

"THE GROUND OF THE ANCESTORS"

A HISTORY OF GOROKA

by Peter M. Munster

PART I: FOUNDATIONS

"A European resident in the area
has a very settling effect on
the ambient natives."

Patrol Officer C.R. Croft,
17th November, 1937.

Goroka, 1973

506597



"Chief" Wilowilo of Naminamiroka, photographed by Georg Hofmann early in 1936.



A group of Naminamiroka people, 1936. Photo by Rev. Georg Hofmann.

SOURCES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS:

In writing a history of the foundations of Goroka, a major difficulty for the historian is that much of the written material which would throw light on the early years of contact was destroyed during the Japanese invasion of New Guinea. Records held at Rabaul, Madang, Lae and Salamaua were nearly all destroyed in the bombing which preceded the capture of these administrative centres, or were hastily burnt by government officials who were anxious that no documents should fall into Japanese hands.

However a few records did survive, providing invaluable sources of information which help to put into perspective the remembered events and oral traditions of numerous informants who witnessed or took an active part in these early contacts. Among these documents are Mr. J. L. Taylor's report of the 1933 Mt. Hagen Patrol and Mr. John Black's report of his 1934 patrol through the Bena Bena - Asaro area. There is also a surviving copy of Mr. Charles Bates' 1933 patrol from Kainantu to Bena Bena, held by the Department of External Territories, Canberra, but this has not yet been seen by the author.¹ As far as can be ascertained, all government records of patrols in 1935 and 1936 have been lost, which is unfortunate as it was in 1936 that Mr. Jim Taylor re-opened the patrol post at Bena Bena and pacification of the Asaro Valley peoples was systematically begun. However a set of Kainantu patrol reports, covering the period 1937 to 1941, did survive the War and were discovered in the Kainantu Sub-district Office as recently as 1965. Of particular interest are reports referring to the Bena Bena - Asaro area which were written in 1937 by patrol officers T.G. (Tommy) Aitchison, Cedric Croft and N.C. (Pompey) Elliott.

1. Bates, C.: Patrol Report 25 of 1933, District of Morobe. Department of External Territories archives, Canberra.

Reports in the Kainantu file written after 1937 deal almost exclusively with the Kainantu area, with only incidental references to Bena Bena and Goroka. One reason for this is that at about this time Bena Bena achieved independent status as a patrol post and the staff there were no longer responsible to the officer at Kainantu. Until July 1937, the central highlands as far west as Chimbu were administered as part of the Morobe District, with headquarters at Salamaua. This put Kainantu in a pre-eminent position as far as lines of communication were concerned, and the senior officer in charge was based there. Thus a junior office officer such as A.P.O. 'Pompey' Elliott made his reports from Bena Bena to the "Officer in Charge, Ramu", who at that time was Patrol Officer 'Tommy' Aitchison.¹

However, at the end of July, 1937, the boundaries were re-drawn, the eastern highlands area becoming part of the Madang District. The alteration is noted in the 1937-38 Annual Report to the League of Nations:

"The effect of the amendment is to include the Kainantu (Ramu), Finintegu, Bena Bena and Chimbu posts in the Madang District. An aerial service has been established between these places and district headquarters."²

Thus at the stroke of a pen Bena Bena became closer to the administrative headquarters than Kainantu, and thereafter it is possible to trace a change of emphasis in the relative importance of the two centres. The officers at Bena Bena in 1938, N.C. Elliot and N.D. 'Sam' McWilliam, undoubtedly submitted patrol reports during this period, but as none are in the Kainantu file it can be assumed they reported directly to the District Officer in Madang.

There is a second reason for this absence of post-1937 Bena Bena reports in the Kainantu file. It is explained by Patrol Officer Cedric Croft in his report of 17th November:

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1. Elliott, N.C.: Patrol Report B, 37/38, 20th July, 1937 (Kainantu File).
 2. 1937-38 Report to the Council of the League of Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea, p.24.

1937:

"The policy has been for the Gafuku area to be patrolled from RAMU while the Bena Bena officer at such times patrols the Gadsup area near Ramu. This is considered unnecessary and a waste of time in travelling and lacking in continuity of contact; a very necessary procedure. In future the GAFUKU area will be patrolled from Bena Bena Post and all Gadsup area patrols from Ramu."¹.

The records kept at Bena Bena have disappeared. Presumably they met a similar fate to that of the copies held in the District Office at Madang. Whether they were destroyed in the heavy Japanese bombing raids of June, 1943, or met a less spectacular end through exposure to rats and the weather, is a moot point.

Two volumes of A.N.G.A.U. patrol reports of the Bena Bena - Goroka area, which date from early 1944, are held in the National Archives, Port Moresby and these give a very detailed account of the activities of A.N.G.A.U. after the withdrawal of Australian and American military combat forces from the area. ANGAU's major task during 1944 and 1945 was the rehabilitation of the native people after the disruptive and often traumatic war experiences of 1942 and 1943. So much then for the surviving official government records. Of equal importance are the records of private individuals and the Missions.

Pre-eminent among the documentary sources of private individuals are those of Mr. Michael J. Leahy. From his first prospecting journey into the Asaro Valley in November, 1930 until the epoch-making Wahgi Valley - Mt. Hagen Patrol with Mr. Jim Taylor in 1933, Mr. Leahy kept very detailed records of his work, many of which refer to the Bena Bena - Goroka area. His collection of diaries and photographs are now preserved in the National Library, Canberra. Many of Mr. Leahy's experiences are also recorded in the book 'The Land Which Time Forgot', which he wrote in

1. Croft, C.R.: Patrol Report No. M. 37/38, 17th November, 1937.

collaboration with Maurice Crain.¹

The records of the Lutheran Mission are also quite extensive and informative. Early mission conference minutes relating to Bena Bena and the Asaro Valley are held at Lutheran Church headquarters in Lae, and various diaries and reports have been preserved in the Lutheran Neuendettelsau Mission's Archives at Neuendettelsau in West Germany.

Interesting reminiscences of the Seventh Day Adventist mission at Sigoiya have been provided by the widow of the pioneer missionary, Mrs. S.H. Gander. Records of Sigoiya may be held by the Seventh Day Adventist Church in Australia, but S.D.A. missionaries in Goroka are not sure of their existence. Further enquiries will need to be made.

Published works based on primary source material include Ian Willis's article 'Who Was First? The First White Man into the New Guinea Highlands',² Robin Radford's 'Missionaries, Miners and Administrators in the Eastern Highlands to 1932'³, David Dexter's chapter on the Bena Force in his war history 'The New Guinea Offensives'⁴, and Jim Sinclair's succinct account of the pre-war period in 'The Highlanders'.⁵

Diana Howlett's unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 'A Decade of Change in the Goroka Valley, New Guinea', has a useful chapter on 'Pioneers, Prospectors and Patrols', although there are some gaps in the narrative as far as Bena Bena and Goroka are concerned. I am, however, indebted to Dr. Howlett for the guidelines this chapter provides,

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1. Leahy, M.J. and Crain, M.: 'The Land That Time Forgot - Adventures and Discoveries in New Guinea'. (Funk & Wagnalls Company. New York, 1937.)
 2. Willis, I.: 'Who Was First?', Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society, Vol 3, No. 1, 1969.
 3. Radford, R.: Missionaries, Miners and Administrators in the Eastern Highlands, Journal of the Papua New Guinea Society, Vol. 6, No. 2, 1972.
 4. Dexter, D.: The New Guinea Offensives (Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1961.)
 5. Sinclair, J.P.: The Highlanders (Jacaranda, Milton, Queensland, 1971.)

and it is in no sense of criticism that I attempt to fill in the gaps that she was unable to cover. A more recent research scholar in the Goroka Valley is anthropologist and agricultural economist Dr. Fritz von Fleckenstein. He and his wife, Ruth, were most generous with their help and made relevant sections of their notes available to me.

The writing of this history would not have been possible without the assistance of three outstanding pioneers of the early contact period - namely, Mr. Jim Taylor, Mr. Mick Leahy and Mr. John Black, all of whom were leading participants in the events described. They have been un-sparing in the time they have set aside for interviews and conversations, and in the information and suggestions they have offered, both verbally and in correspondence.

It has also been possible to see the early events from a New Guinean point of view, due to the very vivid reminiscences provided by retired Sergeant-Major Ubom Mawasan, Mr. Bepi Moha, Pastor Akiro Tanggarao, retired Sergeant Enka and Luluai's Gopie of Kama, Hanimo of Faniufa and Gelepetamelauho of Seigu. Other local leaders who gave information include Mr. Soso Subi and Mr. Ai-Ae of Asariufa, Mr. Osiso Negi, Mr. Papazo Zawo, Mr. Aidameso Sikiriha and retired police constables Sare Tate and Paliu. I also wish to express my appreciation to the Rev. Johannes Flierl, the Rev. Ralph Goldhardt, Mrs. S.H. Gander, Mr. Jim Leahy, Mr. Horrie Niall, Mr. Ian Downs, Mr. L.G.R. Kyngdon, Mr. William Sippo and Mr. Tom Leabeater, all of whom have generously supplied personal reminiscences of pre-1950 events in the Goroka area.

There are others who did not participate in this early history but are none the less interested in seeing it recorded and have given me much assistance and encouragement. Foremost among these I wish to acknowledge the help of Mr. Max Orken, Senior Land Titles Commissioner at Goroka. Mr. Orken has a wealth of experience in the field of land tenure in New Guinea, gathered over a period of more than 36 years of service in this country. Mr. Rick Giddings and Mr. John Fowke of the Lands Section, Department of the Chief Minister, Goroka, have also assisted me greatly, sparing no effort

in their search for old land purchase files which have been important to this study. District Commissioner, Mr. Jim Sinclair, who kindly supported my application for access to the archival material, has also been most generous with his information and suggestions, derived from his own very extensive researches into the early contact history of the Highlands.

For Lutheran Mission records and photographs, in addition to the help received from the Rev. Johannes Flierl, I must include a note of very warm appreciation to Mrs. Frieda Helbig, who is in charge of the Lutheran archives in Lae. Mrs. Helbig has gone to a great deal of trouble to locate photographs in the possession of members of the Helbig and Hofmann families in Australia, and she has also translated from the German, early conference minutes dealing with Asaroka.

Mrs. S.H. Gander's reminiscences and photographs relating to the S.D.A. Mission at Sigoiya are an invaluable source of information, and I am most grateful to her for them.. Mention of photographs prompts a note of appreciation to Mr. Jim Taylor and Mr. Jim Leahy, in addition to those already mentioned, for their very generous loan of photographs for copying and for permission to use them in this history. Other photographs of Goroka, which I hope to use in later chapters, have been provided by Mrs. Nell Greathead, Mr. Robert Cleland and Superintendent Bill Burns, and Mr. Mick Leahy has kindly offered to make available some prints from his superb collection.

For technical assistance and facilities I am most grateful to Mr. Mike Davis and his staff of the Goroka Teachers' College Educational Materials Centre, Mr. John Bone and Mr. John Murray of the Goroka Teachers College Manual Arts Department, and Mr. Terry Gleeson, Council Clerk, Goroka, not forgetting the sterling work of my wife who typed and duplicated the manuscript.

A list of those who helped would not be complete without the inclusion of Goroka Teachers' College students, who shared my enthusiasm for tracking down information about Goroka's origins and the 'taim bipo', and who accompanied me on many weekend quests among the villages which surround

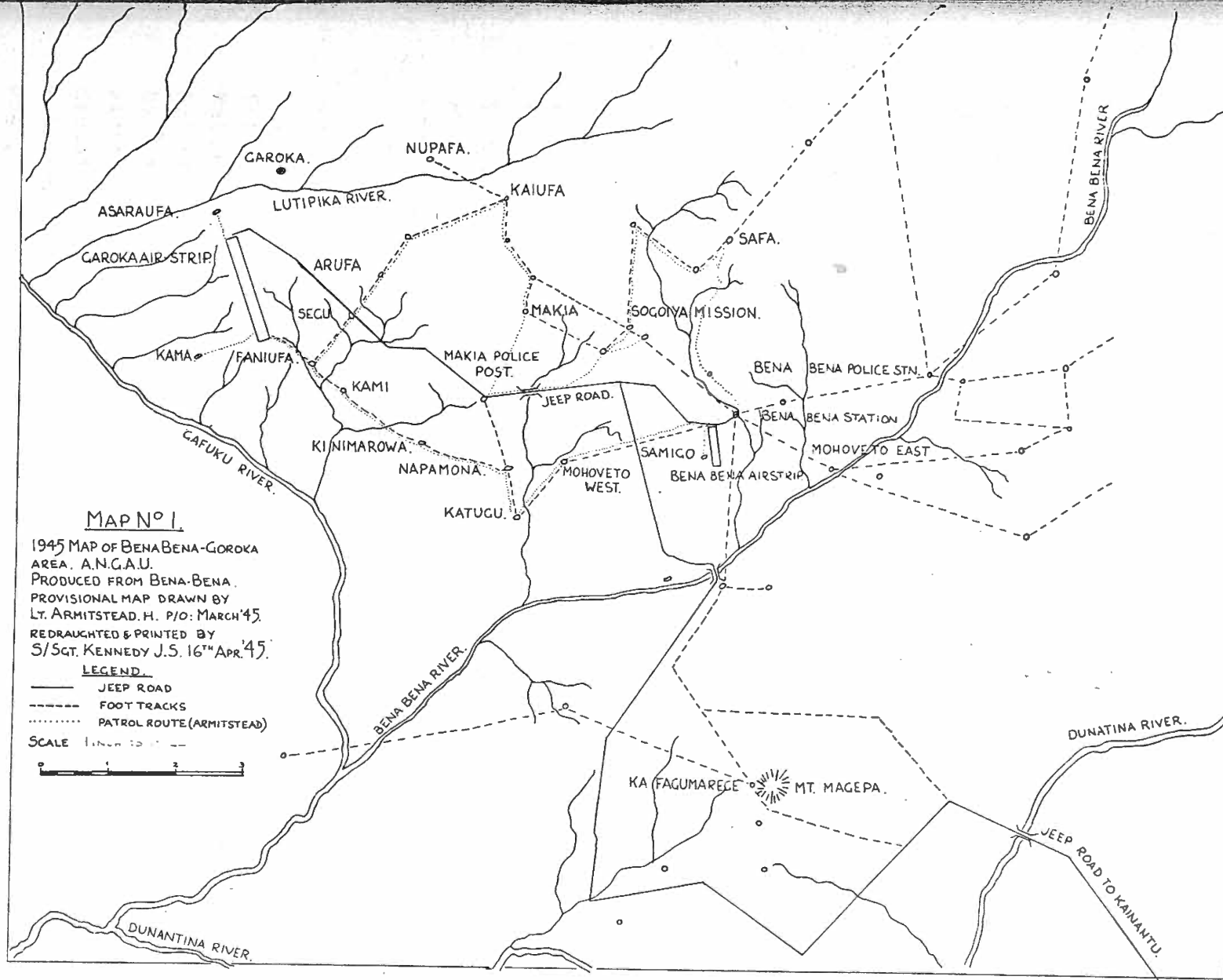
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* This section is submitted as a Sub-Thesis for the M.A. Qualifying Course, University of Papua New Guinea, September, 1973. It is a portion of a longer study of the history of Goroka. No part of this section is to be used without the permission of the author.

P. M. Munster
Goroka, September, 1973.



MAP N° 1.

1945 MAP OF BENA BENA-GOROKA
 AREA. A.N.G.A.U.
 PRODUCED FROM BENA-BENA.
 PROVISIONAL MAP DRAWN BY
 LT. ARMITSTEAD. H. P/O: MARCH '45.
 REDRAUGHTED & PRINTED BY
 S/SGT. KENNEDY J.S. 16TH APR. '45.

LEGEND.

- JEEP ROAD
- - - - FOOT TRACKS
- PATROL ROUTE (ARMITSTEAD)

SCALE 1 INCH TO 1 MILE

INTRODUCTION:

On November 7th, 1930, gold prospectors Michael Leahy and Michael Dwyer became the first Europeans to enter the Asaro Valley, where they were greeted apprehensively by the local people as ancestors who had returned from the dead. As they explored the gravelly banks and beds of numerous fast-flowing tributaries of the river which they called Garfuku, they had no idea that a broad terrace¹ to which one of these creeks led would, in a few swift decades, become the centre of a thriving Highlands town, with a population rapidly rising to the 10,000 mark.

The establishment of a town on this location, is, from an historical point of view, somewhat remarkable. Goroka was not one of the original Highlands patrol posts, nor was it a mission station, a trading centre, a road or river junction, nor even, in the days of initial European contact, a staging post on the route to the west. It cannot attribute its foundation to gold discoveries - on the contrary, it probably owes its existence to the fact that gold was not found in significant quantities in the Central Highlands. Had the Leahy brothers been successful in their prospecting around the Bena Bena airstrip, some 8 miles to the east of Goroka, and the New Guinea Goldfields Company had begun dredging in the Bena-Asaro area, then in all probability Bena Bena, and not Goroka, would have become the urban centre serving this part of the Highlands.

At first sight it does seem curious that Goroka should eclipse at least four other patrol posts with potential for urban growth, which were established up to a decade before Goroka was even considered as an administrative centre. Kainantu was opened by James L. Taylor as the Upper Ramu Patrol Post in October, 1932, and he followed this initiative by opening the Bena Bena Post beside the Leahy brothers' airstrip early in 1933. After the murder of prospector Captain Bernard McGrath at Finintegu, near Henganofi, in February, 1934, John Black established the Finintegu Patrol Post. In March, 1935, A.D.O. Alan Roberts opened the Chimbu

1. More accurately described by Dr. Diana Howlett as "A dissected alluvial fan against the foothills of the Bismark Mountains". See her Ph.D. dissertation 'Decade of Change in the Goroka Valley, New Guinea' (1962)

(Kundiawa) Post, following the deaths the previous Christmas of Catholic missionaries Father Karl Morschheuser and Brother Eugene Frank. From an administrative point of view, the eastern half of the Central Highlands was strategically covered by 1936, with permanent posts at Kainantu, Finintegu, Bena Bena and Kundiawa. (Bena Bena was temporarily closed in 1934, but Jim Taylor re-opened it in 1936.)¹ In theory, any one of these patrol posts might have developed into a major urban centre, but, in fact, Goroka, the late starter, out-ran them all.²

Geographer Diana Howlett has pointed out that New Guinea towns "rarely develop out of government static unless there is scope for private enterprise."³ The story of Goroka's spectacular growth after 1950 is very much bound up with commercial and agricultural development and a major part of a study of its' history must be concerned with this relationship between government and private enterprise. However, before such a study can be attempted it is necessary to examine in some detail the events in the two decades 1930 to 1950, which is the key period for the establishment of the town. To understand how Goroka emerged from an obscure, ancestral ground of open tribal grassland, infrequently visited by government or mission patrols, to become, in 1946, the major administrative centre for the whole of the central highlands, some acquaintance with events during this period of intermittent contact is required.

Chapter 1⁴ of this Section traces the oral and recorded history of the seven Gahuku-speaking tribes and

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1. Personal communication with Mr. Taylor, 25th June, 1973.
 2. It is true that Kainantu and Kundiawa are still very much in the race, and Kainantu's prospects for growth look particularly promising in view of the Ramu Hydro-Electricity Project and associated developments in the area.
 3. D. Howlett, op. cit., chapter xi.
 4. The chapter submitted for the Master of Arts Qualifying Course, University of Papua New Guinea.

clans from whom the Goroka town land was purchased in 1948. Chapter 2 deals more generally with the story of European contact in the Bena Bena - Goroka area, up to the invasion of New Guinea by the Japanese in 1942. Chapter 3 covers events in the area during the War years, and the re-establishment of civil administration in the latter part of that decade. There is no doubt that developments at Goroka during the War were largely responsible for its' choice as the administrative headquarters of the Central Highlands District in the post-War years. However, there are other factors involved, not least being the relationships which developed in the early years of contact between the local people and the representatives of the new order. It is these contacts which form the basis for the first two chapters. Summing up the outcome of two decades of contact in the Highlands, Jim Taylor in 1947 made the claim that:

"One of the first things that strikes the visitor to those parts is the friendliness of the Native people. That has come about, I think, partly by their own inherent personalities, and then again by our attitude towards them which, right from the beginning, has been one in which we endeavour to treat them as equals as far as possible."

Without such a climate of mutual respect the establishment of Goroka may have been difficult to achieve. New Guinea villagers do not readily give up 'the ground of the ancestors' to strangers, not, that is, unless the strangers are able to win something of the respect that was accorded the ancestors.

CHAPTER 1

"THE AMBIENT NATIVES"

The temptation to assume, however tacitly, that all New Guinea history began with the advent of the white man, is particularly hard to resist when researching the history of a town. Urbanisation is an aspect of New Guinea's history very closely bound up with European settlement. When most other vestiges of Australian colonialism have been swept away, the towns will remain, a living memorial to the enterprise, or the folly (depending on one's view-point) of the Australian way of life. It was possible for Canon Ian Stuart to write a most comprehensive history of Port Moresby without making more than a passing reference to the original land-owners, the Motuan and Koitabu villagers. The residents of Goroka have possibly been forced to pay more attention to their village neighbours, if only because the town is a much smaller urban 'island' in a fairly densely-populated rural 'sea' and Gahuku 'haus lines', particularly those belonging to the Asariufa, Komiufa and Kama groups, are but a stone's throw from urban streets and dwellings. Also, many expatriates in Goroka have read Kenneth Read's¹ lyrical account of the Nagamidzuha people of Susuroka village, which is an easy walk from the town's western boundary. However, only a handful of town dwellers speak the local language, which Read called 'Gahuku-Gama'.

In 'The High Valley', Read writes of 'twelve named tribes' which made up the 4000 people living in the central portion of the Asaro Valley, twelve tribes who spoke the same language and observed the same customs. The seven groups from whom urban Goroka was purchased in 1948 belonged to this

1. Read, K.E. : The High Valley (George Allen and Unwin, London, 1965)

ambient population of Gahuku-Gama speaking people.

In the original purchase document¹, these groups are described as 'villages' and there are ten named 'vendors' who are 'natives of the said villages'. But the ownership of Goroka was not as simple as the document implies. The ten 'vendors' were government-chosen luluais who represented the seven 'villages'. Moreover, these 'villages' were more than simple 'house-line' communities. Some could be classified as tribes, others clans or sub-clans. Read² defines a tribe as a group "whose members had a rather vague belief in a common origin and recognised rights within delimited territories". He adds that "these tribes had no central organization, no hierarchy of chiefs or other officials, nor anything easily recognised as a system of government. Each contained a number of smaller named units, clans and sub-clans in which membership was reckoned through descent in the male line of an individual's ancestry".

In an earlier paper published in 1954,³ Read is somewhat more specific in his classification of the Gahuku-speaking groups. He concedes that they had much in common with the peoples who surrounded them, in language, culture and organized social life:

"The whole of the Goroka Valley may be regarded as a single culture area which includes not only the Gahuku-Gama but also the Juha-Jufa, Goha'na, Kabijuha, the Asaro and the nearer Bena-Bena peoples as well as several smaller groups." (p.35)

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1. Goroka 'Transfer of Land' Document UAL 5 (NS) dated 19 October 1948, and registered on 20 Jan 1949. District Office Files, Gka.
 2. The High Valley, p.33.
 3. Read, K.E.: Cultures of the Central Highlands, New Guinea, pp34-37. Reprint from 'Southwest Journal of Anthropology, Vol. 10, No. 1, Spring, 1954. (University of New Mexico Press, Albuquerque.)

However, it is in the differences with these other groups that the Gahuku-Gama tribes recognise their common identity. Read explains that "The nature of this unity is not embodied in any territorial identity, nor in any political unity; but it emerges only through the interpenetrating spheres of language, culture and organized social life". (pp 34-5) In this article he distinguishes between tribes and sub-tribes, but while naming the latter he is less specific about the former. Thus it is not always easy to define the status of the original land-owning groups in Goroka.

Among the sub-tribes Read identifies the Gahuku, the Nagamidzuha, the Asarodzuha, the Gama (Kama), the Uheto (Ufeto), the Notohana (Notofana) and the Seu've (Seigu). He suggests that where two sub-tribes, such as Gama and Nagamidzuha "acknowledge an inclusive identity, and both are opposed to the sub-tribes Uheto, Gahuku and Notohana" (p38), then the allied sub-tribes form a tribe. As is pointed out later in the article

"The tribe is the largest group within which warfare¹ is forbidden. Its members speak of themselves as "one kind" or "one people" (ha'makokevenone), and they recognise a common name which is usually a compound formed from the names of two principal sub-tribes." (p39)

Within the sub-tribes there are clans and sub-clans. Thus the Kama sub-tribe has four clans and the Nagamidzuha has two. The four Kama clans are Zagomazuha, Gepahina, Gomeguveh and Gehamozuha.² The two Nagamidzuha clans are

1. It is important to distinguish here between 'rova', that is, warfare proper, and 'hina', which is small-scale internal feuding, is temporary in duration and is usually settled amicably by the disputing parties.

2. Information from anthropologist Dr. Fritz von Fleckenstein, currently working in the Goroka area.

Ozahadzuha and Menihavove.¹

However, by the time Read came to write 'The High Valley' in 1965, he appears to have revised his terminology. The groups which in 1954 he called sub-tribes are now tribes, and the two-tribe alliance units are not given any particular name. This apparent lack of precision in terminology is conceded by another anthropologist, Dr. Lewis Langness. Writing about the Bena Bena Korofeigu community, who live some 18 miles south-east of Goroka, he says:

"Korofeigu, the unit I originally called a tribe, is apparently similar to what Berndt has called a district (1962), Newman a phratry (1965), Read a sub-tribe (1952), Watson a local group (1967), and Glasse a clan-parish (1969)."²

Probably 'Mick' Read found it difficult to maintain his original concept of tribe on the basis of the alliances which existed between groups, because it was possible for former enemies to become good friends, as was the case when the Nagamidzuha were invited back to their lands by the Gehamo, who had previously driven them away.³ Diana Howlett escapes this difficulty by describing the two-tribe alliance as a confederacy, and divides tribes into clans, sub-clans and patrilineages. Clan members usually reside together in one village and number from 100 to 300 people.⁴

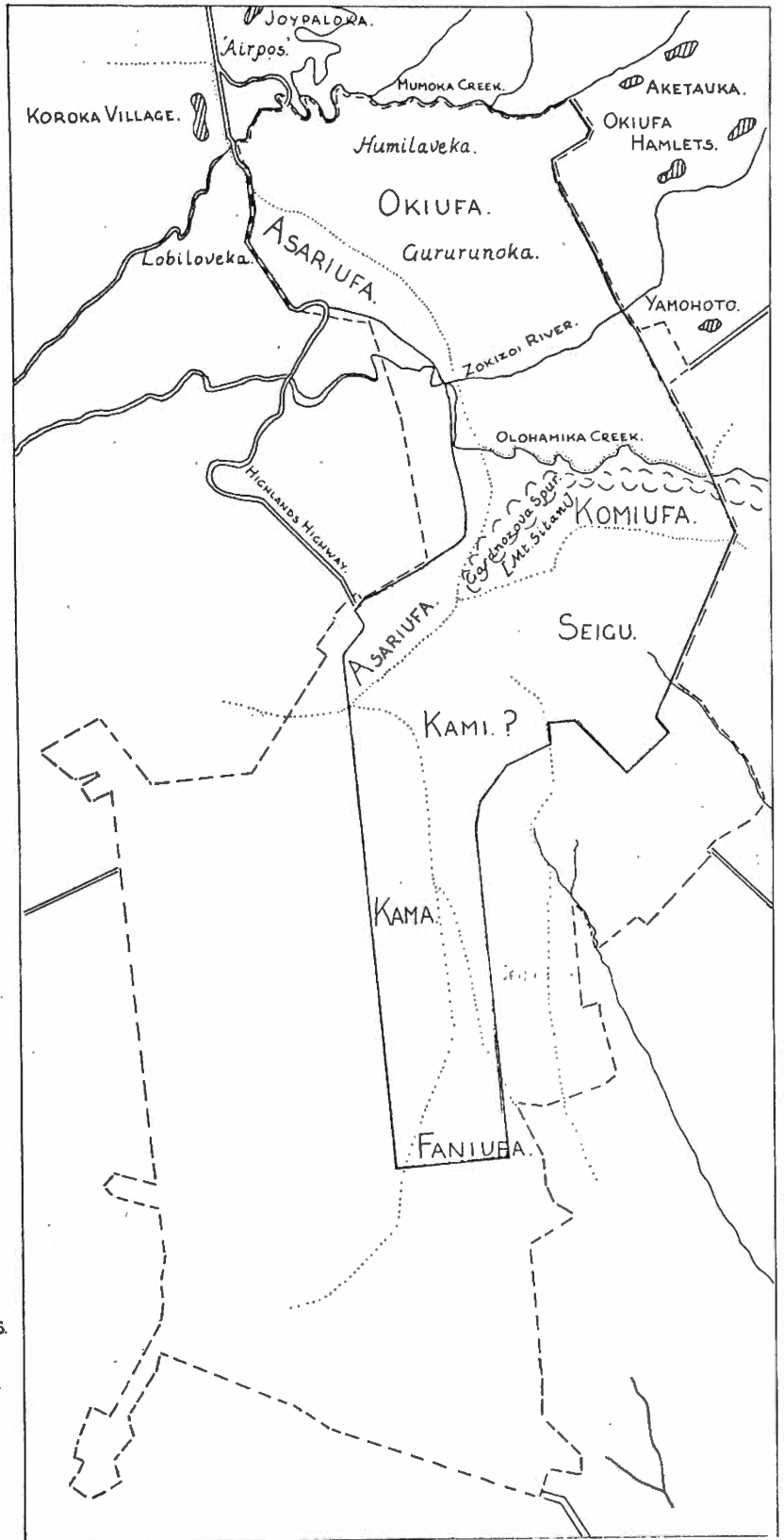
Concerning the question of status of the original Goroka land-owners, it is unlikely that any of the groups mentioned in the Purchase Document were tribes in Read's

1. Read, K.E.: The High Valley, p.35

2. Langness, L.: Bena Bena Political Organization in Berndt, R.M. & Lawrence, P.: "Politics in New Guinea" (University of Western Australia Press, 1971) p.299

3. Read, p.36.

4. D.M. Howlett, Unpublished Ph.D. thesis pp.45 & 49



MAP No: 2.

GOROKA SHOWING THE 1948 PURCHASE BOUNDARY, THE PRESENT TOWN BOUNDARY AND THE APPROXIMATE BOUNDARIES OF THE SEVEN TRIBE OR CLAN GROUPS WHO SOLD THEIR LAND TO THE ADMINISTRATION IN 1948.

LEGEND:-

- APPROX. TRIBAL BOUNDARIES.
- 1948 TOWN BOUNDARY.
- 1972 TOWN BOUNDARY.

wider sense of a confederacy. But some of the seven groups could quite properly be called tribes in his revised (1965) terminology. The four most easily recognised are the Okiufa (Ukudzuha), the Asariufa (Asarodzuha), the Kama (Gama) and the Seigu (Seu've). The complete list of "villages" mentioned in the document is as follows:-

Okeyufa
Asarayufa
Komiuyufa
Karma
Ifaniyufa
Segu
Karmiveh

The status of Komiufa, Faniufa and Karmiveh is less clear, as Read does not name them specifically. However, Komiufa originally had close ties with the Kaveve people, whom Read identifies as a tribe (Gaveve). Faniufa (Ifaniyufa) and Kami (Karmiveh) are linked closely with Seigu, and all three groups share a common ancestor. For convenience Read probably grouped them together under the common tribal name Seu've. In Gahuku 've' or 'veh' means 'people'.¹

All seven groups gave up land to the Administration for the town of Goroka. In the 1948 transfer they surrendered an area of 254 hectares, for which they received a cash amount of £1,270, "equal to £5 per hectare."² It is important to know something of the history of these seven 'vendors' as a basis for the study of the origins of the town.

OKIUFA: In his 1954 article Read mentions the Ukudzuha group

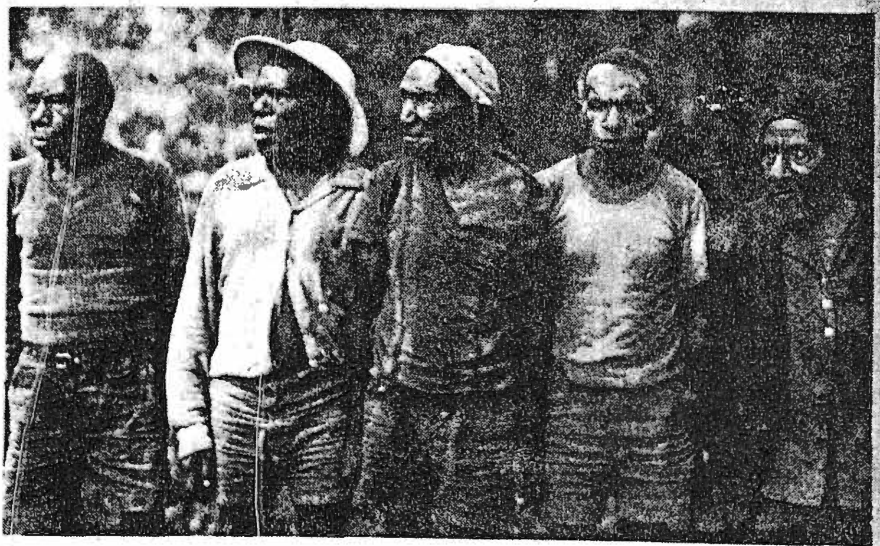
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1. K.E. Read: Cultures of the Central Highlands, New Guinea see pp 34 - 43, especially maps on pp. 37 and 41
 2. Transfer document U.A.L. 5 (N.S), Registered 26th. January, 1949 - Goroka District Office Land Files. It was discovered in 1951 that the distance along some boundaries had been over-estimated, and the total area was less than 254 hectares. Wisely, the Administration made no attempt to recover the amount of money over-paid.



Aidameso Sekiriha of the Okiufa hamlet of Aketauka, Goroka, September 1973. Aidameso and his cousin Papazo Zawo witnessed the arrival of the first Europeans in the early 1930s.



Papazo Zawo of Aketauka hamlet, Okiufa, September 1973.



Luluai Gelepatamelauho of Seigu, centre, with other old Seigu men, photographed September 1973.

(Photos by the author)

and places them on his sketch map ¹ in about the position where Okiufa haus-lines are now situated. The suffixes 'zuha' or 'yufa' are the same, and mean 'group'. At the time of initial European contact there was an Okiufa haus-line along the north side of Humilaveka terrace, on which Goroka Teachers' College is now situated. Two old Okiufa men interviewed at Aketauka hamlet have only vague knowledge of their origins, but claim that Humilaveka was the site of the first Okiufa settlement, "the ground of the ancestors."² Asariufa informants, who live on the north-western boundary of the town and have close kinship ties with Okiufa, say that their common ancestors lived in the Bismarck ranges to the north of Okiufa, below Mount Otto.³

The two Aketauka informants claim that their first contact with a European occurred before Mr. Jim Taylor's arrival in 1933.⁴ He was a gold prospector and he came from the direction of Bena Bena with a line of native 'police' (probably carriers or labourers). The people thought they were the spirits of their ancestors and were frightened. The Seigu people called to Okiufa from Mr. Sitani (Gardnazova Spur): "Here come the spirits. Be prepared to welcome them." The white man had a dish and he used it to look for gold in the creeks. He also had a gun, but he did not demonstrate its use. The first night he and his men slept down near the Zokozoi River, close to the present site of the mat-mat (cemetery). The next day they moved on up the Asaro to Wanima and Kabiufa. Papazo and Aidameso, the two Aketauka informants, claim to have witnessed these events.

It would be convenient to be able to identify

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1. Figure 4, p37.
 2. Interview at Aketauka on 31st August, 1973, with Papazo Zawo and Aidameso Sekiriha, whom I estimate to be about 65 years old (see photo).
 3. See notes on Asariufa, below.
 4. Events in the Goroka area are usually described as 'bipo Jim Taylor' or 'bihain Jim Taylor'. He first set foot in the Asaro Valley at the beginning of 1933.

these early visitors with the prospecting journey of Mick Leahy and Mick Dwyer in November, 1930. But Papazo and Aidameso are most insistent that there was only one white man. They did not learn his name, which would suggest that he never returned. Any one of half a dozen gold prospectors working in the Kainantu, Finintegu and Bena Bena areas between 1930 and 1934 could have made an unpublicised prospecting trip to the Asaro during that time. As uncontrolled area permits were issued for specified regions, a prospector would be unlikely to report a visit to an area not covered by his permit. When A.P.O. John Black inspected the camp of prospector W. Swindell near Finintegu on October 24th, 1934, he reported to his superiors that "everything very satisfactory, except that his uncontrolled area permit is endorsed 'Upper Ramu' and not 'Purari'."¹

Alternatively, it could have been someone employed by the New Guinea Goldfields Company, which received permission to stake out leases in both the Bena Bena and Asaro Valleys in late 1932. Two surveyors, C.W. Marshall and K.L. Spinks, carried out this work, assisted by Mick Leahy.² It is also possible that when the Okiufa informants speak of the time before Taylor they are not referring to his 1933 Patrols through the Asaro, but rather to his presence at Bena Bena in 1936, when he re-opened the post there. He would have become much better known to the Asaro Valley peoples in 1936 than he was in 1933. Conceding this as a possibility the most likely candidate would be prospector E.M. Peacock, who was working in the Bena Bena area in 1934. John Black visited him at his mining camp on September 13th, 1934, and Peacock told him "he would shortly be evacuating his present claim and moving his camp to the Dunantina River."³ It is more than likely that he took the opportunity to examine the Asaro River and its

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1. J.R. Black: Progress and Patrol Report of Activities in the Purari area (B.16/34-35, Finintegu, 7 December, 1934.)
 2. Land That Time Forgot p.140
 3. John Black: Patrol Report B.16/34-35

tributaries while he was prospecting in the Bena Bena.

The Okiufa people avoided regular contact with Europeans after this first encounter, as their land did not lie in the direct path of expeditions going to and from the west. Whereas the Kama people are mentioned by both Jim Taylor and John Black in 1933 and 1934 respectively,¹ there is no official surviving record of Okiufa until 1937. They did receive, however, a visit from Lutheran missionaries in January, 1935. Missionaries Johannes Flierl and Georg Hofmann patrolled through the Asaro Valley in search of sites for mission stations and they settled a Finschhafen evangelist Buko at the nearby Okesana village of Naminamiroka, which is in the Bismarks up behind Okiufa.² The people allowed the mission party to make a camp close to their burial ground, which was on land across the Mumoka Creek, opposite Humilaveka. They reasoned that if these people were spirits of the dead they would be at home among their own kind in the cemetery. When Buko settled down among the Okesana he moved through all the surrounding villages telling stories. He was not afraid of the people, in spite of several threats to kill him.

Papazo and Aidameso recalled this visit and the presence of Buko at Naminamiroka, but the information concerning the camp site and Buko's work was supplied by retired Okiufa policeman Sare Tate. In 1935, Sare was a small child of about 7 or 8 years old. He is quite definite that there were two European missionaries with Buko, and that one of them was the Rev. Hofmann. Georg Hofmann would be remembered as he settled permanently at Asaroka in 1937.

The return of Jim Taylor to Bena Bena in 1936 was an occasion of considerable importance to the Okiufa people, not so much because of his own presence as that of his sturdy and pugnacious Morobe police sergeant Ubom Mawasan (or Mawsang).

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1. J.L. Taylor: Report of the Mt. Hagen Patrol, 1933
J.R. Black: Patrol Report B.16/34-35, 1934
 2. Personal communication with the Rev. Johannes Flierl, now retired at Neuendettelsau, West Germany.

Lutheran Missionary Ralph Goldhardt¹. claims that even today the name Ubom strikes fear in the hearts of Asaro Valley people. During his time of service in the area Ubom married an Okiufa woman called Yagire, and had a daughter by her.² He stayed with this daughter (now grown up and married) when he visited Goroka in 1972. Okiufa informant Sare Tate, recalling his childhood experiences, says:

"We were all scared of Ubom and at first we used to run for our lives. Then we gave him our daughter Yagire and we called him our 'Tambu', hoping that he would not punish us when we started fighting. But he was still the big policeman and he still 'kalabused' us when we broke the law."

Asariufa people interviewed³. said that Ubom was a strong, fearless man who sternly suppressed tribal fighting and did not hesitate to use his rifle if his word was not obeyed. Ubom himself claims to have stopped warfare throughout the central portion of the valley in 1936. Jim Taylor first sent him to establish a Police Post at Ufeto on the Asaro River. He next moved across to the vicinity of Hovei (Hobe) Plantation about 5 miles north of Goroka and stopped the fighting there. He then settled in the Okiufa area "and put a house near where the Okiufa School now stands."⁴

By 1937 regular patrols by European government officers were being made through the Goroka area. Patrol Officer Tommy Aitchison passed through in July, 1937, and made an entry in his Patrol Diary for July 21st: "Village of OKUYUFA visited."⁵ He was accompanied on this Patrol by

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1. Personal communication with Ralph Goldhardt at Kainantu, October, 1972.
 2. Finding of Senior Land Titles Commissioner Mr. M.B. Orken in the Gomiufa, Okiufa and Koveve Land Dispute, September, 1961. (Land Titles Commission Files, Goroka)
 3. See section on Asariufa
 4. Evidence of Sgt. 2/C Ubom Mawasan - Land Dispute Hearing 1961, op. cit.
 5. T.G. Aitchison: Patrol Report No. M. 37/38, July - August, 1937.

eleven native policemen, including L/C Enka, who today lives in retirement at Aketauka, having married an Okiufa woman. Enka retired with the rank of Sergeant, after a long career with the Police Force commencing in 1936.

In Aitchison's report of this patrol he mentions that on July 19th a "rough census taken of OKUFA village. Rain set in at noon and natives returned to their villages."¹ It is surprising that Aitchison, a University graduate, should be so careless with his spelling, but this is a fault which he shared with most of his colleagues. It is, of course, possible that OKUYUFA and OKUFA are two different villages.* However, Enka recalls that a "rough census" of Okiufa was in fact made, the people lining up on the ground beside Ubom's police post. The police rounded up the people from the various hamlets as best they could and names were recorded. Enka's recollections of this Patrol are still quite vivid:

"Masta Aitchison brought us to Bena Bena. The houses were there and that is where we stopped. Then we came up here. We exchanged salt for food with the people. We stopped their fighting and settled them down. Sometimes we broke their spears and burnt their houses. Then we counted the people by putting them in line and wrote their names in the book. When we finished one place we went on to another. There was a 'haus kiap' at Gahuku (near Hobe Plantation) and we stayed there. Then we came to Okiufa. I can't remember if Ubom's police post was here then. I think Ubom was at Ufeto with a Manus policeman. Anyway, we lined the people up near where the Okiufa school is now. Some of them tried to run away into the bush. During this time I saw my wife and made friends with her."²

Enka thinks that it was during this patrol that luluais and tultuls were chosen and luluais' badges, which were painted red, and worn around the neck, were given out. This claim

1. T.G. Aitchison: Patrol Report No. M. 37/38, July - August, 1937

2. Interview with retired Sergeant Enka at Aketauka on 5th September, 1973.

* It could also be a typist's error. The document at Goroka is a copy of the original Report.

needs to be accepted with some reservation, as there is no mention of luluais and tuttuls in Aitchison's report. Shortly after this Patrol, Enka was stationed permanently at Bena Bena and he made many patrols into the Asaro with Patrol Officers N.C. (Pompey) Elliott,¹ 'Sam' McWilliam, Harry Hamilton, A.J. Robertson and L.G.R. Kyngdon, between 1937 and 1941. Luluai badges would certainly have been given out during this time.

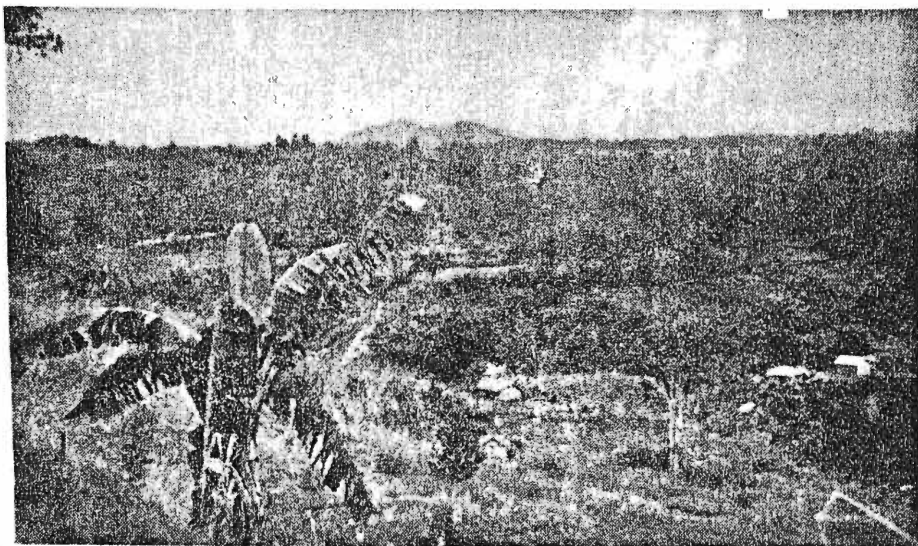
On 1st October, 1937, Patrol Officer C.R. Croft assembled "natives of the surrounding villages" at the GAFUKU rest house (about 3 miles north of Okiufa) and "OKUAIUFA" was among the groups present. Croft reported that "various matters were adjusted and discussions were held".²

By the end of 1941 the Okiufa people on Humilaveka had resettled to the east at Yamahoto.³ This was because they had agreed, under Sergeant Ubom's persuasive influence, to relinquish Humilaveka so that an airstrip could be cleared on the terrace. Ubom recalls that:

"I found the Okiufa people living up at Humilaveka and I said to them, 'Maybe if you people shifted aside I can make an airstrip here.' So later on the Okiufa people moved to one side near the Zokozoi River. They tried to oppose me but I calmed them down and said, 'Bena is not a good place where settlement can grow and in the future Europeans will settle here.'"⁴

The history of Goroka during the war years 1942 - 1945 will be dealt with in some detail in a later chapter. Sufficient to note here that the Okiufa people, like all the Gahuku-Gama tribes, were profoundly affected by the War. Most of the

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1. See Kainantu File, N.C. Elliott, Patrol Report M 37/38, September, 1937.
 2. C.R. Croft: Patrol Report No. M 37/38, 17th November, 1937
 3. See map of north Goroka, showing position of Okiufa hamlets and the approximate extent of Okiufa's 'town' land.
 4. Retired Sergeant-Major Ubom Mawasan (Mawsang) in a talk to Goroka Teachers College students, October 18th, 1972.



'Airpos' from Humilaveka, with Mumoka Creek below. Sgt. Ubom established the Okiufa Police Post on the ridge to the left in c. 1936. The twin-peaked hill in the background is close to the site where Mick Leahy and Mick Dwyer made their final camp during their Asaro prospecting trip in 1930.



Ubom Mawasan



Retired Sergeant-Major Ubom Mawasan with Goroka Teachers' College students during his visit to the College, October, 1972.



Retired Sergeant Enka, a Markham policeman who first visited Goroka in 1937 with P.O. T.G. Aitchison. He married an Okiufa woman and now lives at Aketauka hamlet.

(Photos by the author)

able-bodied men were recruited into labour lines, either as carriers or as labourers. Some worked in the vicinity of Goroka's two airfields,¹ others constructed jeep roads between Kainantu and Goroka.² According to Mr. Horrie Niall some 2000 labourers were recruited from Chimbu to work in the Goroka area, providing yet another element in the disruption of local village life. The Chimbu labourers were paid in gold lip pearl shell whereas the Gorokans received large cowrie shells. When the bombs began to fall during the heavy Japanese air-raids of June, 1943, the Okiufa hamlets were in the thick of the action. The airstrip on Humilaveka was a prime target and interpreter Mr. Bepi Moha recalls that an incendiary bomb aimed at the kunai huts which lined the airstrip fell on the slopes of Mt. Arepega opposite, setting the whole hillside ablaze.³ This is all Okiufa land. The two Aketauka informants remember vividly the terror which these raids caused among the village people, and those who could, ran away into the bush. However, Papazo and Aidameso were employed in a labour line and feared the Australian soldiers would shoot them if they tried to escape. Discipline was very strict and the Okiufa people remember this year in particular as a time of extreme hardship. To add to their misery an epidemic of Japanese dysentery called Shigo swept through the valley, claiming victims in most villages until A.N.G.A.U. was able to get it under control with drugs and the enforcement of rigorous hygiene measures.⁴

When the Japanese were cleared out of the Ramu Valley and the Madang area in 1944, the pressure on the Goroka villagers was relaxed and A.N.G.A.U. officers were able to concentrate on improving the welfare of the people. An Airforce Rest Camp was established on Okiufa land north of Humilaveka,

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1. The Americans began constructing the fighter and medium bomber strip which serves today as Goroka's air strip, in June, 1943. The smaller airstrip on Humilaveka was cleared in 1941.
 2. Personal communication from Mr. Horrie Niall, 19th July, 1973. Horrie Niall took over from John Black as Officer-in-Charge, A.N.G.A.U. at Bena Bena in May, 1943.
 3. Interview with Mr. Bepi Moha at Goroka on 14th June, 1973.
 4. Personal information from John Black, when he re-visited Goroka in May, 1972.

between Mount Arepega and the Highlands Highway. People from Sepiyaro, one of the old-established Okiufa hamlets moved up close to the camp. This settlement became known as Joypaloka and today it is the largest of the Okiufa settlements.¹

The Rest Camp is still known locally as 'Airpos'. When civil administration was restored after June, 1946, it was hoped by the government officials that 'Airpos' could be purchased for town use. Later, in 1949, it was proposed that 20 hectares of land there be set aside for a station farm. The Veterinary Officer M.L. Dodson actually 'squatted' on this land pending the outcome of negotiations with the Okiufa owners.² But Mr. Jim Taylor, who in 1946 became the first District Officer, Central Highlands District, had already encountered strong resistance from Okiufa to the sale of more land. In June, 1948, he wrote to Headquarters as follows:-

"Unfortunately, the old Air Force Rest Camp is not included for the native owners balked at selling that and although I should like to see it as a part of the Administration's establishment at Goroka one cannot but sympathise with the elders, who say, 'What of our children? We have parted with so much land!'

"This last is perfectly true. Expansion of Administration activity has exerted a steady pressure on the OKEYUFA group particularly the members of which who were the original inhabitants of the site where the District Office and the Goroka north airfield are situated.

"It remains to be seen whether in the course of time the OKEYUFA people will require the land of the Air Force Rest Camp, but at present one would feel a cad to try and persuade them to part with it."³

In the 1948 land transfer to which Jim Taylor's letter refers, Okiufa claimed and received payment for 79

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1. Information from Dr. Fritz von Fleckenstein, who interviewed Joypaloka people in July, 1973.
 2. Correspondence in Kama Land Purchase File, 34/2-3/3. Acting District Officer, Goroka, to Director, District Services and Native Affairs, 5th May, 1949.
 3. J.L. Taylor: Attachment A: Land Required by Administration in Bena Sub-District, 19th June, 1948. File 34-4-1, District Office, Goroka.

hectares out of the total town purchase of 254 hectares. This Okiufa domain took in most of Humilaveka, plus much of the north Goroka Zokozoi Valley area, known as Gururunoka by the local people. The Gururunoka boundary with Asariufa extended from Goroka Technical School down through 'China Town' in Kyle Street close to where the Goroka Picture Theatre is situated, then across the Zokozoi River to the old Labour Compound (now Greathead Drive housing estate). The southern boundary with traditional enemy, Komiufa, was Olohamika Creek, a tributary of the Zokozoi River.¹

The money for this land was paid to Aitovei,² the Okiufa luluai, who distributed it as best he could among his fellow tribesmen. Papazo and Aidameso claim that Aitovei was paid £400, which was not sufficient for every Okiufa man, woman and child to receive £1 each, and consequently, some went without. However informants of other tribes say that in such cases the money was shared out in smaller amounts.³ Mr. William Sippo, the Patrol Officer who paid the luluais, confirms that coins were used as well as one pound and ten shilling notes. He recalls that the money was received from the Commonwealth Bank in Port Moresby unwrapped, and the irksome job of putting the shillings into rolls had to be done by the District Office staff.⁴ Some informants recall that there was initial resistance to receiving payment in cash, but in Jim Taylor's memorandum of 19th June, 1948, he indicates that there was an increasing demand for it:-

"It appears that all payments will have

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1. Information on the tribal boundaries was supplied by Mr. Bepi Moha, the government interpreter who was present at the 1948 land sale; Mr. Soso Subi of Asariufa and Mr. Papazo Zawo of Okiufa.
 2. Aitovei is now dead and no clear leadership has emerged, although one big man at Joypaloka, Aino, can be regarded as an important man in the tribe.
 3. See section on Kama.
 4. Interview with Mr. William Sippo at Port Moresby on 14th August, 1973.

to be made in cash - there is an increasing demand for cash over a large part of the District. In many cases it should be possible to arrange for the owners to bank the money.

"To expedite payment, would it be possible for the sums to be despatched in notes from Port Moresby, per air mail, immediately authority to purchase is given?"

The Okiufa informants may well be correct about the method of distribution of the money received by their luluai.¹ Their memory of the total amount is remarkably close to the figure on the purchase document (£395). Their information on the way that the boundaries were fixed is less accurate. They say that they did not walk over the land with any government officials. They recall Mr. Taylor sitting in his office asking the luluais if he could purchase the ground. However, both Mr. William Sippo and government interpreter Mr. Bepi Moha, state that the town's external boundaries and also the internal boundaries between the seven groups, were clearly marked. As Mr. Sippo recalls the occasion:-

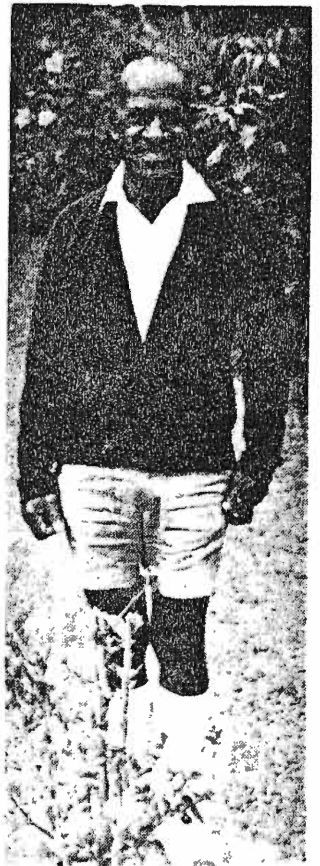
"We drew up the boundaries by agreement on the spot. The leading men set off through the kunai, with a great crowd of villagers and Bepi and myself following. They used bush-knives to cut a boundary, chopping everything in the way and trampling it down flat. If the front leaders went astray the whole mob shouted and yelled to get them back in line. There were no gardens to mention. It was all pretty much unused, open land, and there was a fair amount of overlapping of boundaries. However they were settled by the luluais - I did not interfere. I drew a sketch map on the spot - taking compass bearings and measuring in metres. We marked the corners with a post driven in the ground or a pile of rocks. Trees were blazed if conveniently placed, so that the markers could easily be found later.

"As well as the external boundary map which was attached to the Transfer Document I also drew a map showing the internal boundaries between the tribes. It should

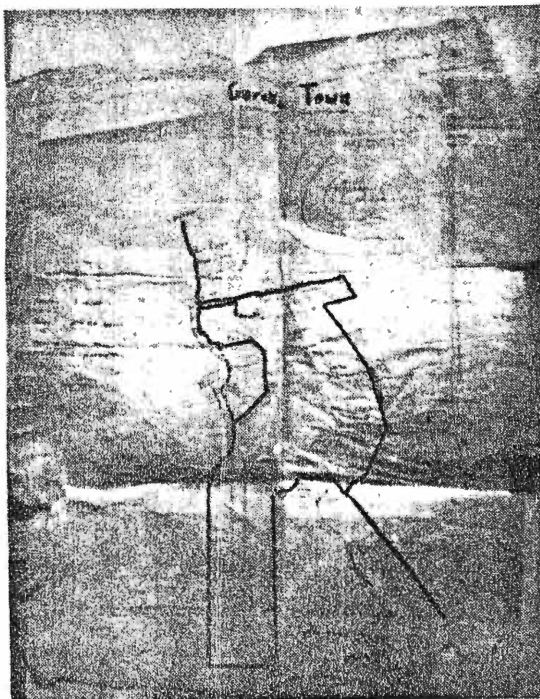
1. However Mr. Bepi Moha, who, although from Yabiufa, is related to Okiufa, claims that everyone got money, including himself.



The District Office at Humilaveka, Goroka, at the time of the Goroka land purchase, 1948. Photo by Mr. J.L. Taylor.



Mr. Bepi Moha, Government Interpreter, who assisted P.O. Wm. Sippo in the 1948 land purchase of Goroka. Photo taken by the author, 1973.



Mr. William Sippo's sketch map of Goroka, 1948.



1949 view of Gururunoka (Zokizoi Valley) and Humilaveka from Agesahagu escarpment. Photo by Mr. J.L. Taylor.

still be at the District Office, Goroka.¹ I worked out the area belonging to each group in hectares, by carving the map up into squares and triangles. It seemed quite easy at the time, even though none of us were trained in surveying or map making. A qualified surveyor did not come to Goroka until several years later. I think that the approach which we adopted to land purchasing, with all the villagers marching around with us and deciding where the boundaries should go, was the best. Later land purchases in other places ran into trouble because there was no attempt to involve the local people."²

The fact that over the years Goroka has been relatively free of disputes and resentments concerning the purchase of the urban land is testimony enough to the wise handling of that original 1948 Transfer. The most serious complaint often voiced by village leaders today is that they did not receive enough money for the land they sold.³ Appreciation of land values is not readily understood by village people. However there is some evidence that even in 1948 the price paid was a little low. Jim Taylor, in his 19th June memorandum, commented that:-

"The price recommended to be paid is £5.0.0 (five pounds) per hectare as it is almost all high quality farming land and supports what is for New Guinea a heavy population. On an open market it could bring from £10.0.0 (ten pounds) to £50.0.0 (fifty pounds) per hectare."

During the interview with the two Aketauka informants, another minor complaint was raised. They were under the impression that Oklufa received payment only for Humilaveka and that Gururunoka was never paid for. But they conceded that the whole area now belongs to the Government as it is covered with houses, schools, shops and factories. This point is of some importance as it highlights a basic Gahuku assumption that possession is more than nine-tenths of the law. Once land has been occupied

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1. So far my efforts to locate this map have been unsuccessful.
 2. From my notes of interview with W.G. Sippo on 14th August, 1973.
 3. See Gopie's statement in the section on Kama.

and used over a period of time by a tribe or clan, there is rarely any dispute over its ownership.¹ Thus when the military authorities constructed airfields and other installations on native lands the local people do not appear to have resisted. When they observed that obvious and permanent use was made of it they were prepared to concede it to the Europeans. Also in most cases it was not land that had been put to intensive use in pre-war times. However, as has already been noted, the ground known as 'Airpos' was a different matter. When the Okiufa people established Joypaloka hamlet alongside the Rest Camp they came to appreciate the value of the land there and as Jim Taylor discovered, they resisted all attempts to persuade them to sell.

The role of one, Aino, today a 'big man' in the Okiufa community, is interesting. In a recent interview he claimed to have opposed the sale of Humilaveka and to have chased the soldiers away from 'Airpos'.² He recalls that he told the elders not to sell the Humilaveka ground as all their ancestors were there. He objected strongly when the transfer was made. As a young man of about 25 his voice would probably have not carried much weight, and his complaint may be more an indication of his present feelings than a recollection of youthful concern for the ancestors. However, his counsel does seem to have prevailed as far as the 'Airpos' land is concerned. Aino's anti-European attitude would have been typical of many young men at the time. As mentioned previously they were subjected, in 1943, to what would be regarded today as harsh treatment, serving as carriers as far afield as Kainantu, Mt. Hagen and the American base of Faita in the Ramu Valley, and as labourers around the airfields. Bepi Moha recalls treatment received by himself and others at Bena during the time of the Japanese air-raids, when they tried to run away:-

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1. See Land Titles Commission files on Gomiufa, Okiufa and Kaveve Land Dispute (1961), and the Trans-Zokozoi Land Dispute (1969), Land Titles Commission Office, Goroka.
 2. Interview conducted at Joypaloka by Dr. Fritz von Fleckenstein in July, 1973.

"If we didn't obey him the white 'masta' kicked us.... He was young, just a 'manki tasol'. Things were very bad at that time - completely different from the days before the War."

The resentment which resulted from such treatment lingered on after the War among this age group, but because they were still young their hostility would generally have been suppressed by the older men. The fact that 'Airpos' was not acquired by the Administration would be due both to Aino's eloquence beyond his years and to Jim Taylor's many years of experience in dealing with New Guinea villagers, expressed as always with tact, patience and a sense of fair play.

KOMIUFA (GOMIUFA)

Moving south along the Goroka town boundary from Humilaveka in a clockwise direction, the next land-owning group was Komiufa. How the Komiufa luluai Zokizopa came to have his claims for payment accepted is not immediately obvious. Land on the east side of Goroka, from the old Labour Compound (Greathead Drive) over the Gardnazova Spur (Mt. Sitani) to the present District Office on Elizabeth Street was claimed to belong to Komiufa. However, at a Land Titles Commission hearing into a land dispute between the Okiufa, Komiufa and Kaveve peoples, held at Goroka, 6th - 20th September, 1961, no evidence was forthcoming to support the Komiufa's recent ownership over all of this urban land. The dispute concerned an area outside the town boundary, but had the Komiufas been able to establish their recent occupancy of the town land, their claim to the disputed land might have been strengthened.

In his findings on this dispute, Senior Land Titles Commissioner Mr. Max Orken records that "a search of the Land Files at Goroka revealed that during the original acquisition of land for Goroka township, some Gomiufa people received payment, but the documents do not disclose which particular

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1. Bepi Moha in talk to Goroka Teachers College students, Monday, 16th July, 1973.

areas of land were paid for."¹.

An old Okiufa witness, Vamopo-Ihatameraho, told the Commissioner that at the time of Mr. Jim Taylor's arrival (1933), Okiufa occupied all the Labour Compound area right down to the old 'Haus Sik', and that the Komiufa about this time had been defeated in battle and had fled to a village called Gamega. Later (date not specified) they returned to the Gardnozova Ridge behind Goroka. The Komiufa witness Pukau - Uropo agreed that his people had fled to Gamega in about 1933.

The 1937 Patrol Reports in the Kainantu File mention Komiufa only once. Patrol Officer T.G. Aitchison, in the report previously quoted in the section on Okiufa, records his journey on 18th July, 1937, from Bena Bena airstrip "to MUWETO West, thence KENEWALU, KOMIYUFA to ASERUFA to KEPAMU to GAFUKA villages. Natives a little nervous but brought an abundance of foods." There was a Patrol Officers' foot and bridle path from Bena Bena to the Asaro which passed through Mohoveto (Moweto) West, Katagu and Kinemaro (Kenewalu), but there is no evidence that it went through Komiufa.² The absence of any other references to Komiufa would suggest that Aitchison diverged from the usual track to visit their settlement. In C.R. Croft's Report of October-November, 1937, it will be remembered that he spent some time in the vicinity of Okiufa, assembling villagers from all around at the Rest House there, but he makes no mention of Komiufa. Had the Komiufa people been close by he is almost certain to have made contact with them.³

A witness called Lakeute-Rorai of Kaveve, the third party to the 1961 dispute, claimed that in pre-contact times the Kaveve and Komiufa were linked together, and controlled all the land from the Labour Compound down to the Goroka Hotel. Then the two groups had quarrelled over the death of a Komiufa man, and the Kaveve fled into the mountains, leaving the Komiufa in sole command until they in turn were driven away.

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1. M.B. Orken: Findings by the Commissioner, Land Dispute between Okiufa, Gomiufa and Kaveve Peoples; Goroka, 6th - 20th September, 1961. (Files, Land Titles Commission, Goroka)
 2. See 1945 A.N.G.A.U. map of the area, which clearly shows this track but omits all reference to Komiufa.
 3. C.R. Croft, op. cit.

It was stated at the hearing that one old Kaveve man, Torohini-Gehakuwi, who was still alive in 1961 and was believed to have outlived all other men in the area, actually resided on land near the Goroka Hotel in his youth. The fight with Komiufa occurred when he reached manhood and he took refuge along with other survivors at Samagoni, higher up the Zokizoi Valley towards Mt. Otto. Such evidence of former occupation might seem to have provided Kaveve with a strong case for compensation, when the other seven groups received money for their share of the urban land. But by the time of European settlement the Goroka Hotel area seems to have been owned by Seigu or Kami or both, and Kaveve's former possession was not recognised.

The curious element in this recognition of the rights of some of the parties and not others is that Komiufa, who, like Kaveve, had been pushed off this land, was paid for 11.5 hectares. The Komiufa luluai, Zokizopa, who has since died, received on behalf of his fellow clansmen £57.10.0. To satisfactorily explain this seeming anomaly, it must be assumed that by 1948 Komiufa had returned to the Gardnazova ridge top, and that their occupation of this elevated position was not contested by the other groups. As stated earlier Patrol Officer Bill Sippo was happy to let the luluais sort out the internal boundaries among themselves and they appear to have been guided by the principle of present or recent occupancy of the land, rather than by traditional, pre-contact claims.

Mr. Bepi-Moha, the government interpreter, who accompanied P.C. Sippo in his traverse of the land, believes that Komiufa claimed all the land between Olohamika Creek, on the north side of Gardnozova Spur, and the District Office on the southern side.¹ There is no doubt that Okiufa and Komiufa regarded Olohamika Creek as their common boundary, but the position of Komiufa's southern boundary at the District Office is open to question. Even without dividing the map into squares and triangles it can be seen that such an area would give Komiufa more than 11.5 hectares. Moreover the Seigu people regarded the land around the District Office as theirs,

1. Bepi Moha: Talk at Goroka Teachers College, 25th July, 1973.

and it was they who helped clear a small airstrip in 1939 or 1940 which ran from the base of the Spur down past the District Office and through the centre of town to the Hotel.¹ They are unlikely to have cleared land which did not belong to them.

One final set of evidence or rather absence of evidence, which suggests that Komiufa people remained up on their inaccessible ridge tops, is that they are not mentioned anywhere in the A.N.G.A.U. Patrol Reports of 1944 to 1946. All the other ambient groups were visited during this period and their progress in rehabilitation after the traumatic experiences of 1943 is recorded in some detail.² Perhaps Komiufa's success in receiving payment for town land rested as much on their luluai's persuasive powers of oratory as on their rather tenuous foothold on Gardnozova Spur.

SEIGU

Seigu's claim to a substantial portion of what is now the centre of town was never in doubt. Their luluai Gelepetamelauho (spelt Herepetamelauho in the transfer document) received £120 for 24 hectares. Seigu's kin clans Kami and Fan iyufa also each received £120. This does not necessarily mean that each group owned a conveniently similar area of 24 hectares. It is much more likely that the three luluais got together and divided the money for their total area into three equal portions. In fact there is some doubt that Kami owned any town land at all (see notes below on Kami), but their close kinship ties with the other two groups would have earned them a share of the bounty.

Using today's map of the central part of Goroka it is not difficult to find an area of 24 hectares which belonged

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1. Information from several sources, including former luluai Gelepetamelauho of Seigu (interviewed in 1972 and 1973), Bepi Moha (interviewed 25th July, 1973) and John Black (personal correspondence, August, 1973).
 2. Two volumes of Goroka A.N.G.A.U. Reports, 1943-49 and 1944-45, in the National Archives, Port Moresby.

to Seigu. But it has to be remembered that the ground known as Wonobeg, which takes in all that portion of the commercial centre of the town from Parer Street down to the Goroka Hotel (an area of 3.85 hectares) plus the more recent urban development beyond the Hotel on both sides of the old Lao Road, was not purchased in 1948.¹

Thus at the time of the original purchase in 1948 the town land bought from Seigu would have been bordered in the north by the boundary with Komiufa, which, as we have seen, was probably the base of the Mount Sitani - Gardnozova Spur elevation, and to the east would have included the Garden Street residential area. All the land south-east of this part of the town was Seigu ground, so there is no question of disputed tribal boundaries here. However Seigu's south-west and western boundaries cannot be defined with any precision as there is considerable overlapping of claims. As far as Seigu's boundary with Kami is concerned this presented no problem. Close kinship ties enabled the luluais to reach a happy compromise as has already been noted. But Seigu's western boundary with Asariufa was another matter altogether. The two groups were traditional enemies and even today there is no agreement on where their mutual boundary was placed. Mr. Soso Subi, who is an important Asariufa leader and businessman, claimed in a recent interview that his people owned all the land across the north end of the airstrip as far as Steamships' main store in the centre of town.² Such an area would have cut deep into Seigu territory, and would certainly have deprived Seigu of some of the 24 hectares accredited to it in the 1948 transfer. Seigu and Kami, on the other hand, together claim to have owned most of the land around the 'top' (northern) end of the airstrip, with Wisdom Street near the Town Library forming part of the boundary with Asariufa. A large clump of bamboos at the base of the western end of Mt. Sitani, close to where the track to the Lookout branches off Wisdom Street,

1. Wonobeg was purchased in 1951. See Wonobeg File: Purchase of Additional Land Required by the Administration at GOROKA for Township Purposes. (Land Section, District Office, Goroka.)

2. Mr. Soso Subi, interviewed 2nd August, 1973, at his home.

seems to have been regarded as a marker between Komiufa, Seigu and Asariufa.¹

It is possible to trace the fortunes of the Seigu people during the 1930s, not only from information provided by themselves, but also from an interesting reference to them in C.R. Croft's 1937 Patrol Report.² Putting together the various pieces of information it is easy to see why their boundary with Asariufa was in dispute. When Croft patrolled through the Asaro in October and November 1937, he discovered the Seigu people living in exile among the Asaro people:

"SAIGU VILLAGE: This village near ASERAU, previously was situated between MOHOVETO No. 2 and GAFUKU. They deserted their lands as a result of the frequent attacks from these two villages. As they have made peace with these former enemies they now desire to return to their own domains instead of living on alien property. This they did. Their shifting proved to be an opportunity for good contact as the surrounding villages planted crotons as signs of friendship and aided them in the construction of their village, while the Patrol was present for a time."

Kenneth Read's 1954 diagram of political ties and oppositions between Gahuku-Gama tribes³ shows Seigu as being in a state of hostility with Asariufa and Ukiufa, who were both allied with Gahuku, one of the tribes mentioned by Croft in 1937 as having harrassed the Seigu people and causing their withdrawal to Asaro. Seigu's appreciation of the help received by their Asaro friends was still being expressed in 1948, when Gelepetamelauho passed over some of the £120 received from the Administration to Asaro leaders.⁴ But the recent counter-claims between Soso Subi and the Seigu informants

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1. Information from Gelepetamelauho of Seigu, interviewed on 5th September, 1973.
 2. C.R. Croft, op. cit.
 3. Read, New Guinea Cultures, op. cit.
 4. Information from Gelepetamelauho, interviewed 5th September, 1973.

would suggest that ancient hostilities as well as old friendships can linger on.

Thus, in spite of Croft's optimism about the "signs of friendship", enmity never really ceased with Asariufa, at least until one of the by-products of war in 1943 took a stern hand in bringing them together. This was a virulent strain of Japanese dysentery, known as Shiga,¹ which swept through the Highlands in 1943 and 1944. According to Jim Taylor "10,000 cases were treated in hospitals in the first year."² He told a conference of representatives of the Administration and the Missions in May, 1947 that "when dysentery appeared in a very virulent form, the Australian Army and the Fifth Air Force of the United States threw all their resources available into combatting that epidemic."

Thus for the second time Seigu experienced the powerful intervention of the white man. A small field hospital set up near Siokiei (the site is today occupied by a poultry farm) to serve the troops of Bena Force was taken over by A.N.G.A.U. for the treatment of Shiga victims and the lives of hundreds of local villagers were saved. Patients came from all over the valley, including those who had been traditional foes. In an interview of Seigu people, conducted by two Goroka Teachers College students in 1972, old memories of this time were revived:

"When whiteman's fight came they built the hospital - then we were not frightened, because we already saw some whitemen. When we saw some soldiers coming to the hospital - oh, their arms and legs were cut really no good.

"When we brought food from our garden they gave us knives, axes, shells, salt and 'kumukumu' (white egg cowrie) Then the doctors in this hospital found many of us sick. It was that big sickness - you know - when you excrete blood. All of us everywhere here we got it. Men, women and children just died. Whitemen's medicine made us well so we came. Not only us but our friends Kami and Asaro and also the ones that we used to fight. We all came to the hospital but we did not fight. And we said, 'Its good, if whitemen come they will help us stop fighting.'"³

1. Information from John Black when he revisited Goroka in May, 1972.

2. & 3. See bottom of next page.

An excellent account of the Shiga epidemic from a European source has been provided by Mr. John Black. He was Jim Taylor's 2 I/C at Garoka¹ from 3rd March to 24th September, 1944, during the A.N.G.A.U. administration of the area. He recalls that:

"A principal undertaking during this period was the containment of the SHIGA dysentery epidemic. Being a fly-borne disease it necessitated radical innovation in native hygiene - particularly the destruction of sugar cane chewings, discarded vegetable rubbish, etc., and the meticulous provision of fly-proof latrines, the disposal of pig manure and any rubbish in which flies could breed.

"SEGU village under the native APO provided the first classic example that flies could be eliminated and the death toll stopped. APO explained to his villagers the life cycle of the SHIGA dysentery organism and countered successfully the notion that the deaths were due to sorcery. Native understanding spread from this source throughout the district and, most important, the population were trained to take the required doses of sulfaguanadine.

"Taylor's advice to ANGAU HQ, Moresby, of the dangers of the dysentery outbreak was first apparently disregarded which forced an appeal to be made to the HQ of New Guinea Force. Fortunately, General Blamey happened to be at N.G.F. HQ and it was brought to his notice. He immediately ordered the availability of massive quantities of sulfaguanadine, medical personnel and JEEP transport to minimize human portage necessary to master the outbreak.

"As it was, hundreds of people died. Taylor's prompt and forceful action in communicating direct with the commander of New Guinea force did not endear him to ANGAU HQ and he was told

1. Wartime spelling of G. roka

Footnotes continued from page 28:

2. J.L. Taylor, District Officer, Central Highlands: Address to Conference of Representatives of Administration and Missions, May, 1947, Record of Proceedings, p27
3. Transcript of interview with former luluai Gerepetamelauho and Councillor Kirupanu Esau at Seigu No. 1, by Goroka Teachers College students Sister M. Vianney and Mr. Henry Matsanki, June, 1972.

not to ignore the usual channels of command again..
..... There is no doubt the Highlands could
have been decimated if this had not been contained.

"One of the most important effects of the epidemic in the GOROKA valley was the self discipline the community itself had to adopt. It was in fact a major influence in their final acceptance of government control and the containment of tribal fighting.

"Apo, later to become the first successful native entrepreneur in the Highlands, had a very considerable role in the success of the containment of dysentery and then focussing native societies' preoccupation away from aggressive warfare to perhaps an equally aggressive preoccupation with the acquisition of wealth and the potential of their tribal land as the real source of the cargo."¹.

John Black held a high opinion of Apo, who could "communicate on an intellectual basis with Europeans, understand something of European values and communicate on this basis of understanding with his own people. He was in the unique position of being able to communicate between two cultures." Unfortunately, ill-health in later years has prevented Apo from continuing to take a prominent role in Seigu affairs.

Gelepetamelauho's recollections of Seigu's traumatic first contact with Europeans are of considerable interest, although some reservations must be attached to his identification of Mick Leahy as the principal actor in the drama. This is because, as in the case of Okiufa's first encounter with white men, only one prospector is said to have been present.

After explaining to the students that when Europeans first appeared "we said these men must be our dead people coming back from that unknown place behind the hills,"². Gelepetamelauho recalled the details of the first occasion that a white man appeared:

"The first whitemen, Masta Migi, he put his

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1. Personal communication from John Black, 1st September, 1973.
 2. These are the Kami hills, to the south east of the Bena Bena River.

tent right under here (pointing below village westward) and we were very frightened. We did not want him to stay because we thought he would bring more dead people. We watched him carefully. All the men - we watched him carefully. We hid all around his tent. The women we put them with the children in a house far out. When he went away in the morning we called all the women back."¹.

It is assumed that 'Masta Migi' is Gelepetamelauho's way of saying 'Masta Mick', which is the name by which Mick Leahy is known to those who carried for him on his epic prospecting journeys in the 1930s. As his partnership with Mick Dwyer did not continue after 1930 it is understandable that the latter would not be remembered by the Asaro Valley people, but it could be expected that men like Gelepetamelauho would remember if there were one or two white men in the party.

What is so instructive about these first contact stories is not so much the recollection of which Europeans were involved, as the remembered reactions of the local people. In the written accounts of first contact, both Mick Leahy and Jim Taylor state that the Highlands' people initially regarded them as spirits of the ancestors returning from the dead, and these village memories lend vivid support to their claim. Jim Taylor told the conference of Administration and Mission representatives in 1947 that the Highlanders "were very mystical people who welcomed us as their dead returned, and would have sold the whole of the highlands to the Government or to any person who would have settled amongst them."².

Thus the first encounter with Europeans set the stage for quite dramatic changes in the Goroka area and helped prepare the way for the acceptance of all kinds of wonders which would shortly unfold.

In March, 1933, the epoch making Leahy-Taylor Mt. Hagen Patrol marched out from the tiny station at Bena Bena

1. G.T.C. students' transcript of interview, op. cit.

2. Administration and Missions' Conference, May 1947, p. 27, op. cit.

and during the first day's walk the Seigu people claim that they passed through their territory. Spirits of the dead ancestors they might have been, but by now some of the villagers were prepared to carry their cargo for them.

"We carried their cargo," Gelepetamelauho states, "and we went with them up to Yabiyufa. Then we came back and they carried it to Wahgi. And we were happy about that."

They were probably not the carriers described by Mick Leahy - "I brought along a number of Bina Bina natives to help with the cargo"¹ - but joined the party as it progressed across the valley. Had Mick Leahy engaged them officially he would have expected them to go all the way to Mt. Hagen and they did not yet have quite enough confidence in the whiteman to do that.

Their exile near Asaro must have occurred shortly after 1933 when the Bena Post was temporarily closed. In his 1934 Patrol Report, John Black wrote of tribal fighting at Bena Bena flaring up "since E.M. Peacock, a miner, left the area." The Asaro Valley would have been similarly affected. Gelepetamelauho says that Seigu's harrassment occurred "after Jim Taylor," that is, probably some time between January and October, 1934.

When C.R. Croft intervened to restore the Seigu people to their lands in 1937, they must have been ready to do anything for the white-man in return. Consequently in 1939, when they were asked to give up the northern portion of their ancestral ground for an airstrip, they complied with enthusiasm. Unfortunately, no patrol reports covering this period survive, so dates and personalities involved can only be guessed at. Police Sergeant Enka thinks that the kiap responsible for the construction of the 'Seigu' airstrip was H.E. Hamilton, who succeeded N.D. McWilliam at Bena Bena in September, 1939. Gelepetamelauho remembers the frenzied assault made on the kunai and scrub with bush knives and axes supplied by the kiap, as the whole of Seigu turned out in carnival spirit to clear the

1. 'Land That Time Forgot', op. cit. p.152

strip.¹ They began at the clump of bamboos mentioned earlier, and worked their way down towards the site of Goroka Hotel. The strip would therefore have run north-west and south-east at about an angle of 45° to the present aerodrome.

The landing of the first aircraft on the 'Seigu' strip has been described by Bepi Moha, who was present:-

"The small plane stopped up near where Mt. Kiss (popular local name for Mt. Sitani) starts. A white man with other kiaps showed the plane where to land. The plane did not have any roof on top.

"The pilot did not know where to land so we collected some grass we had cut and made a fire and smoke came up. So the pilot saw it and he could land. We made a very big fire and lots of smoke and the plane came down and down and down. This 'masta' had a jacket² - a black one. He stepped down and the kanakas² had never seen a plane on the ground before and some were shaking with fright. But most of them crowded around the plane and a policeman had to remove them. So we did not see much of that pilot. He didn't stay too long - just a few minutes and then he took off.

"This airstrip was not used much because the ground was very wet and the kiaps decided to build a strip up here at Humilaveka."³

Another eyewitness, Administration driver Beraro of Yabiufa, adds drama to Bepi's story by saying that to protect his fragile little aeroplane the pilot was forced to fire a pistol over the heads of the crowd and there was a wild stampede of panicking villagers. This may have been on another occasion, perhaps when there were no police present to control the crowd.

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1. Gelepetamelauho's responses to my questions were made in extremely expressive Gahuku, which was translated back rather prosaically into Pidgin by his grand-daughter. It was his expression and gestures which conveyed this range of enthusiasm, rather than the flat, matter of fact tone of the translation.
 2. Used by a European today, this word would be objectionable, but it comes very naturally from people like Bepi, who use it to describe unsophisticated villagers.
 3. Bepi Moha: Talk at Goroka Teachers College, 14th July, 1973.

'Seigu' airstrip was still used occasionally during the War by light reconnaissance planes and was marked on a September, 1943 military map as an "L5 Recce. aircraft strip". John Black recalls seeing in 1944 the wrecked frame of one of these L5 Recce planes on the overgrown site of this small airfield.¹

The history of 'Seigu' airstrip has been dealt with at some length because it does help to put into context the Seigu peoples' willingness to sell this ground to the Administration in 1948. The first experience of a white man, Croft's benevolent intervention in 1937, construction and use of the airstrip in 1939, the Army's prompt measures to avert a major disaster when the Shiga epidemic struck in 1943 and 1944, and Apo's important role as the bridge man between the old and the new ways - all these influences prepared the Seigu people for their ready acceptance of change and the growth of a town in their midst.

KAMI:

The inclusion of Karmiveh - the people of Kami - on the 1948 Purchase Document may have been a mistake. When Bepi Moha was asked recently, "What town land did the Kami people own?" he replied very firmly, "No, they did not have any ground." "Not even Isamitori, their luluai," I persisted. "Oh, well, he was a big man and they gave him something," Bepi explained. "He just came in and got the pay."² Senior Land Titles Commissioner Max Orken, speaking out of a wealth of experience on these matters, thinks that Bepi may very well be correct.³

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1. Personal communication from John Black, 1st September, 1973. The military map from which he quotes is GSI/NGF Map No. 285, September, 1943.
 2. Bepi Moha: Talk at Goroka Teachers College, 16th July, 1973.
 3. M.B. Orken: Personal communication, 22nd August, 1973.

However, there is some evidence to suggest that Isamitori could have been justified in claiming a share. Kami's close kinship ties with Seigu and Faniufa would give Isamitori a clear conscience in the matter. But documents relating to the transfer of two other areas of native land, GENAUKA and GAMUSIGUNAGU, which were purchased in 1951 and 1955 respectively, give grounds for believing that Kami had more than a kinship right to the money.

Genauka was an agricultural lease made available to Mr. A.N. Pentland, a World War 1 air ace who took up coffee farming at Goroka after further distinguished military service during World War 2. Genauka borders the east side of the Goroka airstrip and covers an area of 17 hectares which in 1951 was made up of "reasonably flat kunai-covered ground" and "very rough broken ground."¹ The "joint owners" of the flat area were "the natives SEI'UPA and HOMIPA of KAMI village." The important point is that this "reasonably flat, kunai-covered ground" is right up against the airstrip, and it is a reasonable assumption, I think, that some of the land inside the airstrip boundary, as well as this Genauka ground on the outside of the boundary, belonged to Kami. The original Kami village is about two miles from Genauka, and Seigu and Faniyufa are each about 1½ miles from it.² To reach their Genauka gardens the Kami people would have had to pass through Faniufa, which lay directly in their path. But because of their kinship ties this would have presented no problem. The topography of the land in this area would lend itself to the division of garden lands into three more or less parallel corridors, Seigu to the east, Kami in the centre and Faniufa to the west. All three corridors may well have extended into the town area. Seigu's and Faniufa's certainly did and the circumstantial evidence from the Genauka document suggests that Kami could also have owned some land inside the 1948 town boundary - but hardly 24 hectares, as

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1. Arthur T. Carey, Patrol Officer, to the District Officer, Goroka, 20th October, 1950: "Investigation Report on Agricultural Lease Applied for by Mr. A.N. Pentland." File No. 34/2/1, District Office, Goroka.
 2. See A.N.G.A.U. 'Map of Bona Bona area', March/April, 1945.

stated in the transfer document.

Patrol Officer Arthur Carey's sketch map of the Genauka lease¹ shows a dotted contour line which separated the 9 hectares of flat land from the 8 hectares of "steep broken ground", which latter drops down into a small valley cut by Genauka Creek. This broken ground belonged to one "APO of KAMI", who is in fact the Apo of Seigu mentioned in the previous section. The fact that Apo is described as a Kami man only highlights the close links between the two groups. Max Orken believes that Apo came originally from Asaro, but settled with the Seigu when Croft restored them to their traditional lands in 1937.²

Apo is also named as one of the owners of Gamusigunagu, along with a man called Gimiho. The 1955 purchase document describes them as "both of SEIGU village".³ Gamusigunagu is an extension of the small Genauka Creek ravine and is a steep-sloping, irregularly shaped area of 13 acres, abutting the Goroka Hotel, Fox Street (south), R.F. Bunting's residential block and the Freemasons' building. It can be implied that Seigu's boundary with Kami was the west ridge of Genauka Creek ravine.

In Bepi Moha's second talk at Goroka Teachers College⁴, he was prepared to revise his earlier claim that Kami owned no 'town' land, and said that he believed they may have owned the ground "where the red fire trucks are parked", next to the D.C.A. Tower. This fits in very nicely with the suggestion that Kami's share of the Genauka land may have extended onto the D.C.A. aerodrome lease.

Understandably, Kami is not mentioned in any of

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1. See Goroka land file 34/2/1, filed with Carey's Investigation Report.
 2. I have not been able to interview Apo to confirm this; however Osiso Negi of Faniufa believes he is a 'Seigu man true'.
 3. H.J. Mater, Patrol Officer, to the District Commissioner, E.H.D. Goroka, 5th October, 1955 : "Purchase of Land Known as Gamusigunagu from Natives of Seigu."
 4. 25th July, 1973

the 1937 Patrol Reports in the Kainantu file. Like Seigu (and Faniufa) they were forced to abandon their lands when the combined forces of Bena and the Gahuku tribe and its allies became too strong for them. As explained by Bepi Moha,¹ the role of a tribal leader was to make sure that his people were only threatened on one front at a time. If he was threatened on one side he worked hard at making peace with his enemies on the other side. If attack came on both fronts there was only one course of action left - to flee to one's nearest allies.

However, by 1944, the Kami people were re-established on their traditional lands and there are several references to them in the A.N.G.A.U. Patrol Reports of 1944 and 1945. In November 1944, Warrant Officer J.H.L. Armitstead was stationed at 'Segu Native Hospital' which by this time had been closed but was still maintained as a Police Post.² Armitstead patrolled through the surrounding villages between the 10th and the 28th November, with two express objectives. These were

- "(i) Preparation of Coffee Plots adjacent to Villages and
- (ii) Instruct and Encourage Village Natives in Coffee Planting."³

Kami was one of the groups singled out for instruction and Armitstead reported that on the 20th and 21st of November he visited the village and "KAMI Coffee plots (were) completed."⁴ The village people then had about a fortnight's wait for the arrival of the coffee seedlings. Armitstead met Captain A.J. Schindler, O.I.C. of Aiyura Experimental Station, at the Bena Drome, and together they inspected the coffee plots at Kami and Arufa. This was on December 6th, 1944. The next day the first

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1. Talk to Goroka Teachers College students, 25th July, 1973.
 2. Dysentery cases were still occurring, but patients were treated at Goroka, where a hospital was established on the land which later became known as 'Airpos' (see section on Okiufa). Information about the Goroka Hospital from Mr. John Black, 1st September, 1973.
 3. J.H.L. Armitstead, Patrol No. 12 of 44/45. Goroka Patrol Reports, 1944-45. National Archives, Port Moresby.
 4. J.H.L. Armitstead: Patrol No. 17 of 44/45.

coffee plants arrived from Aiyura and planting took place from the 8th to the 16th. At about the same time Warrant Officer Tom Fox was putting the finishing touches to a telephone line "from GAROKA to BENA station" and on from there to Finintegu.

Armitstead was back again in late January to inspect the coffee plots at Arufa and Kami, and he noted in his Report¹ that, until he had begun patrolling this area, there had been no Administration Patrols since Captain L.G.R. Kyngdon (then a patrol officer) was at Goroka in November and December, 1941. Mr. Kyngdon recalls that he took over from Patrol Officer A.J. Robertson at Bena in mid-May, 1941 and became the first European to be stationed permanently at Goroka on October 12th, 1941. He had a rain water tank carried across from Bena on the following Sunday and confesses that "I am afraid that I rather pulled Bepi's leg by telling him that this object coming down into the creek in the dusk was a motor truck! He had, of course, seen one in Madang."² However, L.G.R. Kyngdon remained at Goroka right throughout 1942, maintaining a staging post for refugees from Madang^{and Rabaul} en route to Mt. Hagen. He was in contact with the local people during this time but normal Patrols were suspended, and presumably no Reports were written.

Armitstead states that there were no patrols "owing to the presence of Bena Force", but he concedes that a strong European influence continued:

"With the presence of troops in this area in large numbers it has benefitted the district by bringing more natives out of hiding for census purposes. A certain amount of credit must be given to the members of the R.P.C. stationed on Police Posts.

"No true census has been taken in this area before owing to conditions prevailing in pre-war days - natives not sure of the white man, tribal fighting and Administration Field Staff calling natives from their villages to other villages or the European

1. No. 19 of 44/45, January, 1945.

2. Personal communication from Mr. L.G.R. Kyngdon, of Bowral, New South Wales.

station for census purposes."¹.

He was overwhelmed to the point of embarrassment by the response to his recruitment drive for labourers to work at the Aiyura Agricultural Experimental Station. He obtained 194 volunteers and had to knock back at least another 100. Undoubtedly the distribution of coffee plants had made its impact on the villagers. Armitstead noted that "some of these natives have worked pre-war, but most of them were on cargo lines during the presence of Bena Force." The cargo line experience could not have been all that bad, despite the unhappy memories which middle-aged village men recall today.

The coffee plots must have been Armitstead's special concern. In October 1945, now promoted to the rank of Lieutenant, he patrolled through the area again, and made a point of visiting Kami, to see how the coffee was progressing:

"All plots in the area I patrolled were inspected and pruned.....Instructions and talks given to natives on the necessity of cleaning the plots, planting of wind breaks, and planting of inter-row crops."².

He noted that Kami now had a population of 319 (233 adults and 96 children). His comments on the Census work are interesting:

"Since the last patrol to this section of the RENA BENA area, a few hundred new names have been entered in the village books. It appears very encouraging to me as it shows confidence in the natives towards the Administration. Migrations are still large but this is to be expected for some time yet, as the villagers are returning to their own tribal grounds after being chased out in the fighting days.³

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1. Armitstead, No. 19 of 44/45, op. cit.
 2. Lieutenant J.H.L. Armitstead: Patrol No. 11 of 45/46.
 3. My underlining. This confirms the belief that Kami, Faniufa and Seigu were all dislodged from their lands during the tribal fighting. A personal interview with Mr. Osiso Negi of Faniufa removed any further doubts (see section on Faniufa).

This is to be encouraged, as it shows a tendency towards peace in the area which may last.

"Births and deaths are reasonably low. Young children are comparatively scarce throughout the area, this has been caused by the dysentery epidemic about 18 months ago."

The luluais at Kami were Sekliair and Kulihae. Armitstead found that most villages in the area had from 2 to 4 luluais, each representing a clan or sub-clan within the larger group. He noted that

"they pull against the real Chief¹. at times and I receive complaints occasionally that certain sections of a village will not co-operate in a task. This is generally overcome by calling in the Luluai in charge of the section in question and reprimanding him.

"All officials have been allocated by pre-War Staff of the Administration. I have changed none. Most villages have Pidgin English interpreters."

However, in spite of occasional frictions, Armitstead found that

"all villages are back to normal living conditions since the Military Forces have moved out. Natives and their Chieftains visit the Bena Bena station², regularly with native foods. They bring in their major problems for arbitration instead of settling same with 'Strung Bows'."

Armitstead did not stay long enough in the area to see the Kami coffee come to flower and then witness the first harvesting of the cherries. When Patrol Officer Tom Leabeater visited the Kami hamlets on 25th March, 1949, he noted that

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1. As has been pointed out by Read ('High Valley', p.33), there were no hereditary 'Chiefs' as such in Goroka-Gama society. The situation often arose where the man appointed by the Administration as luluai or paramount luluai did not command the respect of the villagers, who recognised other 'big men' as their leaders for the time being.
 2. By 1945, Goroka was the head station for the Bena Bena sub-district. Armitstead probably means Goroka when he refers to "the Bena Bena station".

the gardens were plentiful and well-stocked, and that

"such places as Seigu have adopted the practice of planting beyond their own needs as a ready market exists among the European population for the excess. All varieties of southern vegetables are under cultivation,"¹.

There is no mention in this Report of coffee, which should have been approaching its' first harvesting by this time. However, it is obvious that the people had seen the value of cash crops and were well on the way towards participating in the 'urban' economy. If Kami did have any town land to sell they would have needed no convincing about the desirability of making it available. Certainly when Mr. 'Jerry' Pentland applied for his agricultural lease over Genauka in 1950 for the purpose of growing coffee, the Kami owners of the land were able to appreciate his motives, and no doubt hoped to benefit from his presence. Their willingness to part with this ground for a coffee plantation must have given the infant plantation economy a big boost at this time, as other land-owning groups were not slow to follow their example.

Thus the establishment of that small coffee plot at Kami in 1944 can be seen as a very significant event in the history of Goroka, and although the Kami people may not have contributed much land to the town, indirectly they contributed a great deal to its' commercial growth.

FANIUFA

Faniufa did not come to the notice of the outside world until the tragic Christmas of 1972, when Bougainville senior public servants, Dr. Luke Rovin and Mr. Peter Moine, were killed by Faniufa villagers, following the death of a Faniufa child in a road accident. When public horror and revulsion

1. T.J. Leabeater: No. 2 of 48/49. Report of Census Patrol to villages in immediate vicinity of GOROKA, March, 1949.

over the killings had subsided it was realised that the Faniufa people had been a quite unremarkable, law-abiding Goroka community, who in the early days of contact had shown the same willingness to accept the new order as their tribal kinsmen, Seigu and Kami. It would be convenient to be able to show a pattern of violent and irresponsible behaviour since the early days of European influence, but there is not the least evidence on which to base such a contention.

Their reception of the first Europeans was just the same as that of the other Goroka tribes. They think that Jim Taylor was the first white man they saw, but concede that it could have been someone else. Their 'first-contact' story is not unlike that of Okiufa. When 'Jim Taylor' appeared from the direction of Bena Bena, the three groups, Faniufa, Kami and Seigu, escorted him up to Mt. Sitani and from there they called across to Okiufa and Asariufa "Come and see this strange thing. Let him walk through your ground." They were convinced he was a spirit, probably an evil one, and were quite glad to have him off their hands!¹.

The Faniufa informant, Osiso Negi recalls that 'Taylor' had not been gone long before tribal fighting broke out, and Faniufa, Kami and Seigu were attacked by Mohaweto, Napamagono and Arufa on the Bena side, and Kama, Asariufa and Gafuku on the other flank. Unable to withstand this onslaught, they all ran away to seek shelter with their friends at Asaro.

Osiso has no recollection of a kiap intervening to bring them back and he thinks it was just a case of the Gafukus and their allies having a change of heart and saying, "Come back and stay with us." Probably Croft did not have any direct dealings with Faniufa (he only mentions Seigu), and he does state in his Report that they had "made peace with these former enemies", implying that a settlement had been reached before he appeared on the scene. However, he does seem to be the principal instigator of the successful re-settlement of Seigu, and


1. Information from Mr. Osiso Negi, a Faniufa informant who claims he was a boy of about 12 when Jim Taylor arrived in 1933. Interviewed at Faniufa, 10th September, 1973.

Faniufa probably followed in Seigu's wake.

Hanimo, the Faniufa luluai who received £120 for Faniufa's share of the town land in 1948, had been a big fight leader in pre-contact times, and was made a luluai before the War.¹ In March, 1943, the United States Army decided to construct an airstrip suitable for Fighter and Medium Bombers at Goroka, on ground which belonged in part to Faniufa. Hanimo did not oppose this compulsory acquisition. A.N.G.A.U. had suggested to the Americans that they might use the Highland Valleys as a springboard for the recapture of the Markham, Lae and Finschhafen areas.² The Americans were interested in the proposal, and on the 29th June, construction of the new airfield at Goroka was begun under the direction of Major Homer Trimble. As it happened, the Morobe offensive of October, 1943, was conducted by sea and air attack on the Japanese, and Goroka was not used in the campaign.

The 1000 local and Chimbu labourers who worked on the strip could not have realised, any more than did the American and Australian engineers and support personnel who employed them, that this 6000 foot aerodrome was going to change the whole history of Goroka. When L.G.R. Kyngdon established a permanently-manned station at Humilaveka on October 12th, 1941, he was not impressed with the site as a place of permanent settlement. "I am sure I regarded it as native land and regarded the Administration's use as only temporary. I did not feel it was the best place for a permanent station."³ The construction of the new aerodrome changed the situation and in later chapters of this study it will be shown how its' existence helped to decide Goroka's future as a major Administration centre. However, that is getting ahead of the story somewhat. The point of interest here is that Faniufa owned the southern or lower end of this airstrip and the Faniufa people joined with their traditional enemy Kama and other local groups in helping to build it. All the labour was done by hand and according to war historian David

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1. Information from Osise Negi and confirmed by Hanimo when interviewed on 13th September, 1973.
 2. Information from Mr. Jim Taylor, 25th June, 1973.
 3. L.G.R. Kyngdon: op. cit.



Luluai Hanimo of Faniufa.



Luluai Gopie of Kama with the author's son, Paul, September 1973.



Gopie, in formal dress for his photograph, standing outside his brick house at Sipike hamlet.

(Photos by the author)

Dexter it was completed in seven days - the whole 6000 feet of it, plus dispersal bays!¹ Today, exactly thirty years later, the main runway is only 4,600 feet long.²

Faniufa informant Osiso recalls that he cut the grass with a sarif, and was paid in salt and shell money. In some places the American engineers used small Clark bulldozers, but the large labour force available and the open kunai-covered terrain, made such equipment unnecessary here.³

Ever since the first aeroplane landed on the new airstrip in 1943, Faniufa has lived with the noise of low flying aircraft. The village is just a few hundred yards east of the flight-path of incoming and departing planes, and the interview with Osiso was punctuated by the roar of Fokkers, D.C.3's, Twin Otters and noisy little Cessnas. When Japanese 'Betty' bombers attacked Goroka for the first time on 14th June, 1943,⁴ and fighters set fire to kunai stores and houses, Osiso ran to the nearest creek and hid for the rest of the day. Now the only effect of aircraft on him is to make him pause in conversation. He has developed a high level of tolerance to this noise nuisance. He seems to have adjusted quite successfully to constant aircraft movement overhead.

During the period of regular A.N.G.A.U. Patrols from 1944 to 1946, Faniufa was visited fairly frequently along with Kami and Seigu. In January, 1945, H. Armitstead conducted a census of Faniufa and recorded a population of 84.⁵ In all of his Reports which mention Faniufa, he notes the willing

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1. David Dexter: "The New Guinea Offensives" (Australian War Memorial, Canberra, 1961) p.243.
 2. However, this is sealed tarmac, not the rough grassy surface which existed in 1943.
 3. Information from General Bernard 'Robbie' Robinson, who was an engineer with the United States 6th Army in New Guinea, 1942-43. Interviewed at Goroka, 27th June, 1972.
 4. David Dexter: Op. Cit. p.239
 5. H. Armitstead, Patrol Report No. 19 of 44/45, op. cit.

co-operation of the people, and, in fact, nowhere in the A.N.G.A.U. files are there any unfavourable reports on this clan's behaviour. They seem to have quietly accepted the new order and as calmly acquiesced in the alienation of part of their land for the new airstrip. When P.O. Tom Leabeater conducted a census patrol of the area in March, 1949, he somewhat grudgingly admitted that "being close to Sub-District headquarters, the places visited have easy access to administrative bodies and are comparatively well-behaved citizens."¹.

KAMA P

The Kama people have a history of strength in adversity, and they seem to have firmly withstood the attacks of enemies when the resistance of their neighbours crumbled under similar pressure. Although they had no friendship ties with Faniufa, Kami and Seigu, they shared a common enemy, Gahuku, and when their three neighbours fled before the onslaught Kama stood firm. They were in a better position than the others, because their extensive tribal lands stretched from Goroka down to the Asaro River, and they only had to face the enemy on one front. If Gahuku or Ufeto pressed them from the north, they had plenty of territory to fall back on in the south. But when Seigu and its' allied clans experienced the same threat they were trapped, because they had enemies on the Bena side as well.

Jim Taylor notes in his Diary of the 1933 Mt. Hagen patrol, that on the first day out from their camp at Bena Bena, while following a track upstream along the Garfuku (Asaro River) flats, "we passed through some of the Karma people, who had come from further up the river and were making a new settlement in this vicinity."². It is not clear if this represented a

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1. T.J. Leabeater: Patrol Report No. 2 of 48/49, op. cit.
 2. J.L. Taylor: Mt. Hagen Patrol Report, 1933: Patrol Diary entry, 28th March, 1933.

withdrawal from the northern 'zone of conflict' or was simply a migration in search of new garden land. It was not usual for tribes to settle on river flats, where adequate defences against surprise attacks would be virtually non-existent. Only a group with extreme confidence in its' strength and defence capability would be bold enough to make a settlement in such open terrain. It can be implied, therefore, that the Taylor-Leahy party were witnesses to a Kama expansion, not a retreat.

Further evidence of Kama's invulnerability is given by Read,¹ who implies that at the time of Nagamidzua's eclipse, when they were crushed by Kefamo and Ufeto, the borders of Kama, or Gama, were not disturbed. These attacks on Nagamidzua occurred some time before the advent of Europeans.

The Kama deserved their relatively undisturbed existence. Their diplomatic strategy could hardly be faulted.² To the east and south east they had weakened enemies Faniufa, Kami and Seigu, who presented no threat to them. Nagamidzua, an ally, provided a buffer zone between them and Ufeto, a deadly enemy. And on the other side of Ufeto were a string of Kama allies, Lapeigu, Asaro and Kabiufa, who could be relied upon to keep Ufeto occupied for most of the time.³ Asariufa, a next-door enemy, presented a more serious threat, particularly with the backing of its allies Okiufa and Gafuku. However, Asariufa found sufficient satisfaction in harassing Seigu, and generally left Kama alone. Asariufa men do claim that at one period before European contact, Kama tried to resist their southward expansion across the Zokizoi River, and were routed. Asariufa established the settlement of Sogeropagihura, and have held this land ever since. However, no further expansion into Kama territory occurred, although as recently as 1969, the two groups were still quarrelling over this Trans-Zokizoi area.⁴

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1. K.E. Read: The High Valley, p.35
 2. List of Kama's friends and enemies supplied by Dr. Fritz von Fleckenstein, July, 1973.
 3. See C.R. Croft's 1937 Patrol Report, M. 37/38 on skirmishes between Ufeto and Asaro
 4. See "Trans-Zokizoi Land Dispute Hearing, 1969", Land Titles Commission Files, Goroka.

Kama tried to counter-balance the threat from Asariufa by establishing an alliance with the mountain men, Kortuni and Kaveve, who were strategically placed to menace the Asariufa-Okiufa-Gahuku alliance's eastern flank. War games and strategy among the Gahuku tribes could be fun! Kama certainly seems to have thrived on diplomacy.

When John Black, returning from a Chimbu patrol, passed through the Asaro in October, 1934, he encountered the Ufeto, among whom he camped overnight on the 2nd, and the Kama, whose lands he traversed on the 3rd. The fact that he singles out these two groups for mention in his Report,¹ would suggest that they were large and well-established. It also happened that their territories lay across his path to Bena Bena, but so also did the boundaries of Kefamo, Nagamidzuha, Faniufa, Kami and Seigu, none of whom are mentioned.

Kama's existence is noted by Aitchison in his 1937 Report.² He states that there was a "matter between KAMA and GAFUKA villages adjusted." The trouble was speedily settled, because it is not mentioned in later Patrol Reports. It must have been soon after 1937 that Kama luluai, GOPIE, supervised his people in the cutting of a bridle path for the kiaps, through Kama territory.³

During the War, Kama men were involved in the construction of the new airfield, and there was an anti-aircraft gun emplacement at Taitomeka, one of the Kama settlements. Most of the central portion of the airstrip belonged to Kama and the majority of the American soldiers involved in the work camped on Kama land.⁴ One witness at the Trans-Zokizoi Land Dispute hearing, Arinaso Taro of Kapogui, stated that during

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1. J.K. Black: Patrol Report B.16/34-35, op.cit.
 2. T.G. Aitchison: Patrol Report M. 37/38, July-August, 1937.
 3. Trans-Zokizoi Land Dispute Hearing: Evidence given by Soso Subi of Asariufa.
 4. H.L. Niall, personal communication, 19th July, 1973.

the War he "assisted an American soldier named STACK when he surveyed the big airfield." Arinaso further recalled that

"during the War about seven anti-aircraft guns were sited around the big airstrip. One of these was at TAITOMEKA in the vicinity of the present site of GOPIE's hamlet at GEHAMO-ZUHA. This gun-pit was in the kunai, there were no houses anywhere near it. I remember this as I used to visit the gun crews with Captain STACK."

A census of Kama was taken by Lieutenant H. Armitstead in October, 1945, and he found that there was a total population of 502, consisting of 321 adults and 181 children. Kama was by far the largest of the groups counted, its' 502 members exceeding Kami's 319, Seigu's 176, or Faniufa's 84. It is interesting that in all these villages, the women outnumbered the men (175 women to 146 men at Kama, 124 Kami women to 99 men), but that male children outnumbered females (104 Kama boys to 77 girls, 52 Kami boys to 44 girls). Was nature perhaps compensating for the loss of males? It must be remembered that during January, 1945, Armitstead recruited 194 men from the area for work at the Aiyura Agricultural Experimental Station, which explains the dearth of adult males in the village. but the excess of boys over girls is not so easy to explain. Was there in fact a higher male birth rate in traditional Highland societies to compensate for the early mortality of men in tribal fighting?².

Kama appears to have been treated rather generously in the 1948 land purchase. Three Kama luluais, Gopie, Tareipa and Apilauwei, received a total payment of £257/10 on behalf of the four Kama clans. This represented an area of 51.5 hectares. It is true that the central section of the new airstrip which is known traditionally as Go'nevega, belonged to Kama. But when the airstrip 'cake' is cut up between Faniufa, Kama, Seigu (and possibly Kami), it is difficult to see how Kama

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1. Trans-Zokizoi Land Dispute Hearing: Evidence given by Soso Subi of Asariufa.
 2. This question is somewhat outside the scope of the present study but is raised as a matter of general interest.

could have been credited with so large a slice.

Assuming that the total D.C.A. area in 1948 was about 100 hectares (it was extended by a further purchase from Faniufa in 1951), Kama's large share of the total does seem excessive. However, there are several possible explanations.

One reason could be that the Administration took into consideration the size of each land-owning group as well as the actual area of land purchased. It has already been noted that Kama was a large group, which, by 1949 probably had a population in excess of 500. A sum of, say, £120, which was what Faniufa received, would not have gone far among so many. But £257.10.0 could have at least provided a 10 shilling note for everyone. Gopie stated recently that a general distribution was made:

"When we got this money, I sang out to all the people in my line to get together and we had a mumu and we shared all the money out. This was for all of the zuha - all four of them. The other two men who received money for Kama were there too, and we all three shared out the money.

"We put it all together £257.10.0. It is not a lot of money for all this land. I sold my land for nothing. It amounted to about £1 per person and some got ten shillings only."

It might be implied from Gopie's statement that the Kama people were not pleased with the amount they received, but it must be realised that he is giving a retrospective view. The Kama people had no hesitation in parting with a further 108.5 hectares² at £2.10.0 per hectare in 1950.³ The area was purchased for a Livestock and Food Crop Experimental Station and was therefore considered less valuable than the

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1. Luluai Gopie of Sipike haus-line, interviewed by Dr. Fritz von Fleckenstein, 27th July, 1973, and by myself on 13th September, 1973.
 2. It was later found that the measurements were wrong, and the area was actually 94.4 hectares.
 3. 'Kama' Land Purchase File, District Office, Goroka.

land set aside for town and airstrip purposes. Today, it is the highly developed suburban area known as West Goroka, and Gopie's feeling that he has somehow been cheated is understandable. But if the Kama people had resented the amount paid for Go'nevega in 1948, they would not have been prepared to sell another 94.4 hectares for half the price in 1950.

A second reason for Kama's favourable treatment in 1948 could have been that the Administration had an eye to the future. "If we give them a large amount of money now," it may have been reasoned, "they will be prepared to sell more in the future". If this was their plan, it certainly produced the desired effect.

Yet a third possible explanation was provided by Hanimo, the old ex-luluai of Faniufa. He claims that Kama tried to convince the kiap that they owned all of the airstrip from its' top end, near the Council Chambers, right down to the bottom end, near Faniufa village.

"They tried to come as far as our place but we told them to clear off, and they went back as far as the garage.¹ But they convinced the kiap that they owned more land than they really did."²

Another point that needs to be made about the airstrip purchase was that a re-survey³ of part of the proposed township area was made in 1951, and some of the 1948 measurements were found to be in error. In a very detailed report by Cadet Patrol Officer John McArthur, dated 22nd August, 1951, he advised that

"during the period August 9th to August 20th I carried out a re-traverse of portion of the town boundaries, and interviewed the previous owners of the areas concerned."

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1. Goroka Motors Service Station on the Highlands Highway in West Goroka (not in use at present).
 2. Interview with Hanimo at Faniufa on 13th September, 1973. He was not present on 10th September when I interviewed Osiso.
 3. Strictly speaking this was a re-traverse, not a re-survey. Only licensed surveyors are entitled to 'survey' land.

Macarthur found, among other things, that

"The description and sketch compiled in 1948 places the distance between the south-west and the south-east corners of GOROKA town as 427 metres. The distance, as I have estimated it is 380 metres."¹

Obviously the 1948 measurement would have given the airstrip a much greater area than actually existed. The sketch map to which John McArthur refers does, in fact, show the airstrip to be much bigger than the same portion of it which appears on present-day maps. On the original map it is about two fifths of the total town area. On the amended maps it is only about one quarter of the total area. Consequently all the land owners received more money than they were entitled to, and Kama seems to have been treated even more generously than the others.

As mentioned earlier, there are four Kama clans, and all received a share of the money, although only two clans were represented on the Transfer Document. Gopie was the luluai of Gehamozuha and Tareipa and Apilauwei represented Zagomazuha. The investigating officer, William Sippo, must have been somewhat confused by this legation of luluais (and who could blame him?) because he awarded Apilauwei £100 and Tareipa £7.10.0, when both of them represented the same clan. The other two Kama clans Gepahina and Gomeguveh, missed out altogether, but the three luluais included them in the general distribution, as a demonstration of tribal solidarity.

As for the errors in measurement, it must be remembered that patrol officers were not trained surveyors, and mistakes in boundary marking and calculation of land areas are understandable. As late as 1952 the District Commissioners were still pleading for licensed surveyors and the Secretary for Lands, E.P. Holmes, conceded that there was a "present dearth of surveyors."²

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1. J. McArthur, C.P.O.: Report to District Commissioner, Goroka, on Boundaries of U.A.L. 5 (township of Goreka), 22nd August, 1951. File Ref. 34/4/1. ('Kama' Land Purchase File, District Office, Goroka.)
 2. E.P. Holmes: Following address delivered at District Commissioners' Conference, 1952: Item 44, Purchase of Native Lands.

ASARIUFA

The last group in this clockwise traverse of the Goroka town boundary is Asariufa, spelt variously as Aserufa (Aitchison), Aseraufa (Croft), Asarodzuha (Read) and Asaroyufa (Orken). The Asariufa people recognise a common ancestry with Okiufa, and relations between the two groups have generally been cordial, although there is some overlapping of boundary claims in the Humilaveka area.

A recent interview with an Asariufa man, Ai-ae of Koroka, revealed an interesting 'tumbuna' story which links the two groups.

"Some of our people believe our ancestors lived in the mountains behind 'Airpos'. They were naked and they used to walk out hunting in groups through the kunai down near the District Office. They caught mamots¹ and birds. These were eaten raw as soon as the blood dried in the sun. Our ancestors lived right up in the mountains. Later they came down to 'Airpos' and then finally across here to Asariufa.

"Two white men were the leaders. They said, "All the ladies line up and sleep in a row." Then all the men got into this sex business. Whatever these two white men said, it happened. One of the leaders' names was Safi. The other one I can't remember. The Okiufa men will know. They can show us where these two men were buried. When Europeans came, we thought they were these white ancestors returning to us."²

As has already been noted, relations between Asariufa and Kama were strained, even though there is some evidence that Kama people also came from the 'Airpos' direction.³ In the Trans-Zokizoi Land Dispute heard by Senior Land Titles Commissioner Max Orken in 1969, claims and counter-claims were made by the two tribes concerning their pre-contact spheres

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1. A mammet is a small marsupial like a bandicoot.
 2. Ai-ae of Koroka, interviewed at Koroka village 7th August, 1973. When Ai-ae's story was checked with Papazo of Okiufa he said that he did not know anything about these two white ancestors.
 3. Information from Gopie of Sipike, interviewed at his house on 13th September, 1973.

of influence. The Commissioner recorded that

"Many of the witnesses were old men in whose memories there was still a vivid recollection of the old days of tribal fighting and animosities. Ancient grudges were brought up, many long rambling irrelevancies were introduced, and over the whole Hearing lay a feeling of tension which culminated in ... a brawl"¹.

The Kama witnesses claimed that at the time of initial European contact, the Asariufa lived to the north of the Zokizoi River, on the terrace where Koroka village is situated. As was noted previously, Asariufa made the counter-claim, that by the time of European contact, they had extended their influence south of the Zokizoi at Kama's expense. Certainly, by 1948, their domain extended from Koroka as far south as the present Market. It would seem likely that the movement south from 'Airpos' was begun by Kama several generations before the time of first contact, and that at about the time of first contact Asariufa, possibly because of population pressure, rather than because of a quarrel with Okiufa, also began to move south.

On 20th July, 1937, Aitchison took a census of the "village of ASARUFA".² He had noted in his Patrol Diary on the 18th, when he passed through Asariufa on his way to the Gafuku Police Post that "Natives a little nervous but brought an abundance of foods." "Aseraufa" was one of the groups assembled by Croft on the 2nd November, 1937, when "various matters were adjusted and discussions were held."³

During 1943, the lives of the Asariufa people were seriously disrupted and they possibly experienced more of an upheaval than the other groups. It so happened that the terrace on which Koroka village is situated was suitable for tunnelling,

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1. M.B. Orken: Trans-Zokizoi Land Dispute - Reasons for Decision, paragraph 17.
 2. T.G. Aitchison: Patrol Report M 37/38, Kainantu File.
 3. C.R. Croft: Patrol Report M 37.38, dated 17.11-37, Kainantu File.

and the whole population was shifted from the area so that air-raid shelters and underground stores could be constructed. A cover of casuarina trees also made Koroka an attractive site as a store and shelter area for the troops. Some trees and bamboos were cut down and the material used to line the tunnels. On the Zokizoi River¹, flats below the Koroka terrace, another section of Asariufa land was compulsorily acquired for a Police Barracks. This area is known as Lobiloveka.

Koroka informant Ai-ae describes this period as a 'no good time'. He himself was conscripted to carry cargo on the track to Faita, an American base on the Ramu River below Bundi, and he recalls that some of his friends in the cargo line died and their bodies were buried near the river. This is not surprising as the village population near Faita was practically wiped out by dysentery in 1943 or 1944. When Warrant Officer B. Wickham visited Faita in November, 1944, he reported that "the village population has been reduced by an epidemic of dysentery to six males, five females and three children."²

Ai-ae recalls that on another occasion Captain John Black,³ intervened on the Asariufa people's behalf when the local police at Lobiloveka exceeded their authority and treated the villagers particularly harshly over a potty misdemeanor. Ai-ae remembers that at the time John Black had let his hair grow long.

When Japanese aeroplanes attacked the new airstrip, Asariufa people were terrified, and the big anti-aircraft guns mounted on Humilaveka, Mt. Sitani and at Kama, were also a source of fear to them. Ai-ae, the old campaigner, has his supply of war stories, just like any other war veteran.

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1. Technically, this is Mumoka Creek, the northern tributary of the Zokizoi.
 2. B. Wickham: Patrol Report dated 6th December, 1944. Kundiawa File, 1940-1950, National Archives, Port Moresby.
 3. John Black was in charge of A.N.G.A.U. operations at Bena Bena and Goroka for a period in 1942-43, and was 21/C to Jim Taylor at Goroka in 1944, after the troops had withdrawn from the area.

His best one is about a Japanese fighter damaged by the gun on Humilaveka, which finally crashed further up the Asaro valley at Kwongi, but not before the pilot had jumped out of the cockpit into another plane!

This disruption to Asariufa's village life probably explains an incident which occurred in February 1945, when A.N.G.A.U. officers were attempting to restore the people's confidence and introduce a cash economy. Warrant Officer N.M. Bird visited the villages around the District Office, Garoka - "Geifamo, Asaraufa, Kama and Okoufa" - and reported that "with two exceptions, villages lined for census when called upon. The exceptions were ASARAUFA and the village LILIHAMINTOKA.¹ These showed no desire to co-operate, but were finally induced (sic) to line and census was compiled."² It can be inferred that at this stage the Asariufa people had had about as much as they were prepared to take from the authorities. It is instructive that they are the only people who actively opposed the Administration after the War experiences. This can be directly related to the fact that they were the only group who were actually moved off their place of residence by the soldiers. All the other groups were able to retain their village communities, and were not much inconvenienced by the occupation of their garden or hunting grounds.

Asariufa's unfortunate wartime experiences were to have a direct influence on the shape of the town boundary which was drawn in 1948. Today's map of the town shows a large area of native-owned land between the Highlands Highway and the western town boundary. This ground is jealously guarded and maintained by the Asariufa owners, although from a town-planner's point of view it is prime urban land. Mr. William Sippo recalls that the administration was keen to include the area within the town boundary in the 1943 purchase,

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1. This is probably the Asariufa settlement known today as Galamunitoka, which is on the banks of the Zokizoi not far from Lobiloveka.
 2. N.M. Bird: Patrol Report No. 21 of 44/45, dated 27th February, 1945. Goroka Patrol Reports, 1944-45, National Archives, Port Moresby.

but "we would have had a war on our hands if we had tried to force the issue."¹ The Asariufa people were determined that they would not be pushed around any more. Actually the amount of land which they did sell to the Administration, 40 hectares, was quite generous. Their total land area, surrounded as it is by Okiufa, Nagamidzuha and Kama, is not large when compared with the extensive lands of the other three groups.

The two Asariufa luluais, Asakohai and Venara, received 100 each for this town land. Asakohai was the luluai at Koroka, and Venara represented the southern settlement of Sogerepagihura. According to Ai-ae, everyone got a share of the money. At first the people were suspicious of the paper money offered to them, preferring shells, and some even tried to smoke the pound notes. However, the majority recognised the value of the money, and bought axes, knives, beads and lap lap material at the trade stores. It was about this time that Mr. Jim Leahy opened a trade store near the big airstrip,² and there was also a small store at the Government Station near Humilaveka.

Mr. Soso Subi, a prominent Asariufa leader, claims today that Asariufa's south-western boundary extended across to the centre of town (Steamship's main store) and down to Leigh Vial Street in West Goroka.³ As already noted in the section on Seigu, this claim was not recognised on 1948. However, the eastern boundary, which went up from the Council Chamber through the National Day Park to the old Hospital, is not disputed. In North Goroka there are only minor over-lapping claims with their Okiufa neighbours. According to Soso the boundary line went from the old Hospital across the Zokizoi

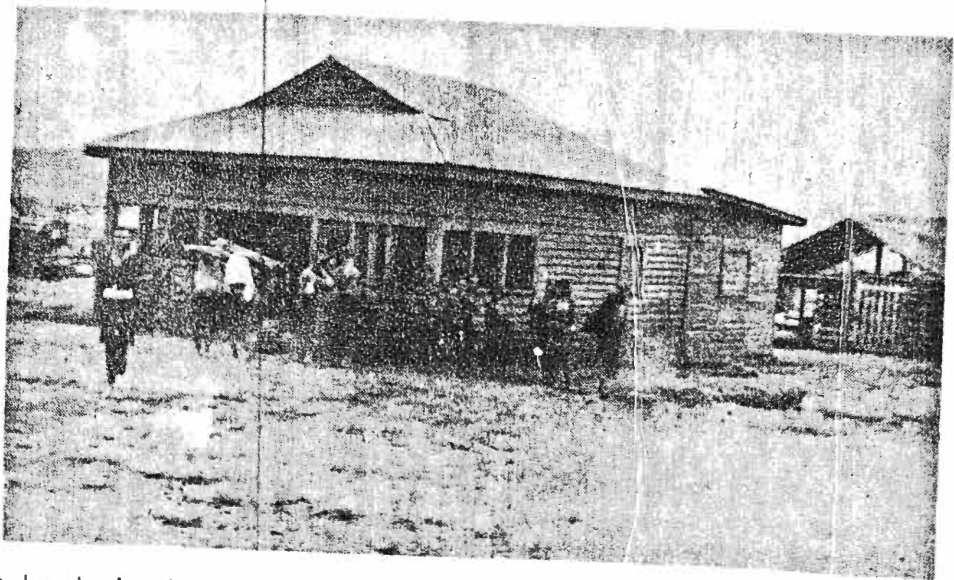
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1. William G. Sippo, interviewed at Port Moresby, 14th August, 1973.
 2. Jim Leahy applied for a trading licence on 26th June, 1948. His store was situated 'on that piece of land on the Western side of and adjoining the Government Rest House at SITANEI, Goroka.' File 34/2/1-13, District Office, Goroka. Sergeant Ubom claims to have conducted a small store for his native police at Humilaveka on the north side of the airstrip, near where the Manual Arts building is now situated. (Information from Sgt. Ubom, 18th October, 1972.)
 3. Mr. Soso Subi, interviewed at his home on 2nd August, 1973.



District Office, Medical Assistant's house and Hospital at Humilaveka, 1947. Excavation for a swimming pool on the left, airstrip to the right. Photo taken by Mr. Jim Taylor from his house.



Close-up view, looking east, of the District Office, verandah of the Medical Assistant's house and the food store, Humilaveka, c. 1948. Photo taken by Mr. Neville Cook.



Mr. Jim Leahy's trade store, Goroka, c. 1949. It stood where Burns Philp's super-market is now situated. An earlier store opened by Mr. Leahy was on land acquired by D.C.A., and it was demolished. Photo kindly supplied by Mr. Jim Leahy.

River to St. Matthew's Lutheran Church on the north bank, and then to the Goroka Technical School and up the steep slope of Humilaveka terrace to the 'Bulolo' house on the Teachers' College campus.¹ It then continued in a westerly direction down the less steeply graded slope of the terrace to Goroka Road Transport Pty. Ltd., and across the Highlands Highway to Mr. John Akunai's coffee plantation.

Okiufa informants do not concede any part of the top of Humilaveka terrace to Asariufa, but agree that the western slope belonged to them. One effect of the sale of land to the Administration has been that disputed borders which were actual or potential causes of conflict between the tribes have been swallowed up by the town, and are no longer the concern of the local people. The fact that Asariufa and Seigu contest their former ownership of the 'top' end of the aerodrome is of no consequence today - it is simply a matter of academic argument between the two groups.² Similarly, the rival claims to the west end of Humilaveka terrace create no hard feelings between Asariufa and Okiufa.

GOROKA - THE GROUND OF THE ANCESTORS

Mr. Soso Subi, the prominent Asariufa businessman already mentioned, was not closely involved in the 1948 land sale, but he is named as one of the vendors in the 1953 purchase of Agesahagu. This is a rectangular block of 8.2 acres opposite the old Goroka Hospital. Soso is described on the Contingencies Sheet as 'Tutul of Asariufa'. The other named owner is Obeso, who is given no title in the transfer document, but is said

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1. The house occupied by the author, but originally the home of Inspector Bill Burns, the officer in charge of the Goroka Police Training Establishment from 1950 to 1960.
 2. When interviewed on 18th September, 1973, Hanimo, the Faniufa luluai, also put in a claim on behalf of his people for this section of the airstrip. He claims that Seigu and Faniufa shared it between them.

by Soso to have been a luluai.¹.

Obeso's greater claim to fame rests on Soso's belief that it was he who suggested the name GOROKA for the town "because it is the ground of our ancestors."² This raises the interesting question of how Goroka received its' name. There are a variety of explanations ranging from the claim of one old Manus policeman³ that it means "six o'clock in the morning" to an interpretation once given to Mr. Robert Cleland, that Goroka is "the place where one walks by night."⁴

Soso recalls that after the War "there was a competition held to choose a name for the town and this old luluai Obiso, who lived near the Zokizoi Creek, said 'Let us call it Goroka because it is the ground of our ancestors.'" Ai-ae of Koroka more or less confirmed this story, stating that when Mr. Jim Taylor was District Officer, Central Highlands, he held a competition to decide on a name for the town, and the Asariufa luluais suggested Koroka, the name of their parent village. This competition was held shortly after Jim Taylor took up his position as District Officer on 1st November, 1946.⁵ The name Garoka had been in fairly common usage throughout the War, and the competition seems to be another example of Jim Taylor's policy of letting the local people feel that they were partners, involved in the decision-making process. When he realised that Goroka was a more accurate spelling of the name than Garoka, he wrote to his superiors in Port Moresby requesting a change of name:

"Authority and approval is sought to change the spelling of GAROKA to GOROKA which is

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1. Interview with Soso, 2nd August, 1973
 2. Ibid
 3. Constable Paliu in talk at Goroka Teachers College, June, 1972.
 4. Personal communication from Mr. R. Cleland, A.D.C. Chuave.
 5. J.L. Taylor: Circular letter dated 1-11-46, to Assistant District Officers, Central Highlands District, advising that he had "assumed control of the District and Division on 1st November, 1946." File 1/2/1, District Office, Goroka.

as near correct phonetically as it is possible with our present system of spelling.

"It is suggested that it is not too late to make the change as the name is not yet included in much published material and is unknown to the outside world...."1.

Sergeant Ubom was probably the first person to give the name Koroka a wider application than its' localised Asariufa usage. When he established the Police Post at Okiufa in 1936 or 1937, it was situated on the present site of Okiufa Primary School, which is no more than a quarter of a mile from Koroka. In the days before there were systematic tree and coffee plantings and kunai covered most of the hill slopes, Ubom would have had a clear view down onto Koroka from his Police Post.

In a talk at Goroka Teachers College on 18th October, 1972, he spoke about the naming of Goroka:

"When I first came here the ground near where I lived was called Humi-Garoka. The people originally called it Humi-Garoka, just as they called this Teachers' College area Humi-Lavoka. When I first arrived I found an old man and I made him luluai. I asked him, 'What is the name of this place?' He replied, 'This is the ground of my ancestors and I am the owner of it. The name of the place is Humi-Garoka.' Afterwards the name Garoka became the important one. But the old man never used the word Garoka, only Humi-Garoka."

By 1939, the name Garoka seems to have come into general use. Evidence for this is found in a patrol report written that year by A.D.O. Bill Kyle. He comments on the road situation in the area, stating that "From Kainantu to Bena Bena, and thence to Gardka the road is excellent and further work is in progress."2.

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1. J.L. Taylor to the Director, Department of District Services and Native Affairs, Port Moresby, 28-4-47. File 1/2/1, District Office, Goroka.
 2. Quoted in a letter from H.L. Downing, acting District Officer, Madang, to the Officer in Charge, Ramu, dated 21 June, 1939. Kyle's Report from which Downing drew the extracts was No. M. 67 of 1938/39. (Kainantu File, Land Titles Commission Office, Goroka.)

In the Allied Geographical Section's Terrain Study of the Madang District, dated 6th August, 1943, there is a brief description as follows:-

"Garoka:

New station. Three hours west from Bena Bena on the Chimbu track. Had a Warrant Officer of Police in charge,¹ but was usually run in conjunction with Bena Bena. A small drome is near the station building."²

Bepi Moha claims that when this Humilaveka airstrip was constructed during 1940 and 1941, a number of Asariufa men were employed, and when someone asked them what was the name of the whole locality, they thought he was referring to their own place, so they replied 'Koroka'.³

It should not be implied from the fore-going that the literal meaning of Goroka is 'ground of the ancestors'. Rather, the place Koroka was regarded as ancestral ground, insofar as the Asariufa people recognised it as the original settlement of the first Asariufa villagers when they moved across from 'Airpos'. But in a wider sense all of Goroka town land is 'the ground of the ancestors', because the ancestors were believed to have hunted over it or gardened on it, or in the case of Okiufa and Komiufa, built houses on it.

Goroka - the ground of the ancestors! Considering that the first Europeans who walked over this ground were believed to be the ancestors of the Gahuku-Gama tribes, the choice of name is a happy one, suggesting both its' past and recent history.

When the local people first greeted the outsiders with cries of 'Here come the spirits. Be prepared to welcome them', they hoped these uninvited visitors would not remain among them for long. But the white men kept coming back,

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1. This is not strictly accurate, as Patrol Officer L.G.R. Kyngdon took charge in October, 1941 (see section on Kami).
 2. Allied Geographical Section, South West Pacific Area, Terrain Study No. 59. Area Study of Madang - Volume 1, Text and Maps, p.24. 6th August, 1943.
 3. Bepi Moha, first talk at Goroka Teachers College, 16th July, 1973.

until eventually the people accepted their presence and came to depend on them for peace enforcement, for shell and trade goods, for medical attention, and for new kinds of crops. They regarded these Europeans and their coastal policemen and evangelists with a mixture of awe and curiosity, slowly coming to terms with the new order which the newcomers brought.

When War came they discovered that the white man's world had its less pleasant aspects, but they did not reject it, nevertheless. And when the time came that the white man wanted to settle permanently in their midst, to establish an Administrative headquarters and build a town, they paid him the highest compliment by granting him portion of their most precious possession, land, "the ground of the ancestors".

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2. Map of Goroka, showing tribal and clan boundaries, 1948 Town Boundary and 1972 Town Boundary.
 (Map compiled by the author, based on information contained on William Sippos 1948 Sketch Map of Goroka (attached to U.A.L 5 (N.S) Transfer Document) and Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines 1972 map, 'Town of Goroka'.)

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