does not appear to have been a recurrence of this activity.

In 1952, A.P.O. oil exploration moved into the Lower Bamm and neighbouring areas. This had more impact on the culture and development of the area than any other factor. A large transit camp was established at Oropai, and from here cargo was shifted in smaller craft to the head of the Bamm and Aramia Rivers. Large numbers of Bamm men were employed at the camps and rig sites and as boats crew. In many villages, there was a complete disruption of normal life. In 1956, there is a report that an organised brothel was established nor the Oropai camp. At that time also, it was reported that there were continuous gambling schools running at Wakan. Upati, Bamio, Banigi, S. Mami and Oropan. In 1956, A.P.O. withdrew from the area, and little or no sconomic activity has taken place in the Lower Bamm since that time.

In 1963, a Base Camp was established at Emeti, about ten miles from the Census Division. There were some hopes at this time that an era of progress was beginning for the region. However, more intensive administration by D.D.A. has made little or no difference to the area. At the beginning of 1965, moves were begun at Bunigi to establish an Administration school; lend was cleared and a teacher took up residence. After only a few weeks, however, the teacher left, apparently because of lack of co-operation in the construction of school buildings. Within the past few years, there have been Aid Posts at Bunigi and Sisiami No.2, but both the been abandoned for some time now. (It is hoped to re-open the Sisiami Aid Post shortly.) The Base Camp at Emeti has been unstaffed since December, 1967.

The area has very little attraction or potential, and its inhabitants, for either historical or environmental reasons, are notably lacking in energy and the spirit of co-operation. This has often had a depressing effect on officers who have patrolled the area. One patrolling officer has written, "The environment of mud, swamps and filth is the most depressing I have ever encountered and manifests itself in the lethargy and arathy of the people." Another officer (now a District Commissioner) wrote, "I can see absolutely no prospects of economic and social advancement for these people whilst conditions remain as they are. The

position in all its aspects is hopel as . . . Similar remarks are to be found in most patrol reports of the Census Division, and in many of the Village Books throughout the area. (B) POPULATION - DEPENDENCE AND JUNEAUS (a) A copy of the latest Village Population Registrated. No neo-matal mortality rate details are availabecause no record of former pregnancies could be located. (b) There are no roads in the Census Division. There are rudimentary tracks between Pirupiru No. 1 and Pirupiru No. 2, between Sibars, Parave and Bunigi, between Amages and Asarsmio, and between Bimaramio and Arikinape. (On some of these tracks, cances have to be utilized as well.) (c) There were 443 adult males absent from the area at the time of the census. This is 43% of the total adult male population. (From the present Village Population Register forms, it is impossible to calculate the total number in the age group 16-45, or what percentage of that age group is absent.) In some villages (e.g. Sioara, Darave, Upati), there are only a handful of able-bodied men left. Past patrol reports have constantly deplored the evil consequences of this large-scale absentects. The area was closed to recruiting for a while ten years ago, and a request for a similar closure was made in 1965. This latter request wes rejected on the grounds that closure provided "no real enswer to either the social or economic problems of the area." (It was never discovered, however, what the real enswer is.) what the real answer is.) An increasing proportion of these absolutes are working as casual employees at Madiri Plantation and in Daru. A number of these workers have their wives and families with them; one man, from Bina No.2, has three ewives away with him. This practice is apparently increasing: in 1965, 37 adult females and 30 children were recorded as being absent at work inside the district; on this patrol, the numbers were 60 and 84 respectively. This ismily absonteeism may eventually prove to be a type of resettlement. (C) SOCIAL GROUPINGS As far as could be ascertained in my brief encounter with the people of this Census Division, the only operative social groupings are residential ones. The number of distinct social groups is therefore the one as the number of villages.

Apart from residential groups, no coherent pattern of functional units could be discerned. In each village, the immediate family(father, mother, children) live together in the one house, which sometimes holds dependent relatives as well. Single men live together in a men's house. This system is a recent development; less than 15 years ago, most of the Lower Bamu people lived in communal long houses.

All villagers combine to perform 'government work' such as clearing grass from the village and repairing the village rest house. Apart from this, however, I was unable to discover any consistent pattern of action groups who regularly combine for activities such as house oullding, camoe making, crocodile hunting.

Residual traces of a clan system were found, there being three or four name! clans to a village with the same clan a metimes shared with a sumber of villages. It seems that this system was formerly a factor in such things as marriage prohibitions, death feasts, etc.. However, as far as could be discovered in this brief patrol, the clans no longer play any role in village affairs.

(c) The people of Aragi and Arikinape share a common language with the people of Garu in the Upper Bamu Census Division, of Wais, Saiwasi, Kenadiba and Urio in the Gogodala East Census Division, and the people of the Sagero Creek area in the Kiwai East Census Division. The rest of the Lower Bamu Census Division shares a common language except for dialectal differences. This language is also spoken throughout most of the neighbouring Gama River Census Division and in the adjacent villages of the Upper Bamu Census Division. Police Motu is widely understood throughout the area as is a small amount of broken English and Pidgin.

d) The patrol was unable to discover any firm alliances between villages apart from those resulting from ties of proximity and inter-marriage (which are inter-connected factors). The villages of Upati, Bunigi, Darave and Sibara appear to be connected in this way. A connection was said to exist between Sogeri and Sisiami villages, because of common clan connections, but no recent instance could be produced where this connection had produced co-operation between the villages. This lack of inter-village alliances may be partly attributable to the lack of any need to combine (no large common projects to be undertaken, no inter-village battles). The people of the former Dibiri Jensus Division (Aragi, Arikinape, Bimaramio, Asaramio, Tapapi, Etere, Amagoa) do not seem to have a great deal of contact with the rest of the Census Division.

(e) The people of Pirmpiru and Burigi have ties with the Gama River Census Division. The people of Aragi and Arikinape have ties with other villages of the same language group (see (c)); at some times of the year, practically all the Aragi people are to be found living near Sagero Creek in the Kiwai East Census Division. From observation of a number of cases, there appears to be little warmth between the Lower Bamu people and the neighbouring Kiwai and Gogodala, who seem to despise and mistrust the Bamu.

## (D) LEADERSHIP

- (a) On a brief patrol such as this one, in an area where the people are normally unco-operative and uncommunicative towards visitors, it is impossible to form an accurate picture of leadership patterns. The spokesman in each village is the Village Constable, and it is clear that he usually exercises a certain amount of authority while the Patrol Officer is in the village. What occurs at other times is no doubt a function of a web of influence and obligation which could not be guessed at without a much more intimate knowledge of the people and their history. The only figure who gave the impression of any great ascendincy was Bakere, the Village Constable of Bunigi. His status is no doubt an acquired one.
- (b) Bakere is about 50 and is uneducated. He has five wives, which is quite exceptional for this area. His influence appears to be strong among the people of Bunigi, Upati, Darave, Sibara and Bamio. I found him to be most non-committal; although three nights were spent at Bunigi, he never made any attempt to be obliging or sociable. Within the last four years, an Administration Aid Post and school were both situated at Bunigi (the school for only three weeks), but were removed because of alleged lack of co-operation from the local people in general. Whether Bakere could have increased the amount of co-operation is not known. What seems certain, however, is that these events have had an effect on his present attitudes.
- (c) It is said that, traditionally, leadership has been vested in the older men. However, to the visitor, little leadership of any kind appears to be exercised at present. In a number of villages (e.g. Sisiami No.1, Amagoa), the patrol encountered bemedalled ex-servicemen and ex-policemen. Their presence, however, does not appear to have made their villages noticeably more progressive than others in the Census Division. Indeed at Amagoa, a number of advenced cases of tropical ulcers and yaws were found among the children, some of whom were unable to walk because of the sores. No attempt had been made to seek treatment for the children, although there is an Aid Post at Tirere, about two hours distant by cance.

#### (E) LAND TEXURE AND USE

- (a) Very little gardening is done by the people of the Lower Bamu, who value land chiefly in connection with mago swamps and trees for cance-making. Individual ownership appears to exist, and inheritance appears to operate from both sides of the family.
- (b) No individuals hold land on lease from the Administration. The people have no mowledge of temper conversion.
- (c) Cash crops of coconuts exist to a small extent, and are owned individually. No instances were encountered of communal effort in regard to cash cropping.

# (F) LITERACY

(a) There are no schools in the area surveyed, apart from a bush school run by the Bamu River Mission at Torobina. This school has 36 pupils in a kind of Prep - Standard I class, taught by a local man of very rudimentary education. He claims he is paid \$4 per month and has not received any surervision for the past three years. A few children from the western part of the Census Division attend school at the B.R.M. head station near Emeti, which conducts classes up to Standard VI. Both the B.R.M. and 5.D.A. have had other village schools in the Census Division, but all have been withdrawn, apparently for lack of support.

(b) Enquiries elicited the following numbers claimed to be literate or semi-literate in Motu and/or English.

Amagoa Aniadai Aragi Arikinape Asaramio Bamio Bimaramio Bina No.1 Bina No.2 15086 Bunigi Darave Etere Miruo Oropai Pirupiru No.1 Pirupiru No.2 15 31 hara Sisiami No. 1 Sisiami No.2 10 Sogeri Tapapi Torobina 20 Upati Wakau Wario Total

(c) There are no persons residing in the area being surveyed who have received what might be termed higher education.

(d) As far as could be ascertained, the only students away from the area receiving higher education are: Audaudiri - Mageri of Wario - Form II, Sogeri High School Semia - Ogavi of Totobina - Form I, Daru High School Makai - Ia'e " - Form I, Daru High School.

(e) Those persons who own radio receivers say they listen regularly (mainly to Radio Daru), but were unable to state their preferences for any particular programmes. There are radio sets in the following villages only:

Aniadei Arikinape lina No.1 Oropai Sisiami No.1 Sisiami No.2 Upati

ati

0

- "

7.

All radios were said to be serviceable, although the one at Arikinape was not operating because of lack of betteries. All the radios are privately owned; there are no Administration radios in the Census Division. (The reople of Torobina say they were given an Administration radio, but that it was sent away for repair and never returned.)

#### (G) STANDARD OF LIVING

- trace of traditional dress is usually to be seen. Until the mid-fifties, most people lived in communal long-houses; now, all people of the area live in individual family houses. These houses are made from sago leaves and blackpalm, and very few nails are used in their construction. There are no iron-roofed houses in the Census Division. There are a considerable number of old drums and other bits and pieces that have been salvaged from abandoned A.P.C. camps. A few western materials such as tarpaulins and ropes are to be found on the sailing cances. Metal cooking pots, ares, adzes, are universally used. There are 18 shotguns in the Census Division.
- (b) The staple diet is fish, crabs and sago. Coconuts, pineapples, pawpaws and bananas are also eaten, as is
  a certain amount of wild game (pigs, cassowaries). Canned
  foodstuffs are irregularly purchased in varying but usually
  small quantities from Mr. Senior's trade store at Emeti. They
  do not form a significant part of the people's diet.
- (c) There are no community centres in the area. There are no organisations such as Red Cross, Guides or Scouts. The people play no organised sport.

#### (H) MISSIONS

- There are no mission stations in the Census Division. The Bamu River Mission has an unsupervised hush school at Torobina, and this is the only mission activity in the area at present, although the Unevangelized Fields Mission staff have paid a few visits to Aragi recently. The Seventh Day Adventist Mission has had village schools in the area in the past (with indigenous teachers periodically visited by European supervisors), but the schools have now been withdrawn and religious activity abandoned. The Roman Catholic Mission is beginning to have a slight influence on the area through those Bamu people who are living in Daru and who are coming into contact with the church through the school which the Mission sisters run for 'Bamu' children (including Maipani and Tirere children from Kiwai East C.D.) in Daru. The people of Oropai say that Catholic Mission laters have visited their village and have promised to aff a school there. As there are no mission adherents in the area, there is no conflict between them.
- (b) Apart from the bush school at Torobina, there are no services provided by missions in the area. A small

8

number of children from the western part of the Census Division (Arikinape, Miruo) attend school at the B.R.M. station near Emeti, and occasional use is made of the Mission hospital there, the number of patients decreasing sharply with increasing distance from the station. The only mission personnel employed in the area is the school teacher at Torobina.

shown in the religious message of the Christian missions. This may well be because the missions with which the Bamu people have had most contact QB.R.M., S.D.A., U.P.M.), being of an evangelical Protestant persuasion, tend to stress the importance of certain rules of life which are inconsistent with many of the practices which the Bamu people hold dear. There is, however, some desire for the material benefits to be gained from having a mission station in the vicinity, such as employment opportunities an outlet for selling sago, and educational facilities (the importance of which a few Bamu are belatedly beginning to recognise).

#### (I) NON-INDIGENES

- (a) There are no plantations, factories or commercial establishments owned or operated by non-indigenou persons in the area being surveyed.
- (b) Not applicable.
- (c) Not applicable.
- (d) Mr.W.J. Senior of Kikori has a store and copra-buying point at Emeti, about 10 miles outside the western boundary of the Census Division. This is the only regular source of supply of trade goods that the people of the area possess, and the only regular outlet for the copra and crocodile skins they produce. Occasional visits to the area are made by a trader from Daru to purchase sago, and a visiting crocodile shooters may occasionally have a few store goods for sale.

#### (J) COMMUNICATIONS

- (a) Roads

  There are no roads in the area, and the terrain rules out the possibility that there ever will be.
- (b) Sea

  The only significant means of communication within the Census Division and to adjacent areas is by water. However, invigation among the channels of the area is tricky, and requires extreme caution or expert knowledge.

to avoid the many mudbanks. All waterways are tidal, and the western half of the Census Division is subject, in season, to tidal bores. These bores are dangerous to capoes and other small craft, and even to small ships which run aground on a falling tide and tip over on their side.

There are no wharves in the Census Divisior. The A.P.C. employation parties nade extensive use of a deep-water anchorage off Oropai when they were operating in this area.

There are no aerodromes in the area, and it seems unlikely that, in the swampy terrain, there would be a suitable site for one.

#### (K) TECHNICAL AND CLERICAL SKILLS

As far as could be discovered, no-one from the area is a qualified tradesman. A number of men have acquired rudimentary skills, and a list of these is to be found in Appendix A. Most of these men are absent from the area in employment.

## (L) THE STAGE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

Attempts were made during the prival to discover elements of native polical structures, but these failed to reveal anything of significance. It seems quite likely that, with the disorganisation of village life caused by A.P.C. activities in the fifties and the continual large-scale recruitment and general absenteeism, traditional political organisation has broken down and no regular and coherent form of social control has taken its place. This is admittedly an impressionistic judgment, formed after only a brief visit to the area. It is no doubt the case that some social mechanisms exist to regulate village life; however, one is left with the strong impression, particularly in some villages (e.g. Sibara, Darave, Wakau, Bina No.2, Amagoa), that villagers continue to reside in he one place merely incause of habit or convenience, and not because they have any sense of communal identity.

As far as wider political organisation is concerned, the people have some small idea of the broad situation, but appear to take little or no interest in it. As a matter of interest, enquiries were made at every village as to the name of the local Member of the House of Assembly. At only two villages could anyone tell me his name, and one of these persons had learnt it at a political education talk I had given at another village the previous day. (The other person had heard it on Radio Daru.) Talks on the House of Assembly and related matters were given at nearly every

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village, but on no occasion were any questions asked or interest expressed

There is no local government council in the area. No persons from the area have been away to Local Government or Co-operative Conferences, or as Observers to the Legislative Council or House of Assembly, or as Representatives to the South Pacific Commission. Batanu, the Emel Base Camp Interpreter who comes from Oropai village, was formerly a sergeant in the Police and visited Australia and Great Britain during the celebrations for the Queen's coronation.

#### (M) THE ECONOMY OF THE AREA

- (a) Time and staff did not permit a census of coconut trees (the only economic trees in the area). A census conducted four years ago gave a total of approximately 16,000 bearing coconut palms. A number of new plantings were observed by the patrol as well as a number of palms just coming into production. It seems probable that there are now over 18,000 bearing trees in the Census Division. These plantings are scattered in pockets along the shores of the Bamu River, usually on present or abandoned village sites.
- (b) Mr. Senior's store at Emeti, the only outlet for copra from the area, buys about 25 tons of inferior smoked copra per year from the Census Division at a cost of approximately \$1,500.
- (c) D.A.S.F. officers advise that it is impossible to calculate the total production of these trees, either actually or ideally, since information would have to be given about spacing, soils, etc., and this would vary widely over the Census Division. However, given an annual production of thirty nuts to the tree, and a nut size of 6,000 to the ton of copra, this would give an annual production, if every nut was utilised, of 90 tons. This is a completely unrealistic figure, since large numbers of nuts are used for drinking (the water supply in the area is very poor) and eating (mixing with sago).
- (d) Some years ago, the Bamu River Mission stationed a European market gardener at Sisiami No.2 village to plant a trial vegetable plot. About half an acre was planted with common western-type vegetables. The trial was progressing satisfactorily until a high tide inundated the plot with salt water and ruined the project. At present, ho market gardening is carried on in the Census Division.
- (e) There is no wage employment within the area. At the time of the patrol, there were 427 adult makes (non-students) away from the Census Division. Not all of these are in amployment, and some of them will probably never return to the area. In addition, quite a few men (mainly at Madiri Plantation and Daru) have their families with them, and so have no incentive to remit money back to their home area. In fact, practically no-one does send

(10

money home from their place of employment, although trade goods (clothing, tobacco) are sometimes sent home via returning fellow labourers.

In the financial year 1967/68, about 100 new agreements were signed by men from the Lower Bamu Census Division. Taking this as an average year, there would thus be over 200 agreement workers away from the Census Division at any one time (agreements being for two years, and a number of workers choosing to re-sign on at the expiry of their agreements). An estimated 100 others are in casual employment, and will return to the area at some time in the future.

It is impossible to do any more than guess at the amount of money coming into the Census Division each year from wages of returning labour. If we take it that just under 100 agreement workers return from employment each year, this would give an annual inflow from deferred wages of almost \$6,700. However, these agreement workers are paid off at Kikori, and it is notorious that they spend a large proportion of their wages there before returning home. While the expenditure at Kikori may often got towards buying such things as tools and clothing which will be part of the real income of the area, it drastically decreases the amount of cash inflow to the Census Division. It seems unlikely that more than a third of the wages of returning agreement workers ever reaches the area.

An estimated \$400 per annum return to the area from casual employees at Madiri and Daru. This would give a total cash inflow from wage labour of approximately \$2,500.

Copra sales from the Census Division yield \$1,500, and the sale of crocodile okins an additional (estimated) \$600. Occasional sales of sago are node to Balimo, Emeti and Mr. Stocks of Daru, and yield an estimated \$150 annually. This gives a total cash income to the Census Division of approximately \$4,750.

- (f) No co-operatives, rural progress societies, or other marketing societies are functioning in the area being surveyed.
- (g) There are no outstanding entrepreneurs in the Census Division.
- (h) Details were gathered of 68 savings bank accounts in the Census Division with total deposits of \$1151.23. See Appendix B.
- (i) Tax has not been collected in this area.
- (j) From the foregoing information, it is calculated that the average per capita income figure of persons presently residing in the Census Division is \$1.9 per annum. The villages of Aragi, Arikinape, Bimaramio, Asaramio, Tapapi, Amagoa. Etere, probably enjoy a lower income than this as they do not make copra and have fewer absent in employment than the other villages.

(k) Marketing facilities in the area are non-existent. The nearest marketing point for the only cashcrop of any significance - copra - is Mr. Senior's store at Emeti, which is a long day's cance trip from the farthest boundary of the Census Division. However, the area is in a potentially, favourable position should any economic development occur, as it is traversed by Steamships 'K' boats on their regular runs Moresby - Balimo.

## (N) POSSIBILITIES OF EXPANDING THE F CHOMY

- (a) There is almost unlimited land available for increased plantings of coconuts. Most of this land is periodically inundated by high tides, but this apparently does not constitute a handicap for coconuts.
- (b) The amount of land available for market gardening is limited, and nothing is known of the quality of soils in the area. There are no accessible markets for such produce.
- (c) There are no opportunities for wage labour within the Cansus Division or in the close vicinity. An increase in absentee labour could be made only at the cost of further undesirable social consequences.
- (d) The only practical possibility as far as new cash crops are concerned is the marketing of sago. The Lower Bamu people have extensive sago swamps, and say they are willing and able to produce sago for sale. At a number of villages, the patrol was told that the people desired the introduction of a local government council as this would provide a means whereby the marketing of sago could be organised.
- energetic or progressive, but this may well be because of a lack of continuous and expert guidance, and an apparent lack of any economic potential in the area. The people might well react favourably towards a programme of economic development if it appeared to have reasonable prospects of success. However, such a programme would have to be closely supervised to be successful. From reports of these people and from my own observation, it seems clear that they repond quite well to authoritative direction, consistently applied, but that they tend to fail when left to their own devices in a "self-help" take-it-or-leave-it situation. Though such paternal techniques may be theoretically repugnant, they probably offer the only hope of success for any programme of economic development in this area, at least in its initial stages.

## (D) ATTITUDE TOWARDS LOCAL GOVERNMENT

In Nevember, 1967, a meeting was held at Eneti Base Comp to gauge the attitudes of the local people towards the its of introducing local government to the Emeti erea, included the Lower Bamu Census Division. The Lower Bamu people are reported as having been unanimous in their opposition to the proposal, and to have eventually walked out of the meeting.

An attempt was made during this patrol to sound out the people's present attitude to local government. It was surprising to find an almost unanimous reaction in favour of its introduction. In one village, Mbara, the people merely said that there were to many absent for them to make a decision by themselves, but it seemed clear that they had no objection. Only in those villages formerly constituting the Diviri Census Division was any opposition encountered.

that there must have been a certain amount of discussion on the subject prior to the patrol's arrival, and that the people decided sollectively to change their position on the matter. It also seems probable that the Dibiri people were not included in these discussions and were thus unaware of the volte-face by the rest of the Consus Division. (The only explanation they gave for their opposition was that they wanted a cooperative society instead of a council.) When told that the other villages in the Census Division were in favour of local government for the area, they appeared nonplussed and replied that they would have to consider the matter. I do not think that, if there were a serious prospect of a council for this area, it would encounter strong opposition — at least, while the climate of opinion remains as at present.

Some of the reasons given by the people for the change in their attitudes were unconvincing. For example, it was claimed that they had formerly opposed councils because they had no money and were afraid of taxation. However, the financial situation has not improved significantly in the past year, in this area. It was also claimed that the people were earlier upset over a particular incident, and this was their reason for rejecting local government. However, this reason lacks cogency as the incident in question occurred after the November meeting at Emeti. However, one suggestion that was made on a number of occasions to the patrol was that a local government council could organise the marketing of sago from this area. The people are anxious to sell their sage, but have very limited access to markets, and it is hoped that a Council could organise the purchase of sago from the area and arrange its shipment and sale to Moresby. It would thus appear that whatever attraction local government has for these people lies in the possibility it offers for economic development, rather than in its welfare functions or in its role in area administration.

It would normally be difficult for any visitor to this area to induce the unco-operative and uncommunicative inhabitents to divulge to him their views on the subject of the central government. When the visitor happens to be himself an agent of the central government, on a two-week patrol moving rapidly from village to village, the task is hopeless. The best one can do is to make some rough generalisations, with very little concrete evidence to support them, on the basis of one's impressions.

One of these rough generalisations is that the people of the Lower Bamu never think about the central government as such; the only aspect of government which holds any interest for them is that which directly end tangibly concerns themselves, and the only time the central government enters their thoughts is when they come into contact with one of its officers. For most people, this enterly occurs when a patrol visits a village. The only natrols which visit the Bamu are those of D.D. and P.H.D.. Every village book in the Lower Bamu Census Division has page after page of instructions given to the villagers to perform certain village works e.g. build new houses or latrines, dig ditches, out grass, plant ficewars, on wain of tunishment. Nearly every patrol (D.D.1. and P.H.D.) has left behind its quote of these instructions and apparently little clas, no doubt because there is very little that can be achieved in this area except to improve village housing and hygiene. This procedure has presurably been going on for some considerable time, since the area has been contacted since the turn of the century. It is plausible to suppose that this procedure has given the people as therefore, makes threats, and deals out punishments. If this is the case, then it is unlikely that the people are favourably disposed towards the government officer as a person who gives orders, makes threats, and deals out punishments. If this is the case, then it is unlikely that the people are favourably disposed towards the government except as embodied in its officers, then it beems likely that the people of the lower Bamu are not favourably disposed towards the government.

## (Q) ACCOMMODATION, SERVICES, FACILITIES

There are no hotels, guest houses, service stations, workshops, or stores in the Lower Bemu Census Division. Accommodation is available free of charge at the Government rest houses in each village, and canoes may be hired for a small fee.

Sett Abhalia. D.O.

# APPENDIX A

## TECHNICAL SKILLS - LOWER BAND CENSUS DIVISION

STORY OF THE PROPERTY OF THE P		The state of the s
EDAMI - DAURI of MIRUO		Driver
SAGARA - SIVARA OF HIMARAMIO	-	Tractor driver on plantation
OFI - KAINA OF SISTAME NO.2		Deckhand
KOPAI - ABARI "	-	Deckhand
KISAT - PAISE "		Plantation tractor Ariver
DATST - KATNA "	-	Plantation tractor driver
KURUA - MIRUA OF STETAMI No.	1-	Deckhand
MARU - GMO of OROPAT		为15. 12. 14. 14. 14. 15. 15. 15. 15. 15. 15. 15. 15. 15. 15
GEMBRE - MARINA OF ALACOA	ALC: A SECTION AND A SECTION A	是这种的,我们就是一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个一个
		Deckhand
	600 法	Deckhand
是2000年6月1日 1958年 11月 11日 11日 11日 11日 11日 11日 11日 11日 11日		Plantation tractor griver
		Deckhand
		Plantation treator driver
		Admin. Transport driver, Rabuml
OMET - BADE		Deckhand
		Cerpenter
		Deckhand
	- 3000	Carpenter & plantation trector driv
		Carpenter
	•	Plumbers assistant
NAKAI - AKUNA OF ARIKINAPE	-	Plumbers assistant

Note: It is most unlikely that any of these carpenters is a skilled tradesman. Most first got their experience working with A.P.G..

APPENDIX B

# SAVINGS BANK ACCOUNTS - LOWER BAMU C. D.

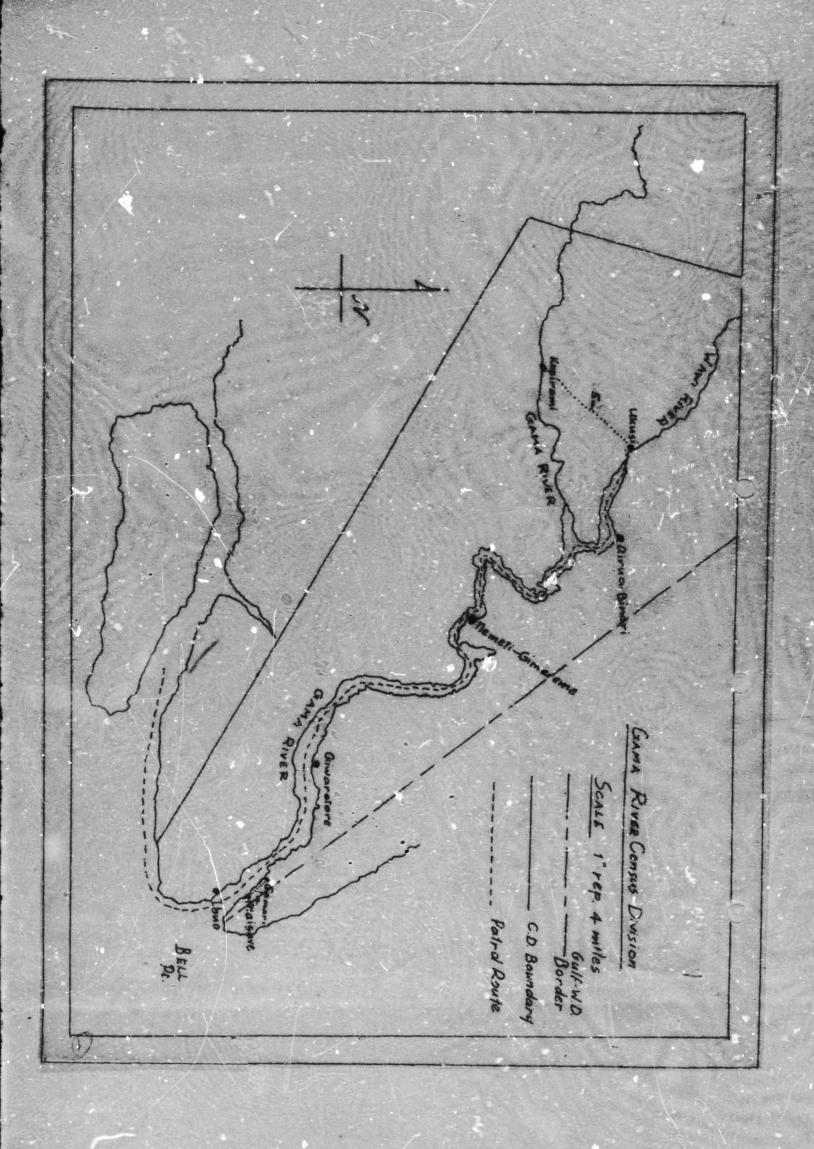
NUMBER .	MAME	VILLAGE	AMOUNT
06808	Village Account	Pirupiru No.2	\$244.49
016320	Wau		2.40
016322	Bani	Pirmpirm No.1	3.10
9826	Werobo		3.70
22319	Bajwari	"	55
017591	Madeo	Sibara	1.20
9318	Maba		. 11
41925 9452	Maroge Koka	Bunigi	2.00
83316	Bathgi		1.10
8894	Pedi		18
029802	Ganei'a	n	27.00
016319	Kenei	· ·	1.18
023045 (NSW)	DAHAN	11.	50
03196	Gonea	Torobina	
017136	Emi	n	31 50
32973	Daiwa	ıı	67
07214	Daiwa, trustee	<b>"</b>	38.84
8822	Nege	Aniadai	1,65
021337	31 do	" -	3.00
8762	Adoma	Bina No.1	2.35
017422	Aget		1.00
017424	Gaugoi		40
-017425	Ubo		50
07229	Maima	Bina No.2	1.10
09109 9248	Uman Seke	Bithe no.2	31.94
9167	Giawi		5
013104	Sidie	11	40
9584	Damu		32
09106	Adeu	- 11	50
8298	"Asaramio Co-oper		
	ative Society"	Asaramio	21.89
3297	"Tapapi Co-opera		
	tive Society"	Tapari	1.80
029814	Miragi	Miruo	19.37
017570	Giripi	11	2.08
8867	Auda	11	2.00
150834	Badia		19
01923	Nagai	Bimaramio	5.70
9230 24851	Wairere Aikari	и .	20
016323	Waimera	u	66.00
017592	Gesue	Wario	45
01068	Kinini	Amagoa	12.27
06816	Village Account	"	29.25
65814	Village Account	Etere :	14.14
0685	Diode	"	77
11171	Sige	11	7.30
10122	Nase	"	12
06803	Emai	Bemio	12.11
83317	Avae	11 0	10
023197	Beu		500.00
021054	Tipi	Sogeri	2.70
8969	Gerere	Sisiami No.2	4.00
024868	Anadai	alsigni no.	21.97
0730	Naga	11	86
0659	Kapela	Oropai	37
01903	Isere Kolo'o	orober.	27.50
019250	Kaboro	11	7.00
			3.00
032335	Naguwa Urtiwa	H	1.00
025942	O FRAMES		

# Appendix B (contd.)

NUM BER	NAME	VILLAGE	THUOMA
24148 016325 8923 25113 25328 25276 24857	Omero Hiru Akuna Onea Anouri Giname Kenui	Aragi Arikinepe " " " "	\$00.40 1.84 1.65 20 40 20

17.





The District Comissioner, Western District,

## PATROL REET NO. 2 OF 60/49.

Your reference 67-11-1 refers.

2. I nonnowledge with Canks receipt of Situation Report by Mr. R. H. Dismond, Cadet Patrol Officer to Gasa NIVER Consus Division.

3. Hr. Diemond has carried out in enceptic and modul patrol and has reported very sell and fully on his activities and observations. He appears to be taking a keep interest in his work and should be commended.

Your comments and those of Mr. Hardle fully cover the prints

(T. W. ECLIS)

c.c. Mr. R. M. Diamond, C.P.O., Western District, BALIMO.

67.3.9.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Telegro

Our Reference 57-11-1

If calling ask for RAC. Ed.

Department of District Administration, Western District,

23rd October, 1968

The Director, Department of Disorder histration, KONEDOBU

## METI PATROL 2/68-69

Please find herewith report of the above patrol submitted by Mr. R.M. Diamond, Cadet Patrol Officer, following his thirteen day patrol in the GAMA RIVER Census Division, together with covering memo and patrol instructions by the Assistant Dictrict Commissioner, PALJMO.

The latters comments cover the report fairly well. Mr. Diamor is a Cadet of only a year's seniority, but he has obviously tackled this patrol with enthusiasm and good sense, andhis report is a credit to him, being very well presented and set out.

also BALIMO are not thinking in terms of an early introduction of Local Government. Perhaps this report, and also Mr. Hardies EMETI 1/68-69 give something more than due emphasis to the peoples attitude to Local Government, but it should be noted that the BAMU/GAMA area is, with MOREH CAD/WEAM (for which an area study and Local Government report has been forwarded), the only area on the Papuan littoral not yet under Local Government, and all things littoral not yet under Local Government, and all things being equal this is unusual when it is remembered that the area has had some 70 years of contact. All things, of course, not being equal, this report and its predecessor give good reasons for the backwardness and coathy prevalent there.

4. PMENI base camp, when manned, normally has for patrol use only cances and a powered dinghy. This is doon to be augmented by the pasing at EMENI of M.V. "AI'IDIA", a 22 ft Kopsen launch, which is an improvement but still not satisfactory in terms of the rough seas often encountered on the coast between the BAMU and GAMA Rivers.

5. In corclusion, them a good report by Mr. Diamond who is proving to be an effective unit in the administration of BALIMO Sub-District.

For your consideration, please.

Maddolmer I.A. Holmes) Mb. LISTRICT COMMISSIONER Please find herewith three copies of the Report
of Eneti Patrol No.2 - 68/69, conducted by Er.R.M. Diamond C.P.O.
The Report comprises: (1) Information required on Report Jacket
(11) Patrol Mary
(111) Situation Report
(11) Appendix

ap of the area patrolled.

The patrol was conducted with the object of casting light on the attitudes of the people of the Gama River Comesse Division. During a census patrol of the area in July, I was disturbed by their generally negative attitude and an atmosphere of veiled hostility towards the Administration and all its rozks. The immediate object of this bostility was local government, but one also gained the strong impression that the people wanted nothing more than to be left alone by the Administration in general. It was hoped that a keen and supposite the efficient like Mr. Diamond would have more success gaining the people's confidence and finding out what was irking them.

of new information, but it does tast a little more light on the situation. From the 'Political' section of the Report, it seems clear that the villages of Maisave and Gamari are in the forefront of the opposition and that the upper river villages are being influenced by them. Mr. Diamond mentions reasoning with these people over their hestility to local severyment and with these people over their hostility to local government and the House of Assembly, but it is quite clear from their replies to him that they are merely casting about for excuses to rationalise their antipathy. Mr. Diamond mentions one reason given to him was that the people did not vote in the 1968 House of Assembly elections, because they thought that this would render them liable for income tax. However, it seems unlikely that the people really could have believed this, since they voted in the 1964 elections with no such unpleasant consequences. What the root cause of this hostility is, is not altogether clear, but it seems probable that the promises that the people believe Tetley made and broke are largely responsible. Before the 1964 elections, there is -u entry in the Gamari village book praising that village for its progressive attitude, and it thus seems clear that the change in attitude has developed since that date. The likeliest explanation seems to be that the people feel they have been blatantly tricked, and in consequence, are reacting in a generally negative way.

A. Mr. Dismond reports (P.8) being told that the people of these two villages just went to be left alone. He gained the impression that the people did not welcome any Administration interest being taken in them. This attituic is easy to deplore, but difficult to do anything constructive about. The area is remote from its administrative centre (Marti), and is isolated from it during much of the S.E. season as far as cances and small boats are conserved. The lack of potential seems to proclude any likely economic development in the area. Perhaps the best that can be done is to try and maintain econsional contact, and remain sympathes is to any approaches on the part of the people.

5. With reference to the remarks (pp.11,12) on the Aid Post at Garari village, I am advised that a medical orderly has now been found for this Aid Post, and that he will shortly be going to Gamani. It is hoped that continuity of staff will now be maintained.

6. With reference to the death of the Village Constable of Binori (pp. 13, 14), Hr. Diamond undoubtedly did what was best under the circumstances.

7. In the Anthropological Appendix, little enlightening material has been unearthed with regard to traditional practices of land ownership, group membership, or marriage customs in the area. However, it may be the case that there actually is a lack of clear out rules and precedents in this area, because of the disruption of village life over the past sighteen years or so. (See Area Study of Eacti Patrol Ro. 1 - 68/69.) It obviously requires more than a short visit to find out. Mr. Diamond's statement that some groups are both exagements and enlagaments was due to a misunderstanding of these terms, which has now been cleared up.

For "indentured" (P.9), read "agreement".

patrol. It was not are easy patrol, as it involved travelling by camee and fairly umpleasant living conditions. It also involved dealing with an unresponsive and generally unco-operative group of people. Mr. Mamond has carried out a good patrol and submitted a clear report. I am pleased with his efforts.

That Bladie

(Peter A. Hardie)
Assistant District Commissioner

RALI Western Matrict. 19th August, 1968.

Mr.R.M. Diemond C.P.O., RALIMO.

# PATROL INSTRUCTIONS - EMET PATROL 2/68-69

On the arrival of M.V. Enerald, please be prepared to carry out a patrol in the Gama River Comette Division. The 'Emerald' will drop you and your patrol at Medsave village; and pick you up there approximately eight days later. Transport during the patrol will be by camee.

The purpose of the patrol is to follow up the recent cancers patrol in the area. As you know, most of the people of the Cancers Division are opposed to the introduction of local government, but have given little or no nationactory explanation for this attitude. I regard your putrol primarily as one of interprating and clarifying local attitudes - on local government and on any other subjects relevant to administration. Your main task is to bry and familiarise yourself with local thought and attitudes; only as a secondary task, and only if the time is appropriate, are you to undertake any langthy explanations and expectations. I envisage that such explanatory talks as you may give will be chiefly concerned with such topics as the work of the House of Assembly, the difference between the work of House of Assembly Members and efficers of the Public Service (especially of this Department), factual accounts of the functions of local government. You should be careful not to say anything which might be interpreted as a promice by the people.

If possible, you should spend a night & at each rest house, but you may follow the people to their sage-gathering places if they have left the villages.

4. On your return, I shall expect your situation report to cover at least:

(a) attitudes to local government
(b) a detailed analysis of the situation al Gamari village
(including details about e.g. the abandoned Aid Post and trade
staure, attitude to election promises)

stepre, attitude to election promises)
(c) a description of the group organisation in the area, especially with respect to land ownership and inheritance, and to marriage customs.

I suggest that investigations of (c), if sympathetically carried out, may provide a helyful lead into enquiries of type (a) and (b).

5. I wish you an enjoyable patrol in this neglected area.

REPORT No. Lemeti No. a, of 68/69.

SUB-DISTRICT. Balimo.

DISTRICT. Western.

COUNCIL. Non council area.

PATROL CONDUCTED BY. Robert Mac Diamond.

DESIGNATION. Cadet Patrol Officer.

AREA PATPOLLED. Gama River Census Division.

PERSONNEL ACCOMPANYING PATROL. Batanu Nede. (Iterpreter)

DURATION OF PATROL. 20/8/68 to 1/9/68, thirteen days.

DATE & DURATION/OF LAST D.D.A. PATROL. 23/7/68 to 12/8/68, twenty days.

OBJECTS OF PATROL.

Briefly, to become familiar with local thoughts and attitudes, paying particular regard to local Govt., the House of Assembly, and the Government in general. This was actually a follow up patrol to the last one in the area, and various matters encountered by that patrol were to be attended to by this one. e.g. The situation at Gemari village.

TOTAL POPULATION OF AREA PATROLLED.

751

MAP REFERENCE. See Appendix 24" accompanying.

VILLAGE POPULATION REGISTER. Not enclosed.

## INTRODUCTION:

This was a patrol conducted in the Gama River Census Division as a "follow up" to a census patrol recently carried out therein.

The main objectives of this patrol were:

1. To clarify and interpret local thoughts and attitudes towards Local Govt. Councils, the House of Assembly, and the Covernment in general.

2. No analyse the situation at Gamari village, with respect to:

- (e) The trade store,
- (b) The aid post,

(c) The school, all of which seem to have been unsuccessful ventures. Attitudes to Election promises were also to be ascertained.

3. To find out about group organization in the area, especially with regard to land ownership, inheritance, and marriage customs.

These aims were at least partially accomplished, and I do not think that further time spent by me among the people, on this patrol at least, would have elicited further results. Such results as have been obtained should not be regarded as definite, because the apparent evasive attitude of the people gave rise to conflicting stories, and vacillations were frequent.

The attempted studies of such things as group organization; land tenure, inheritance, etc. were not very successful. The people have either forgotten much of their knowledge of these things, or are unwilling to discuss them in any datail. The only piece of information which may be useful, if correct, is that of group alliances within the Gama.

The topography of this area is uninspiring, being mainly low lying Nipa Palm swamp, with the villages being built on the highest ground available, at best a few feet above the wa water. They are flooded periodically by high tides, and at such times are unpleasant places because of the various debris cast about the place.

Although the area may be a bit dismal, the natrol was still quite enjoyable because of the work involved.

DIARY:

20/8/68 Ex Balimo 1745 per M.V. Emerald, arriving Mapoda Hospital 2110. Slept Mapoda.

side were sold that elle to

21/8/68 Ex Mapoda 0745, arriving Bamu River Mission 1045. Off-loaded discharged patients. Travelled up to Emeti Patrol Post, carried out various office work. Ex Emeti 1215, ran aground off. Mirus village 1500. Advised Village Constable of patients to be collected from the Bamu River Mission. Awaited bore, which arrived 1930. Anchored for the night in deep water off Mirus.

22/8/68 Ex Mirus 0715, entered Gama River and anchored off Maisave 1500. Went ashore and slept in rest house.

23/8/68 Attempted talk with people. Everyone unresponsive, so finished up and travelled to Gamari. Talk given during afternoon. Slept Gamari.

24/8/60 Ex Gamari 0730, arriving Nemeti-Gimereme 0830. Most people from Nemeti absent, but delivered talk to those remaining. Fears of sorcery stated, also of Maiseve and Gameri. Facts about assault case heard, but alleged culprit away in the bush. Evening talk with Village Constables.

25/8/68 Ex Nemeti-Gimereme 0830, arriving Airua-Binori 0920. Gave talk 1300. Fears of sorcery and taxes stated. Evening talk with Village Constable of Airua. Discovered Village Constable of Binori was ill.

8668/68 Persuaded sick Village Constable to return with me to Bamu River Mission when I come back from Ukusi. Ex Airuz-Binori 0915, arriving Ukusi 1045. Everyone from Kopirame had assembled here. Talk given.

27/8/68 Awaited bore which eventuated 1115. Ex Ukusi 1120, arriving Airua-Binori 1500. Village Constable unconscious. After lengthy argument, persuaded people to take him to Maisave and await the arrival of the Emerald. Ex Airua-Dinori 1700, arriving Nemeti-Gimereme 1800. Slept Nemeti-Gimereme.

28/8/68 Short talk during morning. EX Nemeti-Gimereme 0915, arriving Giwaretore 1130. Sent word to Emerald anchored off Maisave to take sick Village Constable to Bamu River Mission: Talk given. Fears of sorcery stated by older men. Young men express dismay at being "held back" by the older men's fear. Slept Giwaretore.

29/8/68 Ex Giwaretore 0715. Called at Gamari and advised all to assemble at Maisave tomorrow. Arrived Ibno 0830. Talk given during morning, but everyone sullen and unreceptive. Approx. 1500 everyone became friendly and wanted to hear the talk again. One dispute about a bride-price was heard. Decided to settle it when I arrived at Piru Piru No. 2, where the woman was.

30/8/68 Ex Ibuo C800, arriving at Maisave 0815. Le one from Gamari was present, so I waited for them to arrive before starting any discussions. Discussions took place at about 1330, the main aim being to find out why Gamari and Maisave were being he'd in such awe. This was not successful. Approx. 1530, departed in M.V. Emerald.

Called in at Pira Pira No. 2 and settled brideprice dispute. Travelled to Bunigi, arriving 1900. Slept Bunigi.

31/8/68 Ex Bunigi 0615, arriving at Aramia River mouth 1015. Travelled to Aragi village per dinghy to eas collect T.B. suspects, but no one was home, so I returned to the Emerald. 1430, ran aground. 1500, travelled to Emeti in Tempest dinghy, arriving 1540. Checked at Bamu River Mission and found that Village Constable of Binori had died during the morning. Office work completed at the station.

189/68 Ex Emeti 0915, arrived Mapoda 1300 and lunched there. Ex Mapoda 1400. arriving Balimo 1845. Reported back to A.D.C.

-PATROL ENDS-

## SITUATION REPORT.

#### A. POLITICAL.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS. Before stating what I found the overall attitude to Local Government to be, I will give an account of the attitudes encountered in each village, as they vary enough to make it wortwhile doing so.

GAMARI VILLAGE GROUP. The people are not in favour of Local Govt., and they goe fear of taxes as the main reason. Explanations of how Councils regulate the tax according to the money in the area did not dispel this fear. They claim there is too little money in the Gaza area to pay even a minute tax.

A later reason for not wanting Councils was related to this. The people decided that if a Council such as the Gogodala one was only achieving such things as water tarks, aid posts, etc., using its large tax (\$6.50), then any Council they started would be useless. They are not under the impression that even small projects, such as one water tank per year, would greatly benefit the Gama.

The people are ademant that everyone else in the Gama Census Division shares their views.

NEMETI-GIMEREME. Initially, one man claimed fears of sorcery were preventing them from speaking out in favour of Councils. No one else would carry on this line of thouht, and the speaker himself would say no more.

The next reason given was fear of taxes. This was apparently dispelled by the explanation that Councils determined the tax according to the wealth of the area. The people then claimed that they were doing as Maisave and Gamari told them to, and that fear of a fight was why they were doing so. Later, the Village Constables said this was not so, that they traditionally followed Maisave and Gamari, and that it was not fear of a fight making them do so now.

AIRUA-BINORI. Initially, the Village Constable of Airua claimed they were following the wishes of Maisave and Gamari, and that it was fear of sorcery making them do so. He even described the type of sorcery that would be used.

The fear of taxes was also stated.

Later, the Village Constable rescinded his earlier statement, and said he had been talking nonsense. Further

questioning revealed the fear of sorcery was there, but because of the abstract nature of sorcery, no one could say with certainty where it would come from.

UKUSI-KCPIRAME. These people claim they do not want a Council because they do not want the tax that goes with it. They have heard stories of people being goo ad for not paying their tax, and that has been sufficient to decide the issue for them.

They claim that they are not afraid of Maisave or Gemari, and I think this is so. Their detachment from the Gama is obvious, and I think they regard themselves as belonging to the Kikori area.

Any knowledge they have of Councils is pretty superficial, apparently having been mainly gleaned from stories.

GIWARETORE. The people claim straight out that it is fear of sorcery from Maisave and Gamari making them say that they don't went Councils. The young men are somewhat vehement when they state that only the old men's fear is holding them back from having Councils in the area.

IBUO. Several weeks ago they were totally in favour of Councils. When I arrived on this patrol, they were almost totally against them, saying they hadn't been thinking proerly earlier. A few hours after I arrived, they were again in favour of Councils.

I doubt very much the sincerity of their latest change of mind, being, I suspect an attempt to win me over so as to decide a bride-price d spute with Piru Piru No.2 in their favour.

MAISAVE. Very outspokenly against Councils. They claim fear of tax taxes, and also thought that Councils they had seen with big taxes were not a lieving much.

They are very definite in their views, and claim that they never want to hear anything about Councils again. They were rather emphatic about the latter.

OVERALL ATTITUDE TO LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILS. If each individual in the Gama was asked what he thought of Councils, most would probably say thet didn't like them, however, the reasons for so saying would be numerous. Fears of sorcery, taxes, warfare and apathy are the main reasons I found.

Maisave and Gamari seem to dominate Airua, Binori, Nemeti, Gimereme and Giwaretore. Although not everyone stated such, fear of sorcery is probably the main reason for this. The people here are very fearful of sorcery, previous Patrol Officers hving also found this to be the case.

ARTICLES VARIABLE SAFERS CONTRACTOR

Consequently, unless these two villages change their attitude, the Gama is unlikely to ever want a Council, as they control the majority.

It is worth noting that the young men of Giwaretore village claim to be in favour of Councils.

Concluding, the Gama is not in favour of Councils, the main reason for this apparently being fear of sorcer from Maisave and Gamari. Quite possibly, if these two villages should ever suffer a change of heart, the Gama would be come more well disposed to Local Government Councils.

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. Once again, I will give each village's views on the matter before stating what the overall attitude is.

GAMARI. They are afraid of the House of Assembly because they feel anyone who votes will have to pay tax. No explanation given was able to distel this misconception.

Assembly. This village has been disillusioned by the alleged election promises made by former M.H.A. Mr. K. Tetley during 1964. The people gained the impression that if the candidate they voted for was successful, they would receive great material benefits. e.g. Fish nets, beer, refrigerators. The general impression was gained that this was indeed the correct work of the House of Assembly. Quite apart from a feeling of resentment, which does exist, I do not think the people are much impressed by the House of Assembly if it is not going to supply such material benefits as the one allegedly described by Mr. Tetley would have.

This attitude is probably applicable to some extent to all the Gama villages, but I think nome are so bitter as Gamari and Maisave appear to be,

NEMETI-GIMEREME. As with Councils, they claim they are doing as Maisave and Gamari tellt them to. They say they will speak out in favour of the House of Assembly if Maisave and Gamari say they can.

AIRUA-BINORI. The attitude here is similar to that of Nemeti-Gimereme. Although they have been disillusioned about the House of Assembly, and hence may not think much of it, their main reason for not "giving it a go" is the fear of Maiseve and Gamari previously discussed.

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UKUSI-KOPIRAMI. Although the people claim to have been disillusioned by promises allegedly made by Mr. Tetley, they are probably more disinterested than anything else. They are content with their lot, and whether or not the House of Assembly exists, or what it does, are not things which worry them. If it gave readily obtainable material gains, greater interest would probably be displayed.

GIWARETORE. Even though they do not fully understand the workings of the House of Assembly the people are willing to try it if Maisave and Gamari permit them to. Once agair, fear of Sorcery ras claimed.

IBUO. During the morning they were quite certain that the House of Assembly was no good. This was because of being "let Down" by the campaign promises allegedly made by Mr. Tetley in 1964.

Later in the day, however, they had reversed their attitude entirely, and had decided that the house might be a good thing after all. Once again, I suspect their motives for similar reasons as I do their change of attitude about Local Govt. Councils.

MAISAVE. The people are quite certain that they do not want anything to do with the House of Assembly. The reasons for this attitude existing are the same ones given by Gamari.

OVERALL ATTITUDE TO THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY. Presently, the attitude towards the House of Assembly is not a favourable one. The reasons for this attitude existing are:

- (1) Misunderstanding. Some people are under the impression that everyone who votes will have to pay income tax. Where this fear exists, it is very difficult to dispel, the people not really taking any proof given very seriously.
- (2) Disillusionment. This attitude can be found throughout the area in various degrees of intensity. The promises allegedly made by Mr. Tetley gave the people not only false hopes, but also an incorrect conception of the work of the House of Assembly. Now, they are "let down" in that they did not receive all the "cargo", and also in that the House of Assembly is not really the marvellous institution they previously thought it to ba. Maisave and Gamari are the two places which are most bitter about having apparently been tricked.

(3) Fear of stating true opinion. As with Local Govt. Councils, many people are unwilling to speak out in favour of the House of Assembly because of the fear of Gamari and Maisave. This is probably the strongest reason for the people in the Gama not wenting the House of Assembly.

It is unlikely that just educating the people withr regard to the House will be sufficient to change their attitude at this stage, because Maisave and Gamari bave no vish to change, even when they know a little of the correct work involved, and until they do change, other places will be afraid to change their attitude.

ATTITUDE TOWARD THE GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL. G mari and Naisave aid not seem pleased to have another Patrolling Officer in so soon after the last one. Although not by any means hostile, they were somewhat sullen and un-coorerative. Perhaps this is only temporary, but at present I would say they are not over-joyed by any Administration interest taken in them. They did claim at one stage that they would much prefer to be left slone to lead the life they are now living.

"Government" through again, were willing to come along and here the "talk" and were generally helpful. Although not agreeing with everything I said, they were never cross or rude, as were Maisave and Gamari. Irrelevant interjections, people wanting to walk away before the discussion was limished, and reluctance to come and find out what was being said were common at the latter two places.

with the Government is probably best asscribed as one in which the people are willing to at least take an interest in, if it is available to do so. (The people are unlikely to come to a Patrol Post and request something requiring action by the Government to be done. However, if the Government presents some plan or scheme to them, they will think about it, though not necessarily accept it.) Gamari and Maisave are exceptions to this, not being willing to hear about any Government ideas which would involve them.

If the apparent fear of Maisave and Gamari is genuine, the people's attitude toward the Government is possibly much more favourable than was indicated by them, but is being modified to suit these two places.

#### B. ECONOMIC.

This area is definitely not a prosperous one, but some forms of deriving an income are available to the average Gama citizen.

CRCCODILE SKINS. Reasonable quantities of crocodiles still exist toward the top of the Gama and Wawi Rivers, the area having not yet been "shot out." These are hunted fairly regularly by the people, and the skins are mainly sold at Kikori. Considerable time must be spent obtaining the skins, and in selling them, the areas in closer proximity to the villages being almost void of crocodiles. Despite the fact that many works at one stretch may be spent hunting, the yield is low, the average income from skins being quoted to me as \$14.00.

There are no professional shooters operating directly in the Gama at present, so one would assume that the crocodiles exist in numbers only sufficient for the local people to profit from-

INDENTURED LABOUR. The Gama has produced many indentured labourers in the past, and is continuing to do so. This is probably the best means available to the average Gama man to sarn a living.

It is debatable how much of this income is used to benefit the Gama, however. Labourers are "signed on" and "paid off" at Kikori, so they have ample opportunity to spend their earnings before returning home.

COPRA. All of the villages have coconut tpalms belonging to them, although these may not necessarily be near the village site. Very little opra is produced, the little that is, being sold to traders who bring their boats there.

GARDEN PRODUCE. No cash crops are grown, the gardens being small, not particularly well kept, and the produce being for local consumption. Gardens are difficult to organize successfull; here, as the high tides make it necessary to seek out high ground, and this may not be anywhere near the village.

SAGO. Some sago is apparently sold to Daru, but as to how often, or at what price, I am unaware. It is claimed that the buyers prefer this sage to say, Gogodala sago because the latter is prepared with the feet, which they find distasteful.

EXPATRIATE DEVELOPMENT. The cdd trader and shooter have been almost the only people having any monetary interest in the Gama. However, as these are generally itinerant, they have not put much into the area which could be called development.

Asmall trade store is to be built at Maisave by Mr. J. Senior of Kikori, and this will constitute the only expatriate rusiness established in the Gama. The store will provide facilities for the purchase of goods, and also for the sale of any of the Gama's produce, such as crocodile skins.

Mr. Senior claims that this store will also assist the store at Gamari to get back on its feet, if it so desires. This would be done by the giving of advice, and the sale of stock to it at discount prices.

CONCLUSION. At present, the Gama area is not very inspiring, with regard to its present economic status. Potentially, with its people, its land, and its general situation it is not too exciting, either. However, if the people were more ambitious, there could be a better situation than now exists, although I doubt that the Gama will ever become one of New Guinca's economic mainstage.

#### C. SOCIAL.

HEALTH. As a medical patrol was conducted in the area about a month ago, the health of the people was quite adequate, so far as this inexpert observer could tell. The health situation at the time of the Medical Patrol was not so good, however, even cases of Yaws being encountered.

EDUCATION. Education is severely lacking, a few people at Ibuo village being the only people who can read a little.

The nearest school is the Bamu River Mission, and this is two to three days away by canoe. No one seems very interested in attending it, and the distance from home, combined with the fact that the Mission cannot supply rations, are probably the main reasons why this is so. I doubt that it is a rejection of education, as the people of Gamari village have built a school there when they thought a teacher was going to be sent to them.

MISSIONS. There are none operating in the area at present, the nearest operative one being the Remu River Mission, which does not have much influence among these people. Apparently abortive attempts have been made by Seventh Day Adventists to establish a position in the Gama.

It may be worth noting that the Unevangelized Fields Mission at Balimo has expressed interest in the area, but their present staffing position precludes sending a representative there.

LAW AND ORDER. Two complaints of a judicial nature were brought to the patrolling officer's attention.

ASSAULT. A man of Nemeti village had allegedly beaten a woman of the same village with the back of a knife blade, bruising her back. The man was away in the bush, and as the patrol was limited to a few days' duration, it was not possible to spend several days searching for him. The Village Constable of Nemeti has agreed to bring all the parties involved to Balimo as soon as he can.

BRIDE PRICE DISPUTE. A women of Ibuo village had married a man of Piru Piru No. 2, who had since died before paying the necessary bride price. The people of Ibuo wanted either the woman to return, or payment for her. This was settled when it became known that the woman intends to marry her original husband's brother, who will furnish a fair bride price when he returns from working on a plantation. This arrangement satisfied everyone, and they have agreed to bring any further problems which might arrive arise, to Balimo.

CONCLUSION. Despite the the fact that the Gama Census Division has been long contacted, it has made little social advancement. Things such as clothes, eating utensils, and other material aspects of our culture have become accepted, but the state most of these are kept in forbids one calling it an advancement. Such things as Women's Clubs and the like just do not exist here.

#### D. MISCELLANBOUS.

THE SITUATION AT GAMARI VILLAGE. Various projects have been attempted by this village, e.g. Aid post, school, but have not succeeded; an attempt was made to find out why this was so.

AID POST. An aid post of native materials was constructed here some years ago, after a Medical assistant had advised them that a Medical Orderly would be sent if a post was prepared. The Orderly was duly sent, and apparently enjoyed a successful term in the Gama. The people claim he used to patrol frequently, worked well, and was in turn well cared for by the villagers. The time came for his leave, and after he departed no replacement was sent.

and was obtained

The Medical Assistant claims that a staffing shortage at the time prevented another Orderly being sent down. It would also appear that Kiwai Orderlies are preferred to Gogodalas, and the Assistant has been waiting for a spare one to become available. He is optimistic about re-staffing the post soon.

There was one report from Nemeti that the wife of the Orderly was not happy there, and this was a deciding factor in his departing. No other place thought this to be the case.

The people are keen to have another Orderly, and claim he will be well looked after. As the nearest present medical aid is two to three days' travel from the Gama, any trained medical personnel stationed there would be a decided improvement.

SCHOOL. Quite a reasonable native materials school-house has been constructed in the village, and is in fair condition. This was apparently built because the Medical Assistant who came through during 1965 told the people that if they did build a school, a teacher would be sent. This is is the story told by the villagers, anyway. It is quite possible that the Medical ax Assistant said something that was misunderstood by everyone.

Some sort of vague story exists about the Seventh Day Adventists having had a teacher here at one stage, but nothing definite about this was heard on this patro.

A group of people came to Balimo from Gemari soon after completing the school-house, wanting to know when a teacher would be sent to the village. The Government Education Officer advised them that no Government personnel was available, and they should try the Unevangelized Fields Mission at Balimo. This they accordingly did, but had no luck there, either. Consequently, the school-house at Gemari is unstaffed, and though in fair condition at this stage, will probably fall into a state of disrepair in the near future.

A big problem in organizing a school here is caused by the unsettled life the people lead. Months may be spent in the bush away from the main village, by whole families. It is not improbable that a teacher stationed here would spend a considerable amount of his time teaching a severely deplaced class, because of this.

TRADE STORE. A trade store has been built, and used to be run by the people of Gamari. At present it is not operating, has no stock, and gives every impression of having "fallen through." The people claim this is not the case, and that as soon as the store at Maisave gets going, they will purchase stock for their store from there. They produced \$23.58 with which they plan to effect their purpose. This money is the capital of the store,

and was obtained during its period of operation. Griginal capital was put up by members of every village of the Gama, and a list of their names with the amount invested is held by Gadimoi of Gamari.

At the height of its career the store stocked rice, sugar, kerosene, matches, tinned meat and fish, calico, soap, biscuits and tea. These goods were bought from the trade store at Emeti Patrol Post.

If the owner of the store to be built at Maisave does give this store advice, and sells stock to it at low prices, then there is a chance that it may be successful, but if the people have to run the business without help from provone, it will probably fail.

ATTITUDE TO ELECTION PROMISES. The people of Gemari village were apparently more taken in by the election promises allegedly made by Mr. Tetley during 1964, than other people about the place. They fully expected boats to bring "cargo" from the House of Assembly, and had built a wharf for unloading same, and a store for keeping it in. These have since either fallen down, or have been pulled down.

Now, the people are under no illusions about these alleged promises ever coming true. \* They are very bitter, and discussions about the House of Assembly, Local Govt. Councils, or anything similar are distasteful to them, to sav the least. It is now over four years since these alleged promises were made, yet the people are still upset enough to refuse to vote in elections.

If indeed, these promises were made, they have had a serious effect upon the Gema in general, and upon these people in particular.

DEATH OF THE VILLAGE CONSTABLE OF BINORI. When I arrived at the village group of Airua Binori on the 25th. August, the Village Constable of Binori was ill, though walking about. He was too weak to attend a talk later in the evening. The Village Constable of Airua informed me that someone had performed sorcery, and that the V.C. of Binori would die.

The next morning he admitted fears of sorcery, but stated that he would come with me to receive medical treatment when I returned from Ukusi the next day. When I did arrive back on the 27th., he was unconscious.

After a lengthy and involved argument, some prople finally agreed to take him in a cance to Maisave and put him on the "Emerald" when it arrived there. This was all done, and the Village Constable arrived at the Bamu River Mission on the 30th. At this stage he had regained conscioueness, and could talk a little, but he was beyond hope and died early on the morning of the 31st.

Mrs. Standen of the Mission diagnosed his illness as "severe T.B., with heart trouble." The Village Constable was promptly buried at the Mission.

rellow villagers of the deceased will probably not be pleased about this business, being reluctant to let him go, as they were certain we could not help him, and wanting him to die where they could bury him properly. It probably would have been wisest to leave him there, if it was obvious he was going to die whatever anyone did. However, I was not to know this, and feel justified in acting as I did.

END OF SITUATION REPORT.

R. M. Diamond, CADET PATROL OFFICER.

#### APPENDIX "B" ANTHROPOLOGY.

An endeavour was made to find out about any group organization in the area, especially with regard to;

- (a) Land ownership,
- (b) Inheritance, and
- (c) Marriage customs.

Results were disappointing, however, as the people seem to have but a vague knowledge of these things. Inconsistencies were numerous, and even the older members of the villages were unable to recall any alternative system.

Each village had one, and sometimes two or three "groups," but I nesitate to call them clans, as no unilineal descent pattern could be found. Most of the groups were named after areas of land, but in Ibuo's case were named after animals, and in Ukusi and Vonirami's were named after men. What the significance of any of this is, the people claim to be ignorant.

Buduho. Kearu comprises Airua, Binori, Nemeti and Gimereme. Buduho is made up of Gamari, Giwaretore, and the Maisare. In traditional times these two groups could be allies against an outsider. or enemies during times of civil war in the Gama. It is possible that some remnant of this still exists, in that Gamari and Maisave appear to have combined to impress their ideas upon the other villages.

If this is the case, it is interesting to note that Giwaretore has & "broken away" from Buduho, and joined Kearu, at least in this instance.

(a) LAND OWNERSHIP. Land is purportedly only obtainable through inheritance. Each village has its own area of land, and no one has any idea of any land about the place that is not owned. There is no concept of obtaining land by any other means than inheritance. Land may be inherited by sons and daughters; any inherited by a woman belongs to her, even after marriage. There was another arrangement whereby the first son inherited the whole of the land, and then civided it up equally among his brothers and sisters. Also, some people felt that the daughter chould only "borrow" some of her brother's land, relinquishing it to him k when she married.

(b) IKERITANCE. As with land, the majority thought that sons and daughters should inherit law any goods in equal shares. Apart from this, they had no ideas on the subject. Parents who were members of a different group to their children would still divide their weelth equally among them.



(c) MARPIAGE CUSTOMS. An attempt was made to determine what part these village groups played in marriages. This was unsuccessful, to a large degree. The groups were shown to be endogenous in some places, eloganous in others, and even both in some. One gains the impression that the people were mercly thinking up rules for these groups for a reason best known to themselves. Everyone was fairly certain that marriages, should be patrilocal or matrilocal initially, and finally, after about a year, matrilocal or patrilocal respectively. No one was too certain which was correct, though.

It is fairly definite that marriages involve a form of "sister exchange," and that there is a bride price involved. If the male suitor cannot find the money, his group might aid him in obtaining it.

this section of the work was not highly successful. This may have been partly due to the patrolling officer's lack of experience in this field, but the people give the distinct impression of just not knowing.





TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

# PATROL REPORT

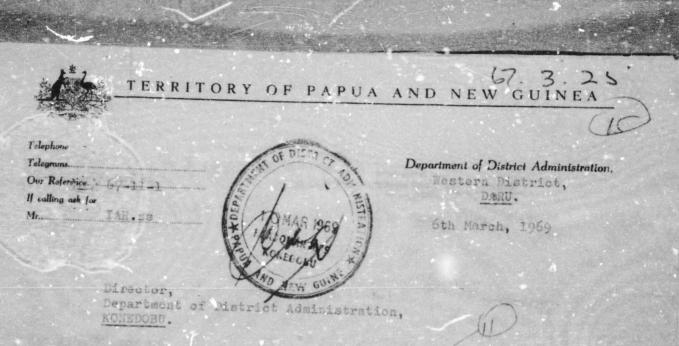
Type of Patro!  Patrol Conducted by Robert Mac Diamond,  Area Patrolled Lov  (Council and/or  Census Division/s)  Personnel Accompanying Patrol  Duration of Patrol—frem /11 /68  To  No. of Davs.  Pifteen  Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area: Aneti No. 1/58—6	C.P.O.  It of Lower Banu & Gama Rivers  Wer Banu and Gama River Jensus  Tisions.
District	C.P.O. et of Lower Banu & Game Rivers er Banu and Gama River Jensus
Patrol Conducted by Robert Mac Diamond,  Area Patrolled Low  (Council and/or  Census Division/s)  Personnel Accompanying Patrol  Duration of Patrol—frem. 11 /68  No. of Days. Fifteed  Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area: Aaeti No. 1/58—6	c.P.O. et of Lower Banu & Game Rivers er Banu and Gama River Jensus
Patrol Conducted by Robert Mac Diamond,  Area Patrolled Low  (Council and/or Low  Census Division/s)  Personnel Accompanying Patrol  Duration of Patrol—frem. /11 /68 To  No. of Davs. Fifteen  Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area: Aug ti No. 1/58—6	t of Lower Bamu & Gama Rivers ver Bamu and Gama River Census
Area Patrolled  (Council and/or  Census Division/s)  Personnel Accompanying Patrol  Duration of Patrol—frem. 11 /68  No. of Davs. Fifteed  Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area: Age to No. 1/58—6	t of Lower Bamu & Gama Rivers ver Bamu and Gama River Census
Census Division/s)  Personnel Accompanying Patrol  Duration of Patrol—frem. 9 11 68  No. of Davs. Fifteed  Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area: Age to No. 1/58—6	
Personnel Accompanying Patrol  Duration of Patrol—frem. 11 /68  To  No. of Davs. Fifteen  Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area: Aug ti No. 1/58-6	
No. of Davs Fifteed  Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area: Aueti No. 1/58-6	Const. 1/C Aia. Interpreter: Batanu Nede (part only)
Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area: Aug 11 No. 1/58-0	18 <sub>/</sub> 11 / 68, & 28/11/68 to 2/12/68
DateD	
Objects of Patrol (Briefly) Land investigated Apprehension of C.B. absounders. From Aragi village to Fly River. I	Investigation of walking track
of census evasion at Arikinaps vil	***************************************
Total Population of Area Patrolled Lower Banu C.	

Director of District Administration, KONEDOBU.

Forwarded, please.

/10

District Commissioner.



Patrol EMETI 3/68-69

Reference your 67-3-25 of 14th February, 1969.

Herewith copy of memoranda requested in para 5.

the Reynote of field staff in this District. Under culture contact RAMU have regrettably eschewed their traditional of forms - of boldly primitive colour but decementally linked with extremely chroxicus practices, some items of which have statted commercial appeal. They show as little interest in reviving wood carving as they did in getting a decent price for the ancient items they discarded.

Work

13/3

G. A. Bensled

(F.A. Bensted WINDER

BALINO, Western District. 8th November, 1968. Mr.R.M. Dignond, Sub-District Office, BALIMO. PATROL INSTRUCTIONS - BARTI PATROL No. 3 . 68/63 On the arrival of M.V. Emerald, please depart on patrol to the Gama River area to conduct a land investigation for a business lease at Maisave. In route, you should take steps to return to hospital as many T.B. absenders as you are able. On completion of your land investigation, you may do a short patrel in the Dibiri area of the Lower Comu Census Division, oscupying yourself with routine administration and an investigation into a census evader at Arikinane village. Do not spend any time in the villages of Miruo, Bunigi or Darave, as the Director has instructed that officers of your semierity are not to visit this locality. If time permits, you chould investigate the walking track between Aragi village and the Fly River. The information I wish to have related to distances, walking times, villages connected with this track (e.g. can the villages of horadiba and Urio be reached on foot via this track?) and the general set-up relating to those Lower Pant and Gogodala Best villages who spend a large part of their time in this area between the Fly, Hamm and lower Aramia rivers. Please return to Emeti within ten days, and contact me by radio when you have "one so. (Feter A. Hardie) A.D.C.

BALING, Western District. 24th December, 1968.

District Commissioner, Western District, NET.

## EMETI PATROL No. 3/58-69

Please find herewith three copies of the Report of FMETI Patrol No. 1/68-69, submitted by Mr.R.H.Dissend C.P.O. This was a special patrol, undertaken to perform a number of tasks as detailed in the Patrol Instructions (copies attached). A later visit, undertaken to follow up certain natters earlier set in train, has also been included in this Report. A map and a brief Situation Report are also included.

An apparent anomaly in the Report is that Mr. Dissond may seem to have visited Kiruo village (1st-2nd December) contrary to Patrel Instructions. The explanation for this is that, after the Instructions were written, word was received (per your 67-:1-1 dated 5/11/69) modifying the total Lan on junior officers spending time in that locality. Mr. Diemond was later verbally advised of this, and took the opportunity of visiting Miruo overnight. He reports that he found this village one of the most co-operative in the area.

Absocrature (P.4), Mr. Diemond finds it a pity that the popularity of officers of this Department suffers when they help to round up and return T.B. absocrature to bospital. (During the patrol, he assisted in the return of some known T.B. sufferers to Balimo Hospital in furtherance of an order made under 3.108 of the Health Ordinance.) The point is a real one, and is no doubt worrying to an exister in Mr. Diamond's position, who is trying to establish some kind of rudimentary rapport with the Man people. (Their negative attitudes and unce-operative habits are described at longth in the Area Study and Situation Report of East Patrol No.1/62-69.) At present, the attitude throughout the area towards administration no doubt partly caused by a history of contact which has involved little development and quite a lot of coercion. Mr. Mamond's complaint is that the task of locating and despatching T.B. absocraters to Hospital is one that adds to our unposularity in the area.

Having said this much, keever, I must be that I can see no way of avoiding this task. (Ideally, of course, the Health Dept. should educate the people to cous to hospital and stay there without sanctions. A worthwhile temporary measure

might be to instill some aversion towards T.B. sufferers into their fellow villagers. In fact, however, no health education work of any kind is going on in the Famu area at present (apart from the healies delivered by Mrs. Standen at the Beam River Mission to unheeding patients at her little hespital), and my experience of the area leads me to believe their any such work would be largely unsuccessful anyway.) T.B. sufferers are endangering others besides themselves, and are legally chliged to present themselves for examination and remain at hespital if required to do so under S. 105 of the Health Ordinance.

Mr. Mismand, as officax-in-charge of the area, is the person responsible for enfercing the law, and example allow considerations of popularity to count in a matter as imprimit as this one. The fact that his duties may further prejudice any chance of catallishing a friendly atmosphere between the Rama people and the Administration is certainly a pity. Nowever, this is a common result of the subdaulty of the position of the "hisp" everywhere he is called on to exercise a multiplicity of functions. Certain of his functions may assist him in gaining the people's confidence; others may affectively prevent him from ever dwin, so. The latter kind seem to have predominated in the Famu area hitherto, resulting in a situation in which Mr. Littler's remarks on the rele of the risp in the September, 1968) seem grotesquely inapprepriate. The officer-in-charge at Eneti will always be made by consolientious and persurvaring officers, but one would be foolish, in the context of the Rama rea, to lock for popularity or friendship as anything but a lucky bomas. In short, popularity in the Bama is probably impossible to achieve to any significant extent if Nime are to carry out their duties as presently required of them, and it looks as if Mr. Diemond's di ficulty is inscluble.

The Diary entry for 14th November should be noted. This describes a came trip of almost 10 hours over a distance that oculd be covered in a dinghy and out card in 12. This is the result of a lack of motorised water transport at Basti. The viter waste of time involved in paddling is, of course, to be deplored. However, a more serious result of using this kind of transport is that the officer concerned tends to become dispirited and arriver at his destination in an unsympathetic and generally uninterested mood - a mood which is unlikely to lead to fraitful contact between him and the villagers. Mr. Diamond is to be commanded for the fact that, after this day's paddling, he still found the energy to held talks with the village people that evening.

esting, but not as complete as hoped for, presumably because of lack of time. (A time limit had been placed on this patrol.) I hope that Mr. Diamond will eventually be able to add more to our knowledge of these people and the connexions between their settlements on the Aramia, Same and Fly rivers, even though their habitat seems particularly unattractive (practically one big swamp).

7. The Report gives evidence of conscientious work done under difficult conditions, and goes to confirm earlier favourable estimates of Mr. Digwood's approach to his work.

(Peter A. Hardie) Assistant Listrict Commissioner 67-3-25

14th Pebruary, 1969.

The District Commissioner, Western District, DAMI.

#### PATROL EMETI NO. 3/66-69.

Your reference 67-11-1 dated 3rd February, 1969.

- 2. I acknowledge with thanks receipt of Special Report by Mr. R.M. Diamond, C.P.O. to Parts of Lewer Bess and Gama River Census Divisions.
- 3. As reported the patrol rehieved its objects.
- A. Your efficers in the field should be concerned with preseting schemes to lead to economic development bearing in mind any limitations on same in the arma itself. I would suggest that A.D.C., Balino give considered attention to the need to stimulate an interest in the production of local artifacts for sale.
- 5. No copy of either the A.D.C.'s covering memorandum or patrol instructions were received with the Report. Please forward same for Headquarter's records.

Director.

co-

ec: Mr. R.M. Diamond, C.P.O.,
Patrol Post,
EMETI.
Western District.

67.3.25. TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA ATE.bd tment District Administration Western District 67-11-1 3rd February, 1969 The Director, Department of District Moministration, EMETI Patrol Report 3-68/69 Please find attached above report submitted by Mr. R. M. DIAMOND, Cadet Patrol Officer, in relation to a patrol conducted to part of the Lower BALD and GAMA Rivers Census Division together with patrol instructions and comments on the report by the Assistand District Commissioner, BALIMO. The Reported need for health education in the BANU has been passed in to the District Medical Officer. The duty of removing T.B. infectious cases from the community is a racessary chore and one that has benefit to the community even though it may not be realized at the present. The problem confronting us in the BAMU is the lock of current economic optortuni waccented by the fact that the people have been given an inflifted view of the value of their lacour by oil search operations from time to time. The stimulation of the cld carvings and other crafts and the marketing of such artifacts might be a project worthy of the interest and endeavours of the O.I.C. Emeti. Hore recommendations from officers on the spot for developmental projects possible within current resources seem desirable. Over indulgance in tube is a growing social problem here and in a few other areas. Until there is a sizeable percentage of the community opposed to such practices there is little that can be done to limit the abuses. J. a. Holmes) AS. Assistant District Commissioner, DALINO

INTRODUCTION.

River Census Divisions, with a number of objectives to achieve, apart from routine administration.

1. To conduct a land investigation at Maisave village in the Gama River Census Division.

2. To return to hospital at Balimo as many known T.B. absconders as could be found (A list was obtained, prior to the patrol's departure, from the Medical Assistant at Balimo.)

3. To investigate a possible case of census evasion by a member of Arikinape village.

Aragi village with the Fly River. An attempt to discover why so many of the people of Aragi village prefer to live in the bush near Sagaro Creek.

Other matters arose, such as the sick people at Amagoa, and the various judicial matters brought to the patrol's attention, details of which, can be found in the main body of the report.

Advantage was taken of this patrol to give a brief talk on the new legislation regarding the conservation of one odiles, and this too, is discussed in the report.

Travel was mainly by cance, and the times recorded in the Patrol Diary are an indication of what a time-consuming means of transport it is. No untoward incidents occurred.

DIARY.

Breti at 1815. Slept anchored at Emeti.

Travelled down the Eamu, arriving Bunigi at 1730. Anchored in Bunigi Greek for the night.

11/11/68 Ex Bunigi 0550, arriving Darave at 0630. Left Corporal Aid to arriving at Jenari village 0915. Unloaded supplies for aid post and travelled down to Maisave village. Conducted land investigation and carried out routine administration. Returned to the Bamu and picked up Corporal Aia with two T.B. absconders. Travelled to Emeti, arriving at 1910. Slept at Emeti

12/11/68 Sent sick people so far collected to the Bamu River Mission. Ex Emeti 1000, arriving at Oropai 1500. M.V. Emerald departed for Daru. Very few people at the village. Brief talk on new legislation re crocodiles given to those who were present.

13/11/68 Ex Oropai 0715, arriving at Sisiame No. 2 at 0735. Brief check of village, which appeared to be in order. Arrived at Sisiame No. 1 at 0900. Viewed construction of aid post. Arrived Amagoa village at 1045. Village in poor condition and stinking. Talk during afternoon. Located a number of Tropical Ulcer sufferers, and these were sent to the Hospital Orderly at Sisiame No. 1.

1630. (A two hour break was taken at a bush house along the way) Asaramio was visited en route, and several Tropical Ulber sufferers found there were dealt with as at Amagoa. Talk at Bimaramio during early evening.

Very few reople present, and most away at 2 sago place near Kuria. Attempted to find out about road from here to Fly River. Talked to the people, finding out a little about their alliances and why they like to live near Sagero Creek.

16/11/68 0600 started walking along road purported to go to Kenadibi. (Description of road given in main body of the report.) Arrived small cleared area near Sagero Creek at 1200. Set up camp. Travelled into sago swamp and found small camp, back at Sagero Creek, to hear the talk. Instructions given for two sick women to be carried out of the bush within one week.

1200. Ex Aragi at 1400, arriving at 1 ikinape 1500. Talk given. Slept at Arikinape.

River, topped to investigate a fight at Aragi village and arrived at Emeti 1200.

19/11/68 to 27/11/68 Spent at Emeti patrol post.

28/11/68 Ex Emeti 1150, arriving at Bimaramic 1510.

Sent Corporal Ala to investigate the situation at Sagero Crek, and bring two sick women out if necessary. All in order at Bimaramic.

29/11/68 Ex Bimaramic 1030, after weating for tide, arriving at Amagoa 1430. Called at Assamic and Tapape en route. All seemed in order. Amagoa was much improved, with even a new rest house conetructed since the patrol was here earlier. One case of assault brought to my attention. Farties involved sent to Balimo.

20/11/68 Ex amagoa 0830, arriving at Sisiame No.:

1100. Inspected partially built aid post. Made extrangements for various sick people to be picked up from here when the M.V. Emerald passes through on its way to Balimo. Ex Sisiame No.:

1130. arriving at Oropai 1230. Heard details of spearing case. Witnesses etc to travel to Balimo aboard the M.V. Emerald. The villagers then moved en masse to Sisiame No.: for a singsing" scheduled for that evening.

1/12/62 Waited at Oropai for some peocle to return and rovide the patrol with transport. Ex Oropai 1730, arriving at Mir to 2030.

2/11/68 Brief check of village. Ex True 0740, arriving at Emeti 1050. Informed Bama River Mission of pending arrivel of patients aboard the M.V. Emerald.

END OF DIARY

## 1. LAND INVESTIGATION AT MAISAVE VILLAGE.

Details of this can be found in Lands File, No. 68/2158.

The owner of the land was quite willing to sell the area of land involved to the Administration so that Mr J. Senior can establish a trade store there.

Details of improvements were noted, and the owner of the land walked around the boundaries of same in the company of the patrolling officer. Hardwood posts are at present being used as corner markers.

## 2. T.B. ABSCONDERS.

A list of four known people who have T.B. was given to me, prior to the patrol's departure, by the Medical assistant at Balimo. Two of the people were located and persuaded to come to Balimo for treatment. The other two were not located, one being "in the bush," and the other purported to be working at Baubauguina plantation. The Medical Assistant at Balimo has been advised of the situation.

Although & sincere attempt was made to explain to the people why they were being taken away, I doubt that it had much effect it making them more at ease. T.B. is not a very uncommon disease here, and one would think the people realise its usual effect, and by now, its means of cure. Nevertheless, one still has to virtually "round up" the efflicted, as they are not inclined to help themselves. They give vague stories of being afraid of "that place where people die" as the reason for the aversion of the hospital. This is difficult to believe then one considers the length of time he people have had dealings with Europeans and their medicines.

Without begging a point toomuch, it seems a pity that officers of this department have to do the work of apprehending sick people in this area. We are not overly copular in the Bamu as it is, and this cannot be improved by taking members of their society away, against their will, and sometimes to die. Despite the fact that most people return from the hospital in a much improved state of health, the willingness to come along initially is still not increased. While realising that someone must look after their health, if they will not do so themselves, it should also be realised that whoever does this is merely chalking up one more black mark against his name, so far as the Bamu is concerned.

# 3. CENSUS EVADER AT ARLSI VILLAGE.

Puring the census held at traci suring August, the man in question, an inhabitant of Account was absent. The story was given that he had run away when he heard the census was coming. When I investigated this, an entirely different story was given. It was claimed that although he was at his fishing place when the census was held, no one had informed him of its coming. He had witnesses who were prepared to back this up. Although no arrest was made, a talk on the necessity for censures was given, along with a warning of the stern measures that could be taken when deliberate evasion was discovered.

## 4. WALKING TRACK BETWEEN ARAGI VILLGE & THE FLY RIVER.

The track commences at Aragi village, and hears from there in a generally South-Easterly direction. Initially, it is quite easy to follow, being composed of wide logs placed end to end on a fairly well cleared track. This continues for about three hours through a sage swamp, whereupon it deteriorrates, logs becoming fewer and mud more prevalent. A further walk of one and a half hours through the same swamp, though pretty well without the benefic of logs, follows. This sage swamp is huge, and sage so sommen that many of the logs that were used for walking on were cut down sage palms. This swamp eventually gives way to a grassy swamp, similar to that found at Balimo, with water in it anything from six inches to several feet deep. A track leads through this to a raised area of ground with savannah-like plains and low lyingrain forest. This much more pleasant area can be reached after an hour's floundering in the grassy swamp, though this would be less if the tide was running out.

Sagero creek is situated here, and is about fifteen yards wide, with clear tea coloured water. It is also tidel. The track crosses the creek, and then leads on upstream for about half an hour, to a cleared area where several bark shelters have been constructed. This is apposed to be a place where the people of Kenadibi come to hold "singsings." The track does not terminate here, but leads on into a sage swamp for a further half an hour, to a small settlement of sheddily constructed houses, wherein were living about twenty five people from Aragi.

Although the track is supposed to continue to Kenadihi, no one could give an estimation of how long it would take to walk, so this patrol did not attempt it. There is supposed to be a track from a creek near Asaramic ville, which links up with this one at Sagero creek. However, this is supposed to be very difficult during the "Dry" as cances cannot be paddled to the start of the walking part of the track.

This walk took the patrol six and a half hours, and, estimating an average walking speed of 2 m.p.h., I calculate the distance covered as about thirteen miles. During the "Wet" this would probably take considerably longer, as the swamp would be much more difficult to navigate.

## GENERAL SET-UP OF THE ARAGI - SAGERO CREEK SITUATION.

It is not unusual to enter Aragi village and find but a few people there. Investigations have generally revealed that everybody else is "away at Sagero." The walk already described was an attempt to find out where the people actually were, and why they were there. The firs point worth realising is that the people don't mean their fellow villagers are at Sagero village on the Fly, but at "Sageru" which is supposed to mean "creek" in their dialect. i.e. Sagero Creek, which is where I found the people.

The people of Aragi claim they are part of a group called "Dudinape" which comprises Waia, Saiwasi, Garu, Arikinape, Tapape, Kenadibi, Urio, Wagumi and Sogoi villages. The Dudinape people used to live in the bush between the Bamu and Fly Rivers. At some unknown date, the villages of Kenewa, Bimaramio and Asaramio gave them land, and the people of Arikinape, Aragi, Tapapi, Saiwasi. Garu and Waia settled more or less where they now are, near the Bamu and Aramia Rivers.



Intermarriage is taking place between Baru and Dudinape people, although Aragi is supposed to be maintaining a fairly pure Ladinape strain. In pre-European days, the Dudinape and Bamu people were enemies, and perhaps this has something to do with Aragi's situation, although it is odd that the other Ludinape people are not acting similarly.

The people told me that the reason they were living in the bush was because three years ago they had an argument with their fellow villagers and broke away because of this.

Whatever the reason, they have egreed to return to Aragi now, and give up their settlement int the bush. This is good from an administrative point of view, of zourse, taking them easier to approach. Apparently, the sago swamp they had been living in belonged to Kenadibi people, and as they are said to be unhappy about the Aragi villagers using it, it is probably fortunate that they have decided to move out.

A close check will have to be made to ensure the people actually are coming out.

There is supposed to be a sago swamp near Kuria village which is used by Aragi. This could possibly account for abcentees not accounted for by those near Sagero Creek.

#### SITUATION REPORT.

#### A. POLITICAL.

As a full area study was conducted here during July and August, and has the situation has not changed politically since then, it would be foolish to duplicate the material in that report. The people are still ignorant of the political workings of this country, and are maintaining their attitude of not particularly wanting to learn enything about same.

## B. ECONOMIC.

The situation has not change economically, either.

## C. SOCIAL.

#### HEALTH.

Despite the efforts of the D.D.A./P.H.D. patrol through the area in July and August, some nesty cases of long-standing Tropical Ulcers were encounfered. This was particularly the case at Amagoa and Asaramio villages, the two worst offenders during that patrol's visit. Although parents had been advised, at that time, of their duty to ensure their children obtain medical aid if necessary, there were still some who had taken no notice. This time, after two visits by this patrol, and arrangement of free passage on the M.V. Emerald, the patients were finally brought to Balimo. Most of these will require long term treatment.

These people are barely one day's journey from the semu River Mission, yet they will not make the effort to help themselves.



No, 1 is ever completed and staffed, the situation might improve a little, as that village is quite central to the lower Bemu. Difficulty in persuading the people of that village to help in the construction of the building is delaying things quite a bit.

#### LAW & ORDER.

While the patrol was at Emeti, a man was brought up from Oropai with an arrow wound in his leg. This was investigated when the patrol returned to Oropai, and the people involved sent to Balimo. It transpired that the man had been shot in self defence by an old man he was about to attack. The wounded man had been drinking two.

At Amagoa village, a case of a man beating his wife was brought to my attention. This loo, was dealt with at Balimo and the man was found guilty.

A fight during the drinking party occurred at Aragi village, and although no arrests were made, a variety of weapons was confiscated.

Tuba drinking does appear to be the cause of a great deal of trouble in the lower Bamu.

#### MISSIONS.

Just prior to the patrol's arrival at Oropat, a Seven Day Adventist native Pastor and his family were established there. It is too early for him to have achieve anything, but he is quite optimistic. He is hopeful of starting a school in 1969, and the fact that no one has even helped him clear a space for a dwelling house, quite apart from doing anything about the memmoth task of building a school house, has not discouraged him.

It is unlikely that he will ever gather a large religious following, as the dietary restructions imposed by his beliefs will be hard for the average Bamu citizen to take.

There is some tolk about the Catholic Mission from Daru having already marks Oropai for its own. If there is truth in this, a problem could arise. The few people I asked said they preferred the Catholic Mission because of its more liberal views regarding diet.

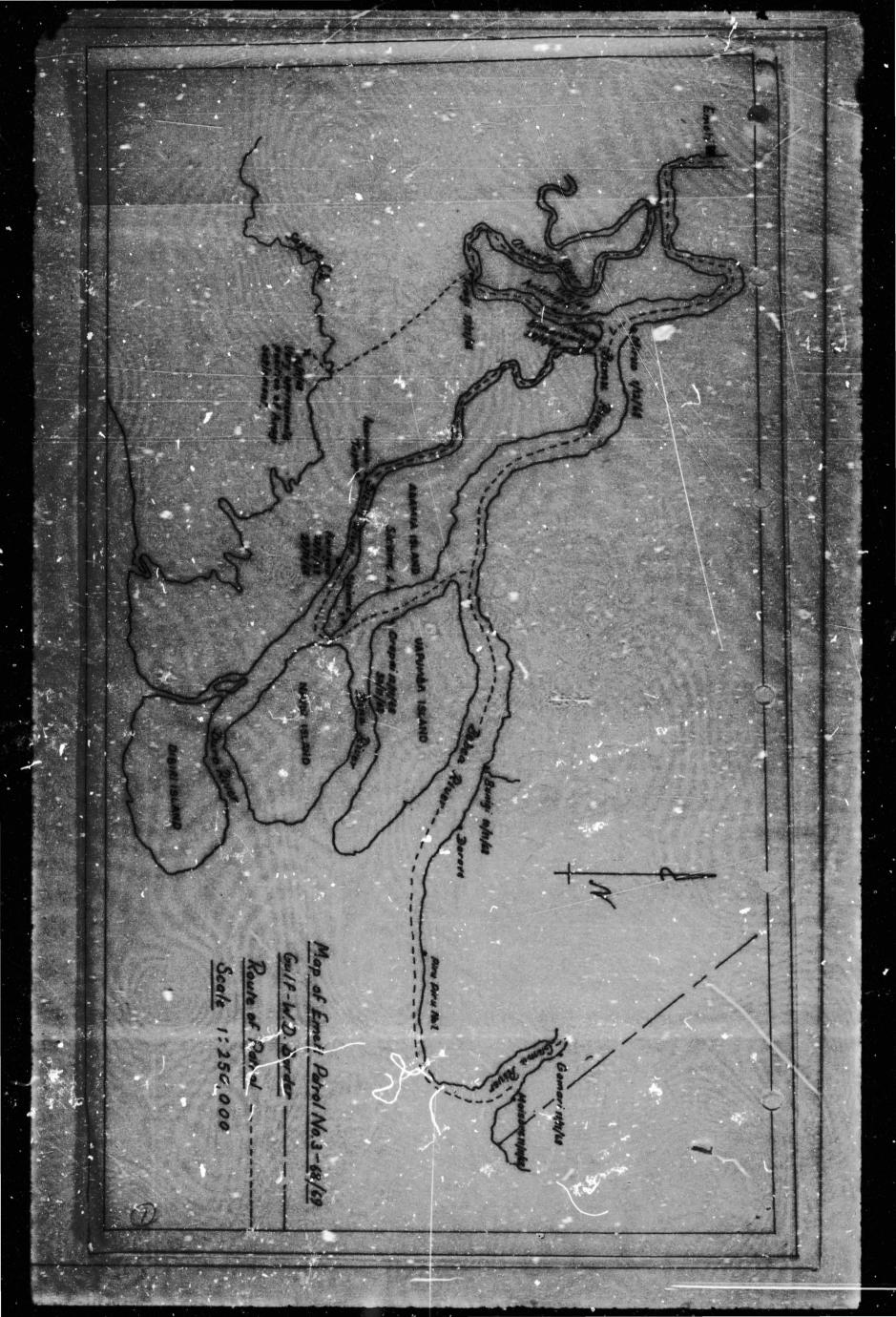
Mr and Mrs Standen of the Bamu River Mission claim to be unperturbed by the Seven Day Adventists moving into the lower Bamu.

#### D. MISCELLANEOUS.

A brief and simple talk on the new legislation re the construction of crocodiles was given at most villages. This was confined to explaining why the law was made, and that when it came into action, they would not get any money for crocodile skins with a belly width exceeding twenty inches.

I don't believe my talk was understood, as nowhere did anyone express dismay or indignation, and everyone agreed it was a "good thing." This was probably because they felt the sooner they said "yes" to everything I said, the sooner I would depart and leave them in peace.

However, in the near future, when traders start refusing bis skins, perhaps some vague memory of this talk





TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

# PATROL REPORT

Report Number	EMETI Number 4/68-69	
Subdistrict	BALTNO.	<b>~</b>
District	( WE STEIN	
Pape of Patrol	ZEOLIL	<u> </u>
Perry Corducted by	R.V.ST. P.S. Assistant Discrict Officer.	
Ares A colled	MAISAVE VILLAGO - GAMA River	·····
(Council and/or	GAMA River Come Division.	
Census Division/s.)	Interprever: BATAN	
Personnelcompanying	Patrol 1 Member R.P. & N.3	
	Mr. B. Re molds. C	He had
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Objects of Patrol (Briefing Italian Population of Area  Director of District Admir KONEDOBU.	Investigate allegations that aresident of the had been shot with an arrow.  Patrolled MAISAVE Village 85.  Prowarded, please.	

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA Department of District Administration. Western District, 67-11-1 DARU. IAH.ss 7th March, 1969 Director, Department of Pistrict Administration, KONEDOBU. Patrol No. EMETI 4/68-69 Reference your 67-3-26 of 14th February, 1969. 2. Attached are copies of patrol instructions and covering memorandum relevant to the above. 143



## TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

78

COPY

Department of District Administration, BALIMO, Western District.

6th January, 1969

District Commissioner, Western District, DARU.

## REPORT - EMETI PATROL No.4/68-69

Please find attached three copies of the Report of a patrol to the Gama River Census Division conducted by Mr. R.J. Staples A.D.O. The patrol was a Special one undertaken in order to investigate a reported wounding and no map has been subsitted with it. The patrol was also a brief one, most of the time was spent travelling to and from the Gama River, and no new information for a station report became available.

(3gd.) Peter A. Hardie Assistant Listrict Commissioner



## TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

CCPY

Taglione
Telegrams
Our Reference 67-1-5
If calling ask for

Department of District Administration,
Baltho
Wester, District
6th December, 1968.

Mr. R.J. Staples, Sub-District Office, BALIMO.

## Patrol Instructions - SWATT Patrol No. 4/68-69

On the arrival of M.V. Emerald, please spart for the Lower Bamu and Gama River Census Divitions. At the Gama River, you should investigate the reported wounding of a man at MAISAVE village. En role, you should overnight at village on the north bank of the Bamu in order to maintain contest with this area.

2. On your return to Emeti, the "Emerald" is to be handed over to Mr. Diamond for his census patrol of the Upper Banu, and you should thereupon return to Balimo.

(Sgd.) Peter A. Hardie Assistant District Commissioner 67-3-26

March 10th, 1969.

The Project Commissioner, west Platelot,

PATROL ID. 15101 4/63-69

Iour reference 67-71-1 of 27th Jebruary, 1969.

Report by Mr. 2.5. SELPING Annual Provides Officer to

Tour comments on report have been noted. I

c.c. Mr. R.J. Staples. Assistant District Officer, Sub-District Office, BALING. Venture District.

(2.4. mate)

Please note that political education must be a continuing process in all situations.

Director District Administration

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA Department of District Administration, Western District 67-11-1 DARU -AMB. bd 27th Pebruary, 1969 Director, Department Distr KONZDOBU. str\_tion, PAUTI PATROL REPORT 4/68-69 Your memo 67-3-26 of the 14th February, refers. Attached please Tind copies of Removandus from the Assistant District Commissioner, EJAMO. 2. Details of the wounding should have been included in such a report and in a situation report should show if it has significence in the overall situation. Court depositions are not available readily to this office of headquarters. A report on the fire should have been mitted to the Coroner. The report in my opinion is inadequate. 7 a Benter c.c. Assistant District Commissioner, Sub District Office, BAZIMO 10/3



# TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Department of District Administration,
BATIMO

Western District.

6th January, 1969.

Telegrena.

Our Reference 67-3-1

If celling aik for

District Commissioner, Western District, DARU

## REPORT - IMETI I. ROL No. 4/68-69

Please find attached three copies of the Report of a patrol to the GAMA River Census Division Sonduct ed by Mr. R. J. Staples, A.D.C. The Patrol was a Special one unfertaken in order to investigate a reported wounding and no map has been submitted with it. The patrol was also a brief one, most of the time was spent travelling to and from the GAMA River, and no new information for a situation report became available.

SIGNED:

(Peter A. Hardie)
Assistant District Commissioner

67-3-28

14th February, 1969.

The District Commissioner, Western District, DARU.

# PATROL NO. MIETT 4/58-69

Above Patrol Report has been received. However, it appears that cepies of covering menoranda from Assistant Ristrict Commissioner, Balimo, and your-self were not forwarded with same.

Please forward copies as soon as possible.

Oirector.

67.2.26.0

## EMETI Patrol Number 4/68-69

#### PATROL DIARY

7/12/68

Departed BALIMO 1200 hours in the M.V.

EMERALD. Arrived MAPODA U.F.M. 1545 hours
and loaded timber for the BAMU River Mission.

Departed MAPODA 1600 hours and arrived EMETI
PATROL POST 1945 hours. (vernight at EMETI.)

8/12/68

Waited for the incoming tide at EMETI Patrol
Post. Departed EMETI 1230 hours for the GAMA
River. Unloaded timber at the BAMU River

Mission expenses arriving at MUNICI Village

River. Unloaded timber at the BAMU River Mission enroute arriving at BUNIGI Village 1830 hours. Speke socially with Village Officials and village people. Overnight at BUNIGI.

9/12/58: Departed FUNIGI 0730 hours and arrived at MAISAVE Village in the GAMA River at 0940 hours. Conducted investigation into shooting allegations. Inspected Mr. J. EENIOR's burnt property. Departed MAISAVE Village 1445 hours and arrived BUNICI Village 1600 hours. Overnight at BUNICI.

10/12/68 : Departed BUNIGI 0700 hours and arrived at EMETI Patrol Post 1300 hours. Conducted Local Courts at EMETI. Departed EMETI for BALIMO at 1530 hours on the MV. PARAMA. Arrived at MAPODA U.F.M. at 1800 hours. Conducted investigation into assault case at WAIA Village. Overnight at MAPODA.

11/12/68: 0545 hours to WALA Village to arrest one MORE of WALA. Back to MAPODA arriving at 0730 hours. Departed MAPODA on the M.V. PARAMA for BALIMO arriving at 1130 hours.

END OF PATROL



## EMETI PATROL NUMBER 4/68-69

The purpose of this patrol to MAISAVE village in the GAMA River Census Division was to conduct an investigation into allegations that a male resident of MAISAVE village had been shot and wounded with an arrow.

The investigation was conducted and a male resident from MAISAVE village was charged under Section 8(a) Police Offences Ordinance 1912-1965. The case was heard in the Local Court holden at MAISAVE village. For full details of this case please refer to BALING local Court Register case number 39 of 9/12/68.

The night prior to the patrols arrival at MAISAVI village a copra drier and a section of a storeman's house, all the property of Mr. J. SENIOR of KIKORI, were burnt by fire.

cause of the fire. It appeared that the fire started in the storemen's house. All the occupants of this house went to sleep with a fire burning in the cooking section of the house. The fire caught hold of the wall timbers of the house and then spread to the copra drier. The drier was subsequently burnt to the ground. As far as could be ascertained no malicious action was connected with this fire. It was thought of by the village people as an accident.

When at MAPONA U.F.M. on returning from the GAMA River it was brought to the attention of the patrol that two residents of WAIA village had been assaulted by a male resident of the same village. An investigation was conducted into this matter and an arrest tas made the charge being under Section S(a) Police Offiness Ordinance 1912-1965.

two villages being visited. The people seen at these villages had no complaints and were generally hapry with their lot. Overall the patrol was uninteresting as it consisted mainly of boat travel.

Assistant District Officer.



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

# PATROL REPORT

Report Nember	EMETI No.5/1	968-69	
Subdistrict	CALINO		
District	WESTERN ANDITAL CHIS		
Type of Patrol	D M DIAMOND	C.P.O.	
atrol Conducted by	- R.M. PLANERS		Te DIVISION
Area Patrolled	1	UPPER BAMU CENS	19 01 15/405
(Council and/or			
Census Division/s.)	1		,
Personnel Accompanying	Patrol		TDE (Interpret
A.T. Garage Commence of the Co			/a ATA
		1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	
Duration of Patrol-from	10, 12, 68	To 3 / 1/ 69	
No. or Days	TWELVE		
Last D.D.A. Patrol to Ar	rea :	ETT PATROL No.2/6768	
Date. 16/2/68	- 25/2/(	Duration RINE DA	Y8
Objects of Patrol (Brieff	y) Anme	l census and area study	
	44.		
		*	
Total Population of Area	Patrolled	963	
Total Copulation of The			1
Director of District Admin	nistration,		

Forwarded, please.

Sue Suises

J. d. Beneled

District Commission

The Biothiot Commissioner,
Vectors District,
Vectors Bistrict.

PATROL Ro. BERT 5/68-69.

Tour reference 67-15-1 of 5th Burch, 1969.

I acknowledge with thanks require of Annual General Report of Br. R. R. Bismand, Cadet Patrol Officer, to Opper Best Commun Rivision.

An excellent piece of reporting, and I conquire that Rr. Bismand is to be congratulated on the circus cars is has taken to produce a believed annual measurement of the area.

This approach will, despite the lack of accumulation of the area.

This approach will, despite the lack of accumulation of the area.

Ten copies of rep are attached,

(T.W. ELLS) Director, No

Attachment.

ce: Mr. R.M. Diamond, Cadet Patrol Officer, EMETI Patrol Post, Western District.

Please note that political education must be a continuing process in all situations with the emphasis on the advantages of national unity.

673.34.0 6th March, 1969 datant District Co. -District Fice, Patrol BHETI 8/68-69 Samue Division - 12 Days til there people themselves decide to more a or some unforesceptle development taken pla cannot foresce my nignificant changes. Hr. DIAMOND's report to the best I have seen rel Soth Situation Report and Area Study are bette nove senior officers present. It is nost plant Plear been, observant and hoppy is the Bill instead and discontented. For this and a remission are I commend for DIAMOND. of cl. B cc Director, Department of District Administration, KONEDOBU. For your information, please. There are no advancement prospects in this area, apart from the rediscovery of oil.

Nonetheless, subsistence-wise the Upper BAMU people are certainly no worse off than most others in the Western District and to force anything else on them at this juncture which would not be viable would be to their disadvantage. Ten copies of the patrol may would be appreciated. patrol map would be appreciated. T. cl. Bensled DISTRICT COMMISSIONER

67-3-1

BALIM), Western District. 7th February, 1969.

District Commissioner, Western District, DARG:

## REPORT GF EMETI PATROL No.5/68-69

Please find herewith three copies of the Report of METI Patrel No.5/68-69, submitted by Mr.B.Dianond C.P.O. The Report comprises a patrel disry, a situation report, an area study, village population registers, a may of the area patrolled. Copies of the patrel instructions are also forwarded herewith.

- The Report is a careful and competent one, which realistically described the situation in the UPPER BANG Jensus Division. Mr.Dismond does not indulge in Slights of funcy about improvements which could, by a stratch of the imagination, be wrought in the area, but contents himself with reporting the facts of the situation. These are, wriefly, that the area is quite undeveloped communically (pp. 13-14), it has little potential (pp. 15-16), but that it has been enjoying a limited, though declining, income from encedile skins (pp. 11, 15). The local population are practically all heathens (p. 16) and very few have any education (pp. 2, 7-8). The people are quite tractable as regards instructions given them by the 0.I.G. MEET, but show as great interest in the idministration or in advancing themselves generally (pp. 5, 13-14), they are in favour of having local government, but are quite ignorant of what it is all about, as they are of their relationship to the central government (pp. 16-17).
- all this is rather discouraging, especially when one considers the length of time the area has been contacted and the immense amount or activity in the area by A.P.C. in the fifties. However, although prospects for the area appear quite hopeless, it should be pointed out that the people themselves do not appear to mind, and that anyway a population of less than 1,000 is involved.
  - 4. In the section Land Temure and Use (P.7), Mr. Diamond apparently mistakes land temure conversion for alienation. The people of this area have no knowledge or acquaintance with the provisions of the Land (Tenure Conversion) Ordinance.
  - 5. A careful and well-presented Report.

(Peter A. Hardie) Assistant District Commissioner

Felt Al fordie

-

BALINO, Western District. 6th Mecember, 158

Mr.R. Piamond, Patrol Pert, Eastle

## MIN'T PATROL Bo.5/98-69

Then Mr. Stapler has completed his patrol to the Gene River, please depart on M. V. herald on a patrol to the TUPER RAMI Commus Divisions You are to carry out a censur and area study. Please substit your Report in accordance with the Director's mane 67-1-0 of 21st June, 1968;

2. The Emerald is required back at Daru by 24th December. You will therefore have to conclude your patrol by other means of framepart. You may break the patrol to spend Christmas at Balims.

Wit Athadii

(Poter A. Hardie)

Report of EMETI Patrol No. 5/68-69.

#### PATROL DIARY.

10/12/68: Ex EMETI at 1600 aboard M.V. Emerald. Proceeded up the Wawoi River until 2000, when it became too dark to travel safely. Anchored for the night.

11/12/68: 0600 commenced travelling, arriving at DIWAME 0700.
Advised people of coming census. Arrived SIPOI 1100 and advised
the people there of census schedule. Arrived PARIEME 1600 and
conducted census and area study. Slept anchored off PARIEME.

12/12/68: Ex PARIEME 0610 and travelled down to SIPOI, arriving 1100. Census and area study conducted. Slept anchored off SIPOI.

13/12/68: Ex SIPOI 0610, erriving at DIWAME 0900. Conducted sensus and area study. EX DIWAME 1230, arriving at BERISA in the Bamu at approx 1900. Slept anchored off BEBISA.

14/12/68: 0200-0400 spent in unsuccessful attempt to extricate M.V. Emerald from a mud-rock bar which the receeding tide had stranded it on. Early morning census and area study. The returning tide re-floated the Emerald meanwhile, and the patrol departed BEBISA 1000, arriving at KUBKAI 1200. Short (5 min.) welk to WAREHO, and census and area study conducted there. Slept anchored off KUBEAI.

15/12/68: Census and area study conducted at NUSEAL. By KUBEAL approx. 1100, arriving at BEBISA 1300. Completed area study for BEBISA. Slept anchored off village.

16/12/58: Ex BEETSA 0600, arriving at EMETJ 0830.

17/12/68: Spent working on station.

13/12/68 to 29/12/68: Spent at BALIMO Sub-District Readquarters.

30/12/68: Ex BALIMO aboard N.V. Mawa 1300, avriving at ARBANT 1900. Slept at KEBANI.

31/12/68: Inspected small trade store at KEBANI, and departed 0710. Advised T.B. absconder at SAIWASI to await the Mawa's return, and go with it to BALIMO. Arrived at EMETI approx. 1200. Collected Police and Interpreter, and returned to GARU village, arriving at 1600. Census and area study conducted. Slept at GARU.

1/1/69: Ex GARU 0700, arriving at KURIA 0930. Census and area study conducted. Returned to EMETI 1300.

2/1/69: Census and area study conducted at IOWA village, about one mile from EMETI.

3/1/69: Census and area study conducted at GAGORO and MATAKAIA villages, just up-river from EMETI.

PATROL ENDS

Report of RMETI Patrol No. 5/68-69.

SITUATION REPORT.

#### A. POLITICAL.

#### LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

This aspect of the political situation in the Census Division is discussed more fully in the area study section of this report, as indeed, are many sections of the whole situation report.

No Local Governments are operating in the Census Division, nor are any plans afoot to institute one in the foreseeable future. However, the people do know that such things exist, and many have seen the GGGODALA Local Government Council at BALIMO. Concepts that the people have of Local Government generally proved to be quite incorrect. Therefore, to say that the people like Local Government would be misleading; they like what they think is Local Government. The people should be educated first, and then their attitudes to what really is Local Government could be correctly ascertained.

#### HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

Much of the preceeding section applies here, too. The people have heard of the House of Assembly, have taken part in voting, and are sure they are in favour of the whole idea. Once again, however, their idea of its functions is what they are in favour of, and this is generally not correct.

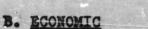
## THE ADMINISTRATION IN GENERAL.

Contact at patrol post level is the main one these people have with the government, so their view of it is limited. Rost of the administering in this area has been paternalistic, to varying degrees, and this must have had some effect on the ideas people have of the government. In this particular Census Division, no defartments other than this one are represented, and this must further limit their concept of the government, as applied to them. They probably see it as a body which administers law and order, and not much alse. Fortunately, their attitude towards such a body is not unfavourable, perhaps because it is too strong to buck, or because they like the situation whereby someone does all the work to bring security to the area, or perhaps even a combination of both.

#### POLITICAL EDUCATION.

It is obvious from this, that political education is needed in the area. This is not to say that attempts have not been made in the past, but if they have, they have not been understood, or they have been misconstrued. Radios exist in the area, and the people claim to listen to "stories" about the House of Assembly and Lecal Government, but if they do, they are not being understood. I believe discussions pitched at a very low level, and delivered on visits to the villages are the best hope. These definitely could not achieve anything if they were at all involved, as the people's powers of maintaining concentration are limited.

Only when the people understand what the "gove:nment" is, can their attitude towards it be correctly adjudged.



The Census Division has one source of income at present: crocodile skins. In the past enough money has been earned by the sale of these to make European articles such as clothes, dishes, cooking pots and even shot guns not at all uncommon. Crocodiles are being found in smaller quantities all the time, and the new protective legislation recently brought into force will mean even less income will be derived from this source.

The people have had this relatively easy means of earning cash always available, and so have never planted any crops for commercial purposes. The only crop in the area that has any potential is copra, and most of the villages have trees, but many only in small numbers, and many not learning. Possibly sage would be a source of income, if it ever had a big enough market, and if someone provided marketing facilities within close proximity to the Bamu.

almost

Cash injected into the area by labourer's wages is negligible. Reasonable sums of money are paid out as wages to the staff of the Bamu River Mission, and a good deal of this is spent in the area.

The Administration is not operating any schemes in the area to boost the economy, and there is little likelihood of this situation changing. Neither are the people making any practical plans for improving the situation.

As I see it, all the eggs have been put in one basket, and the bottom is about to fall out of it. When crocodile skins no longer provide the income, there is nothing really, short of moving to a more profitable area, that can immediately replace that source. The only fortunate thing is that the people have not become reliant on European food to any degree, and still manage to provide plenty from their traditional sources. Other goods, such as shot guns, clothes, etc have become integrated into their society, and how they will obtain these without cash is not easy to foresee. Economically, then, the situation is not too cheerful, but certainly not hopeless. The soil is capable of supporting soconut palms, and planting now would ensure an income in the future. Further, the crocodile skin industry is not likely to collapse, but will more likely taper off. Some cash would still be available from that source while waiting for coconut palms to reach maturity.

#### C. SOCIAL.

#### EDUCATION.

A small school is operated by the Bamu River Mission near Emeti, and is the only one in the Census Division. This provides education to Standard five, and will sponsor students with potential to the Unevangelized Fields Mission at AWABA, or to other fields for which they show potential: Nurse training, teacher training. The capacity, staff and general set up of this school are further described in the area study of this report.

Few people have what could be termed a higher education, and fewer still use that to any advantage. Standard six is still considered a mighty achievement here, and it is not uncommon to have young men with that Standard or lower, apply for xx jobs requiring a Form four pass. Many have just decided to finish with school for foolish reasons, and have come back to their village where anything they have learned is put to no use.

Parents of children don't seem to see the advantage of education. Many children are truants with the knowlege of their parents, if not their approval, who take no action to remedy the situation. Voluntary help from parents who have children at the school is not forthcoming, even token work, such as keeping the grounds tidy, is not given.

The need for education is not realised.

#### BRALTH.

Particularly considering the neighbouring areas, the health situation was quite good. The odd tropical ulcer was noticed, but nothing in any quantity, and no one was reluctant to go to the mission for treatment when told to do so.

#### MISSTONS.

Two missions are currently operating in the Census Division, the Seven Day Adventists have a small aid post and church run by a native missionary at KUREAI, and the independent Bamu River Mission is situated near EMETI. Both are tolerated by the people, though it would be he to say whether any real friendship exists between the people and the missions. A better way of saying this is that it is unnikely that the people appreciate the missions for other than what they can provide materially. Of the two, the Bamu River Mission is preferred by most, because it has no lietary restrictions as imposed by the Seven Day Adventists. There are individuals who have sertimental attachments to the Bamu River Mission, as there are those who have a powerful dislike of it, but there is no sign of any antipathy worth worrying about.

### D. MISCELLANEOUS.

At almost every village, a short and simple description of the new legislation regarding crocodiles was given. The main point in this talk was that they could not expect to get raid for any skins with a belly-width exceeding twenty inches. Everyone claimed they understood what I was talking about, but only time will tell.

Without exception, all agreed it was a good piece of legislation, though some felt guaging the crocodile's size, particularly at night, before killing it, was going to prove impossible.

END OF SITUATION REPORT

AREA STUDY: Patrol R ort. EMETI No. 5/68-69.

#### A. INTRODUCTION.

(a) The Upper Bamu Census Division comprises that area through which the Wawoi, Upper Bamu or Aworra, and a small stretch of the Lower Aramia Rivers flow. It varies topographically from mainly flat, low alluvial areas in the South, to undulating areas with small hills about eighty feet high in the North. Sayo swamps can be found throughout, but are more plentiful in the South. Dense, low lying rainforest is the predominant vegetation, and is found throughout.

The Census Division receives rain during both the South-East and North-West seasons, and during 1968 received a total of 98.45 inches, made up as follows:

Month: J F M A M J J A S O N D Points: 988 1985 1281 314 776 685 841 55 1044 511 440 5 5 No. of rainy days: 74 21 19 5 15 16 19 4 15 12 4 19

These figures are supplied by the Bamu River Mission.

The soil consists mainly of red clay, covered by dark grey alluvial top-soil anywhere from inches to feet thick. Rocks and stones are supposed to exist at the top of the Bamu and Wawoi Rivers, but only a hard mud-stone was enc untered as far as this patrol went. Rocks are almost non-existent below the junction of the Bamu and Wawoi Rivers.

(b) The Census Division is situated mainly North of BALIMO Sub-District Headquarters, extending to the East, and is also mainly North of EMETI Patrol Post, with a small section South and East of it. (See map.)

Parts of the area can be approached overland from near BALIMO, but access is normally by boat. The Census Division is accessible from DARU District Headquarters only by boat. There are no arodromes serving the area, the nearest operating one being check BALIMO, although a small one is being constructed at the MAPODA Leprosy Hospital on the Aramia River. Boats drawing 4.6" can reach any village as far as this patrol went, and vessels with a deeper draught could probably navigate the rivers when they are at their flood levels. There is a small wharf at EMETI capable of berthing up to about 80 feet in lenth, providing the tide is high enough. Tidal bores, which prove hazardous to shipping in the Lower Bamu, apparently are normally broken up fairly quickly by the rivers' meanderings above the junction of the Bamu and Wawoi.

(c) Records at EMETI only show patrols to this Census Division as far back as 1952, but as the lower areas were contacted well before then, it is unlikely that no earlier contact was made. Since 1952, patrols have been conducted at a frequency less tham annually, and have been mainly of a routine nature. Attempts were made furing 1965 and 1967 to learn more about the people known as DU'AMIN at the top of the Wawoi, but not much else in the way of non-routine patrols is recorded.

During the 1950's the Australian Petroleum Company was operating in the area, and considerably higher than anywhere normally covered by this department. Apart from the materials such as corrugated iron, tools and base sites, little physical evidence of the Company's efforts remains.

While the company operated in the area, it provided employment, wages, and side-benefits such as easily acquired tools, which considerably raised the standard of living, at least temporarily. However, the people don't appear to be dissatisfied with their present lot, which is less in some ways than when the company was here. The situation did have effects at the time, such as causing people to move village sites to be near work camps, but the adverse social disrutions caused in neighbouring areas

The people show no dislike for, or antipathy towards the "government", although they display no great interest in it, either. Requests, such as building rest-houses, are complied with readily enough, but the people show little inclination to seek the Administration's aid, in at or their own accord. Their generally less co-operative neighbours come frequently to EMETI with disputes etc, but with the exception of those villages within close proximity to the station, few people from the Upper Bamu

They strike me as a fairly cheerful lot who, although not going out of their way to have much to do with the Administration, will comply with its requests when directly confronted with them.

## B. POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND TRENDS.

ever put in an appearance.

- (a) Village Population Register forms are attached. No Neo Mortality Rate appendix is attached, as no record of previous pregnancies was available.
- (b) The villages of GAGORO and TOWA, DIWAME and BEBISA are linked by walking tracks. The attached map shows these, and an estimation of the distances is given. No roads suitable for theeled vehicles exist in the Census Division.
- (c) The lower, wore easily accessible villages provide the greatest source of labour, but even there, is not sufficient to warrant comment.

## C. SOCIAL GROUPINGS.

- (a) Most likely, the social groups are limited to villages, as with neighbouring groups. Groups of villages share common languages, and it is possible that this has some effect in creating groups, but this is is discussed in Subsection (d) of this Section.
- (b) Each simple family has its own house normally, and is most likely the "functional social unit." Possibly, when long houses and clans existed, larger units functioned. Traces of clans still exist, such as names, but most claim that their functions are no longer known, or have been discarded.
- (c) The following speak common languages:
- 1. PARIEME, SIPOI and DIWAME.
  2. WAREHO and KUBBAI. (Fossibly a variation of the language spoken by PARIEME's group.)
  3. IOWA, GAGORO and KURIA.

No other village shares a language common to the Census



MATAKAIA speaks the same language as UKUSI and KOFIRAMI on the Gama River. The people of BEBISA are supposed to speak a language similar to some people on the Taurama River in the Grlf District. GARU shares a common language with the people of ARACI and ARIGINAPE further down the Aramia, and is a member of group called DUDINAPE.

(d) All the villages appear to "get along" with each other. We openly hostile attitudes are displayed towards anyone in the Division. However, the degree of cohesion is not high, overall.

IOWA, GAGORO, and KURIA make up one little group, linked by a common language, as do PARIEME, SIPOI, and DIWAME; and WAREHO and KUBEAI. MATAKAIA and GARU have no one in the Census Division speaking their languages, and so are not united to it by such. However, MATAKAIA by been situated on the same village site as GAGORO for some time and, and migrations have taken flace between the two. It seems likely that if alliances were to occur, the would be formed, at last partially by the language pattern. WAREHO and KUBEAI would probably ally with PARIEME'S group, because of its similar language, and MATALLA with GAGORO's for reasons outlined above, however, it could just as easily unite with the top villages of the Gama. BEBISA seems to identify with the people near Taurama, and GARU almost definitely would unite with the DUDINAPE people. All this is conjecture and deduction however, cohesion within these groups does not appear strong, neither is cohesion between groups, The villages above the junction of the Bamu and Wawei Rivers have little to do with those below it, and vice versa. Nevertheless, relationships between any of the villages seem favourable, if slight.

(c) The groups outside the Census Division are:

1. South-East: Lower Bamu.
2. East: Gama and Taurama.
3. South: GOGODALA people.

4. North: Various groups of people, not much contacted by the Administration.

The people of the Upper Bamu Census Division are related to all these groups, except the GOGODALA, as shown in (d) above, and this has some effect on their relationships. However, it proably means only those villages directly related have any strong affiliation. For instance, overall, the Lower Bamu regards the Upper Bamu population as inferior, but it is not likely that it feels the same way about GARU, which is a member of one of its own language groups. Also, relationships between the Upper Bamu and Gama because of MATAKALA's link with UKUSI and KOPIRAMI, should be limited to those villages, as the rest of the Gama speaks a separate language. I know of no real hostile attitudes between neighbouring groups, or for that matter, very amicable ones. On the whole, they seem to keep out of each other's way.

#### D. LEADERSHIP.

(a) This is another aspect which cannot be satisfactorily studied, and therefore accurately commented upon by a patrol as brief as this one. An attempt was made, and the following people might possibly have some degree of leader ship:

TAUPERI of GARU.M/A, about 40.
IBOI and DAURI of IOWA. M/A, both in late 50's.
DEHAI of SIPOI. M/A, about 40.
MARIE of KUBEAI. M/A, about 40.

Apart from IBOI and DAURI, these names were found out by direct questioning, and so, are of doubtful authenticy. At EMETI,

I have seen the people of IOWA follow IPON and DAURI's advice, and abide by their decisions in a land dispute, so it is most likely that they do have some authority. DEHAI and MARIE are said to have had fathers who were "big men," so there may be some sort of leadership inherited there.

- (b) These persons named are not supposed to have any criminal records, and none of them are educated men. Wothing else relevant to this section is known about them.
- (c) Traditionally, leaders who stood out wore "fight leaders," these men who knew the best strategies to employ in attacking other villages. This was more than likely inherited. Now, of course, there is no fighting for anyone to lead in. Obviously, the traditional pattern of leadership has had to alter. Whether every village has a "leader" now days is debatable. These men who were indicated as leaders were all middle-aged or older, so it seems likely that the younger, better educated men are not regarded as such. One individual who was not indicated as being a "big man" was the Village Constable. He has authority while the patrol is in the village, and sometimes is a useful liaison between the Administration and the people, but is not otherwise outstanding.

THE THE PART TO BE A LOOK

#### E. LAND TENURE AND USE.

- (a) As far as could be ascertained, land is owned individually, and inherited patrilineally, with some variations. At BEBISA, WAREHO and KUBEAI, the people claim the eldest son inherits all the land divides it among his brothers and sisters. The people of GARU felt that only sons could inherit land, and although daughters could use it, they could never own it. At SIPOI, the people claimed that every child should inherit land in equal shares.
- (b) No natives hold land on Lease from the Administration. An expatriate from KIKORI, J. SENIOR, has a small store on a lease holding at EMFTI. In close proximity to the station, some people have a limited knowledge of tenure conversion. Indeed, some people of IOWA village used to own the land whereon is the patrol post. They appear to realize that the Administration has all rights to the land. This is about the full extent of their knowledge of tenure conversion.
- (c) There is no cash cropping in the Genera Division.

#### F. ILLERACY.

C

The only school is the Census Division is that rum by the Bamu River Mission near EMETI. This teaches only to Standard five, but will sponsor students, who display any ability, to higher studies. The number of students in each Standard at the termination of school last year is as follows:-

STANDARD	MALE	FEMALE
PRESCHOOL	10	9
Prep.	8	5
One	9	4
Two -	11	4
Three	17	4
Four	12	5
Five	14	2

The Mission was hoping to commence a Strndard six class this year, (1969) but claims the Adminstration could not supply it with the necessary material. Because or this, students who show potential are sent to the Government school at DARU.

English is taught at all Standards, and any local dialects are only utilised to explain anything too difficult for the students to comprehend in English.

(B) Birect inquiries in each village elicited the following information:

KURIA: One male adult semi-literate in English.

IOWA: Four male adults literate in English. These
are teachers at the Bamu River Mission, and hold "A" Course
qualifications from the Teacher Training College at AWABA.

in any language, it seems unlikely that some at least, have not gained a smattering of literary ability, considering the many years the Mission has been operating in the area.

(c) The highest standard of education anyone claimed to have was form two. Not of these were unsubstantiated by certificates, and it is likely that most are failures who gave school up, or were advised to do so. However, in this area, such qualifications could be considered "higher education," and for what it is worth, the information obtained is as follows:

YILLAGE GAGORO KURIA EIESHA IOWA

## NAME/FATHER'S NAME DOMA GAIDA

FORM II FORM II FORM I

STANDARD

Even if names have been omitted from this list, as is quite likely, the number of students with "higher education" is deplorably small. The opportunity exists for those with the ability, to further their education at DARU or AWABA, but few do. Perhaps a smattering of education causes the average BAMU citizen to be so ortstanding in comparison with the others, that he gets a false impression f just how well he has been educated.

BIGOMO

BARCBI

(i) Two young men from KUBEAI were away at an Agricultural school in KEREMA, at the time of this patrol, possibly working as Frymer Trainees:

SABEC KIRIA 20yrs MUKE SOGANI 14yrs

These were the only people away from the area who were attending school of any sort.

(e) Newspapers are not delivered to any of the Upper Bamu villages, and the only interest shown in them is their use as cigarette papers.

Radios were found throughout the Census Division

as follows:

VILLAGE	No. of RECEIVERS	
WAREHO	TWC +	
BEBISA	ONE +	
KURIA	TWO	
GARU	ONE	
IOWA	ONE +	
GAGORO	ONE +	

MATAKAIA ONE ONE

#### (+) Denotes a D.I.E.S. receiver.

SIPOI

KUBBAI

Most had flat batteries, and none of those that were working could receive broadcasts during the day-time. The people professed to pregraing everything from stories about the House of Assembly, to Country and Western Music. Preferences of transmitting stations were varied, too, from Radio DARU to "9PA" to Radio WEWAK. They are more of a source of entertainment than an aid to learning, for most of the people.

#### STANDARD OF LIVING.

(a) Housing is generally of the type common to the whole area. viz. Sago or nips palm leaf roofing, black palm planking flooring, with walls of the main rib of the nips palm leaf, lashed vertically to a rough frame-work. Nails are occasionally utilised in the construction of houses, though as rule, traditional use of vines is made to lash timbers together. At KUBMAI, corrugated iron is used in the roofing of a couple of buildings, being taken from old A.P.C. camps. Most of this is pretty shoddy stuff, however. A house is being built at KURIA, using black pair planks for walls, and several houses at IOWA have black palm on their walls.

Burchean clothes, in verious stages of disrepair, are worn by almost everyone, including very small children. Some very old women do not wear blouses, but these are few and far between Even the people who live above PARIEME and Kubeal are purported to have adopted the European style of dress. European artefacts, such as burness areas timediahas and such as burness areas are seen areas are seen areas areas areas areas are seen areas areas are seen areas a such as knives, axes, tin dishes and cups, steel fish-hooks, shot-guns, matches, pots and pans, etc. are quite common throughout, even the uppermost villages possessing a fair share of objects.

Evidence of Fatrol Officers' attempts to introduce the use of toilets exists, but few people have constructed small houses, except for the village's rest house. The river provides an adequate sewerage system, as none of the villages are inundated by high tides and doris is not carried back to the village.

- The staple diet throughout the area is sago. This is supplemented by meat (pork or fowl), and fish. Game is plent!ful in this area, and no one should suffer from a deficiency of
  meat in their diet, yet according to the Bamu River Mission, protein is lacking. Vegetables such as pumpkin, manick, sweet potato, and yams, and fruits such as bananas, pineapples, paw paws and breadfruit are grown in small, scattered gardens. I believe the soil throughout is capable of supporting any European vegetables and fruits that will normally grow in tropical conditions. Canned foodstuffs are generally too expensive for the average citizen to buy for everyday use, though they are desired. Rice is bought in reasonable quantities, but is also not a common everyday food.
- There are no Community Centres in the area. Both the Bamu River Mission and EMETI are more regarded as conveniences than "centres." The Mission probably comes closer to being a Community centre than the patrol post. Organizations such as women's clubs, Guides or Scouts are non\_existent. Some of the reople are interested in sport, and it is not uncommon for those from nearby villages to come onto the station at EMETI and play a form of Boccer.



#### H. MISSIONS

(a) Two missions are currently operating in the area:

#### THE BAMU RIVER MISSION.

This is situated near IOWA village, and has been at its current site since 1948. It is run by an elderly English couple, who have been in the Bamu as missionaries since before World War II, and is basically a break-away group from the Unevangelized Fields Mission at BALIMO, which holds fairly similar Christian precepts. Its "sphere of influence" is strongest at those villages within close proximity to it, though is known throughout the Census Division. It is difficult to find any groups who identify themselves as Christians with this Mission, most who do have anything to do with it are after material benefits. Even in this, some startling cases of non-acceptance of the Mission's benefits occur. Quite recently, a man died at KURIA village, after being ill for some weeks. He chose to refuse medical aid which was about half an hour's travel by cance away from KURIA. This patrol encountered a child suffering from malnutrition sores at MATAKATA village, about an hour's walk from the Mission, but no one had any intention of taking it there. The Mission does not appear to have much more influence, overall, than any European institution enjoys in this area.

#### THE SEVEN DAY ADVENTIST MISSION.

The Seven Day Adventists are represented by a native pastor, who runs a small aid post-come-church at KUBEAI. Influence of this Mission is very weak, even at KUBEAI, and it would be fairly safe to say that no one abides by its religious teachings. This is because of the dietary restrictions imposed by those teachings, of course.

There is no apparent conflict between villages caused by different religious beliefs. This is probably because so few people take any of the Missions' teachings seriously.

(b) The Bamu River Mission provides the following services. A small trade store, an aid post, a school, and a small hospital now staffed by an Australian nurse. There are five eight native teachers, four of whom come from the Upper Bamu Census Division. It also employs a Medical Orderly, and from time to time, labourers, as work necessitating them becomes available.

The Seven Day Adventist out-post at KuBEAI is staffed by a native from the ORIOMO area, at present. The aid-post is the only definite service provided. There is a vague story about the skipper of the Mission vessel, the M.V. Light, wanting to start trading in crocodile skins from his boat, but these are unsubstantiated rumours.

(c) Generally, the people regard the Missions as conveniences to be used if desired. Spiritual gains barely enter into their thoughts of the advantages of having Missionaries. They, particularly the Bamu River Mission, would be missed if they were taken from the area, but almost completely because of the loss of material benefits.

The Bamu River Mission is the most inflential of



#### I. NON-INDIGINES

- (a) Mr J. SENIOR of KIKORI operates a trado store at EMETI, and the STANDENS of the Bamu River Mission operate a smaller one at EMETI the Mission. These are the only commercial establishments in the area. Itinerant expatriate traders conduct general trading business from boats, from time to time, but are hardly permanent enough to be called established.
- (b) The trade store at the Bamu River Mission employs no natives, and is hardly big enough to do so. The store at EMETI is managed by a native, but he is not an inhabitant of the area. One labourer is permanently employed by this store, and others are taken on when work is available. At a guess, this store probably employs an average of three or four labourers annually.
- (c) Ar SENIOR's store provides an actual marketing cutlet for crocodile skins and copra, although none of the latter is produced by this Census Division. The mamager of the store estimates that during recent peak years, skins to the value of \$7,000.00 have been bought from the area, but that during 1968 this fell to \$4,000.00. Considering the population of the area, these figures seem rather high.

Both trade stores are on the Bamu River, and are linked to all the villages in the Census Division by It. Walking tracks link them to IOWA, GAGCRO and MATAKAIA.

(d) No further applicable comments.

#### J. COMMUNICATIONS

#### (a) ROADS

There are no roads in the Census Division capable of being used by wheeled vehicles. Walking tracks link the following:

ARAGI (Lover Bann Census Division.) GARU to EMETI IOWA GAGORO EMETI IOWA The Bamu River Mission. SEREGO (GOGODALA East Census Division) SIPOI DIWAME BEBISA The Gama and Taurama River areas. The Taurama River. REBISA KUBEAI

As long as villages remain on the rivers, and are not moved to the bush, they are accessible by various types of boats, so there is no great need for roads. Even if the situation arose whereby they became necessary, they would be almost impossible to construct, because of the swampy terrain.

#### (b) SEA

Two small wharves exist at EMETI, one privately, and the other, Administration owned. The river is tidal, and these wharves can only safely be used at high tide. There is

no regular shipping service, but ships visit the station on an average of about one a month. Mr SENIOR's M.V. Jonmac is the most frequent visitor, as it plies between KIKORI and BALIMO.

Small wharves could probably be constructed at any village. The M.V. Emerald was able to approach all the villages in the Upper Bamu and Wawoi, provided the tide was high. I think this vessel has a draught of 4.6"! The Wawoi River was still tidel as far up as PARIEME.

#### (c) ATR

No aerodromes exist within the Census Division, and no known sites exist, either. Catalinas have landed near the Bamu River Mission and somewhere above KUBEAI, during A.P.C.'s time, and helicopters also operated regularly then.

During 1964, the O.I.C. of EMETI had a considerable amount of work done on a possible aerodrome site near GAGORO, but by the latest specifications required by the Department of Civil Aviation, it is far too short.

#### K. TECHNICAL AND CLERICAL SKILLS

#### Enquiries at each village yielded the following:

the a that "Collaborated sect and

can be noted by the Lieb

GARU:	WABORA GILUMI	Boatscrew - M.V. Peregare
W 10 Yes 4	MESEDE WALIWALI	Some knowledge of carpentry.
KURIA:	IDIA GAUBI	Used to be Bosun on A.P.C.
Carried Tell on the College	THE MULTIPLE STRAINS	Boats; claims he once had
erteness in	5% OF WORK *-	"ticket."
GACORO:	AINO KEIPA	Govt. teacher, presently
	的社会。自己是在企業。在第二次,也可以在	st NINGROM.
Folial ML D	OGAVE PAWE	Boatscrow - F.V. Pepegare
MATAKATA:	Komure GOIVE	Boatscrew - M.V. Neganamo
	BAWIRO TUNEI	Used to be truck driver at
of the second	he that wise because	BAUBAUGUINA Plantation.
A STATE OF STREET	wehat the tire?	Licence lost.
IOWA:	KONA GOINAU	Teacher - A course at AWABA
No. of the Control of	ABUNA KAKIMU	Teacher - A course at AWABA
	GOGUSA BATAWI	Teacher - A course at AWABA
	ADAU KANIWA	Teacher - A course at AWABA
DIWAME:	KOWARE KUKI	Boatscrew with A.P.C.

As is to be expected, the Southernmost villages have the bulk of the technically skilled population.

#### L. THE STAGE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

The people have very limited concepts of the political machinery of this country. The "Government" to themis the Fatrol Officer at EMETI, and the Assistant District Commissioner at BALIMO. The name "House of Assembly" is not unfamiliar, possibly because of D.I.E.S. broadcasts, but no real concept of its functions is held. (One notion was that "it looked after Local Government Councils.") Their idea of the Government is that it is a body which tells them what to do, sometimes punishes them if they don't, and generally keeps them in line. It has provided a sort of security, and not much else. In the immediate area, they have no other representatives of the Government than this department, yet, even this inadequate situation is apparently

impressive. The people comply with its demands when directed to do so, and appear pleased to have it visit them. They show none of the sullenness, or hostility common to the Lower Bamu and Gama.

No Local Government Council is operating in the area, but the people have seen the Council at BALIMO, so some concept of such a body's functions is held, in that it brings "good things" to its people. The people know a tax is involved in this process someware, but have only the vaguest ideas of such.

The Census Division appears to be neither strongly united, nor very fragmented. The people above the junction of the Wawoi and Bamu Rivers don't have much to do with those below it, and vice versa, but to say they are fragmented seems a little strong. They give no indication of being "fragmented" with regard to their political development; they all appear as ignorant as each other. As stated in Section C., Subsection (c) linguistic groups do exist, but do not seem strongly united or other wise.

"Societies" are worth having, and, as can be seen by the list of Bank Accounts later in the report, Society Accounts are not totally unfamiliar, but their existence is misleading. Such Accounts appear to have been started during some enthusiastic Patrol Officer's time, and have since remained static in their balance, for the most part. I should imagine any Co-operatives started by these people would be doomed to failure, unless considerable aid and outright supervision was provided by officers experienced in such work.

Concluding this section, the people are at a stage of Political Development whereby for the most part they regard the Government as something in which they have no real say, far the and probably obey it not only because of the benefits they feel it provides, but also because the thought that they could do anything but obey it has never occurred to them. They are not yet aware of the magnitude of the Government, or the complexities of same, or of the part they can play in it.

#### M. THE ECONOMY OF THE AREA

(a) The following numbers of coconut palms are found in the area:

VILLAGE	No. of TREES	AGE
WAREHO	147	2-3 yrs
PARIEME	40	2-3 yrs
BEBISA	35	2-3 yrs
KURIA	35 56 31	10-15 yrs
GARU		4 yrs
IOWA	106	10-20 yrs
GAGORO & MATAKAIA	3	2 yrs
SIPOI	140	2-3 yrs
DIWAME	40	2-3 yrs
KUREAT	35	2-3 vrs

There are small isolated groups of trees throughout the area, but probably do not make up a sufficient number to alter the economic potential much. Copra is not produced, the nuts being used for food only. The ages of the trees given in the list above are my own estimations, which may not be accurate. (b)

- While bearing in mind that no copra is produced by the Census Division, it is interesting to calculate what the production of copra could be, using the figures in the Report of EMETI Patrol No. 1 of 1968-59. (An annual production of thirty nuts to the tree, and 6,000 nuts to a ton of copra.) From Subsection (a) above, it can be seen that a total of 162 trees are mature enough to bear, making possible a total of just less than 5,000 nuts, which is less than sufficient for one ton of copra annually.
- The figures in Subsection (b) above, are those for total maximum production, entailing the use of every nut.
- There are no market gardening facilities in the Census Division.
- (e) Cash earnings from labour employed outside the area are negligible, as they only total 40, and most of their earnings are spent outside the Census Division. Cash earned by labourer's within the area is approximately as follows:

EMETI Patrol Post: Bamu River Mission SENIOR's Store:

Using the figures supplied by the Manager of SENIOR's Store, \$4,000.00 are earned annually by the sale of crocodile skins.

- Co-operatives are not, and never have been functioning inthe area.
- !here are no outstanding entrepreneurs in the area.
- The Commonwealtha Savings Bank Accounts at each village are as follows:

VILLAGE	No. of A/C	NAME	BALANCE
BEBISA	07626 027243	BOGEREI	14.00 3.10
A CONTRACTOR AND	027245 027244	WAIDA	2.00
WAREHO	029819	BGKOI'I AGIAI	4.50
182 E287000	027234 027232	BIRAGI SAIMI	4.10
(8)"	027748	NOGAI	12.00
PARIEME	033055 033056	DISAMI TURIBA	32.00
DIWAME	033057	ARE.A	1.70
DIWAPE	017563 029810	ADIBA MI'E	3.50 5.00
Ter " this posite	029805	SAIPEI	1.00
( ·	629806 029807	GIAI	5.00 3.00
KUBEAI	027242 029825	BURAMEI	15.00
	027235	MAISE BOSEI	6.80
1	029820 027229	SIWAGU	0.20
11	027237	BOKEI NENAMO	1.00
ii .	027236 027241	AISOMI AUGI	2,00
"	027240	BINEI	8.00 2.00
	027230	SUMIRI	202.80

SIPOI	017565		BAGORLI	0.70
Balling of Contact	017566		MUSIALI	0.45
GAGORO	029816		KOISO	4.00
Maria Benta Con	027233		KAUBU	7.00
name to de la	029812		WAIRE	14.10
streng al lend	029813		TOI'O	15.00
TEM DERLIES DIS	School Book No.	14	EWAS	0:10
ezu com Albe-1	5.296		GAFORO SOCIETY	4.91
MATAKAIA	029822		KOGU	1.00
	9451		TANAI	0.21
	9904	g: 79	IOMIRI	1.43
TANHAL SE ISSE	027246	8.1	IMALAU	1.50
GARU	8929		GARAMO	0.15
KURIA	029808		ETAI	0.00
Wast basi	S.1680		KURIA SOCIETY	107.90
gall constant of	23310		KEBULE	0.10
IOWA	127226		IAGI	16.90
11	033063		ABUNO	39.00
	033062		KONA	29.60
	033060		ADAU	43.40
The state of the s	027228		KENUE	0.20
H THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN	32239		URUKOI	0.11
n	10177		KANIWA	2.63
	16453		WAURI	80.10
Carlo and the control of the control	23312	500	DOKE	0.40
3.	8.1679		IOWA SOCIETY	162.58
Tembrai escona	10 10 Now 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10 10		Total:	881.62

(i) Tax has not been collected in this area.

the average per capita income as being: \$4.84. The villages above the junction of the Wawoi and Bamu Rivers probably earn more than those below, as crocodiles are more plentiful further up. This figure seems too high, but there is no way at present of obtaining more detailed information. \$4.84 is more than double the per capita income in the neighbouring Census Divisions of the Lower Bamu and Gama River.

(k) Marketing facilities for local produce exist at Mr SENIOR's Store at EMETI. At present, this store buys crocodile skins, and copra.

### (N) POSSIBILITIES OF EXPANDING THE ECONOMY

(a) The acreage of land suitable for palnting coconut palms is vast, though difficult to estimate, because it is interspersed with un-mapped swamps. Still, if only twenty square miles of the Census Division are suitable, (a conservative estimate) this means some 96,800 acres could be planted, far more than would be needed to supply a reasonable income for this population.

(b) Market gardening could be increased. None of the villages are subjected to tidal inundation, normally. European vegetables grow quite well on the station, and I should think that any vegetable or fruit that otherwise grows in the Tropics would grow here. Ralsing enthusiasm among the people for such a project might prove difficult.

- (c) Establishments which employ labourers in the area are doing so pretty well to their limit. Even the small amount of labourers employed do not come mainly from the Upper Bamu Census Division. Except for the time when A P.C. operated in the area, the Census Division has not been a source of labour, compared to neighbouring areas/ Considering the negligible amount of planting going on at present, flourers could be recruited on a much larger scale, yet still leave enough people to increase planting quite fantastically.
- (d) Cash crops such as rubber, cocoa, coffee, etc. would be hard put to succeed here, even if the soil was suitable, sometring which I know insufficient about the comment on. The people live an unsettled way of life, constantly travelling between their village sites, hunting palces, and sago gathering places. Any crops which require a reasonable amount of care, would therefore suffer.

Timber, both hard and softwoods, exists in the area, but whether in quantities sufficient for making a successful industry would be something an officer with knowledge of the timber industry should check.

I doubt that any new crops in the area would have much chance of success, as the situation now is. Crocodile skins have previously supplied the main source of cash, and cropping has never been necessary. The most hopeful crop remains coconuts; the people are quite capable of planting many more than they have, the soil will support the trees, they require little care, and there are marketing facilities available for copra within the Census Division.

(e) Quite possibly, schemes or programmes would lose much of their lustre when it became apparent that they involved "hard work." The income from crocodile skins had been derived altogether too easily to condition the people to sustained and largely uninteresting labour. As stated in Subsection (d), the people are somewhat unsettled, and if any programme to expand the economy had to alter this, the enthusiasm would probably be lacking.

#### (O. ATTITUDE COWARDS LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Although the approach for determining this as set out in the Departmental Standing Instructions is ideal, it is a bit idealistic when this is the people's first contact with the patrolling officer, and at that, a brief one. However, an attempt at a compremise was made, which, although being none too subtle, endeavoured not to give anyone false hopes or otherwise.

Overall, everyone felt Local Government was a "good thing, no one was openly opposed to it. As stated in the Situation Report of this Report, their knowledge of the organization of a Local Government Council, or even of the functions of one, is extremely limited. They realise a tax is involved in it somewhere, but do not, I think, realise just how much they will have to give to obtain benefits. Although Local Government is apparently thought favourably of, no one seems over anxious to start a Council in the area. No one has approached the O.I.G. EMETI with a view to getting

a Council started. Probably, if a Council was "thrust upon them," so to speak, they would accept it with the same attitude they have accepted other Government schemes, but most likely with a little more enthusiasm, at least initially.

Concluding, the people's attitude towards
Local Government can be said to be favourable, to all outward appearances. This attitude lacks depth, however, and
when the hard work involved became obvious, and the appeal
of novelty wore off, they would likely lose a lot of interest.
Least they do not have the wholly negative and unapproachable attitude which some of their neighbours enjoy.

#### P. ATTITUDE TOWARDS THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT.

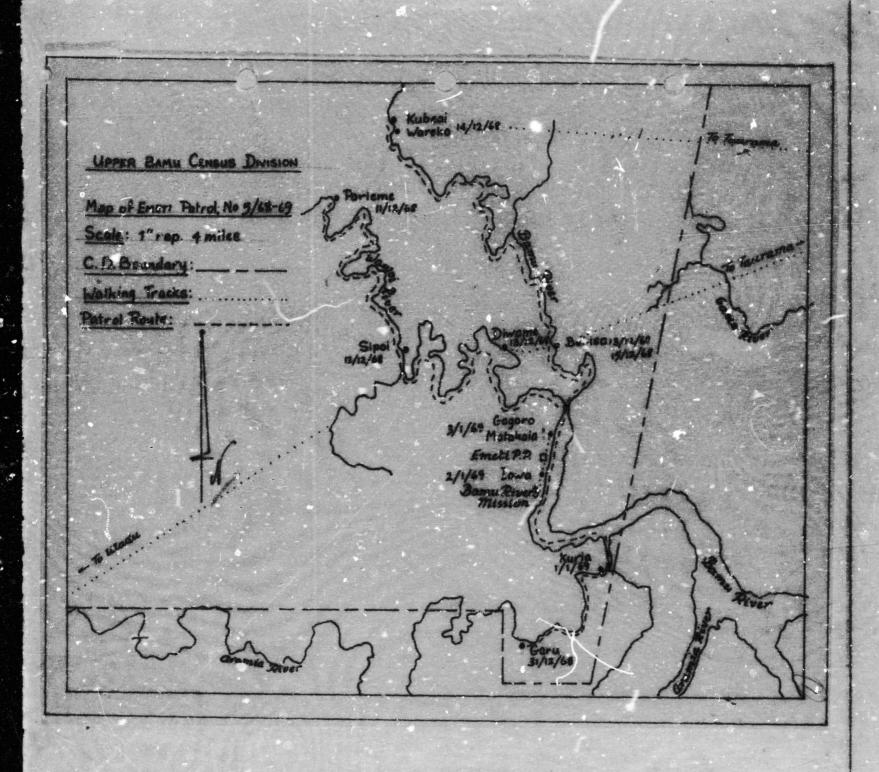
Again, this is covered by the Political Section of the Situation Report.

Their attitude is similar to the neighbouring Census Divisions, in that they don't think of the "Government" any more than on Patrol Post, or perhaps Sub-District level. They know the House of Assembly exists, they may even have a vague notion that it is involved somehow in the set up of the "Government", simply because they have been told it has, but they fail to realise how it applies to them. The thought that they could use their Member of the House of Assembly to have a say in the government would never occur to them. The "Government" is just something to be obeyed, and to bring troubles to, to have sorted out. However, although the people have similar concepts of the Government to their neighbours, their attitude differs in that they show none of the discontentment common in other parts of the Pamu. This simple system whereby they don't have to do anything much but obey the "kiap," who will in turn sort out and solve their worries, is quite satisfying to them.

#### O. ACCOMMODATION SERVICES, FACILITIES.

There are no hotels, Guest Houses, Service Stations or similar facilities in the area. The Patrol Post at EMETI and the Bamu River Mission can put up small numbers of visitors for short durations. The Bamu River Mission could probably provide workshoo facilities, of a minor nature, for running repairs to outboard motors, etc. Fuel, both petrol and diescline, can generally be purchased at Mr SENIOR's store at EMETI.

R.M. Diamond. C.P.O OFFICER IN CHARGE.





## TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Telephone
Teleph

Department Distribution DARU

10th April, 1969

The Director, Department of District Administration, KONEDOBU.

Rmeti Patrol 6/68-59

Minute to my 57-11-1 of 3rd April, 1969

refers.

2. The Patrol report, instructions, and Assistant District Commissioner's covering memowere inadvertently filed here. Our apologies. Please now find herewith.

(F.A. Bensted) DISTRICT COMMISSIONER

67-11-1 Western District. DARU RAG. bd 3rd April, 1969 The Assistant District Commissioner, Sub District Office, EMETI Patrol 6/68-59 KCKLLLED three copies of the above report submitted by Mr. B. M. Diamond, Cadet atrol Officer, together with your comments, and claim for camping allowance. The latter has been funded and will be sent on to Mr. Diamond for payment. AND HIN 2. Your comments are full, and provide good coverage. I have little to add, except to state that Mr. Diamond is obviously proving a most competent young officer, whose enthusiasm is matched by his ability. To should do very well in the Service. c.c. The Director, Department of District Administration, KOKKDOBU. Porwarded, please. C.C. Mr. R.M. Diamond, G.P.O., c/- litudquarters. 000 17/4

67-3-45

17th April, 1969.

District Commissioner, Western District, DARU.

## PATROL NO. EMETI 6/68-69.

Your reference 67-11-1 of 10th April,

I acknowledge with thanks receipt of Special Report by Mr. R.M. Diamond, Cadet Patrol Officer, to Parte of UPPER BAMU, LOWER BAMU and GAMA RIVER Census Divisions.

An interesting report of an unusual area.

I consider that there would be better places to go "to get away from it all"!

Director.

c.c.
Mr. R.M. Diamond,
Cadet Patrol Officer,
Base Camp,
EMETI.
Western District.

Flease note that political education must be a continuing process in all situations with the emphasis on the advantages of national unity.



#### TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

67-11-1 Our Reference

If colling ack for RAC.bd



Department of District Administration, Western Distric's

DARU

10th April, 1969

The Director,
Department of District Administration,
KONMDOBU.

### Emeti Patrol 6/68-69

Minute to my 67-11-1 of 3rd April, 1969

refers.

2. The Patrol report, instructions, and Assistant District Commissioner's covering memo were inadvertently filed here. Our apologies. Flease now find herewith.

86-6

67-3-1



HALIMO, Western District. 25th March, 1960.

District Commissioner, Western District, DARU.

#### REPORT OF PATROL EMETI No. 6/68-69

Please find herowith three copies of the Report of Patrol EMETI No.6/68-69, submitted by Mr.R.M.Diamond C.P.O. The Report includes a Patrol Diamy, a report on the particular objects of the ratrol, a Situation Report, and a patrol may. Copies of the relevant patrol instructions are also forwarded herewith.

The patrol, though rather an arduous one, was undertaken by Mr. Dismond as something as a holiday from his more routine duties as 0.I.C. EMETI. The smallness of the population and the lack of potential will not justify any prolonged attention to this area. However, brief visits such as this patrol are still required to maintain contact with the more primitive localities. They also provide a break for field officers who enjoy getting away from it all.

The immediate reason for the patrol was a report that the KOWALASI people (usually referred to hitherto as "DU'AMIN"), nomadic bush people from the head of the Bamu River, had relocated themselves downstream from their previous rather inaccessible village site near the first rapids on the upper Bamu. They were reported to be keen to be administered from EMETI, but were not responding to direction from the Village Constable of KUBEAI, the nearest village. In visiting the KOWALASI, the opportunity was taken to revisit villages recently seen on a census patrol of the area (Patrol EMETI No.5/68-69), and to explore the region between the Bamu and Gama Rivers.

4. Patrol Diary: Mr. Diamond appears to have done some rough living in primitive surroundings on this patrol. The Diary entries for 13th - 15th February make interesting reading. I understand that, when spending the night of 14th-15th March in cances in the middle of the immense swamp at the head of the Cama River, one of the tribulations suffered (not mentioned in the Report) was being over-run by swarms of green spiders. The "rig sites" mentioned are sites of A.P.C. drilling operations, abandoned about 1958.

5. Submissions for a pointments of village constables for BEBISA and KOWALASI will be made in due course.

The death rate for BERISA village (see P.2) seems to have been alarmingly high in the period 1959-1964, but, as Hr. Biamend observes, is not exceptional at present. The nearest medical tree mant available is at Bana River Micrien (see mar). He madeal patrols have visited this area for at least eighteen months, and probably longer.

The Diamond does not quote an authority for suggesting that his was only the second patrol to contact the KOVALASI people. This may well be true, if "contact" is to be taken as a full-scale Administration patrol which conducts a consus of the village. However, I think it quite unlikely that those people were not seen several times previously by patrols from KIKORI and efficient on speed-boat trips up the Bamm. In addition, these people would have had frequent constant with A.P.G. exploration Seems during the fifties, and with itinerant crocodile shooters.

8. GAMA RIVER Commus Division, Mr. Dismond has visited this area again since Petrol Re.6, and his report will be diverted in due course.

9. Claim for Camping Allowence for the duration of METI Patrols Nos. 5 & 6 to fewwarded herewith.

Sitt A Chance

SHE SALL OF LAB STATE

(Peter A. Hardie) Assistant District Commissioner

BALIMO, Western District. 67-1-5 2nd Pebruary, 1969. Mr.R.M.Diamond C.P.O., Base Comp. PATROL EMETI No. 6/68-69 On arrival of M.V.Mawa, please depart to the upper Banu River to check on the report that the Rusamin people have chifted their settlement demostream. Investigate the report of the Village Constable of KUHRAI that a village constable should be appointed for this village, as they do not respond to his directions.

2. In route, you should call in at the villages of HERISA, WARENO and KUREAT as a follow-up to your recent census patrol of the Upper Banu Census Division.

3. Should time be available and conditions appropriate, you may send the "Nawa" around to the Gama River and travel acress to rejoin her from the Bamu. The "Nawa" is required back at Balimo by 20th Pebruary.

Total A Sperdie

(Peter A. Hardie) Assistant District Commission or

EMETI No. 6/68-69

T. BALIMO. REPORT No.

SUB-DISTRICT.

COUNCIL. Non-Council area.

PATROL CONDUCTED BY. Robert Mac Diamond.

Cadt Patrol Officer. DESIGNATION.

AREA PATROLLED. Parts of the Upper Bamu, Lower Land, and Gama River Census Divisions.

PERSONNEL ACCOMPANYING PATROL. Interpreter: BATANU NEDE (Part) Constable 1/C AIA, No. 0487

DURATION OF PATROL. 5/2/69 to 17/2/69

DATE & DURATION OF LAST D.D.A. PATROL. 10/12/68 to 3/1/69 -Upper Bamu, 9/11/68 to 2/12/68 - Lower Bamu, 7/12/68 to 11/12/68 -

Gama River.

OBJECTS OF THE PATROL. (i) To "fo\_low up" the recent census patrol to the Upper Bamu.

> (ii) To locate and investigate the KOWALASI people's position, especially with regard to the possibility of appointing a V.C.

(iii) Time permitting, to investigate nathance the forces, which may the track connecting the Upper Bamu and Gama Rivers.

TOTAL POPULATION OF AREA PATROLLED. 335 (Excl. KOWALASI) MAP REFERENCE. See map attached.

VILLAGE POPULATION REGISTER. A V.P.R. for the KOWALASI people, suitably noted, is attached, for general interest.

000.

#### Report of EMETI Patrol, No. 6/68-69.

#### PATROL DIARY.

6/2/69: Departed EMETI 1100 in M.V. Mawa, headed up Bamu River, arriving BEBISA Village 1600. Appointed new Village Constable. Spoke with people about their wish to move to a new site to avoid sorcery threats. Slept BEBISA.

7/2/69: Departed BEBISA 0700, arriving KUBEAI 1230. Most people absent, but returned from bush later in the afternoon. Talked with one villager who wishes to start a small trade store. Spoke to young men about possible chance for them at Boys' Vocational School. BALIMO. Tried to find out a little more about journey to KOWALASI people further up the Bamu River. Slept KUBEAI.

8/2/69: Departed KUBELI 0630 with Village Constable who is supposed to know a little of the KOWALASI language. Travelled up-river until 1700, and set up camp well above top-most rig site. Plenty of send banks with turtle eggs on this stretch of the river. River swift, but not too many snags. One log jum encountered, which was cleared with a few minutes work.

9/2/69: Departed camp site 0630, arriving KOWALASI village site 1200. Temporary village only, but substantial rest house had been built. Short talk with people about other villages further up the Bamu, and about their future intentions. Slept at village.

10/2/69: 0630 - 0700, brief consus of all present. 0715 departed downstream, arriving Rig Site 1 at 1130. Quick inspection of site. Some Marsden matting in reasonable condition, but Mawa incapable of carrying anything away. Departed Rig Site 1 1215, arriving KUBEAI 1700. Picked eight carriers for coming walk through to Gema River. Slept KUBEAI.

11/2/69: Departed KUBEAI 0720, arriving BEBISA 1130, pushing incoming tide during last two hours. Unloaded equipment necessary for walk, and sent M.V. Mawa on to EMETI and the Gama. Found out a little more on the walk to the Gama River. Interpreter BATANU reported ill, and possibly unable to accompany the patrol any further. Slept BEBISA.

12/2/69: BATANU given sufficient money to hire canoe to transport him back to EMETI. 0640 started following ill-defined track through alternating sago swamps and steep, low ridges, until 1300 when the patrol reached a large BEBISA bush house. Swamps small, but difficult to cross, and the ridges covered in dense, sapling-like forest with many vine tangles. Many leeches.

13/2/69: Departed bush house 0615. Short walk until 0800 to small creek with cance place. People cet about making cance paddles, and those accompanying patrol further, prepared sago. Const. 1/C AIA reports infected foot. Too sore to return to BEBISA, so decided he must accompany patrol to aid post in Gama. Slept in bush.

14/2/69@ Departed down small creek in canoes at 0700. Paddled through weed choked section until 1000, when the creek became clearer. Creek became drainage channel for huge grass swamp, similar to BALIMO, but with no islands of land in sight. Accompanying guide admitted to being lost at this point. Followed drainage channel which passed close to an island at 1400. Several small houses on same, with large, young banana garden, but no people. Rested until 1430. About 1700 started looking

for dry land to set up camp, None avalight, so prew paddled through the night.

15/2/69: 0130 lost sight of shrmal, so tenered cances to some reeds and spent the unit in the cancer 05% re-located the channel. About 1300 land stated rooming plenting, and the channel. About 1300 land stated rooming plenting, and KUPIRAMS VILLAGE, and linked up with H.V. Maya. Departed KUPIRAMS VILLAGE arived NEWETL-CHARESE 1830. Talked with the copple with about 93C. Slapt NEWETL-CHARESE. 1830. Talked with 050C. Const 1/C Ma's foot treated by address orderly. Departed 00CC. Const 1/C Ma's foot treated by address orderly. Departed 00CC const 1/C Ma's foot treated by address orderly. Departed 10CC in the Hamm 15C. Bore spected, so rest house fallen down, worst of any village yet seen in the ham. Inspirational lecture give.

17/2/69: Departed HUMICL 26CO, orderly Maya for sed hackwards when it wentured more than ten yarks out first back for the shear of the tentured more than ten yarks out first back. Children when it wentured more than ten yarks out first back or the could walk alongedes and trade food for toback which reev, the river became quite rough.

EMD OF DIARY

#### INTRODUCTION.

This was a patrol to the Upper Bamu, Lower Bamu, and Gama River Census Divisions. Its main aims were:

(i) To "follow up" the recent census patrol to the Upper Bamu Census Division.

(ii) If possible, to locate the KOWALASI people and review their position with regard to giving them a Village Constable. (iii) Time permitting, to investigate the walking track between BEBISA Village and the Gama River.

These aims were accomplished, and other matters of a routine nature were attended to, as they arose.

Another day or two spent in the Gama could have coved useful, as there are changes takin place there (Discussed in the report) which bear investigating. Unfortunately, some infection had attacked the accompanying Constable's foot, and it was deemed wisest to return to EMETI for medical aid. Further, the Interpreter had been forced to withdraw from the patrol some days earlier, so difficulty in communicating was proving a problem. Briefly, it seems some change of attitude toward Local Government may be occurring, and that a split within the Cama, because of this, is about to come about, involving the re-location of several villages in the swamp at the head of the Gama River.

Although the patrol passed through the Lower Bamu Cersus Division, that was virtually all it did, so little of value was gained from our point of view, or theirs.

Much of the patrol was taken up with travelling, and with respect f to the journey from the Bamu to the Gama Biver, so it should have been. However, the M.V. Mawa is a slow, none too powerful vessel, so considerable time was used just travelling between villages. This being virtually the only motorised water transport in the Sub-District, it can only be used by EMETI for short periods, so the time used in travelling cannot adequately be compensated for by extra time being spent in the villages.

Concluding, the patrol achieved its set aims, but, because of unfortunate events such as the Interpreter becoming ill, it was prevented from carrying out much further useful work.



#### 1. "FOLLOW UP" PATROL TO EMETI No. 5/68-69.

All the villages on the Upper Bamu River (WAREHO, KUBEAI & BEBISA) visited last December were visited again by this patrol. None of the villages had any problems necessitating patrolling them so soon after the last patrol, but not to take advantage of the opportunity to do so while heading up to the KOWALASI people would have been wasteful, as the next visit to the area may be some time in the future.

The people had no warning of the patrol's arrival so many were absent from their villages at the time. The main points to note are:

#### BEBISA.

The Village Constable had died during the previous month. A new one, MOIBA DURAVE, pending approval from Headquarters. He admits to having been convicted at PORT MORESBY for assault during 1965-66. However, many Village Constables in this area have been convicted for assault while actually holding that office, and have not had their career terminated, so it would seem unfair to disqualify him entirely because of this. During the section of the walk to the Gama River that he accompanied this patrol, he proved quite efficient.

If he is not considered suitable for the job, BEBISA may be without a Village Constable for some time, as no one else will presently have anything to do with the position, because of the attacks of sorcery that officer is invariably subjected to.

(b) The people of BEBISA are considering moving their village to a new site, wher in the bush near the top of the Gama swamp, or up near WAREHO and KUBEAI. This is allegedly because of fears of sorcery, which they feel are causing their population to be drastically reduced. Fogulation digures for recent years are as follows:

Year 59 60 63 64 65 (Mar) 65 (Nov) 68 Total Population 112 108 70 61 61 75 66 T.P. excl. absentes 106 104 59 56 59 74 64

After 1960, BEBISA ceased to be made up of three hamlets, and many people apparently fell into other census groups. Deaths recorded for those censuses are respectively: 7, 7, 20, 7, 0, 0, and 3.

Apart from the odd figures for 1963, the death rate does not seem to be climbing at an alarming rate, which the people's concern indicates should exist. These figures are only as reliable as the information used to compile them, but they should be sufficient for giving an indication of the position.

There may be fears of sorcery in this desire to move, but it is possible that the villagers are succumbing to i old, semi-nomadic ways. They used to move around quite frequently in the recent past. Perhaps they falt some good reason should be given to the "government," and, in this area, sorcery is sufficient reason for doing almost anything. Fear of sorcery is strong enough to cause a whole village to move, but in this case the

figures indicate that some other reason exists. At least, they indicate that what the people say they are moving for, is not correct.

Obviously, if they move into the bush it will prove disadvantageous from an Administrative point of view, although not hopeless. They would really only be one day's walk from their present site, and the road to them could be improved. If the village moves up near KUBEAI and WAREHO, it will make things a little more inconvenient for themselves, in that they are that much further from the trade store at EMETI. They could still be reached by most boats in one day from EMETI.

A fact which belies their stated intention to move is the new, well constructed wharf they have built at their p present site during the past few weeks. During December last year the M.V. Emerald became stranded on the bank at BEBISA, after the tide went out. The people have built this wharf to avoid such incidents occurring again, as boats can now dock in deep water. This was built entirely on their own initiative, no one having asked them to do any work of a like nature.

#### KUPEAI.

During the census patrol to this area in December, a member of KUBEAI Village approached me with regard to obtaining permission to start a small trade store. He has about \$200.00 in a svings bank account. While not forbidding him starting such a venture, I did point out that such a business would almost certainly fail, as he is too far from EMETI to receive the constant assistance he would almost definitely need. The man is obviously keen to do something worthwhile with his savings, and all for this, but I am not going to condone a scheme in which the likelihood of success is virtually nil. To do so would probably cause ill feeling towards the Administration when the business failed, and the money was lost. Nevertheless, thought is being giver to the proolem, with a view to finding something having a greater chance of success. If the man finally decides he wants to start a trade store, despite the risk, all possible help will be given him from this quarter.

No. 5/68-69 occurred or was noted during this section of the patrol. Little was expected to, it was merely a convenient opportunity to "show the flag."

#### 2. KOWALASI (DU'AMIN) PEOPLE.

The people of KUBEAI recently informed the OIC EMETI that the KOWALASI (hitherto generally referred to as DU'AMIN, but the people themselves wish to be called KOWALASI) people had moved down from their old village, IRIE, to a point not far above KUBEAI. No attempt was made last December to reach them, as the river was too shallow for the M.V. Emerald to proceed further, in safety. This time, with rain in the Bosavi Foothills, the river was much deeper, not that it mattered too much, as the M.V. Mawa draws something less than two feet. The new KOWALASI Village was located bout a day and a half above KUBEAI, on the Western bamk. Along the way, are numerous small bush huts, used by travellers plying between KUBEAI and KOBA, (this new village) a journey said to take four days by cance. A few miles below the village is a large banana garden, about three months old.

From previous reports, a somewhat more primitive, though friendly, group of people was expected. Admittedly, many people did run down to the bank to welcome us ashore, a definite sign we are still a bit novel, but otherwise they did not

display much concern at having what is supposed to be their second patrol actually contact them. A brief description of various aspects follows:

#### (a) HOUSING.

Housing appeared to be split up into those for families, and one for single men. Most are fairly roughly constructed afrairs. The rest house(The KUERAI people told them to build a rest house) was the exception to this, being quite well constructed. This is supposed to be only a temporary site, and the people plan to build a long house down near the previously mentioned banana garden, at a site called SUBIANO, in the near future. As they seem to be copying the Upper Bamu people in an attempt to what they consider improve their standards, this may never come about, as the Upper Bamu has long since discarded long houses. If their present site is only temporary, the houses are adequate.

#### (b) CLOTHING.

Apart from one or two cases wary quills looped through the odd few ears, little traditional style of clothing remains. The men, women and children all wore European clothing, mostly in good condition. The women probably revert to traditional or "second best" clothing for everyday use, as it would be impossible for them to keep their clothing in the condition it was, if they wore it every day. Already, the people have adopted the attitude of snickering and giggling at the thought of people wearing other than European habilement. It was difficult to get them to describe what their traditional dress was, even though some were wearing it as recently as 1967. No one could bring an example of traditional dress. The Interpreter claims it was a front and rear covering of woven bark rope, hanging down to almost knee level.

#### (c) EUROPEAN IMPLEMENTS.

There are many European implements, ranging from knives and dishes, to axes and shovels, bought from the trade store at EMETI. No traditional stone implements exist, they are supposed to have been left behind at IRIE, up the Bamu. There were even many old arrows with knife blade tips, indicating steel is no novelty. It almost seems that they regard any material traditional thing as inferior, and are discarding them rapidly, to catch up with their Bamu neighbours.

#### (d) POPULATION.

A census was made of the people in the village, and for interest's sake, a Village Fopulation Register is attached. The population is probably larger than this, by about ten people, as some were away at the time, it was later disclosed.

There are three other villages of KOWALASI people. BADAM, BISASI, and IWATUBU. The latter is supposed to be in one of KIKORI's census divisions, though does not appear under that name in the Village Directory. BADAM is supposed to be about the same size as this group, and is five days by cance above this site. BISASI is ten days up the Bamu, and is supposed to number only about ten people, being a splinter group of BISASI. It is claimed that the people of BADAM and BISASI will be joining these people soon. They are said to be just as



civilised as this lot, though it is just possible that the people don't like to admit having "primitive" kinfolk, as they appear to be anxious to have little to do with their own traditional things.

#### (e) COMMUNICATIONS.

Many of the people can speak Motu now, so although communications are difficult, they are not impossible. The Village Constable of KUBEAI claims tounderstand some of the KOWALASI dialect, but more information was obtained by the use of Motu than by his efforts.

#### (f) GENERAL.

The people still apparently have clans, and the following small amount of information with regard to same was obtained.

1. Names of Clans' Kosua (Cassowary), Mei (Cane), Meli (Sago) These are exogamous, and children belong to their father's clan. Children are forbidden to marry into their mother's clan. Rules pertaining to clans are said to still 'e obeyed.

ii. The KOMURA people, to the west, are said to have the same clans, even though they are a different people. Their language is understood to a limited degree by the KOWALASI.

Traditional enemies of the KOWALASI are the KOBASI. No one was too certain where these live, possibly the areas at the top of the Taurama or Strictland Rivers. No one can remember having seen a fight with this group. (As was observed by Mr R. Rendolph during his 1967 patrol, the lack of old men is unusual.)

Some KOWALASI people have been to KIKORI and BALIMO, not to mention EMETI. They heard of the first two places initially and used to sell their crocodile skins there. After the patrol of 1967, they became accustomed to EMETI, and have moved to their present site to be closer to it. Apparently they have been on the station several times, without anyone telling the OIC, as the station personnel no longer consider them an unusual sight, There is some possibility that IWATUBU will come to the Bamu soon, as its present site is considered too far from KIKORI.

As an indication of their rapid adoption of Bamu ways, one could des ribe their change of canoes. During 1967, they had an unusual "fish-tail" style of canoes. Now, they have totally discarded this, and have copied the upper Bamu style, purportedly because they are easier to paddle. Not a trace of the old style remains.

The food situation in their new area is good. Apart from their not yet mature babana gardens, they are obtaining from the surrounding area: sage, bush cabbage, pineapples, sweet potato(?), sugar cane, pig, cassowary and fish. No European foodstuffs were bolstering their diet at this stage, but the people certainly know about them, and probably buy them as novelty when they come to EMETI.

Finally, although a different people to their neighbours of the Upper Bamu, the KOWALASI appear to be getting along quite amicably with them. The land they are occupying is their own, and no one has objected to them settling there.



#### APPOINTMENT OF KOWALASI VILLAGE CONSTABLE.

Recently, the Village Constable from KUEEAI complained to the OIC EMETI that the KOWALASI people weren't obeying his commands. (A duty purportedly given to him after the 1967 patrol was to "look after" the KOWALASI people.) One of the main reasons this patrol visited the KOWALASI was to consider the possibilities of appointing a Village Constable of their own. I am in favour of doing so, for the following reasons:

t KUBEAI is four days by canee, away from this present village site, and the Village Constable \* Tx of KUBEAI cannot hope to have much influence from that distance.

The KOWALASI and KUBEAI people are of different g groups, and although working amicably together now, may not continue to do so if one is given authority over the other.

111 The Village Constable of KUBEAI is far from being a particularly capable leader.

iv Although only a small poulation now, their is the possibility that their ranks will be swelled by the other KOWALASI villages in the near future.

The Upper Bamu is under-populated, and extra these people would prove an asset if added to it.

vi There is a considerable amount of money held by this group, and it is not impossible that, if left in charge of them, the Upper Bamu ratives could contrive some scheme to take advantage of this.

The main reason I consider a Village Constable should be appointed is (ii) above. There is enough animosity between groups in this patrol post's area as it is, without possibly engendering other like situations.

I recommend DIABI ASABIA, a male adult of about 25 years, for the position. His father was supposed to have been a "big man" as a fight leader, and it is probable that some of his respect has been inherited by this son. At least, the people seem to think so. DIABI is willing to take the job on, and has a rudimentary knowledge of what it entails. Some direct official liaison with the people is obviously advantageous.

#### 3. TRACK BETWEEN THE UPPER BAMU & GAMA RIVERS.

a day by day account of the journey is given below.

12/2/69: Departed BEBISA 0640, following a track heading out of the village heading approximately East. The track traveres fairly sloppy ground, and is not well defined, even in its initial stages. This continues over low, steep ridges, and through small sage swamps. Vegetation in the swamps is composed mainly of sage, and on the ridges is densely forested thin, almost sapling like trees, with many vine tangles making walking difficult. The swamps are small, but numerous, and although difficult to cross now, would not present much of a problem during a prolonged dry spell. At about 1300 the track passed through a small cleared area, in which was situated a BEBISA bush house, overlooking a sage swamp. This house is about 45 feet long, on stilts about 15 feet high, has no windows but several peep-holes, and door-ways at each end, complete with doors. Each end g has a small velandah, and the Eastern one

end is a well constructed stairway, kept in good repair. The BEBISA people claim they built this house, which is superior to anything they have in their village, to afford protection from the "bush people." Some people claim they have seen these "bush people," others that they only built the house because their fathers told them about these dangerous people. A few went so far as to state that they are known to live in the tops of trees, and are amixture between humans and spirits. It is just possible that the odd, isolated family is living in the bush, following a more traditional way of life, but hardly likely that definite pockets of population, uncontacted by the Administration, still exist in this area. Such houses as this one were the normal dwellings during times gone by, except that the entrance was then limited to a small hole in the wall, and this house is probably some sort of "carry over" from those times. The people become embarrassed when talking about these "bush people," as if they are somewhat ashamed at anyone discovering they believe in the stories of their fore-fathers.

13/2/69: Leparted the bush house at 0615, arriving at a small creek and canoe place at 0800. The track passed through one large sago swamp, and over one steep ridge to reach this. At this canoe place are several rough dwellings, allegedly built by KIWAI people who came through some years ago, in search of crocodile skins. The patrol was held up for the entire day, as people prepared paddles and sago for the coming trip through the swamp. Wild pig and cassowary are abundant here.

14/2/69: Departed in & canoes at 0700, following the small winding, weed choked creek. For the first three hours, the canoes were more often dragged across the grass, than paddled through water. At about 1000, this gave way to a great grass swamp, similar to that found around BALIMO, but much larger. (The old man accompanying as a guide lecided that he did not know where to go next, so we followed the creek, which had become a channel through the swamp.) This continued on, meandering about almost in circles, with occasional stretches clogged by grass. Land was nowhere to be seen, though stands of trees were growing on patches of ground, barely 18 inches below the surface of the water. At 1400, we passed a small island with several houses and a young banana garden on it, belonging to NEMETI-GIMEREME in the Gama. We rested here, until about 1430. The channel continued on, without another sighting of dry land, passing through and near large, clear stretches of water, not yet overgrown by grass. During the late afternoon, Mt. Bosavi could be seen on the Northern horizon, quite clearly. As no more land appeared, we paddled through the night.

15/2/69: At 0130, we lost the channel, so tethered the canoes to the reeds, and slept in the canoes until 0545, when we set off in search of the channel, which was soon enough re-located, by observing which way the current was flowing. At approximately 1100, patches of dry ground became numerous, and the channel became more like a river, with definite banks. Finally, it became obvios that this was the Gama, and at 1400 the patrol reached KOPIRAMI, the top-most village on the river.

The grass swamp warrants some short description. It is absolutely tremendous, being similar to the swamp near BALIMO, but many times bigger. At this time, land was extremely scarce, the whole thing being just one vast, grassy plain of water, with some clear areas. The insect and spider population is quite dense, and many numbers of same migrate to vessels passing close to them, it would seem. Ducks and geese are numerous, but are already quite shy of canoes. Several times, the

channel passed close to areas which gave false hopes of the swamp ending, when it passed by large stands of trees, indicative of dry land, but these were all on ground some feet under water. The boundary of the swamp does not make a very dramatic appearance, but slowly becomes apparent as small patches of ground become more numerous.

Despite the fact that the journey took four days in this instance, it could be completed in just over two, if everyone was prepared, and knew where he was going. The whole swamp belongs to the Gama, and the Bamu people do not venture into it much, being wary of Gama reactions. Old, partially submerged Gama camps were common in the swamp, as they spend considerable time there during the dry season, in search of crocodiles.

#### SITUATION REPORT OF EMETI PATROL No. 6/68-69.

#### A. POLITICAL.

An area study incorporating a situation report of the Upper Bamu Census Division was compiled only a month ago, and no additional information was gathered from there by this patrol. The Lower Bamu Census Division was hardly patrolled this time, so no information relevant to this heading was obtained from there, either.

Although the patrol was forced to pay only a fleeting visit to the Gama River Census Division, some information of a political nature came to light. A change in the people's attitudes to Local Government may be occurring. At NEMETI=GIMEREME, several people inquired about how to obtain a Local Government Council, and informed me of a split supposed to be taking lace in the Gama, in the near future. NEMETI-GIMEREME and AIRUA BINGRI want to move to the swamp at the top of the Gama, and start a stylement there. By all accords, the top half wants its own Council, and the bottom half a separate one. This is an absurd situation, but it is a change from the almost wholly negative attitude towards Local Government encountered there last September. It is interesting to note that the split seems to be occurring between the two Northern and Southern groups, KEARU and BUDUHO, mentioned in the raport of EMETI Patrol No. 2/68-69. Information gathered by this patrol cannot be considered wholly reliable, as iterpretation was hampered by the lack of an interpreter, and only a short visit was made to the Gama. However, something which bears investigating is about to occur there, and I suggest that the area be patrolled again, at a more leisurely pace, in the near future.

While realising we have no present intention of initiating a Laocal Government Council in the Gama, it certainly does no harm to keep constantly aware of attitudes towards same.

#### B. ECCMOMIC.

#### UPPER BAMU CENSUS DIVISION.

As already mentioned, SUMIRI, of KUBEAI Village, has some \$200.00 which he is anxious to invest in some money

making scheme. He has not been encouraged to start a village trade store, as it would almost certainly fail. However, if SUMIRI finally decides to try that particular business, the present OIC EMETI will give him all possible assistance. His situation is being given considerable thought, as a successful indigenous business would be a boon to the area.

#### GAMA RIVER CENSUS DIVISION.

The trade store at MAISAVE, owned by Mr. J. SENIOR of KIKORI, is now operating. It is a well constructed store, with corrugated iron roofing, etc. If time had been available. dtails at of copra and crocodile skin nurchases may have been obtained. As it is, it can merely be stated that the store appears to be doing a good amount of business, and is attracting custom from areas even outside the District, e.g. The Taurama River people. Stock normally consists of all the usual trade store items, such as tin pots and dishes, tinned food, tobacco, shotgum cartridges, sweets, soft drinks, etc. The store is almost definitely a benefit to the area, in that it provides marketing facilities for local produce, and is attracting money from outside the Gama.

The native-operated trade store at GAMARI does not yet appear to have re-opened for business.

#### C. SOCIAL.

#### HEALTH.

The KOWALASI people could probably bear some medical examination. It was noted in 1967 that no old people were present in this group. Such was still the cree during this patrol's visit, so it seems likely that a short life span is the normal thirg. Many people appeared thin and spindly-limbed, and a good deal of coughing was heard at night, possibly indicating Tuberculosis, which is common in neighbouring areas. Whatever the case, they have never been innoculated against, or examined for T.B., so a medical patrol to the area might prove beneficial. It is unlikely the people would be unduly alarmed, providing adequate explanations were given them, as they seem keen to accept whatever the Administration can give them.

The aid post at GAMARI has again been staffed after being vacant for some weeks. The previous Orderly returned to BALIMO in search of supplies, and was never returned to the Gama. It is to be hoped that the present Orderly can be kept at his post long enough for the people to realise he is there. If this post can be kept staffed, it will prove beneficial, as not only do many people appear not to want treatment at the Bamu River Mission, at times the journey to same is impossible because of rough seas around Bell Point. The people of GAMARI are presently constructing a wharf from the sid post to the river.

#### D. MISCELLANEOUS.

No information relevant to this section was obtained.

END OF PATROL REPORT

LO ROBE EMETI

Map of EMETI Patrol No. 6/68-69 Gulf - W. D. Border :\_ Grace swamp: Datrol Route: Scale: 1 inch rep 8 miles Present Site of Kowalasi people Estimoled Posn.



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

## PATROL REPORT

Report Number EMET! No 7/1968-6	7
Subdistrict BALIMO	
District WESTERN	
Type of Patrol. SPECIAL	***************************************
Parrol Conducted by R.M. DIAMOND Cadet	Patrol Officer
Area Patrolled	Gama River & Lower Bamu areas
(Council and/or	Non-Council area
Census Division/s.)	Gama River + Lower Bamu Census Divisions
Personnel Accompanying Patrol	\$ 300 miles
Const 1/c BAJATE 1763	
Interp BATANU NEDE	
Senior Hosp Orderly SENEA AUSA	
Duration of Patrol-from 12 / 3 / 69	To 18/3/69
No. of Days. Seven	
Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area:	
Date	Duration
Objects of Patrol (Briefly) To investigate cer	tain matters encountered by the last patrol
to the Gama River Census Division	to investigate reports of unrest at
compal in the Lower Bamu Census	Division, and to carry out routine
administration	
Total Population of Area Patrolled	

Director of District Administration, KONEDOBU.

Forwarde I, please.

12/8/1969.

District Commissioner

Division of District Administration, Department of the Administrator, RONEDOWN. PAPUA.

57-3-46

22nd August, 1969.

The District Commissioner, destern District,

## PATROL NO. SHETT 1/68-49.

Your reference 67-11-1 of 12th August, 1969.

Report by Mr. R.M. Diamond, Gadet Patrol Officer, to Gama Hear and Lower Repu Cymeus Divisions.

people of these depressed area at present. Within the limits of staff commitments you should embayour to maintain combact and so present a deterioration in the situates.

it contains sleer, sound information about the people.

A good petroi by a keen officer.

(7.8. ELLS)
Secretary
Department of the Adelnia tratur.

Mr. R.M. Diamond. Sub-District Office, MOREHEAD. via Daru. Western District.

Please note that political education must be a continuing process in all situations with the emphasis on the advantages of national unity.

# 67.3.66 TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA Department of the Angenistrator, 67-11-1 Calcutt/bd 12th August, 1969 The Assistant District Commissioner, Sub District Office, DALIMO EMETI PATROL 7/58-69 Reveipt is seknowledged with thanks of three copies shove report submitted by Mr. R.M. DIAMOND, Canet Patrol Oplus copy of patrol instructions and your covering memo. 2. This report has been delayed considerably: firstly, because of attendance at a Praining Course: secondly, because of urgant Barden duties: and thirdly, because of an inexplicable delay in the forwarding of the report from Morehead back to baline. None of this is the fault of Mr. DIAMOND, was has submitted his usual, therough report.

- 3. The native situation in the GAMA and Lower BAME areas has not deteriorated. It cannot be said to be good, although after this patrol, Emeti again had to be left ammanaed because of the transfer of all available staff to the Border following the excitement there in May/June.
- 4. M. DIAMOND is due to return to theDistrict as a Patrol Officer in about two months time. I look forwar more very good work from this keen and competent young officer.

DISTRICT 

c.c.

The Secretary, Department of the Administrator, KONEDOBU.

Two coppes of the report herewith, together with the various covering memoranda.

> Holmes) COMMISSIONER WEISHABIRAN DIESHARA COL

Sub-District Office,
BALIMO,
Western District.
6th August, 1969.

District Commissioner,
Western District,
DANG.

REPORT OF MUSTI PAR OL N. 1969.

Please find herewith three cepters of the Report of BETI Patrol No.7/68-69, submitted to No. R.M. Mamond C.P.O. Part of the delay in submitting the Report is explained in a memo from Mr.D. smend, also forwarded believith. Delay was also caused by the Report being held up at Morehead until well into July. Delay in commenting on the Report was caused by pressure of duties on myself, being at the time the only field officer at BAJINO.

2. The Report describes a routine administrative patrol in the Lawer Benn and Gama River Gensus Divisions. The patrol was an attempt to maintain contact with the people of tasse depressed areas, as there is little clase that the Administration is able to do for them at present. If the people can feel that interest is being taken in them, it may help to dispel some of the notoriously negative attitudes of the villagers in this area. To this end, Mr. Diamond's sympathetic interest in the native situation is, I am sure, the orrect approach.

1 th Andre

(Peter A. Hardie)
Assistant District Commissioner

Distroff MOREHRAD 67-1-2 Sub-Bistwict Office, estern District. 7th June, 1969. The Assistant District Commissioner, Districts EMERI PATROL REPORT No. 7/68-69 Please find attacked five septem of the street in a chart of the Louis Bass and Game Niver Century Publication The reportate cubmitted late for two reasons of transfer to the Administrative College at FORT MORESET for more months immediately after the patrol, and my cobesquent renater to MORESEAD tub-District Haddynasters where time to complete the report has only just become available. The matters dealt with by the patrol have on briefly discussed with you, and further explanatory ments are therefore not attached. Three copies only have maps of the petrol oute attached, Other recent reports filed at 17:271 have inlies maps contained in them for reference. DO Ranon R.M. Biamond CADET PATROL OFFICER

REPORT OF EMETI PATROL To. 7/68-69

This was a short patrol of a fairly routine nature to the Gama River and Lower Bamu Census Divisions. Originally it was planned to spend about twelve da's in the Gama River area; investigating certain matters noted there during EMETI Patrol No.6/68-69. (Briefly, there then seemed to be some talk of a split between the Northern and Southern Gama Villages, and Local Government had somehow become involved in this. Local Government being the touchy subject it is in this area, it is best to check out anything possibly concerning same.)

Decembered Editor Land 17 and Editor

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Unfortunately, immediately prior to the patrol's departure, I was instructed to be ready to attend a Patrol Officer's course at the Administration College commencing 2th Karch. After a hurried radio conversation with the Assistant District Commissioner BALIMO, it was decided that I should patrol part of the Lower Bamu Census Division as well, because of trouble at OHOPAI, and because at the area had not been patrolled for many months. This shortened time spent in the Gama, but I do not think the area suffered thereby. The suspected trouble in the Gama proved to be mainly caused by rumours, and is not worth being as concerned about as earlier thought.

Senior Hospital Orderly: SENEA AUSA accompanied the patrol, and besides various routine tasks examined the aid posts at GAMARI and SISIAMI No.1 villages. The advantages of having a medical officer accompanying patrols, especially in the Lower Bamu, is discussed in the report under the Health Section.

Although not able to visit every village in either Census Division, the patrol achieved its set aims. A better job could have been done if more time had been available.

END OF INTRODUCTION TOTAL, out on the submit tenne total and pice the

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### DIARY OF EMETI PATROL No. 7/28-69

12/3/69: Departed EMETI OC15 in M.V. Mawa. Stopped at BAMU RIVER MISSION to unload cargo and deliver mail. Advised by Mr STANDEY that ADC BALIMO required conversation. Returned to EMETI and contacted ADC. Advised of course to be attended at Administrative College. Made necessary ammendments to patrol schedule and again departed EMETI 1015. B Arrived at OROPAI 0615, after first checking that all OROPAI people were not at SISIAMI 1 & 2. Spoke with the people about the young men leaving the village, a matter which is worrying them. Slept OROPAI.

13/2/69: Departed OROPAI 0615, and arrived BUNIGI 0830. Delivered mail. Inspected new rest house and barracks. Trouble with young men leaving villary for work discussed with people a. Ex bunici 1000, arrived GAMARI 1445. Spoke with people who had come in from various dama villages about the matters encountered by the last patrol to the area. Slept GAMARI.

14/3/69: Departs 3 MAR. 0/45. ar lved V MITTE GIMEREME 0900. Talked abov: rumoured split in Departed village and arrival AIRUA-BINORI approx.
General discussions. Slept AIRUA-BINORI.

15.3/69: Departed AIRUA-BINORI 3645, travelled to GAMAFI and collected Senior Hospital Orderly. Travelled around Bell Point and attempted to enter the BIN changes but became stranded on huge mod Flat when side with each Re-floated 1830 and arrived 2704 to 2 at 1900. Siept.

16/3/69: Spoke with the people, but they had no apparent problems. Departed and travelled to BINA No.1 just ur-river. Village very filtry and the people were mostly drunk. Attempted talk, but lespite earnest endeavours to pretend to stay awake, most were incapable of x even that.

Travelled to WARIO's new site near OROPAI, but on NAVIU Island. People made an effort to improve the new place's appearance, but they numbered too few to achieve much. It is a new site, and because of the small population may be rough and ready for come time to come.

Travelled to SISIAMI No. 1. General talks with the few people present. Slept SISIAMI.

17/3/69: Departed SISIAMI No.1 0645 and travelled to ANIADAI. Very few people present. Brief talk. Travelled to SOGERI. Situation similar to ANIADAI. Continued on to MIRWO. Greeted by Village Constable and two men, being sole adult male population at the time. Short talk, and slept MIRWO.



18/3/69: Waited for big tidal bore before departing MIRUO 1015. Short talk at AKIGINAPE in Aramia River. Travelled to EMETI, arriving 1460, following strong in-coming tide.

END OF PATROL DIARY



### REPORT OF EMETI PATROL No.7/68-69.

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### SITUATION IN THE GAMA RIVER CENSUS DIVISION

Puring EMETI Patrol NO. 6/68-69 I spent one night in this Census Division. While I was there, talk of a split between the Northern and Southern villages was heard. No adequate interpreter was them available, so the complete details were not obtained. Basically, the story was as follows: NEMETI-GIMEREME and AIRCA-BINORI were going to shift from their present sites, and move to an area belonging to ISTATI, in the North-Western Garm swamp. There, they were going to build a village, plant gardens, and eventually build a road through to EMETI, purportedly one day's walk from the proposed site. The reason behind all this was said to be caused by the rejection of Local Government by the villages which would have remained behind. In the new locality, AIRWS-BINORI and NEMETI-GIMEREME felt they could obtain a Council more easily, as they would not have to be retarded by the other people's attitudes.

This patrol, although hurried, had a good interpreter, and time anough to adequately investigate the situation. The new story veries from the above as follows: It now appears that the whole story came from one willage, NEMETI, and more particularly from one man of that village; DOMO, who is probably trying to instigate a change of some sort in the Gama. Previously, DOMO was one of the obvious leaders in this business, althought not by the dnly one. Now, he alone admits to still being keen on the idea of moving. The only people he is presently influencing are a few from NEMETI. DOMO probably was not sincere, out he g stated to me that he was fed up with the way the people could not try to improve their let, so he was not going to attempt to make any further changes.

I consider that there has been some sort of argument between the upper and lower villages, which may have caused the upper villages to want to move away. The last patrol probably arrived while the people were still feeling "put out" enough to wentate move. By the time this patrol came through, thirds had probably sorted themselves out, and no one really felt like moving. Local devernment would have been brought into it mainly to indicate to the patrolling officer that the ones who wanted to move (the ones telling the story) were the progressive ones, as the Sama people are under the impression that all the sam Patrol Officers to the area want to initiate Local Government Councils.

Another theory is that DOMO has some interest in moving the people further North. Local Government would then be mentioned for the same reason given above.

These are just theories, but as theories are all one can use to explain the ituation, as the people themselves provide no adequate explanation. Two things are fairly certain; Whatever has sused the unrest is apparently not causing it now, and all Government is still not acceptable to these people.

Wine Told Sweller of

Even if the people uo move to the swamp. it does no real harm, as a track could probably be made to the new site from EMETI. This would then provide a handy alternative route to the Gama River Census Division. Near village nercainly entract to their

### REPORT OF UNREST AT OROPAL VILLACE

Prior to this patrol's departure, reports were received that there was unrest at DROPAI village. It was claimed that an old man named MiUGA of that village had tried to marry his widowed daughter in law, MONEA. This act was considered to be so showeful that many young men had run away from OROPAL.

ne problem was investigated, and the following infernation obtained. For about 18 months MAUGA has been trying to marry MCWMA, who has repulse any advances he has made. MAUGA is old, and fairly feeble, so he is not proving too difficult for MCWMA to repel.

I made an attempt to ascertain how native custom would have solved a similar situation, and was told that MAUGA would have been killed by MOFFA'S line, while his own line would have made no move to help his, but would neither have participated in his surder, Even if the above is not really what would have been done according to custom, it indicates that MAUGA's actions are considered shameful. This "phame" has now apparently caused many who are capable to move away. Some have some to neighbouring villages, some to DARU. Some have gone to neighbouring villages, some to DARU, and others to PORT MORESBY. (It is possible that some upper has caused young men to leave home, but unlikely all who have left did so because of this incident.)

MAUGA is considered quite a potent sorcer-er, and this could provide some explanation as to why the talk of all this has taken so long to reach Administrat-李然如为 化号加

I dealt with the case as follows. After ascertaining that HAUGA's actions were shameful by native custom. I asked why he was prepared to peraist in them, and incur such shame. He gave various and somewhat disgusting stories about MOWAA leading him on," and causing him to act as he was. Considering the age difference, these acts are most unlikely to have occured, and are probably fabrications on MAUGA's part ed, and are probably fabrications on MAUGA's part.

After definitely ascertaining MOWEA did not want to marry MAUGA, I tried to persuade MAUGA to change his mind. Respect for his own custom was not strong enough to do this. Consequently, I was forced to make obscure threats about laws which prevented forced marriages, etc. MAUGA did not understand this, but he has the impression that he 66uld be breaking a law of some sort, if he forces MOWEA to marry him. This was sufficient to change his mind, at least for the time.being.

With regard to the desertion of CROPAI by many of the villagers, it is difficult to prove this is caused by MAUGA's actions. People are always leaving the Bamu to find work, both casual and contract. However,



in this case, many have taken their families with they, not a normal action when seeking work. They are supposedly living at DARU and PORT MORESBY, obtaining what work they can, and living off relatives' handouts when work is not available.

Their village certainly suffers by their abence, but there is an argument in fevour of leaving them be. This is discussed in the "Social" Section of the Situation Report.

The situation with regard to MAUGA and MOWEA is at least temporarily solved.

### SITUATION REPORT OF EMERI PATROL REPORT No. 7/68-69

# A. POLITICAL.

Both the Gama River and Lover and Ceneus Divisions are saill pretty much at the one stage of political development, and have the same attitudes, politically, which they enjoyed when area studies were sonducted there during July, 1968.

The Game is still not inclined towards itself Government, or willing to talk about things concerning politics. For obvious reasons, no attempt to further political education was made by this patrol. Any such attempts would have most likely been ignored. The people of the Game are no worse and no better than they were almost nine months ago.

Similarly, in the Lower Bamu, nothing has changed since last July. These people then claimed, and do now claim they would not object to having local Government. Despite such claims, the people are making no effort to initiate a Council. Local Government is really only mentioned when a government official orings the subject up. From this, it seems fairly reasonable to assume the people are not very keen, but rather than fall out with the Administration, will pretend to be in favour of Councils when the Administration asks their opinion. This is caused by their belief that we wish them to have a Council, and that we will become upset if they do not show signs of coupliance.

In short, both areas remain politically naive, and neither is showing signs of improving. The Gama is more of an obvious "hard-core" area, in that it will not even pretend to change its attitude to appease the Administration. Although the Lower Bamu will do this much, it could prove just as negative if it ever had to really decide the issue, instead of merely hazing.

## B. BCONOMIC.

The Gama is apparently producing more copra than it was before Mr SENIOR's store commenced operations in the area. This informati n was gained from the manager at MAISAVE, but no exact figures were obtained. The store was operating quite successfully at the time of the patrol

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No other details of economic interest were noted by this ratrol. Neither area has changed much in this respect since July, 1968.

#### C. SOCIAL.

### (a) HEALTH

Generally, health was good, compared to situations encountered by previous patrols. At BINA No.1 two sick people were noted; one woman with a type of venereal disease, and a very thin man who was suspected of having Tuberculosis, but who was later found to be deformed. The woman would not have come to the patrol's attention, had not a fellow villager brought the matter up. The husband of the woman would not have mentioned the illness, and had no intention of seeking medical aid, despite the fact that his wife had had the inlness for some time.

The aid post at SISIAMI No.1 m is virtually completed and ready for staffing. It is almost entirely constructed of corrugated iron, so although being hot, should be sturdy. Senior Hospital Orderly, SEMMA AUSA is crite optimistic about sending an Orderly from BALIMO in to near future. The sid post at GAMARI is still staffed by GUBA, and is operating well enough.

If these posts can be kept staffed, perhaps they will thelp the people to overcome their distrusts and fears of medicine, or whatever it is that still makes them reductant to accept it after so many years of contact.

EMEN's has no medical staff of any kind posted there, the reason being that the BAMU RIVER MISSION can provide adequate facilities nearby, which is correct. However, on patrol, an Odrely can be most useful, as SENEA was on this one Quite often, in this area the patrolling officer is faced with the decision of sending nomeone who appears ill, but in fact may not be, considerable distances to the Mission for no useful purpose. The converse applies. Sick people may be left in the village because the unqualified patrolling officer has decided they are not sick. It would be most useful if some arrangement could be made whereby BALIMO could provide some staff to accompany further patrols in this area.

#### (b) LACK OF YOUNG MEN IN THE LOWER BAMU

Every village in the Lower Bamu that this patrol visited was very short of fit young men. These were supposedly away at work, either casual or agreement, or living in DARU and PORT MORESBY. The villages themselves appear to be suffering from this. Houses are poorly repaired, minor village tasks are not accomplished, and dependant relatives of the absences are sometimes not faring too well. The rate of adultery is high, because of the absence of husbands.

Now, this is a situation which has existed for many years in this area. One can read past EMETI patrol reports and find officers commenting on this frequently. Consequently, I will not reiterate those descriptions.

Being realistic, under present conditions, little can be done to improve things. The people have

the right to come and go as they please, and any action taken to deprive them of this would be impossible to police, anyway. So long as work, or even the rumour of available work outside the Bamu exists, people will leave the area until such time as they HAVE to come back. The situation will probably become worse as communications and education improve. Until such time as the Bamu becomes attractive, even to many of its own people, there will always be people anxious to quityit

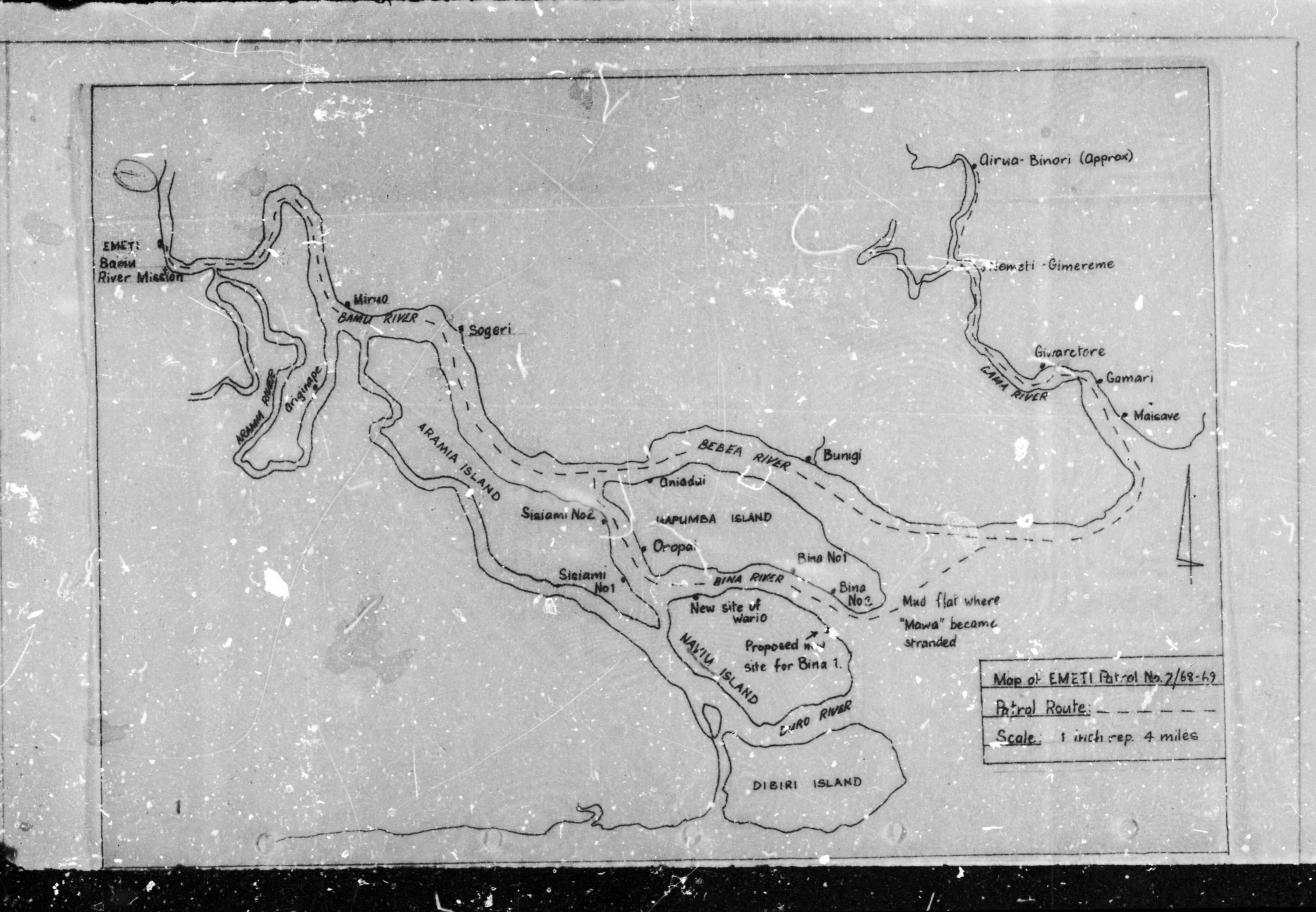
The area is very well off for food, so nobody, not even the deserted need starve. The desertion just makes area more more miserable for the remaining people, through loneliness and lack of projects caused by their absence.

Many of the people absent at the time of this patrol will come back, as various means of livelihood outside the area become unavailable.

I can see no solution to this. The population of the Lower samu is small, (some 3,000) and cannot afford to lose people, but will continue to do so. Short of re-settlement of the whole population, a scheme which would probably not be acceptable to the older Ramu generation, the other solution is to make the Samu attractive to the discontented generation; and that is not likely to ever come about.

END OF SITUATION REPORT

E.M. Diamond CADET PATROL OFFICER



PATROL REPORT

EMETI- 8-68-69

E.B. Reynolds

Specific village Lower Bamu C.D.

PATROL REPORT

EMETI- 8-68-69

E.B. Reynolds

Specific willage Lower Bamu C.D.

67-3-67

The District Commissioner, Western District, BARD.

27th August, 1969.

### PATROL NO. AMERI 5/68-698

Your reference 67-11-1 of 12th August, 1969.

I neknowledge with thanks receipt of Special Apport by Ar. E.B. Reynolds, assistant Patrol Officer, to part Lower Bass Commun Division.

Your ecaments, and those of the Assistant District Commissioner, Beliso, adequately cover the contents of this short extral.

(T.W. Sibis)
Secretary,
Department of the Administrator.

Mr. B.M. Roynolds, Patrol Pest, MGMRUM.

Stern District.

Please note that political education must be a tinuing process in all situations with the emphasis on advantages of national unity.

Department of the Administrator, DARU

12th August, 1969

67-11-1 Calcutt/b4

The Assistant Itatmest Commissioner, Bub District Office,

### EMETI PATROL REPORT 8/68-9

I acknowledge receipt of two copies of this brief report, from Er. E.B. Reynolds, Assistant Patrol Officer, plus copies of patrol instructions and you covering ness

The latter adequately evers the situation, and there is no need for further comment. Er. Reynolds, follow a special leave, was out post heate to Hingaran for Border duties.

DISTRICT CONSTRUCT

c. c.

The Secretary, Department of the Administrator, KONEDOSU

Two copies of the report herewith.

DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
VESTERN DISTRICT

57-3-4

Sub-Matrict Office, BALINO, Western District. 6th August, 1969.

District Commissioner, Western District, DANU.

### REPORT OF HUNTI PARMIL Rs. 8/68-69

Figure find herewith three copies of the Report of ELTI Patrol No. 5/68-69, submitted by Mr. R. B. Reynolds C.P. C. Two copies of the Patrol Instructions are also forwarded.

2. The patrol was cent to the Benn River delta to carry out some Peline work. Mr. Reynolds was cent with the patrol in order to give him experience. The instruction to visit various villages in route was given in order 5 try and maintain convect with the native people of the area.

3. The patrol was quite straightforward, and seems to have been adequately rejerted by Mr. Raynolds.

Let Abbani

(Peter A. Hardis)
Assistant District Commissioner

Contract of Between

Western Dietrict. 4th May, 1969.

Mr.E.B.Reynelds, C.P.D., Sub-District Office, BALING.

## INTERI PATROL No.8/68-69 . INSTRUCTIONS

With Interpreter BATARU and Const. I/s BAJATE, plants proceed on a shart patrol to Bisian; village is the lever fact Consts Division, Louant and arrest one IDEAL of Bisians, for whom a Varrent has been issued under 8, 100 of the Health whom a Varrent has been issued under 8, 100 of the Health whom a Varrent has been issued under 8, 100 of the Health villages. You should tall at EMMIRACIO, ANARAMIO, ANARAM villages on your way villages on route to Similar and at AIMO village on your way beek. These visits need only be brive, unless the people have something they wish to discuss with your

You will be taking the "Mame" on this patrols to it is now full mean season, there will probably be tidal horse in the Rems. You are to take no risks at all with these beres, it the approach of low tide, assummental and the heat should be in as source a plane as possible.

In your meturn to EMETI, pick up Const. to Ala and family, any patients from the Mission Hospital, and return to Baline.

Stat Addice

(Poter A. Hordie)

### TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

PATROL REPORT

Report Number.

EMETI 8 of 1968/1969

Subdistrict.

BALIMO

District.

WESTERN

Type of Patrol.

SPECIAL

Patrol Cor lucted by.

E.B. REYNOLDS. Cadet Patrol Officer.

Area Patrolled.

SPECIFIC VILLAGES

(Council and/or

LOWER BAMU CENSUS DIVISION

gensus Divisions)

Personnel Accompanying Patrol

Interpreter BATANU

Const I/c BAJATE

Duration of Patrol

from 4/5/69 the 9/5/69

Number of Days

S1 (6)

Last D.D.A Patrol to Area

Emeti Patrol Number 3 1968/1969.

Date.

9/11/68

Duration 9 Days

Objects of Patrol.

I. Arrest T.B. absconder.

2. Investigate charges of willful damage to cance.

Total population of area patrolled

5179.

Director of District Administration, KONEDOBU.

Forewarded please.

12/8/1969.

Moderner

District Commissioner

### PATROL REPORT EMETI NUMBER 8 of 1968/1969.

DIARY:

- 4/5/69: I400. Departed Balimo for Emeti in dinghi powered by 35 Mercury outboard. Reached Emeti 1730 hours after brief stops at Mapoda and Bamu Mission stations. Overnight at Emeti.
- 5/4/69 : Chree hours office duties in the morning. I200 hrs departed Emeti in speedboat for Bamu Mission.
  I230 departed Mission in M.V.Mawa for Bimaramio.
  Arrived Bimaramio I622 hours, no complaints from the recopie, all appeared to be in order. Left Bimaramio I635 arriving Asaramio I810. Overnight.
  At the time of this report the rest house was baily imminates in need of repair. Social talk with the Village Constable later in the evening. Overnight in the village.
- 6/5/69 : Again talked with Village Constable and several people before leaving the village at 0825 hours.
  0945 hours arrived Amagos village finding it virtually deserted. Reason- all the men capable of work were at Mibu Plantation working for John Stocks.0045 hours left Amagos arriving Sisiame No. I at 030 where enquiries were made as to the whereabouts of one Idimai, a T.B. absconder. IO45 proceeded from Sisiame to Watiri Creek on Naviu Island where the above mentioned Idimai was subsequently arrested. Arrived Sisiame I245 and spent IO alinter loading sago before proceeding to Bins Mc. I to investigate charges at willfull damage to a cannot an arrest was made. Bina No. I village has now been moved to a new site on Naviu Island. Left Bina No. I 1500 hours. Orapai village reached I735 hours, overnight at Orapai.
- 7/5/69: 0800 left Orapai for Mirus. I330 errived Mirus, lavestigated adultery case, payed back wages owing to previous Govt. labour. I410 left Mirus for Emeti arriving I735 hours. Overnight at Patrol Post.
- 8/5/69 : Left Emeti 1000 hours. Arrived Kebane 18000 hours. Overnight at Kebane.
- 9/5/69 : Departed Kebane 0735 hours arrived Balimo 1545 hours.

END OF PATROL.

0

### PATROL REPORT EMETI NUMBER 8 of 1968/1969.

### INTRODUCTION.

There were two main reasons for this Patrol to the Lower Bamu Census Division:

I. To arrest one Idimei, a T.B. absconder from Sisiame village.

2. To investigate charges of wilful damage to a came at Bins No.I village.

Idinai was arrested at Watiri Greek on Naviu Island and brought back to Balimo where he was charged and sentenced.

An investigation was carried out at Bina No.I village and an arrest was made. The person in question was taken to Emeti and left in the charge of Constable Bairi to swait trial. There is a reason for taking this line of action. Because Constable and family, as per Patrol Instructions, were to more from Emeti to Balimo, and as the M.V. Maya was already heavily laden, there was no room for the cames breaker and witnesses.

SITUATION REPORT.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

A visit was made to the new village site of Bina No.I on Kaviu Island. This village is approximately two hours away from Sisiame No.I in the M.V. Mawa, and almost directly opposite Bina No.2.

The village is situated at the top of a sandy beach, there is a creek IOO yards to the north. These two factors were taken into consideration by the people who chose this new site... no mud to wade through and a creek to provide a sheltered anchorage.

At present the village consists of only three buildings but timber is there for the construction of more.

### CONCLUSION.

The Patrol was of six days duration and most enjoyable, it achieved its main objectives and enabled this officer to learn first hand a little more about patrolling and the people of the Subdistrict.

E.B. Reynolds CADET PATROL OFFICER.

Bujarles

67-3-69 17th September, 1969. n' District Commissioner, Setern District, PATROL NO. PROPER 1/68-69 Your reference 67-11-1 of 5th Septembers I acknowledge with thanks receipt of tiel Report by Mr. P.A. Hardie, Assistant Mistrict Missioner, to parts LOWER DAND and SAMA RIVER General (%. W. ELLIS)
Secretary
Department of the Administrator. 001

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINE Department of District Administration Western District, 67-11-1 DARU. ok for FM. SS 5th September, 1969 The Secretary, Department of the administrator, KONEDOBU. EMETI PATROL No. 9/68-69 Please find enclosed 2 copies of above Patrol Report submitted by Mr. P. Hardie, A.D.C., BALIMO. 2. As the Patrol was of very short duration and dealt only with a land purchase and Police investigation no comments are necessary. DISTRICT COMMISSIO

### TERRUMANY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINGA

PATROL REPORT

Report Number: EMETI PATROL No.9/68-69

Subdistrict: BALIMO

District:

WESTERN

Type of Patrol: SPECIAL

Patrol Conducted by: P.A. HARDIE A.D.C.

Area Patrolled

LOWER BAMU and GAMA RIVER CENSUS DIVISIONS

Personnel Accompanying Patrol: BATANU NEDE, Interpreter

BAJATE, Constable First Class

Duration of Patrol - from 14/6/69 To 17/6/69

No. of days: 4

Last D.D.A. Patrol to Area: EMETI PATROL No.7/58-89

Date: March 1969 Peration: seven days

Objects of Patrol: Land purchase

Investigation of circumstances of

death of GEWAME of BAMIO.

Total Population of Area patrolled: 232

Director of District Administration, KONEDOBU.

Forwarded, please.

strict Commissioner

### PATROL DIARY

- 14/6/69 Despatched "Emerald" with patrol gear 1030. After completing office duties at Balimo, left in dinghy and outboard motor 1530 and arrived at Emeti 1830, where joined "Emerald". Night off Emeti.
- 15/6/69 Office work at Emeti. Local Court held. Departed Emeti in "Emerald" 1100. Called at Wakau and Bamio villages in connection with murder investigation. Anchored at Bunigi. Paid out N.M.T.A. and Police lension. Night at Bunigi.
- 16/6/69 Departed Bunigi 0630. Mirly rough weather round Bell Point. Arrived at Gamari in Gama River 1000. Inspected Aid Post and talked with villagers. To Maisave village, where purchased land BISERIBOBO. for business lease application by Mr.W.J.M. Senior. Departed Maisave 1200 and steamed to Bamio, where carried out further enquiries into circumstances of death of female GEWAME. Anchored upstream from ANIADAI and spent night there.
- 17/6/69 Departed 0700 and steamed to Mirus village, where "Emerald" waited for tide. After calling at Mirus, self departed in dinghy 1030, artiving Emeti 1130. Office work at Emeti. "Emerald" arrives and is sent off to Balimo with prisoners and patients at 1300. Follow in dinghy 1400 and arrive Balimo 1815.

END OF PATROL

### EMETI PATROL No.9/68-69

#### PATROL REPORT

- 1. This patrol was tridertaken (a) to carry out a land purchase, and (b) to investigate some points raised by the Crown Solicitor concerning the case of EPOMEA NAIPO of BAMIO village, who has been committed for trial on a charge of murder.
- 2. The land purchase was that of "BISERIBOBO" adjacent to MAISAVE village in the GAMA RIVER Census Division. The land is required for a business lease, and has been applied for by Mr.W.J.M.Senior of KIKORI. Relevant Lands File is 68/2158. Only half a hectare was involved in the purchase, which took place without incident.
- 3. EPOMEA NAIPO (f) of BAMIO village, LOWER BAMU Census Division, was committed for trial on 30th April, 1969, on a charge of murder, The Crown Solicitor, in his 8146 of 23rd May, 1969, raised a number of queries about the circumstances in which the alleged offence took place, and it was necessary to visit BAMIO and interview several persons in order to clarify these points.
- 4. Most of the time spent on this patrol was engaged in travelling from place to place, and no time was available for gathering information suitable for a situation report.

Marde

A.D.C.

