

National Archives & Public Records Services  
of Papua New Guinea

## PATROL REPORTS

DISTRICT : WESTERN HIGHLANDS PROVINCE

STATION : Laiagam

VOLUME : 4

ISSN NO :

ACCESSION NO : 496

PERIOD : 1956 -1957

Filmed by/for the National Archives of Papua New Guinea  
Port Moresby 1996

Sole Custodian: National Archives of Papua New Guinea

# Papua New Guinea Patrol Reports

Digitized version made available by



**Copyright:** Government of Papua New Guinea. This digital version made under a license granted by the National Archives and Public Records Services of Papua New Guinea.

**Use:** This digital copy of the work is intended to support research, teaching, and private study.

**Constraints:** This work is protected by the U.S. Copyright Law (Title 17, U.S.C.) and the laws of Papua New Guinea. Use of this work beyond that allowed by "fair use" requires written permission of the National Archives of Papua New Guinea. Responsibility for obtaining permissions and any use and distribution of this work rests exclusively with the user and not the UC San Diego Library.

**Note on digitized version:** A microfiche copy of these reports is held at the University of California, San Diego (Mandeville Special Collections Library, MSS 0215). The digitized version presented here reflects the quality and contents of the microfiche. Problems which have been identified include misfiled reports, out-of-order pages, illegible text; these problems have been rectified whenever possible. The original reports are in the National Archives of Papua New Guinea (Accession no. 496).



WESTERN HIGHLANDS DISTRICT

WABAG SUB-DISTRICT

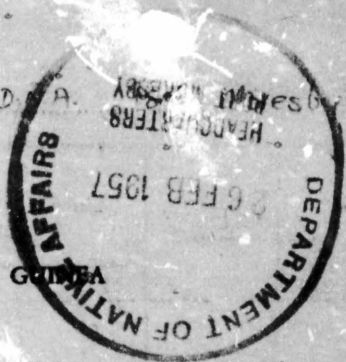
PATROL REPORTS: 1956/57.

LAIAGAM Nos. I-IV

WAPENAMANDA Nos. I & II.



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA



# PATROL REPORT

LAIAGAM No. 1 - 56/57

District of WESTERN HIGHLANDS Report No. WABAG SUB-DISTRICT.

Patrol Conducted by J.W. WORCESLER, P.O.

Area Patrolled UPPER LAI & WACE VALLEYS (ARUN, KANDEP, MANDI & KARINTJ GROUPS)

Patrol Accompanied by Europeans 1

Natives 8. BPANGC., 2. INTERPRETERS, 50 CARRIERS.

Duration—From 25/6/56 to 13/7/56  
and 1/8/56 to 17/8/56

Number of Days 36

Did Medical Assistant Accompany? NO

Last Patrol to Area by—District Services 1953, 1955 (PART ONLY)

Medical )))))) /...../19.....

Map Reference WABAG & LAKE KUTUBU A.S.S. 4 MILES TO 1 INCH.

Objects of Patrol PACIFICATION, EXTENSION & CONSOLIDATION OF ADMINISTRATION INFLUENCE.

DIRECTOR OF DISTRICT SERVICES  
AND NATIVE AFFAIRS,  
PORT MORESBY.

Forwarded, please.

District Commissioner

4 / 12 / 19 56

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

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

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

.....  
.....  
.....

*Blair Charters*

NA. 30-17-18

15th March, 1957.

The District Officer,  
Mount Hagen,  
Western Highlands District.

---

Laiagam F/R. No. 1 of 1956/57.

The above mentioned report is acknowledged with thanks.

A very satisfactory patrol has been carried out by  
Mr. Worcester.

Do you consider a Patrol Post is warranted at Ropurai.  
It is only 2 1/2 days walk from Laiagam and 4 days from  
Wapenwanda. Perhaps a temporary post at Ropurai or  
Salimata, to be occupied for say three months at a time,  
would be sufficient to bring these people under control.

I agree that the English potato would be the best  
frost resistant food and the people would soon acquire  
a taste for them when their scraggy sweetpotatoes become  
scarce.

The Superintendent of Stores will be asked to have  
all bed sleeves made longer. Lands have been requested  
to provide six copies of the patrol map.

PTA

(A.A. Roberts) *RB*  
Director.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

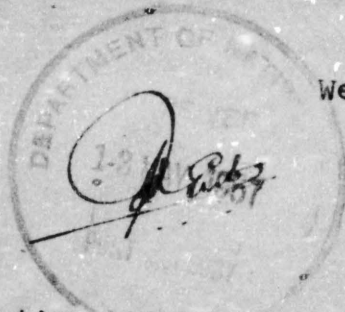
30-17-18 ✓

File No. 30/1-1971

Western Highlands District,  
District Office,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

3rd May, 1957.

RIS.FG



The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
PORT MORESBY.

Patrol Report - Laiagam No. 1 1956/57

Your NA 30-17-18 of 15th March, 1957, refers.

A final decision as to the best site for the establishment of a Patrol Post in the Kandep area has not been made but the fact that Roporai is only 2 1/2 days from Laiagam and 4 days from Wapenamanda would not disqualify it from consideration. Population, terrain and the need for closer administrative control are more important determining factors in Highlands Districts where some District Headquarters and most Sub-District Headquarters are separated by similar distances and which cannot be equated in terms of certain other sparsely populated Districts such as, for example, the Western District of Papua. It is, however, possible that inadequate Field Staff will result in the Kandep Post, when established, and other Posts being manned on a part-time basis.

Your comments on potatoes and bed sleeves are appreciated.

(R.I. SKENNER)  
District Commissioner

PA 1/5/57  
14/5

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

30/1/18 ✓

File No. 30/1-1463

District Office,  
Mount Hagen,  
Western Highlands District,  
T.N.G.

21st February, 1957.



RIS.FG

The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
PORT MORESBY.

Patrol Report - Laiagam No. 1 1956-57  
Mr J.W. Worcester, Patrol Officer.  
Lai, Waga and Marent Valleys  
Wabag Sub-District.

Attached is the above report, together with covering comments of the Assistant District Officer, Wabag and a claim for camping allowance submitted by Mr Worcester.

INTRODUCTION

It should be noted that there are two different rivers with the name Lai in this area. One flows North to the Sepik but the one mentioned in this Report flows south to join the Purari headwaters.

DIARY

Some little difficulty may be experienced in correlating the narrative of the patrol's movements with the map, but the form of the diary is concise and clear. It will be noted that the Patrol camped in the vicinity of 8000', or at higher altitudes, each night.

NATIVE SITUATION

The position is quite normal at this stage of contact and Mr Worcester handled each situation in a capable manner. Prolonged visits by selected men to established stations can have a most beneficial effect, and provision will be made in the estimates for an extension of this practice. Food shortages appear to be a regular occurrence in these high altitudes.

AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK.

English potatoes would provide the best frost-resistant staple food if these people could acquire a taste for them. This they will almost certainly do as more of this crop is planted.

HEALTH

It is typical that people living in such inhospitable areas should add to their rigorous lot by constant warfare.

ROADS AND BRIDGES

Wading through swamp at these altitudes cannot be pleasant and the road improvements mentioned should improve patrolling conditions.

AERODROME AND STATION SITES

Before a Patrol Post is finally located in this area more extensive patrols will be necessary. A Post is needed and further investigations will be instigated when a suitable officer is



available.

APPENDIX A - Anthropological Notes - Mr M. Meggitt M.A.

Mr Meggitt's notes are most interesting and will be useful to later patrols. He has been asked to provide the notes on the Kandep area when completed.

APPENDIX "B"

Mr Worcester's comments on steel trade goods and bedsleeves are strongly supported. Even the most primitive native quickly becomes a keen judge of steel and the purveyor of inferior articles not only finds it difficult to dispose of them at an economic rate but also earns the contempt of the proposed recipient. Even for persons of short or medium height the six-foot bedsleeve is not satisfactory, while for a tall man it must be extremely uncomfortable particularly at high altitudes such as were encountered on this patrol. It is requested that these comments be transmitted to the Superintendent of Stores.

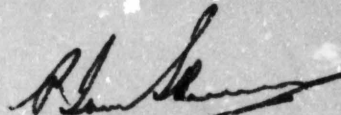
MAP

Could six blue-prints of the patrol map be made and forwarded to this Office, please. Only one copy accompanied the report.

MISSIONS

I agree with the Assistant District Officer Wabag that any attempt made by any Mission to enter this area should, for the present, be prevented.

Mr Worcester has conducted and reported a satisfactory patrol which can only have good results in the areas visited. I agree with the Assistant District Officer, Wabag, that the patrol report could have contained more information, particularly in relation to the possible sites for the establishment of a Patrol Post.



(R.I. SKINNER)  
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1-1463

District Office,  
Mount Hagen,  
Western Highlands District,  
I.M.H.

PIC.50

21st February, 1957.

The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
SUIT MORSEBY.

Patrol Report - Laigasa No. 1 1956-57  
MR W.A. WORCESTER, Patrol Officer.  
Lai, Waga and Parent Valleys  
Wabag sub-District.

Attached is the above report, together with covering comments of the Assistant District Officer, Wabag and a claim for camping allowance submitted by Mr Worcester.

INTRODUCTION

It should be noted that there are two different rivers with the name Lai in this area. One flows North to the Sepik but the one mentioned in this Report flows south to join the Purari headwaters.

DIARY

Some little difficulty may be experienced in correlating the narrative of the patrol's movements with the map, but the form of the diary is concise and clear. It will be noted that the Patrol camped in the vicinity of 8000', or at higher altitudes, each night.

NATIVE SITUATION

The position is quite normal at this stage of contact and Mr Worcester handled each situation in a capable manner. Prolonged visits by selected men to established stations can have a most beneficial effect, and provision will be made in the estimates for an extension of this practice. Food shortages appear to be a regular occurrence in these high altitudes.

AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

English potatoes would provide the best frost-resistant staple food if these people could acquire a taste for them. This they will almost certainly do as more of this crop is planted.

DEFENCE

It is typical that people living in such inhospitable areas should add to their rigorous lot by constant warfare.

ROADS AND BRIDGES

Wading through swamp at these altitudes cannot be pleasant and the road improvements mentioned should improve patrolling conditions.

AGROCHEMICALS AND WEATHER SITES

Before a Patrol Post is finally located in this area more extensive patrols will be necessary. A Post is needed and further investigations will be instigated when suitable officer is

available.

APPENDIX A - Anthropological Notes - Mr M. Meggitt M.A.

Mr Meggitt's notes are most interesting and will be useful to later patrols. He has been asked to provide the notes on the Kandep area when completed.

APPENDIX "B"

Mr Worcester's comments on steel trade goods and bedsleeves are strongly supported. Even the most primitive native quickly becomes a keen judge of steel and the purveyor of inferior articles not only finds it difficult to dispose of them at an economic rate but also earns the contempt of the proposed recipient. Even for persons of short or medium height the six-foot bedsleeve is not satisfactory, while for a tall man it must be extremely uncomfortable particularly at high altitudes such as were encountered on this patrol. It is requested that these comments be transmitted to the Superintendent of Stores.

MAP

Could six blue-prints of the patrol map be made and forwarded to this Office, please. Only one copy accompanied the report.

MISSIONS

I agree with the Assistant District Officer Wabag that any attempt made by any Mission to enter this area should, for the present, be prevented.

Mr Worcester has conducted and reported a satisfactory patrol which can only have good results in the areas visited. I agree with the Assistant District Officer, Wabag, that the patrol report could have contained more information, particularly in relation to the possible sites for the establishment of a Patrol Post.

  
(R. I. SKINNER)  
DISTRICT COMMISSIONER.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File: 30 / 1 - 151.

Sub-District Office,  
Western Highlands District,  
W A B A G.

24th. September, 1956.

Memorandum to -

The District Commissioner,  
Western Highlands District,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

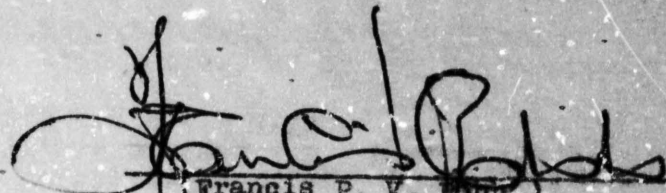
Subject: Patrol Report - Laiagam No: 1 of 1956-57 - J. W. Worcesterges  
Patrol Officer.

1. Enclosed herewith please find three copies of the above-mentioned Patrol Report, together with a single copy of the Patrol Map: further copies of the map are in process of compilation and it would be appreciated if prints could be supplied by Headquarters.
2. The patrol in question was well conducted - by an able and conscientious officer and the only fault which may be found with it is that its full value may well have been brought to light by the addition of a little more descriptive work in the report. Mr. Worcester is to be commended, in that he returned to finish the patrol, even though his sickness was still upon him. It is hoped, and believed, that this patrol has done much good in the area and, should it be followed up within a reasonable time, such influence as has been brought to bear during the course of such patrol will be deepened and strengthened. There would seem little doubt that the majority of these peoples want Administration contact, with the resultant peace and benefits which such would bring; this has been made clear by the constant visits to Wabag by parties of these peoples and by their action, mentioned in the Appendix A, in the construction of rest houses and police quarters. Contact has been maintained with the peoples of the area by means of the two brothers, LIU and LIVE, who, whilst living at Wabag, spend most of their time in the WAGE and KANDEP areas. Work done by these men has been of value and their services would be of considerable value, if and when, a Patrol Post is opened in the area; to date the writer has proceeded with caution in using these men as, without direction from an officer in the area, they may be inclined to turn situations to their own advantage.
3. It is noted that a precis has been taken of Mr. Meggitt's notes, gathered during the patrol, and that those on the LAI River area are not yet to hand. When collated, these should prove of considerable value to field officers in the area. It has been both a pleasure, and instructive, to have had Mr. Meggitt in the area and it is hoped that, upon his return, he will be able to accompany a further patrol in the Sub-District.
4. The writer is in full agreement with Mr. Worcester, in his condemnation of the quality of the so called "Bushknives" on issue, and in his suggestion regarding the lengthening of bed-sleeves. The quality of knives has been poor for a number of years and, apart from being of little use to the natives, they are in fact expensive, due to their short life. The bed-sleeves would

appear to have been designed exclusively for the use of dwarfs, with an uncomfortable night's rest being assured.

5. When a station is made in this area, there will be some difficulties involved, namely those of terrain, population accessibility, and supply. The ground is both mountainous and swampy, with little flat, dry ground. There are two possible means of supply, that is, firstly, an extension of the Laiagam/Kepilam road, which is quite feasible and, secondly, the airstrip site mentioned by Mr. Worcester. This site would be in the vicinity of ROPORAI, whilst the station site would possibly be in the vicinity of Kalimaka, some three hours distant from the airstrip site, subject to road improvement. There would not be many people in the vicinity of the station, however there are largish populations within easy striking distance, that is at in the MARENT Creek area and between the LAI and WAGE Rivers. It must be taken into account that these populations are liable to both semi and permanent migration, due to constant food shortages and to constant fighting.

6. An effort is being made to supply some spades and shovels to the area, in an endeavour to improve the tracks. The increase in visitors, to Laiagam, from the area has sharply increased since the patrol. It is known that at least one mission in the Wabag area is very keen to settle in the WAGA area - it is respectfully requested that no consideration be given for any mission to enter into the area, preferably until such time as the area is settled by the Administration and a measure of control exercised - as will be seen from the patrol report, internecine warfare is the order of the day and will remain so, until such time as a post is established in the area.

  
Francis P. V. 1955,  
Assistant District Officer.

Encls.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

Laiagan Patrol Post,  
Wabag Sub-District,  
Western Highlands District.

21st August, 1956.

The District Commissioner,  
Western Highlands District,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

PATROL REPORT NO. 7 56/57, WABAG, OF LAI, WAGE,  
AND MARENT VALLEYS, WABAG SUB-DISTRICT, W.H.D.

<u>Patrol Conducted by</u>	J.W.Worcester, P.O.
<u>Area Patrolled</u>	Upper Lai & Wage valleys, and Marent valley, comprising Arun, Kandep, Mandi and Karintj native groups.
<u>Patrol Accompanied by</u>	M.J.Meggitt, M.A. Anthropological research Fellow, of Sydney University. 8 members R.P. & M.G.C. 2 Interpreters 50 carriers.
<u>Duration</u>	From 25/6/56 to 13/7/56, and from 1/8/56 to 17/8/56. A total of 36 days.
<u>Did E.M.A. accompany</u>	No.
<u>Last Patrol to Area</u>	1951, 1953, 1955. (part only) No medical patrols to date.
<u>Map Reference.</u>	Wabag and Lake Kutubu, 4 miles to 1 inch.
<u>Objects of Patrol.</u>	Pacification, extension & consolidation of Administration influence, termination of inter-group hostilities.

.....

INTRODUCTION.

The area patrolled lies roughly athwart the Papua-New Guinea border, between Laiagam-Wabag-Wapenamanda to the north, and Tari-Kutubu-Mendi to the south.

It consists of the headwaters of the Wage, which drains southwards into the Kikori river, and the headwaters basin of the Lai, which also flows south to become the Erave river. The Marent creek, a tributary of the Lai, lies in a considerable basin of it's own, to the east of the Lai basin.

A large portion of the terrain is swampy, and altitudes recorded varied from 7,500' on the valley floors, to 10,500' crossing from the Marent basin to Wapenamanda. To say the least, the climate is dreary, and heavy fogs are encountered most mornings, persisting until about 10.00 am.

The patrol received a pleasant reception throughout the area, and except for one minor incident which was soon settled, was unhindered in it's passage through the area.

Previous patrols date back to circa 1939, when Messrs. Taylor & Black traversed part of the Wage valley. Since the war, various patrols have passed through the area, from the Southern Highlands to the Western Highlands, and vice versa. Such patrols did not spend much time in the area, and no one patrol covered the whole of the area. Various short trips have been made to that section in close proximity to Laiagam Patrol Post, to quell outbreaks of fighting.

Mr. Meggit, who has been doing anthropological field research in the Wabag area, accompanied the patrol for the first three weeks, and I understand that information gathered by him during the trip will shortly be published in 'Oceania'. A briefer resume of Mr. Meggitt's research is attached to this report. At all times Mr. Meggitt proved to be an ideal camp companion, and his company was much appreciated.

.....

DIARY.

- Monday, June 25th. Departed Laiagam 0900, ascended ridge to south of station, crossing at 9,400', & crossed Kera creek (tributary of Lagaip) & crossed extensive grass covered hills & arrived KINDAREP 1730. Altitude 8,400'. Rest house & police & carriers barracks found, in good condition.
- Tuesday, 26th. Departed 0700 in WSW direction, crossed Arunan creek, tributary of Kera, over ridges & across grassy flats, arriving YUMBIS at 1200. Established camp, purchased sufficient native foods, & settled land dispute. Altitude 8,500'.
- Wednesday, 27th. Departed 0730 through 2 miles calf deep swamp heading south-west, thence across Wage River & Au creek, tributary of the Wage. Thence over ridge to PAUWI ceremonial ground, arriving 10.45. Camped. Large numbers of locals at present visiting Porgers & Laiagam areas, due food shortage. Issued rice etc. to patrol personnel. Altitude 8,600'.
- Thursday, 28th. Departed 0715 in southerly direction, crossed Tabunaka creek, thence over ridge to where Wage valley takes definite form. Followed downstream to Tupakote, arriving 1200. Established camp. Again majority of people temporarily absent due food shortage. Altitude 8,100'.
- Friday, 29th. Departed downstream to IMAPYAKA, 3 hours from Tupakote. Pleasant well sited rest house & police & carriers quarters, newly erected. Made token payments in trade goods for same. Over 300 adults & many children visited patrol. Several disputes settled. Near riot in afternoon over old dispute. Broken up. Altitude 7,800'.
- Saturday, 30th. Remained at IMAPYAKA. Numerous natives visited patrol. Heavy rain in pm. Very cold.
- Sunday, July 1st. Departed 0700 downstream over undulating grassland & swampy creek bottoms. Crossed Lakaiyer creek. Passed junction of Tari track, which swings west. Arrived PANDIWAKA ceremonial ground 1130. Camped. Apprehended 4 prisoners responsible for 3 deaths in recent fight. Population somewhat heavier than that encountered upstream. Altitude 7,700'.
- Monday, 2nd. Departed 0800 downstream, arriving AITAKA 1100. Rest house and barracks in course of construction. Large native gathering in pm. Camped & purchased sufficient food. Received advice that people in vicinity have just cut down bridge over Wage, to keep patrol away. 2 of prisoners apprehended yesterday absconded in night.



DIARY (continued)

Tuesday, July 3rd.

Remained at Aitaka. Apprehended escaped prisoners. Contacted members of Yamap group who had destroyed bridge, and allayed their fears re the patrol's intentions. Bridge then rebuilt, with assistance of patrol personnel.

Wednesday, 4th.

Departed 0730, crossed Wage, & proceeded up Tade creek, in north easterly direction, thence up Tana creek, & over ridge to KINDULI ceremonial ground. Camped. People gave patrol rather cool reception, but relations improved later. Altitude 7,900'.

Thursday, 5th.

Departed 0700 towards ene, through grassy hills, to Lai basin. Arrived Kelya 1030 & camped. Few natives in to camp, allegedly local population dispersed by recent fighting. Altitude 7,800'.

Friday, 6th.

Departed 0730 in northerly direction along western rim of Lai basin, arriving Kwiakari ceremonial ground 1030. Camped on site overlooking Kwiakari pond. Large concentration of houses & gardens this area. Altitude 7,800'.

Saturday, 7th.

Departed 0730 across basin. Passed through Kwiakari pond along levee on left side of Lai river, which flows through pond. Thence across ~~rickety~~ rickety bridge over river, which had to be repaired first, thence through 2 miles of knee deep swamp to grassy ridge known as ROPORAI. Camped. No population in immediate vicinity, but large numbers of visitors in to camp from surrounding area. Altitude 7,600'.

Sunday 8th.

Remained Roporai, awaiting supplies which arrived via Kepilam in pm. Many visitors into camp. Settled various minor disputes, & locals reported recent heavy fighting amongst Kande group.

Monday, 9th.

Departed 0730 in south-easterly direction through swamps & stands of pine, crossing Muruli and Ko creeks. Thence up ridges to KAPAN ceremonial ground, arriving 1230. Camped. 2 houses erected for police & carriers by locals. Several hundred natives in to camp. Sharp hailstorm in afternoon. Altitude 8,000'.

Tuesday, 10th.

Departed 0715, across small swamp & up ridge to Kalimaka. Rest house, police quarters & barracks erected. Dumped some supplies here, & departed 0915 down ridge into Marent basin. Proceeded easterly for 3 hours through swamps, crossed Mai creek, thence through more swamp & up ridge to Supi. Again through swamps, across Tisa creek & up ridge to Uripaka ceremonial ground, arriving 1500. Some dilapidated buildings here, which locals promised to rebuild. Many visitors into camp. Altitude 7,900'.

DIARY (continued).

- Wednesday, July 11th. Departed 0730 through heavily populated area, halting at Ipuru ceremonial ground at 0900 to purchase food. Thence across Ipuru creek. Crossed small swamp & Mandipa creek. Thence followed upstream along Marent creek, crossed same, & up Kanumba mountain. Camped in clearing in bush at 13.30. Altitude 9,100'. All gardens & houses in area traversed today deserted. People have migrated over the mountain towards Wapenamanda, due food shortage.
- Thursday, 12th. Departed 0700, up & over the ridge, through dense bush, crossing at 10,300'. Thence followed down the Marent through rolling grasslands. Up another ridge, & finally at 1530 camping on tributary of Tehak river, at 9,800'. Cold night.
- Friday, 13th. Departed 0730 down northern side of divide, into & down Tehak valley, arriving Wapenamanda Patrol Post at 1530. Slept.
- Saturday, 14th. Mr. Meggitt returned Wabag, & self to Laigam, suffering from bout of tonsillitis. Patrol resumed Wednesday, August 1st.
- Wednesday, August 1st. Departed Laigam 0800, along vehicular road which extends almost to Kepilam. Arrived Kepilam 1130. Camped in rest house. Settled several minor disputes in pm.
- Thursday, 2nd. Departed Kepilam 0700, proceeded up Meraip valley, crossing over divide at 9,700'. Thence down into Lai valley, camping at PAKAMP. Quarters established for police & carriers. As yet no rest house. Commenced investigation into fight over land which occurred the previous day.
- Friday, ~~THURSDAY~~, 3rd. Continued investigation into brawl. 15 natives of Meraip group charged with riotous behaviour, & sentenced to 3 months IHL at Wabag. Prisoners & 2 natives with broken heads sent to Wabag under escort. Dispute over land ownership settled, & boundaries defined. Departed 1130 for Hoporai, arriving 1500. Camped.
- Saturday, ~~FRIDAY~~, 4th. Departed 0700 ~~for~~ south easterly, across swamp, & up to higher ground, to camp at Kapan, arriving 1330. This camp a couple of miles south of Kalimaka. Altitude 7,600'. Large numbers of natives into camp.
- Sunday, 5th. Departed 0800 for Kalimaka northwards up the ridge, arriving 0930. About 800 natives received the patrol. Enquired into fighting between Aimerip & Kambirip groups. Arrangements made for Kambirip peoples, at present dispersed, to visit patrol on the morrow.
- Monday, 6th. Kambirip warriors arrived, heavily armed.

DAIRY (continued)

Monday, 6th August.  
(continued)

So did the Limberip fighting men. All warriors relieved of their weapons, & discussions started re signing a peace treaty. Eventually both factions decided to bury the hatchet, & date set to commence compensation payments for those killed (20 in number, 10 from each side), such payments to be witnessed by the patrol.

Tuesday, 7th.

Departed Kalimaka 0730, heading north east, through the ever present swamps, across Moi creek, thence ascended to Supi, arriving 1130. Camped. Altitude 8,100'.

Wednesday, 8th.

Departed 0730 in easterly direction, descended to floor of Marent basin, thence through knee deep swamp to Marent creek, crossing on very shaky bridge, thence skirting north side of Papali Pond, thence up east side of basin to MAMANDAI, arriving 1100. Camped. Population sparser on this side of Marent creek. Altitude 8,000'.

Thursday, 9th.

Departed 0730 in southerly direction. Arrived KAMBIA 0930, & camped to investigate recent fight. Gave medical attention to wounded native. Altitude 7,800'.

Friday, 10th.

Departed 0730, & proceeded south to junction of Marent & Lai, thence west across shaky bridge over Marent, thence over grassy hills back to Kalimaka, arriving 1200.

Saturday, 11th.

Locals preparing for big sing-sing, & preparing payments for death compensations. Inspected all possible airstrip sites in vicinity. Nothing suitable seen. Slept.

Sunday, 12th.

Over 1000 natives in to dance. Payments transacted satisfactorily, speeches of mutual respect & friendship, etc, made, & situation seems generally most peaceable. Slept.

Monday, 13th.

Departed 0730 in generally northerly direction, along east side of Lai basin. Thence westerly, & after crossing the Lai over the usual spidery & dilapidated bridge, ascended to JUMBI, a large hill, roughly in the centre of the basin. Camped at 1400. About 200 visitors into camp. Altitude 7,600'.

Tuesday, 14th.

Departed 0730 westerly across large swamp, thence swung north around Kwiakari pond & up to old camp at Kwiakari. Continued north along western side of basin to FORAKARI. Arrived 1300 & camped. Most natives this area absent due food shortage. Altitude 7,900'.

DIARY. (continued)

Wednesday, 15th August.

Departed 0730 in westerly direction, leaving basin, & climbing into hilly country of the Lai headwaters. Crossed the Lai, now an inconsiderable creek, & thence on to TEGERES, arriving 1200. Camped. Dealt with several minor disputes. Altitude 7,700'.

Thursday, 16th.

Departed 0730 north-westerly up ridges to MUMEN, arriving 1230. Majority of locals absent in Lagaip valley. Arranged to settle land dispute on morrow. Altitude 8,200'.

Friday, 17th.

Departed Northwesterly over Lai-Lagaip divide, ascending to 9,950'. Settled land dispute & marked boundaries en route. Descended into Lagaip valley & arrived Laiagam 1330.

.....

GENERAL.

A. Native Situation.

The area patrolled may be divided into four main cultural groups, namely Arun, Kandep, Mandi, and Kaintj. Although language changes are to be found from one group to another, each can understand the other's tongue. There is not a great deal of intercourse amongst the various groups, or even amongst the various clans within each group. This seems to be caused not so much by mutual suspicion & distrust as by lack of interest & curiosity in the other fellows' doings.

Population throughout is scattered, living in hamlets of 3-4 houses, grouped fairly close together, and containing perhaps 20 people. All houses are well protected by strategic siting, and by three rows of formidable palisades across the approach track. All palisades are in excellent condition, an indication of the constant unrest in the area.

Fighting on a large and small scale is constant, understandably, as these people have been little affected by previous patrols, and being a considerable distance from the nearest seat of authority. By nature they are extremely excitable, and are firm believers in direct action, so the obvious course to them is to settle disputes & avenge assaults & insults on the spot, usually with lethal results to some of the parties involved. They are, in fact, or have been up to date, their own law.

Major causes of conflict appear to be, theft of food, particularly pandanus fruit, which is highly prized, failure to pay compensation for deaths incurred in fights, personal insults, and women troubles. Fights over land possession are uncommon, as there is ample agricultural & timbered land for the needs of the present population.

The fighting at Kalimaka between the Amberip & Kambirip groups was caused by the theft of some pandanus fruit by a Kambirip youth. In the ensuing argument, tempers became frayed, & the ever handy weapons brought to use, with casualties on both sides. These deaths had to be avenged, & so the affair snowballed until 10 members of each group were dead. The last casualty occurred about a month prior to the patrol's visit. In view of the fact that no patrol had visited this area previously, no action was taken to apprehend those responsible for killings (virtually every able bodied man in each group) but every endeavour was made to bring about an amicable & permanent settlement, with stern threats of dire consequences for any future offenders. Arrangements were made to commence the customary death compensations, & the initial exchanges, consisting of over 60 sides of pig, were made under the patrol's eye. The full process may take a couple of years to complete, as payments are made in three stages, namely sides of pig, live pigs, & various items of native wealth, such as shells, etc. An average compensation would consist of perhaps 12 sides, 10-15 live pigs & 2 M.O.P. shells. In this case, with 20 deaths to compensate, considerable livestock is called for, & payments will no doubt be protracted.

In the brawl at Pakamp, those responsible were charged with riotous behaviour, convicted, & sentences to 3 months IHL, as they had been personally advised earlier in the patrol that they would be held responsible for their actions. The instigator of the trouble, an engaging rascal, presented himself and his partners in crime for arrest, and explained that he had heeded the patrol's instructions to the extent of forgoing the use of lethal weapons such as spears, arrows and tomahawks, in favour of less dangerous sticks and stones. Numerous abrasions and two badly lacerated scalps resulted, but no deaths. The injured were despatched to Wabag for treatment.

The patrol was given a pleasing reception throughout, and the ~~majority~~ majority of natives seen appear to genuinely desire Administration control and guidance. In this respect the practice of encouraging restricted area natives to remain at established Administration centres and Posts for several months, where they pick up a knowledge of Pidgin, contact more sophisticated natives, and observe the workings of the Administration at first hand, has proved of value. Natives of the area who have spent some time at Wabag were of considerable help to the patrol, and are the mainsprings in the desire for law, order, and development.

Several young natives from various points were selected to visit Laiagam and Wabag for a few months, and of these, those that prove suitable will be sent for further training as Aid Post Orderlies.

There appears to be a sufficiency of steel implements in the area, having found its way in from Mendi, Tari, Wabag, Wapenamanda and Laiagam. Trading is an important activity of these peoples, the basis of such trade being salt, which is obtained from the salt wells at Uganda, near Wabag. With salt, tree oil from Mendi and Tari is obtained, and this in turn is traded for steel, pigs, shell, etc, from the Wabag area. In lean periods, whole groups migrate to more prolific areas and buy food, often purchasing whole gardens with the proceeds of their trading ventures. Their skill as traders, then, often governs how well they eat.

Mother of Pearl shell is not plentiful, and is highly prized, as is salt, and these two items are easily the best trade goods for patrol.

Food being scarce at the time of the patrol's visit, patrol personnel were dependent to a large extent on rations ex Laiagam. Whenever the patrol remained more than one day in the one spot, demands were made on native resources after the first day. Also, on many occasions, foods purchased from the locals was insufficient, and had to be supplemented with rice, etc. This food shortage limited the time the patrol could stay in the area, but progress through the area was as leisurely as possible under the circumstances.

#### AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK

The whole of the area is subject to frosts, at times severely so. It appears that there is never a surplus of foods, and frequent acute shortages are experienced. The staple diet is a scraggy type of sweet potato, small and fibrous, and looked upon with disgust by the patrol personnel who were required to eat it. A poor type of sugar cane is also cultivated, and these two items would comprise about 80% of the diet. Few European vegetables were noted. Amongst these were english potatoes, which are not plentiful, and are not regarded as a good food by the locals. They are generally regarded as a last resort. Gardens extend as high as 8,600', but are generally considerably lower. Much use is made of flat land bordering swampy areas. Fairly elaborate and extensive drainage systems are installed to safeguard crops. Pandanus fruit, which grows prolifically throughout the area is highly regarded as a food, but is more in the nature of a delicacy than a staple.

There is an urgent need of a frost resistant staple with good storing qualities and adequate food value throughout the region, to tide these unfortunates over the frequent lean periods. Okinawa sweet potato plants, at present being propagated at Laiagam, will be introduced to the area, but this type is not frost resistant, and is not a complete answer to their problems.

AGRICULTURE AND LIVESTOCK (continued)

There is a good depth of soil throughout the area, and the area gardened is extensive. I am unable to comment on the quality of the soil, aka, but it appears no worse than in other areas of the Wabag Sub-District. It appears obvious that the main cause for food shortages is the unfavourable climate to the crops being grown. Hail also causes crop damage.

Domestic livestock is limited to pigs. These are not plentiful and are of a poor type. An epidemic of anthrax, and a pig killing cult which was prevalent a number of years ago, greatly reduced the pig population, and the area has never fully recovered. Also, an extremely cold snap, during which time the ground was covered with 'ice' (either snow or frost) for several days, not only destroyed virtually every garden, but killed large numbers of pigs at the same time. Large numbers of the population also succumbed at the same time, probably from hunger and cold. This phenomena was also experienced in the Laiagam area at the same time.

Wild cassowaries are plentiful, as are wildfowl on the various swamps and ponds, but these latter are virtually immune to the primitive hunting weapons of the natives.

HEALTH.

In a patrol such as this, the majority of sick people remain at home and are not seen, so it is difficult to assess the overall health situation. However, of those seen, apart from frequent eye complaints - cross eyes, conjunctivitis, wall eyes etc - and common pigeon chests, the population appeared reasonably fit. A case of the survival of the fittest, and disease take the hindmost, perhaps. Children were almost universally affected with running noses, and not a few adults likewise.

Practically every adult male of mature years has at least one arrow scar on his body, and many have arrow fragments still in them. Deaths from wounds, or the primitive medical attention given by their fellows, must rank as an important cause of death, at least up to the present.

ROADS AND BRIDGES.

Tracks throughout are poor, and this added to the locals' liking for going through swamps rather than round them, makes walking a tiring and slow business. Natives throughout were encouraged to improve tracks, and to achieve this end, were promised some shovels and other implements. Bridges throughout are flimsy affairs of saplings and vine, and all encountered were in urgent need of renewal. Indeed most had to be strengthened to allow the passage of the patrol. These too, are to be replaced.

The most practicable route of entry to the region is via Kepilam, and a vehicular road could probably be built from Kepilam into the Lai valley. A motor road at present extends from Laiagam almost to Kepilam. The first requirement is a good foot track from Kepilam to Kalimaka, which could later be developed to take motor traffic. This project is being put in hand, and when finished should cut a couple of days of present travelling time.

AIRSTRIP AND STATION SITES.

The most suitable station site seen is in the vicinity of Kalimaka, where the heaviest population density is located. It is reasonably centrally situated, almost on the Papua-New Guinea boundary. Access to other sections of the area is good, but it is handicapped by lack of a suitable airstrip site nearby.

A possible airstrip site is located near Roporai, but needs further investigation during the rainy season to determine if it is affected by the wet. Approaches are good, and the area requires little levelling. There is a shortage of stone in the vicinity for drainage works, which would probably be essential.

No other promising sites were noted during the patrol.

TIMBER RESOURCES.

Unlike the more heavily populated areas around Wabag and Laiagam, there is ample timber for building and fuel requirements. To emphasise this, casuarinas are not propagated as they are in more populous regions, although they are seen in the region.

There are solid stands of pine in the swampy flats, reaching 60 feet in height, and 5 feet maximum girth. They are not utilised by the natives, being away from residential areas.

Two solid klinki pines were noted at an altitude of 7,800', the larger being 9'.6" in girth and about 75' high. They were brought from Lake Kutubu region as seedlings, and planted before living memory.

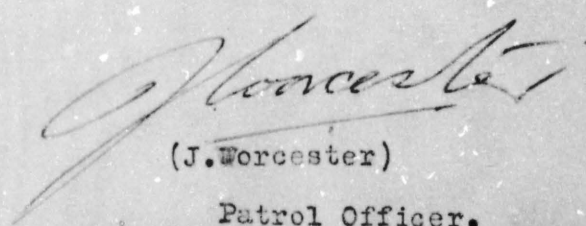
No commercial stands of timber were noted.

GENERAL.

The area is handicapped by an unpleasant climate, difficult and unprepossessing terrain, isolation, and periodic food shortages. The population is primitive and almost constantly simmering with internecine strife, although now seeming to genuinely want Administration control.

It now remains up to the Administration to demonstrate its good intentions in a concrete fashion, particularly in the fields of agriculture and health.

It is intended to re-visit the area in about six months time, to consolidate and extend Administration influence, and to rigidly police any transgressions of instructions given regarding fighting.

  
(J. Worcester)

Patrol Officer.



APPENDIX 'A'

Anthropological notes, Wage Valley peoples, by M.J. Meggitt, M.A.,  
Research Fellow, University of Sydney.

.....

The valleys of the upper Wage and Lai (Furari) Rivers are of great anthropological interest, for there three major highland cultures meet: the Enga (centring on the Lai (Sepik) river) the Mendi (centring on the Mendi and lower Lai (Furari) rivers), and the Huli (centring on the Tari river). The Waka (Wage peoples call themselves and are called by others Waka. Wage, which appears on maps, will refer to the river and valley) and Lai societies thus exhibit mixtures of traits of the three cultures. This condition is reinforced by the facts that the high altitudes, poor soil and difficulty of gaining a living in these areas lead to marked residential mobility and frequent migrations. The people marry into, trade with, and after severe frosts often spend long periods with the neighboring cultural groups.

I talked to a number of these men when they visited Wabag at various times, and their comments on their society suggested that the area was an important cultural link at least between Tari and Wabag. I was therefore very keen to accompany an official patrol to this uncontrolled area. Thanks to the interest and support of Mr. F.P.V. Robb, ADO Wabag Sub-District, and Mr. R.I. Skinner, D.C. Western Highlands, I was granted a Restricted Area Permit which enabled me to accompany the patrol led by J. Worcester, Patrol Officer, to these valleys. The patrol lasted from June 25th to July 13th, 1956, and covered about 160 miles. To all the administration officers concerned I offer grateful thanks for their interest and assistance. I hope that my preliminary report will be of practical use to them.

Since the area is classed as restricted, the only whites who have visited it have been officers of the Administration. The first to enter were Hides and O'Malley in 1935, who passed slightly to the south of the area patrolled. Hides remarks therefore do not concern us except in that he reports a friendly reception from the Waka people, in contrast to the hostility encountered amongst the Huli. The next to visit the area were Taylor & Black, in 1938-39. Local natives report that this patrol clashed with clans around Imapyaka, in which clash several natives and a carrier were killed. In 1943 Leahy passed through the Wage, and confirmed native reports that abnormally heavy frosts in 1941 had affected the area severely. The valley was almost deserted, the people having migrated elsewhere. In late 1945 Blood investigated a pig killing cum cargo cult which had spread to the area. From about 1950 onwards, several patrols have visited the area from Wabag and Laigam.

It is noticeable that no patrol reports concur in their estimates of the population density of these valleys. Some place the population as high as 10-12,000 in each valley, others (with which Mr. Worcester and I agree) estimate that there are less than a total of 10,000 in both valleys. Considering the great area of land which is either swamp or steep mountain slopes, it is difficult to accept the higher estimates.

1. The Wage Valley to the Andabare Junction.

My main impression of Waka society and culture is that they are basically Enga, as around Laigam and Wabag, but the further downstream one travels, the more Huli cultural traits are evident. Whilst most Waka men are bilingual in Enga (Mae) and Huli, Enga is mainly spoken amongst themselves, ~~xxxxxx~~ in the north, and Huli in the south.

Waka believe that their ancestors migrated from the Laiagam-Lagaip River area in search of new, or more, land. As they followed the Wage valley south, lineages of various clans hived off and cleared virgin bush for gardens. The present distribution of groups of clans supports this assumption. The marked denudation of timber in the valley suggests that the migrations occurred not less than 4 or 5 generations ago.

The classificatory kinship system is of the same bifurcate merging type as Enga, and resemblances among terms of both are obvious. Both systems reflect the importance of clan and/or lineage affiliation in social behaviour. Separate terms of address apply only to some relatives - mainly close patrikin and matrikin. For others, the same terms may be used in address and reference. Generation levels are distinguished in ego's patrikin, and at least, in the patrilineages of his mother, father's sisters husband, and his wife.

Waka clan membership appears to be less than the average of 300 persons per clan at Wabag, and the sparser population (about 50 per square mile) (Wabag 150-200 PSM) means that clans are not sharply differentiated in terms of small, named clan territories or parishes. Inheritance of gardens and fallow land and of trees is as a rule individually patrilineal within the clan, but there is enough free land so that 'sisters' husbands and sons' are welcomed as permanent residents and gardeners. Thus clan members may become well dispersed. Waka men say that the frequent inter-clan and inter phratry fights are rarely over ownership of land, but usually arise from failures to compensate for previous killings and from theft of pandanus palm fruits, pigs, and women - apparently in that order of importance. Nevertheless, land disputes will probably be a serious administrative problem in the future when the Pax Britannica and improved diet and medical services lead to an increased net reproduction rate and consequent increased demand for garden land. There will be no easy way to ascertain valid titles to land; it will be a matter of patiently sifting conflicting genealogically based claims.

Casual observation suggests that the individual gardens are approximately twice the size of those round Wabag; but this is offset by the poor soil and the vulnerability of sweet potato to frost burn. Almost all the gardens observed above 7,800' were frost affected. Wabag men who accompanied the patrol were very scornful of the size and quality of the Wage sweet potatoes - "like rope and fit only for pigs". Elaborate drainage is common, but does not approach the scale achieved at vari. Many gardens have 'tabu' signs - a few shreds of women's skirts tied to vines and suspended between saplings - which serve as keep out signs.

For reasons of defence, houses and dance grounds are sited just inside the timberline or on flat topped spurs projecting into the valley. Valley paths avoid the open downs, and wind through dense pitpit brakes; they are protected by hides and sentry posts at strategic points. Normally, each lineage represented in a locality has a dance ground, beside which one or two mens houses stand. Dance grounds are small (about 30 by 20 yards) surrounded by dense pitpit arrow screens, with entrance paths guarded by one or two heavy palisades.

The one roomed men's houses are much the same as at Wabag - about thirty feet long, twelve feet ~~high~~ wide, and nine feet high at the ridge; but the pitch of the roof is slighter, and thatching is of cogon grass rather than kunai. A few have no front porches, and are oval rather than rectangular in plan, with a single end door. They are approached through two or three heavy palisades, and are surrounded by dense cane grass screens. They are occupied on and off by male members of the lineage (5 to 10 men per house) as well as by male visitors, and function as informal club houses. Women may not enter them.

Within a radius of 400 yards or so are scattered the three roomed womens houses of the married men. These are generally smaller than Wabag houses, being about 20 feet by 12 feet, because the size of a woman's house depends on the number of pig stalls in the central room, and pigs are few in the Wage. Firewood is stacked against the outside walls under the eaves, forming an additional protective wall. Construction is somewhat rougher than around Wabag. The womens house stands in a small fenced yard, approached through cane grass, and the usual two or three protective palisades.

Frequently the husband has a small mans house built in the same yard, and sleeps there when he does not wish to brave the rain or cold to return to his own house at night. Men do not normally sleep in their women's houses, unless they are aged. The occupants of a womens house comprise the wife (sometimes 2 wives) her unmarried daughters, and sons under five or six, and occasionally her widowed mother or mother in law. Whether or not a man with 2 or more wives builds each a house depends on the number of children and pigs he has, and on the location and defensibility of his gardens.

The dress and decoration of northern Waka men and women closely resemble Laiagam styles, except that the fore and aft lignum aprons of the women are slightly wider and fuller. Further down river, the aprons extend from hip to hip in the Tari style. Unmarried girls occasionally wear net aprons and Cordyline rump leaves in the fashion of youths. Few married women appear in public without their small netted hoods, over which is slung the inevitable net carrying bags, hung down the back. Younger women smear their torsos and faces with clay, uncooked orange-yellow, or brick red roasted clay. Septums are pierced with cassowary quills.

Mens dress more closely resembles the Tari fashion the further downstream one goes. String aprons, hanging from cane or twine belts, in front, and Cordyline leaves over the rump. Some pigs tail sporrans are seen, a Tari fashion. Large coarse net bags are slung over the shoulder, bandolier fashion, serve as carryalls. Most men are bearded, but upper lips are plucked. The tip of the beard is touched up with grey clay. At the Wage headwaters wigs are mushroom shaped, being fairly unkempt. Few are detachable. Further downstream they have the characteristic curve of the Tari wig. Some have net wig covers, whilst others effect tapa covers of beaten mulberry bark; but most have no covers at all, and look extremely shaggy.

Wealthier men wear a tuft of short cassowary plumes on their wig. For singsings, as many plumes as possible are worn, mainly bird of paradise plumes. Varieties noted include King of Saxony, Ribbontail, and Sicklebill. White cockatoo plumes are the badge of a successful warrior.

Black palm bows and spears are universal weapons, and are made and used much as at Wabag. A few carried bound axe hafts with spear points instead of blades, used in infighting. Stone axes are plentiful, mostly the fine decorative types. Few stone working axes are seen, steel implements having supplanted them. Almost every man has a steel implement of some sort.

Waka are the middlemen in the important oil-salt trade between Kutubu and the Lai (sepik) valley. Oil is obtained from the lower altitudes downstream, decanted into gourd containers, and exchanged for salt-ash from Ugonde in the Lai valley. Drums are also bought from the Forgera valley for oil, pigs, etc. These are in turn traded to the Kandep for pigs, shell, steel, etc. The Waka have affines and matrikin spread from the Kandep to the Forgera, and from Laiagam to

Tari, with whom they are making marriage and funerary exchanges, as well as straight out trade. This promotes a marked circulation of goods through the area. In addition, they expect the Te (Moga) exchange of the Lai (Sepik) valley to reach them soon through their connections at Lalagan.

Waka men are constantly involved in inter-klan and lineage exchanges of pigs, pork, axes, shell and the like to celebrate marriages and as funerary exchanges, death compensations, etc. Patrilineans are in theory exogamous, and a man also should not marry into his mother's or father's sisters' husbands' lineages, nor again into his wife's lineage whilst she lives. The basis of such prohibitions appears to be that exchange relationships are already established with such people, and the bride price is thus better employed in building new contacts. Men do not marry until they are about 25, and girls until after puberty and breasts are well developed. The groom's lineage assist in finding the bride price, and his cross cousins may contribute if they wish. The bride price should consist of at least fifteen items, preferably all pigs, plus anything else which can be afforded. The bride price is rather higher than around Wabag. The bride's lineage returns a dowry of one to three pigs (not the same stock as was included in the bride price, as such would indicate shameful poverty) which are eaten by the contributors to the bride price. The bride price pigs are distributed amongst the bride's close kin.

Bride and groom are decorated for the wedding exchanges, and wear such decorations for several months, during which time they may not copulate, and the bride does no work in her new gardens. During this time the groom acquires magical spells from a married kinsman to protect him from the dangerous effects of copulation. Later, the vendor of the spells advises him when it is time to take his bride into the bush for their first copulation. After this, the couple remove their decorations and settle down to normal life.

Women bear children without the aid of midwives, in their gardens by day, or in their houses by night. Placenta and the umbilical cord are disposed of without ceremony. The occasion of a birth causes little excitement, and no gift exchanges are made.

A man with three or more wives is deemed to be very important, but relatively few achieve even two wives. The average of a number of genealogies recorded was 1.4.

All deaths in fights must be compensated by the killers clan, paying at least 15 pigs to the deceased's clan. Up to 30 or 40 pigs may be demanded if the dead person was an important man. If a man of clan A is killed by clan B whilst helping clan C, both clans B & C should give separate compensation. Such compensation is shared by the nearest patrikin, who then give normal death compensation to the victim's matrikin. They should give different pigs from those paid by the killers' clan to avoid accusations of meanness.

Injuries to persons or property should be made good by payments, the size of which depends on the severity of the injury, and the ability of the plaintiff to enforce them. A man whose pig has broken into another's garden should offer salt or a net bag as payment. Should the pig continue its depredations, then the plaintiff may kill it, and tell the owner to remove the carcass. This would certainly lead to a bloody fight.

A cuckolded husband can demand one or two pigs from the lover as compensation, but more probably the affair would end in violence, the husband assaulting both wife and lover. Adulterous wives are usually severely thrashed or killed outright, but are not deliberately mutilated by cutting off the nose and/or hamstringing or inserting hot stones in the vagina, as was common around Wabag.

Waka men see women as potentially dangerous to male well-being. This anxiety is specifically directed at the lethal effect of menstrual blood if it touches mens' skin, possessions, or food. Women are therefore secluded during their periods, sometimes in small huts, or more usually in their own houses. The woman can handle only her own food at this time, and if married, should use a leaf magic provided by her husband to cleanse herself after the period finishes. Fundamentally, however, women can never be quite free of this taint; thus must never enter mens' houses, step over a man's legs, food or weapons, or touch men with their aprons. Hence the pieces of womens' aprons hung over gardens as taboo signs. A male child's hair clippings are never casually discarded, for should a woman step on them, the child could never grow a good wig. Instead, the clippings are placed in a young pandanus palm, and as the palm grows, so will the child. If a male child is born with 'blood in its mouth', or with skin contusions, this is evidence that he swallowed some blood whilst in the womb, or some of her retained menstrual blood which went towards forming him is still present. The mother then lops the top joint of a little finger off, to release the bad blood. Otherwise, he would die. About one male in 4 is minus a little finger joint for this reason.

Most illnesses and deaths are ascribed to the activities of ghosts, which appear to always be malevolent. Even a death caused in battle is ultimately caused by a ghost forcing the person to expose himself to the lethal arrow. Crude surgical techniques are practised on the wounded, the theory being that should a fragment of spear or arrow tip remain in the thorax or abdomen, the blood will 'stink' and turn to pus, which must be removed. This is done either by cutting a hole between the ribs into the lung cavity, and washing out the blood and pus with water, or by inserting a piece of sharpened bamboo up the anus to drain off the putrid matter from the abdomen. Whilst few if any survive the latter therapy, some manage to recover from the former. The ultimate death of the patient is held to be the result of the original wound, and is never attributed to the treatment. Compensation is therefore demanded from the killer's clan.

Today, Waka generally want the government to build a jeep road to link them with the Laiagam Patrol Post, then to establish a Patrol Post and airstrip in the Wage Valley. They have asked for tools to be given them so they can start work on the road, and for native constables to come and advise them. Already they have voluntarily built a rest house and appurtenances for patrols at Inapyaka, whilst another is being built at Pandiwaka.

Two main motives appear to underlie this Waka co-operation with the Administration: desire for general peace, and for increased personal wealth. Many who have visited Wabag and Laiagam have seen how markedly the Enga's wealth has increased in the past few years. Enga now grow better varieties of sweet potatoes, as well as introduced vegetables, which with firewood and pilsawn timber they can sell to the Administration for cash or goods; they now have fowls whose eggs bring in ready money, they have better types of pigs, and they can work for the Administration for wages. The Waka are eager to share in this prosperity. Peace is welcomed, not only for reasons of personal safety, once disputes can be settled without violence by Administration courts, but also because increased mobility will lead to greater trading opportunities. Many men would now be happy to drop their inter-clan feuds, but none dare do so until all are willing. Less general at present is the desire to employ the Administration's medical services, and it will doubtless be several years before the Waka are as hospital conscious as the Enga are becoming.

It is noteworthy that two brothers have played an important part in fostering the Waka acceptance of the Administration. Liu, the elder brother, accompanied Taylor to Hagen in 1939-40. He spent several years there, and also visited the coast. Returning to Wabag with a knowledge of Pidgin, he has accompanied most patrols to the Wage as an interpreter, and has induced a number of Waka men to visit Wabag on various occasions.

He now divides his time between Wabag and the Wage, where he constantly advocates the Administration's viewpoint.

In general, it appears that the Waka are ready for the establishment of full time administrative control, and relations between the two should be reasonably harmonious. Whether missions would be as cordially welcomed is doubtful. Those operating amongst the Enga have made it their business to attack all aspects of native culture of which they do not approve, especially the ancestor cults, the bachelors ritual, all forms of magic, and polygny. Some also condemn the use of tobacco, wearing decorations, and eating pork. The Waka have heard of this interference, and do not relish the thought that they too may be subjected to it. In particular, they fear interference with their ancestor cults - the more so because they believe that missions have insulted and desecrated such cults among the Enga.

.....

NOTE.

The above notes were compiled from rough notes made by Mr. Meggitt on the Wage valley. His notes re the Lai (Kandep) portion of the patrol are not yet available. When they come to hand, they can be forwarded if so desired.

Mr Meggitt has intimated that he will forward<sup>a</sup> fuller and more technical articles on the area as a whole to all interested Administration departments and officers when such is completed. I understand that his data will also be published shortly in 'Oceania'.

*[Handwritten Signature]*  
(Patrol Officer)

APPENDIX 'B'

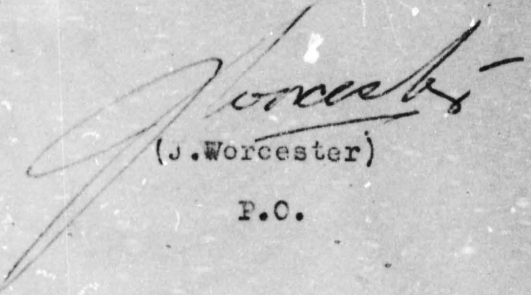
TRADE GOODS.

It is desired to draw attention to the shoddy quality of 'bush knives' at present being supplied ex Government Stores. I refer in particular to those branded 'R. HERDER, SOLINGEN'. Of the dozen 18" knives of this brand taken on patrol, to be used as trade, and to erect camps, etc. three broke almost immediately and the remainder had woefully nicked, bent, and serrated edges in less than a weeks use. A piece of hoop iron with a handle would make a better knife.

I did not have the heart to foist them off as trade on the natives, to whom a steel implement is an important acquisition, and not acquired cheaply.

A return to the solid, army style machete would be appreciated by all, or perhaps cane cutting knives or similar, if the former are not now available.

Whilst on the subject of patrol equipment, may I suggest that canvas bed sleeves be made at least six inches longer, to obviate having one's head or feet dangling over the end. Such an alteration in specifications would cost little, & would add considerably to the weary patrol officers' sleeping comfort.

  
(J. Worcester)

P.O.

APPENDIX 'C'

R.F. & N.G.C PERSONNEL ACCOMPANYING PATROL.

Complete Patrol.

Reg. No.	3380	Cpl Naeopa.	A seasoned NCO, well versed in all aspects of patrolling. An asset.
"	6844	Cnost. Sumara.	Steady and reliable. A good worker.
"	8260	" Tangu.	" " " has a sense of responsibility
"	8282	" Mosinakeve	Just a policeman

First portion of Patrol Only

"	8254	" Daipo.	Energetic, but inclined to exceed authority. Has the makings of a good policeman.
"	7648	" Torp.	Slovenly, loudmouthed, & inclined to bullying. No ornament to any detachment.
"	9496	" Kasia	A new recruit on his first patrol. Shows promise.
"	8247	" Yangori	Came along for the trip. Of little use.

Second Portion of Patrol Only.

"	8161	" Ipa.	Stolid. Does what he is told & nothing else.
"	8277	" Tijojo.	Of little use. Would like to see him retire.
"	8271	" Komoria	Worked satisfactorily, but no ball of fire.
"	9167	" Samu	Has 18 months service only. Did far better than a lot of the more seasoned members.

*Worcester*  
(Worcester)

P.O.

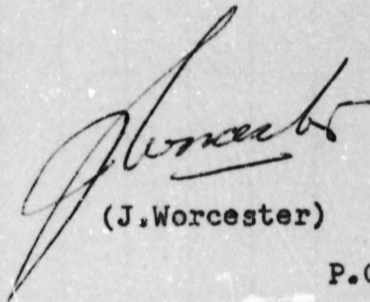


APPENDIX 'D'.

ALIENATED LAND IN AREA PATROLLED.

NIL

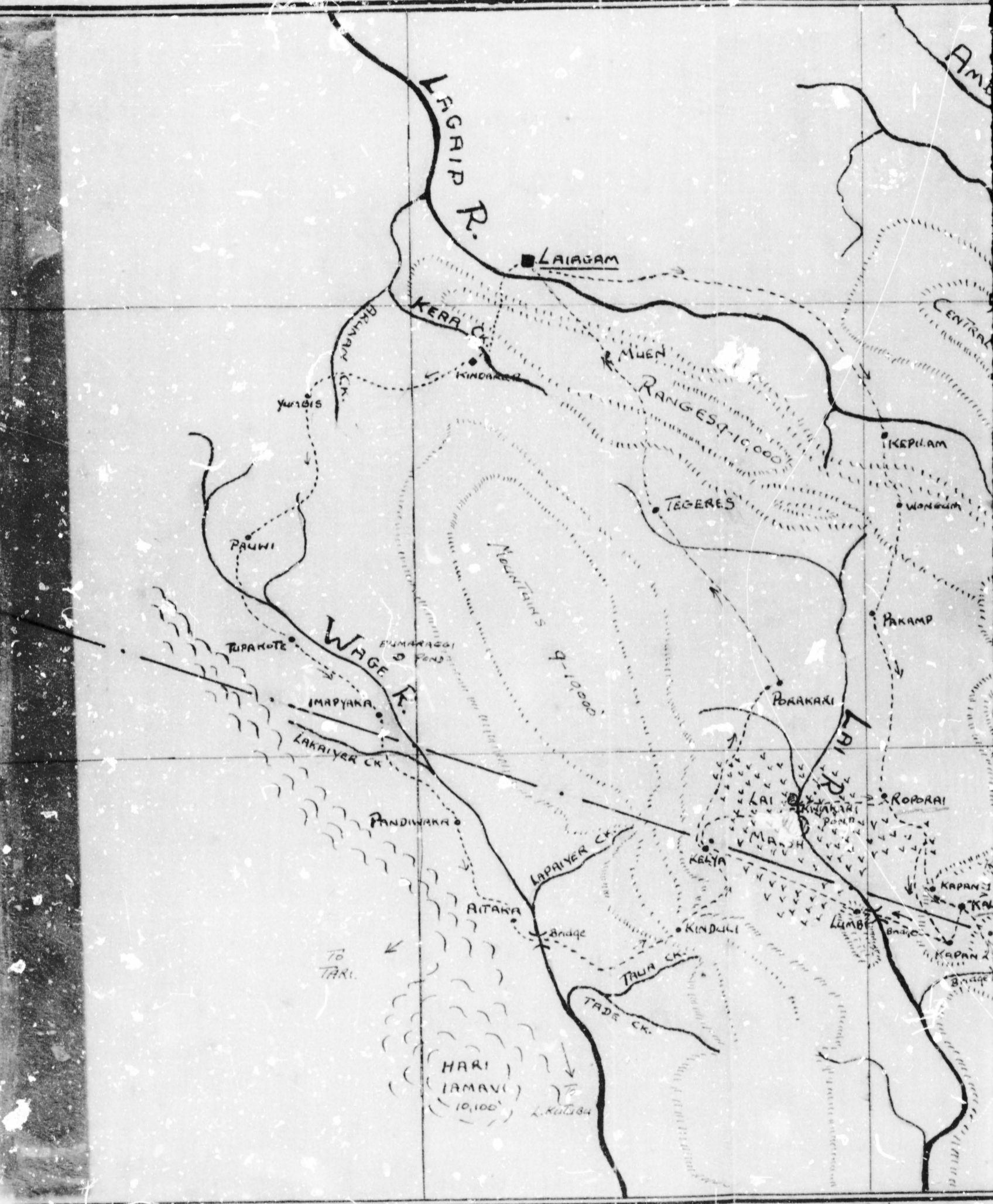
(RESTRICTED AREA)

  
(J. Worcester)

P.O.

143°45'

143°30'



143°45'

143°30'

143°45'

144°00'

# LAI, WAGE AND MARENT VALLEYS

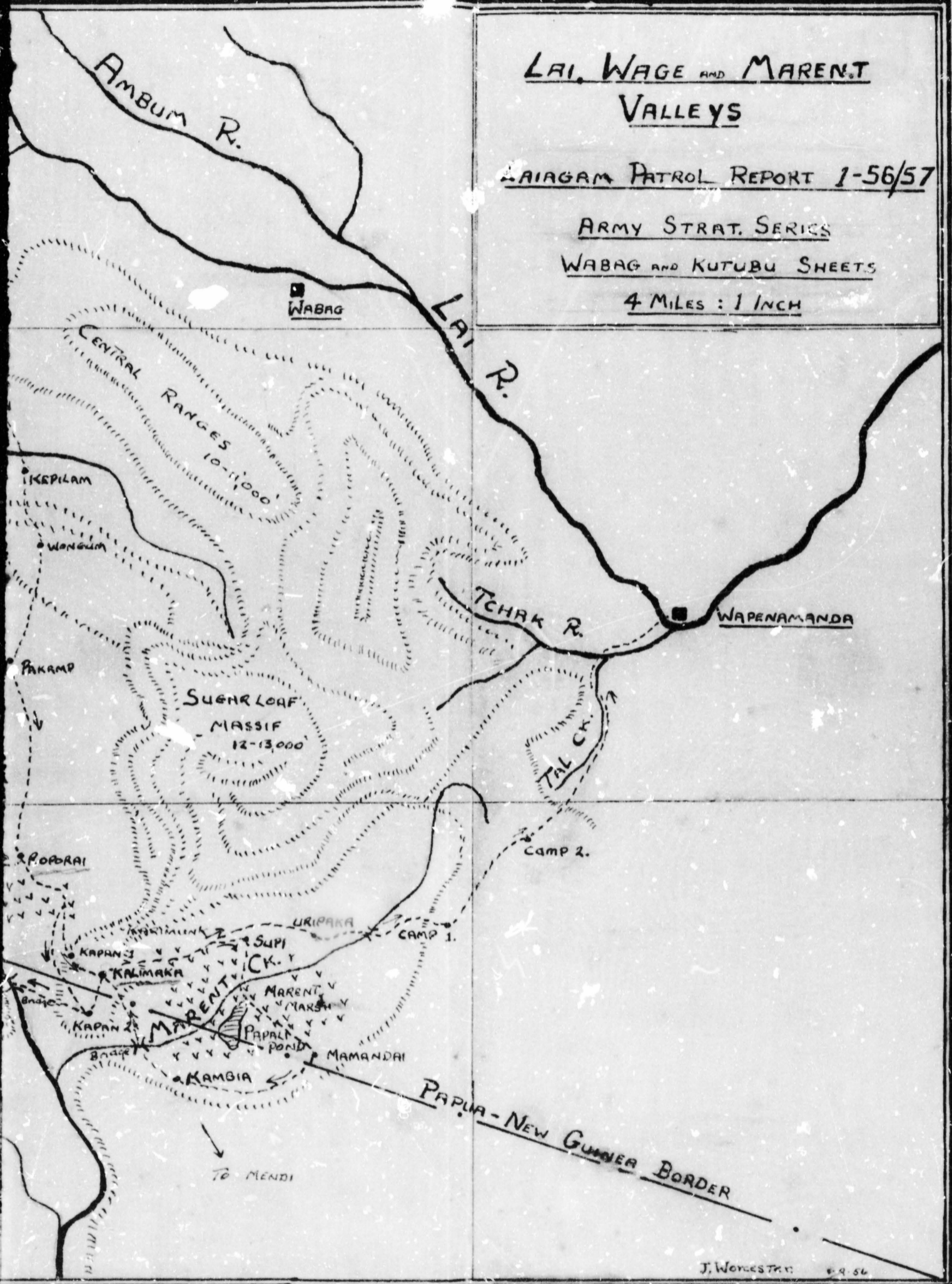
LAIAGAM PATROL REPORT 1-56/57

ARMY STRAT. SERIES

WABAG AND KUTUBU SHEETS

4 MILES : 1 INCH

5°30'



5°15'

J. WILSON 6.9.56

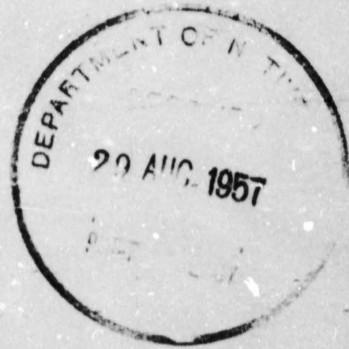
6°00'

143°45'

144°00'



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA



# PATROL REPORT

District of Western Highlands - Wabag. Report No. LAIAGAM: 2 of 1956-57.

Patrol Conducted by F.R.V. Robb, A.D.O.

Area Patrolled MURIRAGA, TUMUNDAN, TIBININ & PORGERA AREAS OF THE LAGAIP VALLEY.

Patrol Accompanied by Europeans M.J. MEGGITT, Anthropologist.

6 R.P. & N.G.C.

Natives 2 Interpreters.

Average of 55 Carriers.

Duration—From 4/2/1957 to 17/2/1957.

Number of Days 14

Did Medical Assistant Accompany? No

Last Patrol to Area by—District Services Nov/Dec/1956.

Medical Not Known ...../19.....

Map Reference Army Strat Series - 4 miles at 1 inch - WABAG Sheet.

Objects of Patrol (a.) A 'follow-up' patrol to Mr. Worcester's. (b.) General

Administration. (c.) Anthropological Survey by Mr. Meggitt.

DIRECTOR OF DISTRICT SERVICES  
AND NATIVE AFFAIRS,  
PORT MORESBY.

Forwarded, please.

21/5/1957

District Commissioner

Amount Paid for War Damage Compensation	....	£.....
Amount Paid from D.N.E. Trust Fund	....	£.....
Amount Paid from P.E.D.P. Trust Fund	....	£.....

30-17-29

2nd September, 1957.

The District Officer,  
Western Highlands District,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

PATROL REPORT - LAIAGAM NO.2 - 1956/1957.

Receipt of the above mentioned patrol report is acknowledged.

The Department of Lands has been requested for copies of Mr. Best's report.

I concur in that "probationary" officials should not be appointed.

Mr. Meggitt's anthropological notes are most valuable.

The notes on gardening are particularly interesting.

For the present we can only keep in contact with this area.

*A. A. Roberts*

(A.A. Roberts)  
Director.

*PL*

NA.50-27-29

Department of Native Affairs,  
Port Moresby.

2nd September, 1957.

The Director,  
Department of Lands, Surveys and Mines,  
PORT MORESBY.

May I have two (2) copies of Mr. Best's report  
on the PORGERA area, Western Highlands, please?

*A.A.R.*

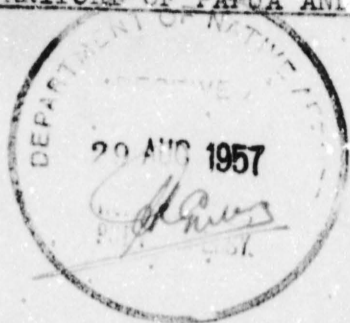
(A.A. Roberts)  
Director.

*PC*

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

27/12/57 ✓



RIS.FG

File No. 30/1-476

Western Highlands District,  
District Office,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

26th August, 1957.

The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
PORT MORESBY.

Patrol Report - Laiagam No. 2 1956/57  
Mr F.P. Robb - Assistant District Officer  
Lagaip Valley

Attached, please, is the above report together with the relevant claim for camping allowance.

DIARY : The diary contains very full information but loses some of its usefulness by not summarising actual walking times.

NATIVE AFFAIRS: As a "fringe" area, no permanent progress can be expected until a Patrol Post can be established. However, there are areas of heavier population in the District with a higher priority for the establishment of a Post. Goldmining activities in the Porgera area are not expected to continue for much longer and, without them, the Porgera will become just another "fringe" area until sufficient consolidation has taken place to justify expansion to the west.

VILLAGE OFFICIALS : It is probably wiser not to appoint village officials at all than to appoint "probationary officials" who can be elevated and demoted at the whim of each passing officer. Instructions have been issued on this matter and will be reiterated.

MISSIONS : It is agreed that Mission activity in this area should not be encouraged at present.

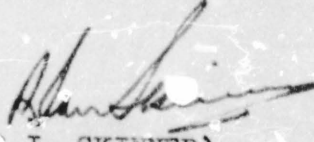
TERRAIN AND GEOLOGICAL DATA: It would be appreciated if two copies of any report submitted by Mr Best could be obtained and forwarded to this District Headquarters, please.

MAP Could four prints of the patrol map be made and forwarded please.

Anthropological: Mr Meggitt's notes are informative and interesting. It has been found that Mr Meggitt's reports generally are of more potential practical use than most anthropologists.

Conclusion : This patrol was not extensive and little detailed work appears to have been done but no doubt its consolidatory influence was beneficial.

Delay in submitting the report is regretted.

  
(I.I. SKINNER)  
District Commissioner.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1-476

Western Highlands District,  
District Office,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

RIS.FG

26th August, 1957.

The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
PORT MORESBY.

Patrol Report - Laiagam No. 2 1956/57  
Mr F.P. Robb - Assistant District Officer  
Lagsip Valley

Attached, please, is the above report together with the relevant claim for camping allowance.

DIARY : The diary contains very full information but loses some of its usefulness by not summarising actual walking times.

NATIVE AFFAIRS : As a "fringe" area, no permanent progress can be expected until a Patrol Post can be established. However, there are areas of heavier population in the District with a higher priority for the establishment of a Post. Goldmining activities in the Porgera area are not expected to continue for much longer and, without them, the Porgera will become just another "fringe" area until sufficient consolidation has taken place to justify expansion to the west.

VILLAGE OFFICIALS : It is probably wiser not to appoint village officials at all than to appoint "probationary officials" who can be elevated and demoted at the whim of each passing officer. Instructions have been issued on this matter and will be reiterated.

MISSIONS : It is agreed that Mission activity in this area should not be encouraged at present.

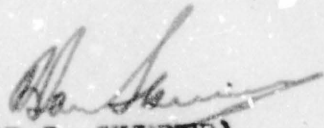
TERRAIN AND GEOLOGICAL DATA : It would be appreciated if two copies of any report submitted by Mr Best could be obtained and forwarded to this District Headquarters, please.

MAP : Could four prints of the patrol map be made and forwarded please.

Anthropological : Mr Meggitt's notes are informative and interesting. It has been found that Mr Meggitt's reports generally are of more potential practical use than most anthropologists.

Conclusion : This patrol was not extensive and little detailed work appears to have been done but no doubt its consolidatory influence was beneficial.

Delay in submitting the report is regretted.

  
(R.I. SKINNER)  
District Commissioner.



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1 - 520.

Sub-District Office,  
Western Highlands District,  
W A B A O.

22nd March, 1957.

The District Commissioner,  
Western Highlands District,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

Subject: Laiagam Patrol Report No. 2 of 1957/57 - F.P.V. Robb,  
Assistant District Officer.

Reference: Enclosed copies of Patrol Report.

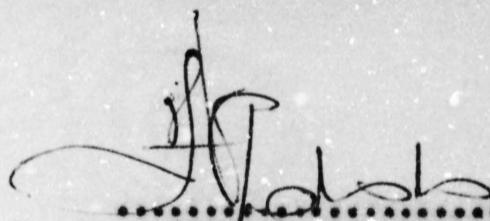
Enclosed herewith please find copies of the above mentioned Patrol Report.

2. It is regretted that heights could not be obtained, due to the unreliability of the altimeter used, which did not become apparent until the Patrol was in progress. A preliminary census was not possible due, firstly, to the time factor and, secondly, to the wet conditions pertaining. A preliminary census will be undertaken during the dry season.

3. The enclosed anthropological notes represent the work of Mr. M. J. Meggitt, Anthropologist, whose presence on this Patrol was both welcome and instructive.

4. A Patrol made to this area by Mr. J. Worcester, Patrol Officer, in November of 1956, has not yet been submitted, due to Mr. Worcester's departure on sick leave to Australia, which illness was contracted in the course of the Patrol in question. Such Patrol Report will be submitted if and when Mr. Worcester returns from sick leave.

5. It would be appreciated if three copies of the Patrol Map could be printed and made available to this Office, please.



.....  
(Francis P.V. Robb.)

Assistant District Officer.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1 - 520.

Sub-District Office,  
Western Highlands District,  
W A B A O.

22nd March, 1957.

The District Commissioner,  
Western Highlands District,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

Subject: Laigan Patrol Report No. 2 of 1957/57 - F.P.V. Robb,  
Assistant District Officer.

References: Enclosed copies of Patrol Report.

Enclosed herewith please find copies of the above mentioned  
Patrol Report.

2. It is regretted that heights could not be obtained, due to the unreliability of the altimeter used, which did not become apparent until the Patrol was in progress. A preliminary census was not possible due, firstly, to the time factor and, secondly, to the wet conditions pertaining. A preliminary census will be undertaken during the dry season.

3. The enclosed anthropological notes represent the work of Mr. H. J. Meggitt, Anthropologist, whose presence on this Patrol was both welcome and instructive.

4. A Patrol made to this area by Mr. J. Worcester, Patrol Officer, in November of 1956, has not yet been submitted, due to Mr. Worcester's departure on sick leave to Australia, which illness was contracted in the course of the Patrol in question. Such Patrol Report will be submitted if and when Mr. Worcester returns from sick leave.

5. It would be appreciated if three copies of the Patrol Report could be printed and made available to this Office, please.

  
.....  
(Francis P.V. Robb.)

Assistant District Officer.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

P A T R O L R E P O R T.

DISTRICT OF:

Western Highlands,  
Wabag Sub-District.

REPORT NO:

Laiagam - No: 2 of 1956-7.

PATROL CONDUCTED BY:

Mr. F.P. Robb,  
Assistant District Officer.

AREA PATROLLED:

MURIRAGA, TUMUNDAN, TIBININ and  
PORGERA Areas of the LAGAIP  
VALLEY.

PATROL ACCOMPANIED BY:

EUROPEANS:

Mr. M. Meggitt, Anthropologist.

NATIVES:

5 R.P. & N.G.C.  
2 Intepreters.  
Average of 55 Carriers.

DURATION:

4th. February, 1957 -  
17th. February, 1957.

Number of Days:

14.

DID MEDICAL ASSISTANT  
ACCOMPANY:

NO.

LAST PATROL TO THE AREA  
BY D.N.A:

NOVEMBER/DECEMBER, 1956 (Mr.  
Patrol Officer Worcester returned  
ill from this patrol and a Patrol  
Report has not yet been submitted.)

BY P.H.D.:

Not Known.

MAP REFERENCE:

4 miles to the Inch, Army Strat  
Series, WABAG Sheet.

OBJECTS OF PATROL:

a.) A "follow-up" patrol to that  
conducted by Mr. Worcester,  
in order to try and suppress  
the constant fighting in this  
area.

b.) General Administration.

Mr. Meggitt took the opportunity  
of accompanying this patrol in  
order to complete his survey of  
the ENGA speaking peoples of this  
area.

oooo00000000oooo

D I A R Y.

- Monday -  
February 4th: Departed Laiagam at 1310 hours. To KERA Creek at 1427 and arrived at MURIRAGA Rest House at 1723. Camped.
- Tuesday -  
February 5th: Departed at 0740 hours and arrived at TUMUNDAN Rest House at 1126 hours. Camped.
- Wednesday -  
February 6th: Departed TUMUNDAN at 0600 hours. Arrived at TIBININ at 1500 hours. Camped.
- Thursday -  
February 7th: Departed TIBININ at 0623 hours. At 0651 hours turned off PORGERA track and followed on down the valley. Spelled in a small open patch at 0721. Away at 0735 hours and took the right-hand fork where the track branches. At 0811 hours crossed TILIA Creek and then the small creeks KENDA and YARAIU, which flow into the TILIA and began to ascend and follow around the end of the TIBININ/PORGERA divide. From 0845 to 0905 hours spelled in a kau-kau garden on the ground known as UMAMBI. Skirted flank of divide and spelled from 1000 to 1015 hours on the TAMUNGALI sing-sing ground. Descended to the PORGERA River at 1045 hours and crossed a lawyer-cane bridge at 1120 hours. Descended and camped on the ground known as LUWI at 1130 hours. This camp site is some 200 feet above the PORGERA River and just above its confluence with the TILIA Creek.
- Friday -  
February 8th: In Camp. Talked to the local people and Mr. Meggitt gathered anthropological information and treated many people for tropical ulcers, which abound in this region.
- Saturday -  
February 9th: In camp. Further medical and anthropological work by Mr. Meggitt. Writer proceeded downstream as far as AIAMA Creek, leaving at 0900 and arriving at 1150 hours. Held a meeting at the sing-sing ground of PORITAKA with the men of the ENO group, which group had recently fought, with the loss of 3 lives. Arrived back at camp at 1710 hours.
- Sunday -  
February 10th: In camp. Further converse with the local people. Tropical ulcers treated.
- Monday -  
February 11th: In camp. Further converse with the local people. Tropical ulcers treated.
- Tuesday -  
February 12th: Some tents, etc. sent direct to TIBININ. Away at 0700 hours. Followed up the west side of the PORGERA. Ascended steeply and spelled from 0755 to 0807 hours. At 0828 and 0840 hours crossed small creeks TUPA and NE'ERA. Spelled from 0853 to 0909 hours at YOPORAI sing-sing ground. At 0926 hours to YUYANE sing-sing ground, the site of a proposed medical aid post for the PORGERA Valley. Spelled from 1008 to 1034 hours on ridge-side, opposite to MUNGAREP.

Followed on around ridge gradually descending to Mr. J. Brugh's gold-mining claim at the junction of KAIYA and KAKAI creeks. Spelled here from 1136 to 1150 hours. Climbed steeply up the hill to MUNGAREP Rest House, arriving at 1249 hours. Camped.

Wednesday -  
February 13th:

In Camp. Court-work and talked to the local people. Tropical ulcers treated by Mr. Keggitt. Anthropological data obtained.

Thursday -  
February 14th:

Departed at 0620 hours. Descended to the PORGERA and crossed at a point a short distance above the old bridge. Ascended and joined the PAIRAM track, thence joining up with the TIBININ/MUNGAREP track. Arrived at TIBININ at 12.57 hours. Camped.

Friday -  
February 15th:

Away at 0614 hours and arrived at TUMUNDAN at 1455 hours.

Saturday -  
February 16th:

Away at 0622 hours and arrived at MURIRAGA at 0924 hours. Camped. Talked to the people during the day.

Sunday -  
February 17th:

Away at 0610 hours. Arrived at Laiagam at 1047 hours and at Wabag at 4pm. - Laiagam to Wabag per Landrover.

END OF DIARY.

Introduction:

The Porgera area has been a continual source of annoyance, insofar as the frequent inter-group fighting carried on here has repercussions in the TIBININ, TUMUNDAN and MURIRAGA areas; with the exception of the TIBININ area, where the peoples may on occasion take part in the actual fighting, these repercussions are confined mainly to exciting the MURIRAGA, a naturally un-cooperative people, to persist in their attitude of non-cooperation - fortunately, it would appear that the TUMUNDAN people are affected to a lesser extent.

It is apparent that the people of the immediate area will be affected by events in the Porgera and, seeing that the establishment of a Patrol Post in this area may be long delayed, more patrol work has been done here than the area actually warrants - that is having regard to the current staff shortage and to the fact that other areas around Laiagam also require attention. It is considered that a series of short patrols to this area will be more valuable than longer patrols, especially so as, as with the case of the present patrol, the local food position is poor and, to avoid hardship to the natives, the patrol should carry its own food. The writer conducted the present patrol as a follow-up to that conducted last November by Mr. J. Worcester, Patrol Officer. Mr. M. Meggitt,

Anthropologist, took the opportunity of accompanying the patrol - this gave him the opportunity of studying the "hinge" people of the Porgera, that is the people lying between the Enga and Tari cultures and assimilating portions of each culture. Mr. Meggitt's preliminary notes are included herewith and should prove of great value in future administration of the area.

Travel in this area during the "wet" season is more arduous than usual and carrier loads must be reduced, thus requiring additional carriers.

Census:

A census of the area has not yet been attempted. It is considered that such is now feasible and a census will be attempted by the next patrol, it being necessary of course that such take place in the "dry" season. A rough estimate would place the population of the areas visited in the vicinity of some 2,000 to 2,500 peoples. As will be noted from Mr. Meggitt's notes, the Porgera population, due to fighting and disease, is barely maintaining itself, if that.

Roads and  
Bridges:

The track from Laiagam to Tumundan lies through open country and forms the basis of a good road, in fact a formed road extends for some two miles from Laiagam and its construction is only held up at present due to the concentration on the construction of the Laiagam airstrip. The track suffers at present from lack of adequate drainage, in spots, and from the over-hanging of pit-pit in others. Work is at present in hand on this track to remedy these faults.

The track from Tumundan to Mungarep embraces both

forest and pit-pit areas and is poor, especially is this so in the "wet". A certain amount of work can be done in the drainage and opening of this track however tree roots cannot be removed as this would lead to rapid erosion in this hilly area.

There is little use in instructing the people of the Tibinin/Porgera area to improve their tracks, until and unless adequate supervision is given. This of course will come, if and when a Police Post is allowed in the area. The most desirable thing of course is to get the Laiagam/Mungarep jeep road under way however this must needs wait until the Laiagam airstrip is completed - it is interesting to note here that the Tumandan people make the hard two days walk, to and from Laiagam, to work on the airstrip. With this road in existence, there should be an immediate improvement in the outlook of these peoples.

The track from Tibinin to Luwi to Mungarep is not as bad as that discussed above but can still be improved. Much of it is steep and exhausting.

Smaller bridges comprise fallen logs, there being larger cane bridges over the Kera and the Porgera. Of a necessity, more attention is paid to the maintenance of these cane bridges, although they, too, are sometimes allowed to fall somewhat into disrepair. The cane bridge over the Porgera, between Tibinin and Mungarep has been abandoned and the site shifted slightly upstream, to a spot where overhanging rock walls make for an excellent crossing.

#### Agriculture:

As mentioned in previous reports, the areas beyond Muriraga are not particularly well suited to agriculture, the soil being poor and the grades very steep in many cases. The area around Luwi confirms to this pattern although the altitude is lower, lending itself probably to quicker growth and to the growing of such crops as banana and taro; again, with the heavier forest cover, it is probable that the soil here is a little richer than higher up the valley. Groups around Luwi also garden land lower down the Porgera, which land is un-inhabited, due probably to it being a malarial area. Gardens are of larger size in the Porgera area than in the Lai Valley, no doubt due to the smaller yields.

Livestock comprises pigs only, with dogs being kept for hunting. No doubt the odd cassowary, wild pig and pigeon is obtained but it is obvious that the animal protein intake must be very limited. Mr. Meggitt's notes on gardening are of much interest, giving as it does a fuller account of the agricultural set-up.

#### Forestry:

There is no real problem at present in this respect, mainly due of course to the relatively sparse population of the area. Little, if any, planting of Casuarina trees is done in the Porgera although the planting of same is done, if only to

a limited extent, in the Tibinin area; Casuarina are grown of course in the Muriraga and Tumandan areas.

Whilst propaganda is put out regarding the value of re-forestation, closer contact will be necessary before a great deal of progress will be made in this respect.

Carriers:

As previously mentioned, additional carriers are required in the Porgera area during the "wet" season, due to the state of the tracks. In order to accustom the Tibinin and Porgera peoples to carrying, a few carriers only were taken on the round trip, the locals doing the bulk of the work, for which they were paid in "trade." This system was successful. Whilst the writer is not suggesting that these people have not carried before, they are, naturally, not as accustomed to carrying as are the peoples adjacent to the Patrol Posts.

Village Officials:

The only provisional Tultul so far appointed in the area was relieved of his rank, thus their are only Headmen in the area at present. It is intended that a number of provisional appointments be made in conjunction with the proposed census patrol. It would be un-realistic at this juncture to seek permission for permanent appointments as much trial and error will need take place before suitable nominees are finally selected. The Headmen encountered did quite a good job in assisting the patrol, although it is apparent that the influence wielded by them over their peoples is, at times, slight.

Missions:

The only mission stations in the area are a couple of native staffed Lutheran and Apostolic posts in the KERA River area, which area is un-restricted. It would be most unwise to permit any mission penetration of the area in its present state.

Airfields:

A possible Cessna site lies in the Porgera, in the vicinity of Mungarep, whilst it is possible that a similar site could be found in the Muriraga area; in any case there would appear little present need for such sites.

Alienation of Land:

No land has been alienated in the area up unto the present time. It would appear that, apart from missions, there is little to attract settlers, at least in the near future.

Terrain and Geological Data:

It had been hoped to obtain some geological data regarding the Porgera - and San - areas following upon a visit, some time ago, of the Administration Geologist, Mr. Best. No such information has been received to date and a memo is being sent, in the hope of obtaining same.

It is regretted that heights could not be given, such being due to the fact that the aneroid carried misbehaved and the readings obtained were manifestly suspect.

Terrain is difficult beyond Tumandan and the country would appear hopeless, in respect to any form of economic utilization. It would seem that the small



Porgera gold-field will shortly be played out.

Rest Houses  
& Base Camps:

A settled Base Camp exists at MURIRAGA, whilst there are similar, although less elaborate, structures at both TUMUNDAN and MUNGAREP. The structures at TIBININ are temporary only and work has been put in hand for their replacement with more elaborate buildings. LUWI was the only place where canvas was used and this of course is the first time that camp has been made in the ~~xxxx~~ immediate area. It is not thought that a permanent camp is yet required at LUWI.

Native Affairs:

The area was peaceful at the time of the visit, this following upon a fight in the LUWI area in about October of last year, in the course of which two men and a woman were killed.

It is quite obvious that this area will not settle down until such time as some constant form of supervision is imposed upon the Porgera and Tibinin areas, especially the former as the two areas could be better controlled from a station at Mungarep, in the Porgera.

It is hoped that permission will be granted to a recent request - that a Police Camp be established in the Porgera area. Whilst these peoples are ever ready to fight between themselves, all indications are that they have no desire to come to grips with the Administration and, should police be stationed in the area, such will suffice to gradually bring about law and order. As with certain other areas, it would appear that fighting continues of its own momentum and awaits only the imposition of an outside authority, settled in the area, to stop it.

The Porgera population is sparse and this can almost certainly be attributed to the effects of fighting and that of disease (as mentioned in "Health", probably one native in every three has a bad tropical ulcer.)

H E A L T H.

It would appear that the health of the Porgera area in particular is poor, insofar as there would seem to be a very high incidence of tropical ulcers, such ulcers often leading to varying degrees of incapacity, much of it serious. In the lower Porgera there is malaria in the LUWI and surrounding areas. Tropical ulcers would appear unduly prevalent in the Tibinin and Tumundian areas also although, in the Tumundian area treatment is obtainable from the Aid Post at Marivaga, some three hours walk away. It was estimated that at least every third male had one or more bad ulcers; the women, on the other hand, appeared much freer of them. It was stated by an ex-interpreter, KORA, that many men were confined to their houses with ulcers which had eaten right into the bone, totally incapacitating them.

The Porgera people are most anxious that a medical aid post be set up in the area and, accordingly, a site was selected at YUYANE, which site is central for the entire Porgera and, in addition, is in a better gardening area than that at Mungarep. The ex-interpreter, KORA, lives here and is a 'big' man in the area; he has long agitated for the establishment of an aid post and has been instructed to care for and maintain same. A post is now in course of erection at YUYANE, and, when in operation, should do untold good amongst this population.

In his anthropological enquiries in the area, Mr. Meggitt came to the conclusion that the Porgera peoples are barely maintaining their reproduction rate and this is further lowered by disease and killings. Although this will be verified by initial census in the near future, he estimates the total population of the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Porgera Valley at between 2,000 to 2,500, with a population density of from 20 to 30 to the square mile.

HEALTH.

It would appear that the health of the Fergana area in particular is poor, insofar as there would seem to be a very high incidence of tropical ulcers, such ulcers often leading to varying degrees of incapacity, much of it serious. In the lower Fergana there is malaria in the LOWI and surrounding areas. Tropical ulcers would appear unduly prevalent in the Tabinin and Tuzandan areas also although, in the Tuzandan area treatment is obtainable from the Aid Post at Mangarap, some three hours walk away. It was estimated that at least every third male had one or more bad ulcers; the women, on the other hand, appeared much freer of them. It was stated by an ex-interpreter, KORA, that many men were confined to their houses with ulcers which had eaten right into the bone, totally incapacitating them.

The Fergana people are most anxious that a medical aid post be set up in the area and, accordingly, a site was selected at YUYANE, which site is central for the entire Fergana and, in addition, is in a better gardening area than that at Mangarap. The ex-interpreter, KORA, lives here and is a 'big' man in the area; he has long agitated for the establishment of an aid post and has been instructed to care for and maintain the same. A post is now in course of erection at YUYANE, and, when in operation, should be untold good amongst this population.

In his anthropological enquiries in the area, Mr. Meggitt came to the conclusion that the Fergana peoples are barely maintaining their reproduction rate and this is further lowered by disease and killings. Although this will be verified by initial census in the near future, he estimates the total population of the ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ Fergana Valley at between 2,000 to 2,500, with a population density of from 20 to 30 to the square mile.

ALIENATED LAND IN THE AREAS VISITED.

N I L.

REPORT ON NATIVE CONSTABULARY.

Reg. No. 26:  
L/Cpl. IKEIVANIMA: A pleasant man of quiet ability. Did a good job in an unobtrusive fashion.

Reg. No. 6095,  
Constable TOKE: Did an efficient job. Is quiet, almost to the point of sullenness.

Reg. No. 8279,  
Constable INAPE: An excellent man. Does a good, thorough job. Is good N.C.O. material.

Reg. No. 8277,  
Constable TIJOJO: Worked quite well.

Reg. No. 8254,  
Constable DAIPO: Did a good job.

Reg. No. 9167,  
Constable SAMU: Work and conduct quite satisfactory.

Entries corresponding to the above have been placed upon the records of service of the above members.

Notes on the IPILI of the Porgera Valley, Wabag, W.H.D.

*Notes by M. J. Meggitt - University of Sydney.*

General:

Pronunciation:

In Ipili words, letter "J" is equivalent to "Y" in pronunciation, "D" is always preceded by "N", as in "nduna", "B" is preceded by "M", as in "mbipi".

Group Locations:

ENGA refers generally to people from WELYA to TUMANDAN, SAU to KANDEP.

WAPENAMANDA-WELYA-SJAKA = LAIAP ENGA

WABAG-AMBUM = MAC ENGA

WAGA RIVER = WAKA ENGA

LAIAGAM-YOKONDA = JANDAPU ENGA

KERA-TUMANBAN = TARO ENGA

SAU = SAU:I ENGA

BAIYER = KYAKA ENGA

Definitions:

"Agnates" : Anybody descended in the male line from the one male ancestor.

"Cognates" : Any blood relatives.

"Affines" : Any relatives by marriage.

Environment:

The Porgera Valley comprises a series of heavily forested, steep ridges, intersected by the rivers' tributary creeks. At the Upper or Southern end, the containing ranges rise to about 12,000 feet a.s.l. while the valley is about 7,000 feet a.s.l. It drops to about 4,000 feet a.s.l. at the PORGERA/LAGAIP junction. The lower or Northern third of the valley (called WAPI) is within the Malarial range, and for this reason is un-inhabited. WAPI, however, is fertile and abounds with game, excelling in both these respects the populated Upper Valley. IPILI frequently sojourn in WAPI to hunt, collect marita pandanus fruit and to work taro and yam gardens which flourish at that altitude.

The food game includes ringtail and phalanger possums, tree kangaroos, bandicoots and bush rats, wild pigs, goannas, cassowaries and fruit eating pigeons. Birds hunted for plumes are numerous, including a number of birds of paradise: the long tailed sickle bill, white ribbon-tail, lesser superb (these at the higher altitudes); the six-plumed, the king of saxony, the blue or Rudolph's and the red. The yellow bird of paradise apparently does not

inhabit these ranges. The CHLAMYDERA bower bird and the goura pigeon live at the lowest altitudes but are rare. Many parrots and lorries, including several species Charmosyna parrakeets, the sulphur crested, white cockatoo, and the red and black Pesquet's parrot also provide plumes. Tree pythons are hunted for food and for their decorative skins worn as head bands; so are lizards and smaller harmless snakes.

There are few wild food bearing trees, apart from some species of pandanus; but the forest provides firewood, timber for houses and fences, vines and bark for lashings. Rattans are numerous, and are used in many ways, ranging from building suspension bridges to plaiting belts and armlets. Araucaria pines, singly and in small stands, grow on the ridges. Casuarinas are planted in the upper valleys.

The climate ranges from sultry warmth in the lower valleys to windy bleakness in the upper. There is the usual division between a long summer wet and a short winter dry season.

#### Population:

The estimated population is from 2,000 to 2,500, with an overall density of less than 20-30 p.s.m. Compare this with the rather smaller Sjaka valley near Wapenamanda, which has an enumerated population of more than 10,000 and a density of more than 100 p.s.m. Ipili live in scattered homesteads in typical Highlands fashion; but because of the constant inter-clan feuding, houses and gardens tend to be more secluded in the dense bush than is usual amongst Enga people to the East.

#### Houses:

In the Upper Porgera, houses are much the same as among the Enga, although they are smaller and more roughly made, and have pandanus leaf or canegrass, instead of kunai thatch. Men and their wives usually live in separate houses; but because of the alarms of war, their houses are close together in the same clearing. Rarely more than 2 men live in one house, e.g. a man married, with his bachelor brother or son. Each wife usually has her own house, although sometimes, her husband's widowed mother, or a co-wife lives with her. Pigs are stalled inside her house, daughters live with their mothers until they wed; sons live in their fathers' houses until after they are about 6 or 7 years old. Often in the named locality held by clan or sub-clan, a larger men's house is built uphill from the group's danceground, which is usually defensively situated on a ridge. The path to this house is protected by 2 or 3 heavy, wooden palisades about 9 feet high and 12 to 15

feet wide, and the house, with its satellite women's house is surrounded by dense pitpit forming an arrow screen. Husbands usually live with the bachelors in such houses in fine weather, but remain in their own smaller houses during the wet. The danceground, in Enga style, is grassed, of irregular shape and undecorated, except that a few have a pair of old pines flanking the approaches. (Pines are e.g. in the Sau.) These, apparently, are not "spirits" trees. Family gardens are rarely more than 300 to 400 yards from the house; but if they are further away a small shelter is built in the garden as protection from rain.

Down-valley, houses are even smaller, rougher and more temporary in construction, with less insulation in the walls, and lacking the characteristic Enga curved back wall and tilted ridge pole. The pighouse is separate; and the whole dwelling complex is surrounded by rough post and rail fences. Palisades are less common, being less necessary where the forest is denser. Instead, men erect light "tambu" gates across tracks some 100 to 200 yards from their houses to discourage intruders. Throughout the valley, some families have a separate leanto eating house, used in fine weather and under which they store firewood. Otherwise, the wood is stacked under the dwelling eaves to form false walls. A few better constructed eating houses, with inside ground ovens, are perched on strategic knolls and ridges. In these, clansmen contemplating an attack on neighbours eat while they discuss plans and spy out the land. Ipili tracks are very bad, and are deliberately left so by the locals as an added defence against surprise attacks.

#### Gardens:

Each woman's house has a kitchen garden beside it, in which grow a few bananas, taro, asparagus pitpit, leaf kumu and relishes. Nearby in moister ground women grow plots of lignum plants from which they obtain the tapes to make their aprons. Tobacco is grown under the house eaves. Fibre producing trees and shrubs, such as mountain bread fruit and paper mulberry, are planted near the houses. Mau kau gardens are generally on the upper ridge slopes; land nearer the river banks is too steep and stony. Even so, few gardens are less than 40-50 degrees from horizontal, most are from 50-60 degrees, and a few from 70-75 degrees.

Ipili gardening is not as closely tied to seasonal changes as in Enga; and, concomitantly, their calendrical calculations need not be as detailed. Some months are named and interpreted as Enga, e.g. ana tiwi, the moon of



rain, ana liu and ana pende, the moons of fine weather when leaf vegetables are planted and fence timber is cut. But, in general, months are simply noted by counting 1,2,3, etcetera, moons ahead from the reference point. I was told that 1 or 2 old men used to calculate a more complex calendar in the Enga fashion, but after their deaths a few years ago, the knowledge has been lost and its loss not regretted.

Upper Porgera soil is mainly a decomposed shale; down-stream the soil is rather blacker and better. But neither type is particularly fertile, and constant leaching takes a heavy toll of the constituents and traces. Thus individual kau kau gardens are much ~~smaller~~ <sup>larger</sup> than among Enga, averaging about  $\frac{3}{4}$ -1 acre each. Normally, the kau kau slips are planted in mounds; but in good soil the first planting may be into uncomposted soil. Composting is always necessary for the second crops; and, after this, the land has to lie fallow for anything up to 15 to 20 years. Native theory is that the second of the tract of land should be the son of the first user, thus allowing a long fallow. This, however, is no great problem to the Ipili, who have abundant land; new gardens are constantly cut out of second growth bush. Usufructuary rights to fallow land are maintained by the claimant's having a long memory and a strong arm, and by pointing to the Cordyline markers, the pandanus and casuarinas, supposed to have been planted on the site by the claimant's "father". Also, most clans plant with taro and yams extensive tracts of un-inhabited Wapi, and these crops tide them over local, temporary shortages. During serious shortages everyone migrates to live with relatives among Paiera of the Pakupipi valley, Taro Enga of the Mijo or Mijiok valley, Waka Enga of the Wage valley and Huli of the Tari basin. Pandanus, bananas and sugarcane grow in and around fenced kau kau gardens, as well as many coloured Cordylines for men's rump leaves. Introduced cabbages and corn appear in a few gardens, but form a small part of the diet. Pieces of women's skirts are hung from vines about 12 feet above the ground and around the gardens, in the Enga fashion to warn off trespassers. Each clan also holds a considerable area of virgin forest, especially on the higher ridges, within whose defined boundaries clansmen and their co-residents hunt and collect. Incursions by unrelated hunters are regarded as trespasses and offenders may be severely handled if caught.

Livestock:

Pigs are the Ipili mainstay, but are not plentiful. Herds have not really

built up after the epidemics of anthrax and pneumonia introduced from the East in the early 1940s, and after the succeeding mass killing of pigs attendant upon the new cult of AIN. In any case, pigs are killed and eaten only on special occasions, so that nobody gets more than a few ounces of meat a week. Indigenous dogs, looking rather like foxes, are kept for hunting, by most men. There are no fowls.

Social Organisation:

Basically, Ipili society comprises a number (perhaps 30 or so) of more or less autonomous, named, patrilineal clans of small size, each the accepted "owner" of a defined and named tract of land. Some clans are further divided into sub-clans, each named after the putative son of the legendary clan founder who named the clan. Some sub-clans tend to live separately in the manner of clans. Some clans, however, are too small for such subdivision to be practicable; the average clan appears to comprise only about 20 to 25 adult men. A few clans have "brother" clans; but this relationship is more formal than effective. Nobody knows the origin of this fraternity, and it does not prevent marriage or fighting among such clans.

Although this organization fundamentally resembles the Enga clan system, there are important differences. Enga clans are on the average 2 to 3 times the size of Ipili clans; some are 10 times as big. Enga clans are more extensively segmented, and groups of clans in turn comprise phratries of up to 2,000 to 3,000 members. With this greater segmentation goes a detailed and well organized genealogical knowledge, extending back 6 or 7 generations to the phratry founder, and a strong localisation and development of the clan's political autonomy which stresses the patrilineal descent and inheritance and patrilocal residence. i.e., Enga clans are more or less self-contained units - almost small societies.

Few Ipili, on the other hand, can trace their descent further back than to their grandparents' generation nor are they interested in trying to link these with the putative clan founders. Concomitant with this genealogical "shallowness" is a marked lateral spread in effective kin relationships. A man counts anybody related to him through any of his grandparents as a fairly close kinsman who can thus participate in contributions to, and sharing of, death compensations and bride price, and who can reside with him for long periods. This tends to conceal the basically patrilineal and patrilocal character of Ipili social groups. It appears to be caused by two main factors: (a) the small total, and the low density of the

population allows residential mobility and also demands a wider spread of effective kinship aid; and (b), the influence of contacts with Huli, among whom this spread of kin reckoning is much more marked.

Such recognition of widespread kinship obligations greatly complicates the exchanges of compensations and bride price (which are fundamentally Enga in character), for the competing claims of all sorts of relatives have to be considered, and the amounts involved tend to become large. Residentially, the effects are revealed in the large number of cognates and affines living permanently with the clan, as well compared with the number of agnates. Sample figures from Enga and Ipili point out the difference.

Kin composition of parish residents, in per cents.

Category.	Area.				
	LaiapEnga Minjampusjaka	MaeEnga Sari	JandapunFnga Kepiljama	TaroEnga Tumandana	Ipili Mungarepe
Agnates	69 68	71	61	63	49
Cognates	3 2	7	4	13	16
Affines	28 30	22	35	24	35

Ipili kinship terminology.

"jumbane" - F.F., M.F., M.M.B., F.M.B., F.F.Sr.H., M.F.Sr.H.; all grandchildren (m.s.)

"apurine" or "auwane" ) F.M., F.M.B.W., F.F.Sr., M.M., M.M.B.W., M.F.Sr.; all grandchildren (w.s.).

"aijene" - F., F.B., F.Sr.H., M.Sr.H.,

"arane" - F.Sr., B.S., B.D., (w.s.)

"ama" or "angine" ) - M., M.Sr., M.B.W., F.B.W.

"apane" - M.V., Sr.S., Sr.D. (m.s.)

"akalimani" - W.F., W.M.B., D.H., Sr.D.H. (m.s.)

"wandimani" - W.M., W.F.Sr., W.M.Sr., D.H., B.D.H., (w.s.)

"aijani" - H.F., S.W., (m.s.)

"amene" - B., F.B.S., M.Sr.S., (m.s.) W.Sr.H.

"imalini" - Sr., F.B.D., M.Sr.D. (m.s.) B., F.B.S., M.Sr.S. (w.s.)

"akini" - Sr., F.B.D., M.Sr.D., (w.s.)

"aini" - M.B.S. & D., F.Sr.S & D.,

"akalini" - H.

"werene" - W.

"parini" - W.B., Sr.H., W.Sr., H.B., W.B.W.

"pirini" - H.B.W., H.M., S.W., (w.s.)

"ini" - W.B.S., W.Sr.S., B.S., (m.s.) Sr.S., (w.s.) S.

"wanane" - W.B.D., W.Sr.D., B.D., (m.s.) Sr.D., (w.s.) D.

These terms closely resemble the corresponding Enga terms, and appear to be used classificatorily in the same way, i.e. to recognise consanguinal and/or affinal connections, and clan and sub-clan affiliations. Thus, e.g. all members of wife's sub-clan are "iwani"; men of M.Sr.H. sub-clan are "F.F.", "F", "S" or "S.S."

In addition, Ipili have several inclusive terms for relatives: "tene" (Enga "tiwinki") for all agnates; "imani" (Enga "imanki") for all affines; "wanakine" (Enga "wane tainki") for all maternal kin; "tenge" (Enga "tainki") or "wananejame" for all cognates; and "wanaine" (Enga "wananje") for all children of female agnates.

A concomitant of this obscuring of patrilineal ties is seen in the pattern of intra-group authority. Like Enga, Ipili have no chiefs; the activities of a local group are to a large extent, guided informally by the opinions of 1 or 2 men whose "names are big" because of their economic and military prestige. Their influence extends only tenuously to neighbouring or related groups. Nowadays, such men tend to become government bossboys. Among Enga, big men of a clan are usually true agnates, because, without such a clear title to their gardens, they could not build permanent and stable power. Among Ipili, the local big man is often a co-resident affine or cognate, and not an agnate. This is partly because prestige here depends more obviously on individual fighting ability, but also because a co-resident cognate's or affine's right to use his host's clan's garden land is more secure than among the Enga. Nevertheless in the constant feuding that occurs, a man's first loyalty is to his patrikin. Even if he has resided most of his adult life with cognates or affines, he is unlikely to help them in a dispute with his patrikin. The most he will do is to remain neutral, by residing elsewhere till the fight is over. The main courses of warfare are abduction and rape of women, theft of pigs and pandanus fruit, attempts to avenge previous killings, and failure to compensate for previous killings.

An extreme example of Ipili residential mobility appears among the Pujirero sub-clan of Waiawua clan whose land is at Upalika. About 10 years ago, sickness and warfare caused many deaths among Pujirero who assumed that their ancestral and contemporary ghosts were angry with them. They therefore moved to avoid these ghost's attention. Two men and their families have since returned; but the remaining 11 male agnates and their families still

live elsewhere with their wives' brothers, mothers' brothers' and fathers' mothers' and may never return home. In general, maternal kinsmen are more likely to be chosen than other cognates or affines to be the hosts, because they are more like "brothers".

Extra-Ipili Contacts:

Another complication arises from the probability that some Ipili clans are immigrant, although arriving long ago; and these still have parent or branch clans at their putative places of origin. Thus, the Ewa and Pene clans are regarded as sub-clans of their large Mbipi and phratry, at the head of the Wage river; and Timaina clan is also from the Waka Makapu phratry. Pianda and Angalaini, brother clans, each have sub-clans still resident among TaroEnga in the Kera valley; Konemanu clan originally came from the Pakupili valley. Members intervisit frequently and for long periods. Also, individual members of Ipili clans have in the past gone to live among their Huli and Pate-era cognates and affines, and thus offer another place of residence for Ipili today. Despite the frequency of such moves, however, Ipili prefer to marry among themselves. Analysis of 90 Ipili marriages indicates that 77% of the spouses are of Ipili origin, 10% Pate-era, 6% WakaEnga, 1% TaroEnga and 3% Huli.

Trade:

Extra Ipili contacts reflect the pattern of commercial relationships. Ipili produce 4 commodities which were, and are, widely traded. Hand-drums (of an excellent local Cedar which grows only at low altitudes), pigs and plumes are sent East to Enga in exchange for stone axe blades (from the Hagan area) and, nowadays, some steel axes, as well as occasional cowries and pieces of pearl shell. Only the worst and smallest of the axe blades reach the Ipili, after the Enga had made their choice; and, for these, the price was a drum, a set of plumes, or a pig each. Indeed, so few blades filtered through that Ipili were forced to use inferior river stones as substitutes. They make ~~two~~ true axes, not adzes; Enga make axes, but Huli make adzes. Most of the shell reaching Ipili, however, come from WakaEnga. Again, only small pieces of pearl shell were sent on; and for one of these, Waka demanded 2 big pigs, 1 for each horn of the shell crescent. Conus shell discs came from the West, up the Lagaip, and were much less valuable. Ipili, incidentally, did not use cowries to make Enga style head bands, but instead sewed them to reptile skin head bands in Huli fashion. They adopted Enga head bands only after their post-European contacts with the Marimuni-Enga. Today, payments

for labour in shells and steel by the two European miners in the Porgera Valley have made Ipili comparatively wealthy in these commodities and they do not bother to trade for these outside.

The main Ipili export is ash salt. They have access to two sets of salt springs; at Kumbirae, near Aijema creek, West of the Porgera, and at Pipitaka, in the TaroEnga country on the Kera river. They control the latter's output because of a branch of Pianda clan has always lived there. By Enga standards, both these springs' outputs are slight; but with them, Ipili do a brisk trade with Waka, Huli and Nduna men in exchange for tree oil coming originally from the Kutubu area, and for pigs. 2 large packages of salt, about 10 lbs each, bring a big pig, one large package a large gourd (about a quart) of tree oil, one small package (about 5 lbs) a bamboo internode (about a pint) of tree oil. Nowadays, Ipili also send steel and pearl-shell to Huli and Nduna for the oil. It is 3 days walk to the Waka, 4 days to Tari, and 6 days to the Nduna - over steep and un-inhabited country; but trading parties constantly move between these areas. The track to Tari and the Nduna crosses the range at Maljapamasini at the head of the Porgera river through a pass at about 10,000 feet a.s.l. between the bluffs Rapuwape and Kumbipara, then traverses ridges to Haddon Pass North of Tari. The track to the Pakupili crosses the range South-West of Mungarepe through Taijendane pass at about 9,000 feet a.s.l. The parties normally receive safe conduct because their cargoes are in demand; but disputes and killings are common enough as visitors try to abduct local women and pigs. Recently, e.g., a Huli party took the wife of an Ipili man, and some of his pigs. Ipili killed 2 of the abductors; then Huli returned and killed 4 Ipili, who later retaliated and killed 2 more Huli. Compensations for the killings were paid by both sides.

Dress:

Dress of both men and women resembles that of Enga, with only minor differences in detail. Womens' lignum tape aprons are wider, in the Huli manner; but women do not cover their breasts as Huli women do. Cowrie necklaces are generally worn by both sexes, as are cassowary quills worn through the nasal septum. Rain mats of sewn pandanus leaves, and large net bags are carried by all men and women. The most obvious difference is in the men's wigs. Mushroom shaped, everyday wigs (attached or detachable), have the shaggy, heron's nest appearance characteristic of Waka Enga wigs, and are decorated with tattered flowers and small plumes. Some men wear wig-covers of

tapa (plain or orange dyed), or of netting. For special occasions, all but older men wear bullock horn wigs which are from 24 to 30 inches from tip to tip. They are lavishly if tastelessly decorated with leaves, strips of tapa, rosettes of white fungus or parakeet feathers, grubby plumes and strips of possum fur, pearlshell tags, orchid stem braiding and so on - all worn simultaneously!

Boys remain naked until about 12 years of age when they wear a cincture and Cordyline rump leaves; they don short netted aprons when about 14. Girls wear lignum tape aprons from their second or third year.

Courtship and Marriage:

Most Ipili aspire to several wives, for polygamy is an important basis for increase in wealth. The more wives there are, the more pigs can be fed and cared for, and the more exchanges and distributions can be made. The discrepant ages of husband and wife allow a considerable number of older men to be polygamists, vide the following sample:

Ipili - Frequency of Wives.

<u>Number of wives per husband.</u>	1.	2.	3.	More.	Total.
No. of husbands.	29.	9.	3.	0	41.
No. of wives.	29.	18.	9.	0	56.

Mean No. of wives per husband = 1.4 (which is the same as the Enga average).

% of polygamous husbands = 30 (which is rather higher than the Enga %).

Marriage rules are straightforward. Men should, and usually do not, marry any women in their own clans. But they may marry into "brother clans". Nor should they marry any women of sub-clans and related to their own grandparents i.e. in any known collateral line of descent. But a man can marry into other sub-clans of these relatives' clans. In effect, these restrictions are the same as among Enga. Where they differ is that a man can marry simultaneously twice into the same sub-clan, although he would not marry his wife's sister. Enga do not approve of this, because in their eyes it wastes the second bride price by giving it to people with whom one is already on friendly terms, instead of initiating a new alliance with unrelated people. This difference is probably related to the fact that the Enga but not the Ipili have the elaborate "moka" exchange cycle which demands careful placement of bride price maximize "moka" relationships.

Ipili apparently have no organized "sing sing mary" as among Enga and at which youths are able to court eligible girls. Instead, the young man (aged from 25 to 30) usually sees a girl (aged about 14 or 15) he fancies

at his men's house. For succeeding marriages, a man does not need to buy

when she and her family are attending one of the many death compensations made by his clan. He tries to impress the girl with the magnificence of his decorations and the vigour of his singing, as he lines with his clansmen before the distribution of pigs. Afterwards, he talks with her and makes his offer of marriage which she passes on to her parents. The latter discuss the offer with whichever of their kinsmen are also present. If interested they request further particulars of the amount of bride price the man's kin can offer, whilst stating what return gift they will make. According to informants, the girl's parents are always agreeable, and she is always compliant. I could obtain no information about exceptions to this, although they must occur. Sometimes agreement is reached and the first instalment of the bride price is handed over on the same day. Otherwise the participants postpone public discussion and initial exchanges until they meet again at another death compensation - for which they do not have to wait very long. On succeeding days, the new bride, her "sisters" and "sisters" of the groom act as intermediaries carrying the instalments of bride price and the return gift between the two groups. It is said that men of both groups would hesitate to visit at this stage because they would certainly have enemies in either place who would try to kill them. Most of the wealth exchanged is contributed by close kin, especially agnates, of the bride and groom, but any relatives can assist if they wish. A relative who is a debtor of the groom's or bride's patrikin is bound to help. When the exchanges are complete, the groom's kin kill all of or most of the pigs received as return gift from the bride's family. They send the half sides of pork to the latter to share among the contributors of the return gift, while the rest of the pork is eaten by the contributors to the bride price. Since there is often insufficient pork thus to feed the many contributors to the bride price, bitter arguments can arise.

As with Enga, the killing of the return gift pigs marks the point at which the marriage contract becomes binding. Up to this stage, negotiations can be broken off and the gifts returned; after this, they cannot. With the guts and a foreleg of the slaughtered pigs, plus a net bag, and a gourd of oil and some salt, the groom buys from a prosperous, married kinsman with children, a share in the spells and magical leaves which have obviously protected the latter's wellbeing and "skin" from the dangers of copulation. Sometimes he adds a pig to the payment. He is taught the spells covertly, by night, in the kinsman's men's house. For succeeding marriages, a man does not need to buy



more magic.

From the time the wedding exchanges begin, the bride, decorated in the same fashion as an Enga except that she carries no black palm staff, lives with the mother, sister, or brother's wife of the groom who is also decorated in the same way as an Enga groom. He lives with the clan bachelors or in his own house. On the fifth or sixth day after the killing of the return gift pigs, the groom is confident that he is protected by his "skin" magic. He takes his bride into the nearby bush and they copulate for the first time. After a day or two, both remove their decorations and she moves in to the women's house he and his kinsmen have built for her before the wedding. The couple make their first gardens together, then settle to normal married life, i.e. looking after their gardens and pigs, and working hard to build up their wealth. I found no evidence that Ipili, like Enga spouses, preface their initial copulation with a private and ritualised planting of taro shoots to symbolise the start of their real married life and gardening cooperation.

The man's relationship with his affines now improves remarkably; he can visit them with less fear that a member of their group will try to kill him. If he finds them congenial, he may reside and garden with them permanently, although still maintaining gardens in his father's clan territory. Sometimes a polygamous husband has one wife living and gardening permanently with her own family; he visits her regularly to check on his pigs' and children's welfare, to copulate with her and to harvest the produce of her trees and gardens. Naturally, such an arrangement can leave the way open for his wife's adulterating in his absence unless her parents are vigilant on her behalf. If his children die at his wife's place, they are usually buried there, although he and his clansmen attend the burial and stage the mourning feast. There appears to be no spiritual obligation that a person's places of birth and burial should be the same.

Examples of Ipili bride price and return gifts.

b.p.; 10 pigs, 19 "somethings" i.e. axes, shells, salt etc.

return: 5 pigs, 1 cowrie necklet.

b.p.; 3 pigs and 17 "somethings" )

return: 2 pigs. )

1st wife.

b.p.; 1 pig, 9 "somethings". )

return: 1 pig. )

2nd wife.

causing the illness; and pigs are killed

b.p. : 3 pigs and 4 "somethings". )	} 1st. wife.
return: 3 pigs.	

b.p. : 2 pigs and 3 "somethings". )	} 2nd. wife.
return: 3 pigs.	

b.p. : 5 pigs and 15 "somethings". )	} 1st. wife.
return: 1 pig and 1 pearlshell.	

b.p. : 6 pigs and 14 "somethings". )	} 2nd. wife.
return: nothing because a widow.	

b.p. : 8 pigs and 10 "somethings". )	} 3rd. wife.
return: 1 pigs.	

b.p. : 10 pigs and 21 "somethings".  
return: 5 pigs.

b.p. : 4 pigs and 26 "somethings".  
return: nothing because a widow.

It can be seen that no attempt is made to match the amount of bride price with the amount of the return gift. The actual amounts given in both cases indicate the wealth of status of the parties involved.

Affines and Maternal Kin:

The birth of the children normally strengthens the friendly relationships between a man and his affines; as with Enga, he and his patrikin are answerable to his affines for the children's welfare. The rationale of this attitude is the same as among Enga. Contemporary ghosts are beleived to cause most illnesses and deaths; and the ghost most likely to attack a person are those of his deceased father, brother, sister, son, daughter, or mother; i.e. those of his agnates (and his mother counts as such because of the bride price). The ghost of a husband, wife, mother's brother, wife's father etc., seeks its victims in its own patrikin clans. Ipili, however, do not take this responsibility for a child's "skin" or wellbeing as far as do the Enga. Among the latter, the first time the child's hair is cut, its father should compensate his wife's brother. Similarly, he should compensate his wife's clan or lineage whenever his child recovers from a minor illness or deliberate or accidental injury or insult; or when the child grows up, it should make such compensation itself. Among Ipili, only men with Enga wives or mothers make such compensation, specifically as a gesture to maintain the goodwill of the relatives involved. Where death is likely, however, Ipili and Enga practices coincide. Similar divining techniques are used to ascertain the identity and intentions of the ghost causing the illness; and pigs are killed

by the victim's paternal kinsman to placate the ghost. Some of this pork may be given to the victim's maternal kinsmen. If the victim dies, however, it is considered that the paternal kinsmen were remiss in discharging their duty. At the mourning feast which follows when the deceased's family emerges from the mourning seclusion after a couple of weeks, the victim's maternal relatives bring a gift of pork (5 to 10 half-sides) to add to the pork being distributed by the paternal kin. Acceptance of this commits the latter to make a large compensation of pigs to the donors at a later date. The standard Ipili unit in adult death is 27 (that is counting from 1 little finger via the <sup>joint's</sup> ~~arms~~, ears, eyes, and nose down to the other little finger), and normally two such units are regarded as adequate compensation. Often, the paternal kin and other cognates cannot muster 54 pigs in one payment, so one unit is paid within 6 months or so of the death, and the other later. But if the later instalment is unduly delayed, fierce arguments can arise which lead to inter-group fighting and deaths. A child's death, however, may be compensated with as few as 10 to 15 pigs.

The situation remains unchanged if the deceased had permanently left his father's group and resided with his own affines, mother's mother's or father's ~~mother's~~ clan. These people act as his paternal kin and give the mourning feast and compensation. But if he had lived permanently with his maternal kin, they would give the mourning feast and no compensation would be paid to them unless the true paternal kin wish to claim custody of the deceased's children.

#### Death, Burial and Mourning.

Treatment of the dead varies somewhat with their status. A person who simply dies of illness (that is is believed to have been killed by ghosts), or who is of no importance, is exposed on a rough platform near the house; and relatives gather for a day or two to mourn around the body, which is then prepared <sup>by close kinsmen</sup> for burial. The corpse has the knees flexed and tied in place with a pig rope around the neck, while the hands are placed between the legs. It is buried lying on its back. The burial usually occurs in the afternoon and may be attended by <sup>everyone</sup> ~~anyone~~. The shallow circular grave, usually in a garden, is enclosed by a Cordyline fence; and sometimes the deceased's drinking ~~beer~~ gourd is thrown on the grave so that the ghost may drink. Apparently food is not similarly left for the ghost. The undertakers receive extra pork, salt etc. at the mourning feast as payment for their services.

Occasionally, a man may exhume the skull (with or without jawbone) of a close male or female agnate, clean and wrap it, and keep it near his house in

a hole in a tree-trunk or clay-bank, or in a small skull box on stilts, The deceased's ghost stays near the skull and should warn the caretaker of approaching dangers, e.g., of a projected night attack on his house, or of the presence of a sorcerer. If the ghost fails in this task, the disgusted caretaker rams a pronged stick into the skull to chase off the ghost, buries the skull with the other bones and ignores it thereafter.

If an important man dies of illness, the exposure for mourning may be prolonged for several days. Then the corpse is buried beside his home dance-ground, and the grave is fenced with pointed stakes about 24" high. If the deceased is a fight victim, or is believed to have been killed by extra-group sorcery, the corpse, especially if of an important man, is placed in a rough elevated coffin near his house. There it remains, and no mourning feast is held until the death has been avenged by killing at least one relative (male or female, child or adult) of the known killer or suspected sorcerer. Then the corpse is buried near a danceground.

Close relatives of the deceased publicly demonstrate their sorrow to ensure the deceased's ghost will not later be angry with them. Widows smother themselves with grey clay and wear heavy necklaces of grey coix seeds (Job's tears), voluminous aprons sweeping the ground and, occasionally, clay covered net bags wrapped around their breasts. The general aim seems to be to make them look as unattractive as possible, to other men during their period of mourning which may last from 18 to 24 months. Other female relatives wear grey clay and fewer coix seeds, for shorter periods. Some men and women slit or cut off their ear lobes while mourning by the corpse, so that the flowing blood may convince the deceased's ghost of the extent of their sorrow. For this, they are assured of extra pork at the mourning feast. Adult members of the family, however, are more likely to cut off the top of a finger (usually the little finger of the left hand), with an axe, because the closer the relationship to the ghost, the more convincing the protestation of sorrow has to be. Such finger lopping is much more common among the Enga.

Finger lopping, as well as being a technique to placate ghosts, is believed to have therapeutic effects when performed on infants. Thus, if a boy is born with a contused or bloody skin, he is thought to have "swallowed" his mother's (retained menstrual) blood while in her womb. Since female blood endangers males, his mother cuts off one of his finger joints to release this blood and make him wholly male. If an infant boy or girl is sickly, refuses to drink its mother's milk, appears not to be benefitting from it, or seems mentally retarded, either parent may cut off one of its finger-joints to shock

it into normality or health.

Fingers Lopped Among Ipili.

<u>Category.</u>	<u>Males.</u>	<u>Females.</u>
None Missing.	45.	67.
For dead brother.	2.	2.
For dead sister.	1.	-.
For dead husband's brother.	-	1.
For dead son.	-	4.
By self because ill to placate a ghost.	-	1.
By mother because <sup>of</sup> a sickly child.	2.	5.
By self because finger infected or burned.	3.	2.
By accident.	1.	2.
<u>Total:</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>81</u>

Once the mourning feast has been given and the deceased's maternal kin have been compensated, the fact of the death is of little interest to anyone except the deceased's family. These have always to bear in mind that the ghost may attack them because of real or fancied slights to it.

If a person is killed in a fight or even accidentally, the killer and his relatives (especially paternal) should offer substantial compensation in pigs to the victim's relatives (especially paternal). The usual claim is from 54 to about 70 pigs. In most cases, at least part of this claim is met because the killer's relatives generally have pigs owing to them for the same reason and thus ensure they will receive their compensations later. Unlike Enga, Ipili relatives of the victim do not send a preliminary gift of pork, axes and shells to the killer's relatives to ensure payment of the compensation. They maintain they are entitled to the compensation and therefore should not have to beg for it. Although, in theory, payment of compensation settles the matter and precludes the right of revenge, if the killer's clan is dilatory or niggardly in its payments, the victim's relatives will kill one of them to speed up the transaction, but thus lay themselves open to the same claim. If the victim was an important man "with a big name", his relatives take the compensation, but reserve the right to kill one or more people in revenge to "pay for his name". After the original victim's relatives have been compensated, his paternal kin go on to give different pigs to his maternal kin in the normal way as compensation for his "skin". This done because some of the blame for his death attaches to the former; they did not protect him adequately, or their paternal ghosts aided in encompassing his death.

If a person dies for no apparent reason his relatives hold an autopsy. Usually, an independent coroner is called in to adjudicate. The victim's heart and lungs are examined for the presence of black marks. If these are on the right hand side, an unidentified paternal ghost killed him and compensation is given to his maternal kin; if on the left hand side, an unidentified maternal ghost is guilty and no compensation is given. Sometimes old internal wounds or arrow points are noted as the cause of death, and the relatives of the original attacker (whose identity is usually known) are asked for compensation as for a normal death in battle. Such a claim may be rejected, which leads to more fighting. If no indications of the cause of death can be found, it is blamed on extra-clan sorcery. The identity of the putative sorcerer is worked out in rational terms; i.e., who had the motive and opportunity, and to whom does relevant gossip apply. Then a claim for compensation is made, which of course is rejected. This obliges the deceased's relatives to attempt physical revenge.

Widows:

The status of widows and their children varies with circumstances. Normally, a woman lives with the clan of her husband or of his mother's brother. When her husband dies, she and her children remain under the protection of his nearest brother or cousin (who thus counts as a brother) until the mourning period is over. Her protector has the option of marrying her and taking custody of the children. If he declines, another member of his group may marry her. In such a case, only a token bride price is given to her family and no return gift is made by them. If the children are approaching adolescence or older, the new husband may also make gifts to them to win their approval of the marriage, and to ensure that they stay permanently with their late father's relatives. Unlike Enga, the new husband does not have to kill a pig to placate the ghost of his late "brother".

If none of the late husband's relatives desire the widow, she may marry elsewhere. If her new husband wishes, he can give substantial bride price to the late husband's relatives to validate his claim to the widow's children. Or, if he gives it to her family, they should return, not the late husband's bride price, but that part contributed by his relatives. The late husband's bride price is cancelled out by the original return gift from his affines. Similarly, if the widow decides not to remarry, but to return to her own family with her children, her family should return the bride price contributed by the late husband's relatives. Sometimes, however, the late husband's

relatives demand that she and her children remain permanently with them without the benefit of remarriage; this is more common if the widow is older and the children adolescent.

If a man lives permanently with his affines, then dies in their territory, his widow and children pass into their hands, unless (a) his paternal relatives come to bury him and give the mourning feast and (b) have in the past kept up their compensations of the widow's relatives at the death of any of her children. If they have not done these things, they cannot claim custody of the children or any share of the new bride price which comes from her remarriage outside their group. This bride price goes to her own relatives. Since most groups are anxious to gain custody of such children, but are reluctant to make the appropriate compensations, serious disputes can arise in these situations.

Mexico-religious Beliefs and Practices:

As the foregoing indicates, the malevolent activity of ghosts is believed to be the cause of most misfortunes. There seems to be little emphasis on the existence of spirits or powers acting to benefit man, except in the practice of a few specific forms of magic designed to cure certain illnesses, to preserve masculine wellbeing, or to increase wealth. In this Ipili resembles Enga.

There is a belief that demons, i.e., malevolent beings of non-human origin and thus distinct from ghosts, inhabit certain waterfalls and cliffs in the less accessible parts of the valley. These kill and eat anyone venturing into their haunts; but they do not trouble sensible people who avoid these places when hunting and food gathering. Apparently Ipili, unlike Enga demons, are not responsible for changelings.

Many Ipili suffer from Tropical Ulcers; about one man in three is seriously affected. But they maintain (probably correctly) such ulcers were not known in the recent past, so that although they are now believed to be in some way caused by ghosts' attacks, there is no specific magical treatment for them. More reliance is placed on European medicines. Leprosy is endemic; it too is ghost caused, but appears to have no magical treatment. In the past, advanced cases were segregated and, when helpless, thrown into the river. Now, most are sent into Wabag to the lazarette. Malaria is also endemic; but it is regarded simply as an illness affecting anyone who spends long periods in the lower end of the valley. Victims are treated by being bespelled and having their bodies rubbed with nettle leaves.

Other complaints, especially abdominal and thoracic pains, are regarded as ghost caused; and in their early stages receive a standard treatment. A

spell-man is called in who bespells water in a bamboo tube, sprays it on the patient's body and massages the affected parts with accompanying incantations. These are believed to drive away the ghost. If this treatment fails, more elaborate divining and pig killing techniques are tried.

In native theory, pus is blood gone rotten, and infection is the inevitable result of serious arrow and spear wounds, especially when the point is believed to remain in the body. Most men have spells to guarantee that their projectiles will cause such infection. Thus, unless the pus is released, the victim will quickly die. Pus in the upper body is drained off by a "specialist" cutting a slit between the ribs under the arm, enlarging the hole with his fingers, pouring water into the thorax and then capsizing the victim to release it and the pus. Oddly enough, many men survive this treatment. Abdominal infection is tapped by thrusting a tube into the patient's anus, pouring water through it and then reversing the patient to let the pus run out. It seems that nobody survives this operation. Both operations are apparently unaccompanied by spells.

It appears that no specific illnesses are ascribed to sorcery. The victim simply dies, and no magic or appeals to the ghosts can counteract the effects of the sorcery which operates automatically without the intervention or aid of ghosts. Some of the sorcery techniques are known to Enga under cognate titles; others are sold to Ipili by Keowa and I-i-era.

One method requires that the sorcerer begs a pig's tail with skin attached from a friend who is killing a pig for any reason. The tail and certain leaves are bespelled and then tied to a pointed wand. The sorcerer covertly repairs to the vicinity of a "fertility stone" house of a "spirit" pool where he beats the wand on the ground while he curses his enemy. Soon his enemy will die. When the wand breaks, he takes the pig's tail home to be used on other occasions. In a variant of this technique, the sorcerer bespells a pig's rib which he snaps inside a "fertility stone" house while cursing the enemy.

In another technique, the sorcerer visits by night a coffin containing a decomposing corpse, and hides a small bamboo tube under it into which drip the corpse's exudations. He gives this to his wife to hide in her house. At her next menstrual period, she places the tube under her to catch the menstrual blood. Her husband bespells the mixture, which is now a "hot poison" - so hot, it is inimical to males generally. So his wife cares for it, carrying the tube around concealed under apron, tied to her pubic hair. When the



contents have dried, the man tries them out. First he smears some of the mixture with a bat's bone or a twig on the skin of a sleeping child. Any child will do, for this is only a test. If the child dies within five or six months, the sorcerer knows his spells have been accurate. So he tests the mixture on a youth. If he dies, the mixture is powerful enough to try on the enemy, male or female, for whom it was originally intended. It is sufficient to get some of it onto the skin, clothes, or food of the victim.

A form of sorcery apparently of Kewa origin involves wrapping a stone in certain leaves and bespelling this small bundle. Concealing this in his hand, a man casually approaches his enemy on a public and ostensibly peaceful occasion. Idly manoeuvring into position behind the victim, he points the stone at the latter's shadow and mentally curses him. Because a man's shadow, like his breath, is essentially part of him, the victim dies within a few weeks. Ipili buy the relevant spells and leave from Pai-era, paying heavily for them. It is of interest that Enga possess an analogous technique of sorcery which appears to be continuous with stone sorcery in the Hagen area.

Like Enga, Ipili have spells to increase personal wealth, especially to attract pigs whose owners would otherwise have given them to somebody else. These spells are usually bought for substantial payment of pigs, pork, axes etc., from men (frequently, but not necessarily the buyer's agnates) whose wealth and success in life "prove" that their magic is potent. If one's own father owns the magic, payment should still be given; but an old man (especially if ill and expecting to die) may teach his son the spells for nothing. If the son is too young, he gives the spell to his wife to hold in trust for the boy until adolescent. Usually, teaching of such spells involves the buyer and seller in a five day seclusion in the seller's house, during which they eat a small pig donated by the buyer. A similar seclusion is necessary when the spell is put into action, while the operator studies insect and dream omens. The usual time for spell making is just before another clan is to distribute wealth (e.g., in bride price or as death compensation); then the operator expects to receive many pigs, even if on other grounds he is entitled to few or none.

In another version of takia, called kandapa, the man (or, rarely, a married woman) paints his face with the spelled red paint, in which are kept several dried and bespelled pore leaves (the Enga lepe leaves). If this is done before attending a pig distribution, or soliciting pigs from a trade partner, the aspirant is sure of success. The paint seems to be traded in

from the North (possibly the Sepik area) and a few ounces may cost a big pig. <sup>It</sup> also pay heavily for it.

It is worth noting that the spells on weapons by which men guarantee themselves success in fights and the inflicting of enemies' <sup>wounds</sup> are also called takia. They are not regarded as sorcery but are seen as part of the normal equipment of a man who desires success.

Ipili regard copulation and menstruation as phenomena which can endanger men. The efficacy of the trespass tambus made of pieces of women's aprons, e.g., depends on the general belief that if a man walked under one of these, its feminine emanation would damage his "skin" (i.e. his vigour and wellbeing). For the same reason, wives are secluded in their houses during their menstrual periods and, ideally, should not rejoin men until magically cleansed by biting certain bespelled leaves sent them by their husbands. Single girls are secluded, but apparently do not use the magic. Newly-wed husbands, as we have seen, buy spells to protect themselves from the dangers of marital coitus. A "sensible" husband does not copulate too often, and, at the conclusion of each act spits on his hands, mutters the spell into them, then vigorously rubs his belly with the spit to prevent too much of his "vital juice" from leaving his skin. The Ipili men, however, do not appear to be hedged about with as many sexual taboos as are Enga, who may not copulate in new gardens, or even enter these gardens for a day afterwards, or cook or handle meat for a day, or attend rituals, and so on. This is compatible with the shorter Ipili period of waiting before initiating marital copulation.

Nevertheless, Ipili, like Enga consider that men's contact with women endangers bachelors, even if only with their mothers and sisters. They also have a periodical group ritual in which the bachelors of a clan rid themselves of these feminine influences. Called salangai or umarisia (umari is the big wig worn by bachelors), it parallels in most details the sangai ritual of Enga bachelors. Each clan has a small seclusion house hidden in the mountain forest, near which magical pore plants grow under the intermittent care of the older bachelors of the clan. When these senior bachelors marry, the younger brothers take over their care. About every two years, the bachelors older than about 14 or 15, and including any visiting or co-resident bachelors, go out one night and gather sweet potatoes from their families' gardens. Women cannot see this food. The men repair to the seclusion house where they remain for four days. They remove all their clothing and ornaments, hide them, and don leaf aprons and tapa mob caps.

On the first day they wash themselves, especially their eyes, at a special pool nearby, while the senior bachelor chants spells and waves certain leaves over them. They return in the afternoon to inspect the pore plants. If a given bachelor's plant is withered or oddly marked, this proves he has been fornicating. He is berated and later must buy a new plant. The payment is to the senior bachelor, usually one pig, and is a fine and all the bachelors eat it. If all the plants are dead, the ceremony is abandoned; and the shamefaced bachelors pay heavily for new plants from another clan, the vigour of whose bachelors attests the potency of their plants. If the plants are in order, however, each youth is given a pore leaf bespelled by the senior bachelor, which he rolls up and hides in his hair to ensure its luxuriant growth, as well as a strong, supple skin. After this, they eat kau kau, then sing all that night, and throughout each succeeding night. During their seclusion, the bachelors must not see, or be seen by, women or married men; they must not talk of sexual matters; they must not see each other's genitals, hair, soles of the feet; they must not see human or animal excreta; they must not see any article previously seen by women. A man who breaks any of these rules must be completely rewashed and bespelled.

On the last morning, all decorate with leaves, plumes, new net aprons, red-painted skins, blackened faces and wigs, etc., and stealthily return to the men's house without being seen by women. They stay there for another four days, emerging at night to obtain food, then go back to the seclusion house and throw away their decorative leaves into the pore plots. After this, they may mix with other people. This Ipili routine differs from Enga in that the latter make the emergence from seclusion the excuse for a large-scale singsing at which girls announce which of the bachelors they wish to marry.

Efficacy of the salangai ritual, as of the various magical techniques earlier mentioned, does not depend on the aid of ghosts or other beings. These techniques possess their own virtue. Nevertheless, much of Ipili ritual belief and behaviour, mainly aimed at averting death and misfortune, is intimately linked with their belief in the ubiquity and malevolence of ghosts. Almost every serious illness sends the patient's relatives in search of a diviner who can ascertain both the identity of the responsible ghost and what must be done to placate it. Similarly, every striking dream is thought to be significant of ghostly intentions towards the dreamer.

A very few men and women are believed capable of fore-telling by their own dreams the misfortunes of other, unrelated people. Their reputations rest

simply on the fact that their public interpretations of their own dreams (often if post facte) are confirmed by events. Usually, however, a person takes his dream to indicate malice aimed at himself or his children by a family ghost, and easily remembers some action capable of arousing anger in at least one ghost. He calls in a diviner who performs angawenga, in which a pig is killed and offered to the ghost, with appropriate spells. The oven in which the pig is cooked is watched for the presence of insect omens. As among Enga, the dreamer's children have pieces of string tied around tufts of their hair to remind the ghost of the pig killed for its benefit and which it "ate" in company with the donor's family. The diviner receives a leg of pork for his services.

Alternatively, the troubled dreamer may visit an aijapu medium, i.e., a man or woman who uses the ghost of a dead kinsman as a control to communicate with ghosts to learn what they require of living people. The control ghost whistles its answers to the medium's questions put while she is in a semi-trance state in a darkened room of her house. The medium nominates the ghosts likely to be troubling her client, and the control indicates which is responsible. Then she asks how many pigs the ghost wants offered to it, and by which method they are to be killed. She relays the answers to her client who pays her with pork from some of the pigs he kills as instructed. The angry ghost may, e.g., demand two pigs and specify that they be killed by kwoipa peja technique, in which a decorated and bespelled club is used, then buried in the oven place, as in Enga tombe renga.

Sometimes a man may try to interpret his own dreams, then try jandarake divining to verify his conclusions. In this, he holds an arrow in a certain manner and flicks it at the ground. Whatever the point impales is an omen; e.g., an earthworm indicates death, certain beetles many pigs, white tree moss bearded old age.

The other common situation is where illness has struck without warning. The task is then to identify and placate the ghost as quickly as possible, so that it will stop "eating" the victim. Usually, the first and simplest technique tried is leaf-blowing, porarane, which can be done by most old men. The man rolls a fleshy leaf into a tube, and blows sharply into it each time he nominates a ghost. If one of these gusts is checked for any reason, the ghost is known. The victim's patrikin at once kill a pig, which they first stroke with leaves and offer to this ghost. Frequently, the offering is followed by koro peja whereby the pig is held over the oven hole so that

blood from its nose drips on to the cooking stones. A spellman bespells a 3 or 4 pronged "spear", then vigorously stabs the earth with it to drive away the ghost which has entered the oven hole to "eat" the pig's blood. If after this the victim is no better, more ghosts are identified by leaf-blowing and more pigs killed to them. If there is still no improvement, the whistle medium may be consulted to ascertain how the pigs should be killed.

If the victim remains ill, and is an important enough person with plenty of pigs, more techniques may be tried which in effect offer pigs to all the clan ghosts in the hope that the right one will be placated. A small, open-sided house, karae, is built on, or beside, the danceground. A slender post is erected inside the house and near it a ground oven is prepared. The victim's kinsfolk decorate themselves and assemble at the house at dusk. One or two pigs are killed, dedicated to all the ghosts, and are cooked in the indoor oven. While these are cooking, a matter of several hours, 2 young men are dressed in women's aprons made specially for the occasion, and have their skins greased and blackened, They are lavishly decorated with plumes, especially cassowary plumes which form a sort of cape. Women and children sit on one side of the house, men on the other. As they sing, the 2 "women" vigorously beat drums and dance round and round the post. This goes on for hours. The pork is eaten by the victim and his relatives, including women, and everyone goes home. The dancing and drumming apparently combine with the offering of pigs to please the ghost and it releases the victim. Ipili men who visit Huli maintain the latter also practise this technique to cope with individual illnesses, but also state (probably incorrectly) that Ipili did not borrow this from Huli. karae has also been adopted by neighbouring Taro Enga within living memory; and, for a short time, was practised by Jandapu Enga around Sirunki until the man who introduced it died.

Another curing technique, also performed among western Enga and again usually ~~confined~~ confined to important men, involves offerings to the clan "spirit" pool, jaka kaima. Almost every Ipili clan has, hidden in its own forests, a small pool in or at which ancestral ghosts congregate, although apparently not permanently. The pool is fenced off, and a small house stands nearby. The area is tambued to women and children, and clansmen do not visit it without good reason. Intruding women would bear deformed or stillborn children as ghostly punishment. When an important man's illness has resisted everyday magical cures, clansmen take counsel. They tell the 2 bachelors currently in charge of the pool to prepare for propitiation of its ghosts.

A spellman (not necessarily of the victim's clan) is called in to instruct ~~the~~. One of these bachelors has to be an agnate of the clan, and his badge of status is a goura pigeon's plume worn for the ritual. The other bachelor must be a son of a female agnate (not necessarily co-resident) and his badge is a piece of plawini possum fur. These 2 bachelors are subject to certain taboos during the several years they are in office; they may not eat any food distributed at funerary feasts, or cooked or handled by women; they cannot wear rain mats in bad weather. When these bachelors wish to marry, their clansmen after long discussion select 2 more bachelors to replace them. The spellman is called in to instruct the novices who are formally given the goura plumes and possum fur to mark their investment.

When the ritual is to be performed to cure illness, the spellman rehearses the spells with the 2 bachelors who then retire to the house near the pool. There they kill ritually a pig contributed by the victim's relatives and examine its entrails for omens. They cook the pig to the accompaniment of spells, and throw the cooked belly fat into the pool to feed the ghosts, which have already "eaten" the blood and smell of the cooking pork. The men eat the rest of the pork themselves as payment for their services. On the fifth morning, the two men return home. The spellman receives as payment two cowrie necklets, 2 prime taro and two forelegs of pork.

As far as I could discover, Ipili do not have the ghost propitiation rituals connected with hangunape and pomboranda huts which are found among Kandep and Waka Enga. But some, though not all Ipili clans share with most Enga the practice of building kepele houses in, or near which are kept stones connected with clan ancestral ghosts. The stones are called the "eyes of the sun" (c.f. Enga who call them "eggs of the sun"); but there seems to be no explicit belief that the sun gave these stones to the ancestors, or is in any way connected in the ritual. The stones are buried in a fenced-off area in the densest bush well away from dwellings and gardens; and this area is tambued to women and casual male visitors. Like contemporary ghosts, ancestral ghosts are malicious, but on a grander scale. If angry with their descendants, e.g., because the latter have failed to propitiate them regularly, they can cause either wide-spread deaths from illness, or crushing defeats in fights. Sometimes, these ghosts simply send a warning sign in the form of a visit from the comparatively rare *Chlamydera* bowerbird. If a clansman sees this bird or its playground, the worst is feared. After male discussion, the important clansmen call in a spellman (not necessarily an Ipili). Huli, Pai-era or Enga

spellmen are eligible, just as Ipili spellmen may officiate at Huli, Enga or Pai-era ceremonies. He advises the clansmen on the building of a new kepele house, a tall, circular and roughly made structure, with a conical roof of thatch.

While the decorated clansmen build this house, a matter of a few days, neighbouring groups are asked to hunt for bush animals to add to the forthcoming feast. These they later exchange at a big gathering of their hosts for pork, salt, netbags and the like. On the appointed day, hosts and visitors gather for a singsing which lasts all night, while the hosts cook the possums and many pigs. Each clansman contributes a tarrow, not a sow, to this. The visitors usually include Enga, Huli and Pai-era relatives of Ipili. Young men attending their first ceremony are secluded in a specially built house nearby, and must stay awake all that night. In the early morning, the spellman and the senior clansmen enter the kepele house and ritually kill and cook pigs. The stones are unearthed; and the specialist bespells, greases and paints them to "feed and decorate the ancestors". These men eat the ritual pork, in which women, novices and outsiders may not share. Pork cooked outside the kepele enclosure may be eaten by all the other people who have been singing outside during the ritual. After the feasting, the spellman collects his payment of salt, pork, tree-oil, axes, etc., and everybody goes home. There appear to be no general tampus placed on the clansmen following the rituals. The kepele house is left to rot for several months, then word is sent out for the locals and neighbours to assemble for its destruction. They sing all night, while the novices again stay awake in a special house. At dawn, all the men push over the kepele house and break it to pieces, then leave in a body, avoiding established tracks and trampling a new path through the dense bush. A man remains a novice until he has attended 4 such house-destructions, no matter whether they occur among Ipili, Enga, Pai-era or Huli. As a novice, he cannot eat any ritually killed or cooked pork, certain possums and leaf vegetables, or cut sugar-cane for himself, although he can eat cane cut by others. If he breaks these tampus, the ghosts will attack him.

Behind this pervasive belief in the existence and potency of malicious ghosts, contemporary and ancestral, there is another and vaguer belief in the existence of more tenuous but better disposed sky people, tauweakali. These were the first inhabitants, believed by some men to be the offspring of the male sun and female moon. They were and are responsible for meteorological phenomena; and it is their goodwill which controls the rain and sunshine so

that crops may grow. They also dispense good and bad luck. Some sky people have more specialised tasks. Kilu, with the mile-long arms, is believed to live far down the Lagaip River where he continuously thinks of the spells which aid him to direct the dispersal of the waters flowing down the valleys. Without this, the water would back up after heavy rains and drown everyone, including Ipili and Enga. In the same area live Elapi and Kelapi who keep the earth and sky joined at the horizon. Ipili believe that unknown natives there pay this pair every few years with a feast of pigs and a newborn child, without which their spells would cease and the earth collapse. At some unknown time, offspring of the tauweakali descended to the earth to become the founders of clans that exist today, while the original tauweakali still remain in the sky. There is thus a connection between ghosts and sky people; but there appear to be no corresponding group rituals aimed at propitiating sky people as are made for ghosts.

In common with neighbouring peoples, Ipili in 1944-5 enthusiastically accepted the pig-killing ritual invented by the Taro Enga people of Ljaima across the Lagaip River. They were told of an approaching cataclysm which would be survived only by people who had killed their pigs and made heavy payments of pork and valuables to Ljaima men in return for spells guaranteed to give them purification and protection, with subsequent immortal life among the sky people. Ipili thereupon killed so many pigs that their herds have not yet fully recovered; they stripped their community of wealth; they observed the many tambus laid on them by the proselytizers; they renounced their traditional rituals; and they took about six months or more to realise their own gullibility. They were unable to recover their lost wealth from the Ljaima men, who are today still unwelcome among Ipili. The emergence of this cult seems to have been almost wholly in response to the confusion engendered by the knowledge of the local peoples that whites with enormous wealth were making great changes among eastern Enga.

#### Conclusions:

The above account indicates fairly clearly, I think, the marginal cultural status of Ipili in relation to both Enga and Huli. Their language, e.g., appears to provide a link between the two. Ipili say it differs from both, so that they have to translate from one to the others. Similarly, Mae Enga say they cannot understand Ipili any more than they can Huli, whereas the more western Taro Enga can understand Ipili, but not Huli.

In Ipili social structure and organisation, the fluidity of affiliative



and residential status noticeable among marginal Enga such as Waka and Kandep, seems to be intensified, Ipili are more similar to Huli than are Waka. Cultural geography obviously bears on this. Waka have Huli neighbours to their west; but to their north are Mae and Jandapu Enga; to their north-east and east are Karintsu, Aruni and Kanedep Enga. To their south-east and south lie Mendi influenced groups who are sufficiently like Enga in important respects to reinforce Enga influences. Ipili, on the other hand, have only marginal Waka, Taro and Maramuni Enga as their south-eastern to north-eastern neighbours and previously had little contact with Maramuni Enga. To their north-west they know of the semi-nomadic bush dwelling Kewa, but have little to do with them. Their western neighbours, the Pai-era, are apparently almost indistinguishable from Ipili; while the Mipu people further west are, according to both Pai-era and Ipili, little known to them, speak another, unintelligible language and maintain different customs. Ipili southern and south-western neighbours are Huli, Huli-Nduna and Nduna with whom they are in frequent contact. Thus, in sum, Huli contacts with Ipili outweigh those of Enga.

But, despite this, Ipili society and culture seem basically to be of Enga origin, with a heavy Huli overlay. Ipili statements, clan names and affiliations, suggest that they were originally immigrants from the Jandapu and Taro Enga area between Lalagam and Tumandan, being pushed out when Enga spilt over into the Waga and Lai (Purari) valleys seeking new land. Thus, whilst some Ipili clans are regarded as being genealogically related on a group basis ~~was~~ as branches of Taro and Waka clans, relationships with Huli and Pai-era are individual. Once in the Porgera valley, however, the immigrants probably found that geography and trade routes drew them more into the Huli sphere of influence.

STORES TAKEN ON PATROL

ITEM:	Amount Taken on Patrol	HOW ISSUED					General Use	Amount Returned to Store
		Issues to Police	Issues to & Carriers	Payment of Carriers	Purchase of Food	Hire of Canoes		
		Interpreters						
Meat lbs	160	18	162				-	
Tobacco stks	400	36	220	144			-	
Matches boxes	36	12	24				-	
Margarine lbs	6	2	4				-	
Soap lbs	10	2	8				-	
Sugar lbs	15	4	11				-	
Rice lbs	784	84	700				-	
Paint, Face lbs	4			1	3		-	
Oil, Rifle pts	1	1					-	
Flannellette yds	3	3					-	
Kerosene gls	2	1				1	-	
Girigiri lbs	28			20	8		-	
Salt lbs	224	1	10	100	113		-	
Beans lbs	8			3	5		-	
Tomahawks ea	8				8		-	

50'  
5°00'

143°00'

10'

20'

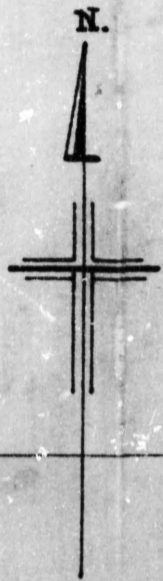
PATROL REPORT

LAIAGAM N°2 of 1956-57.

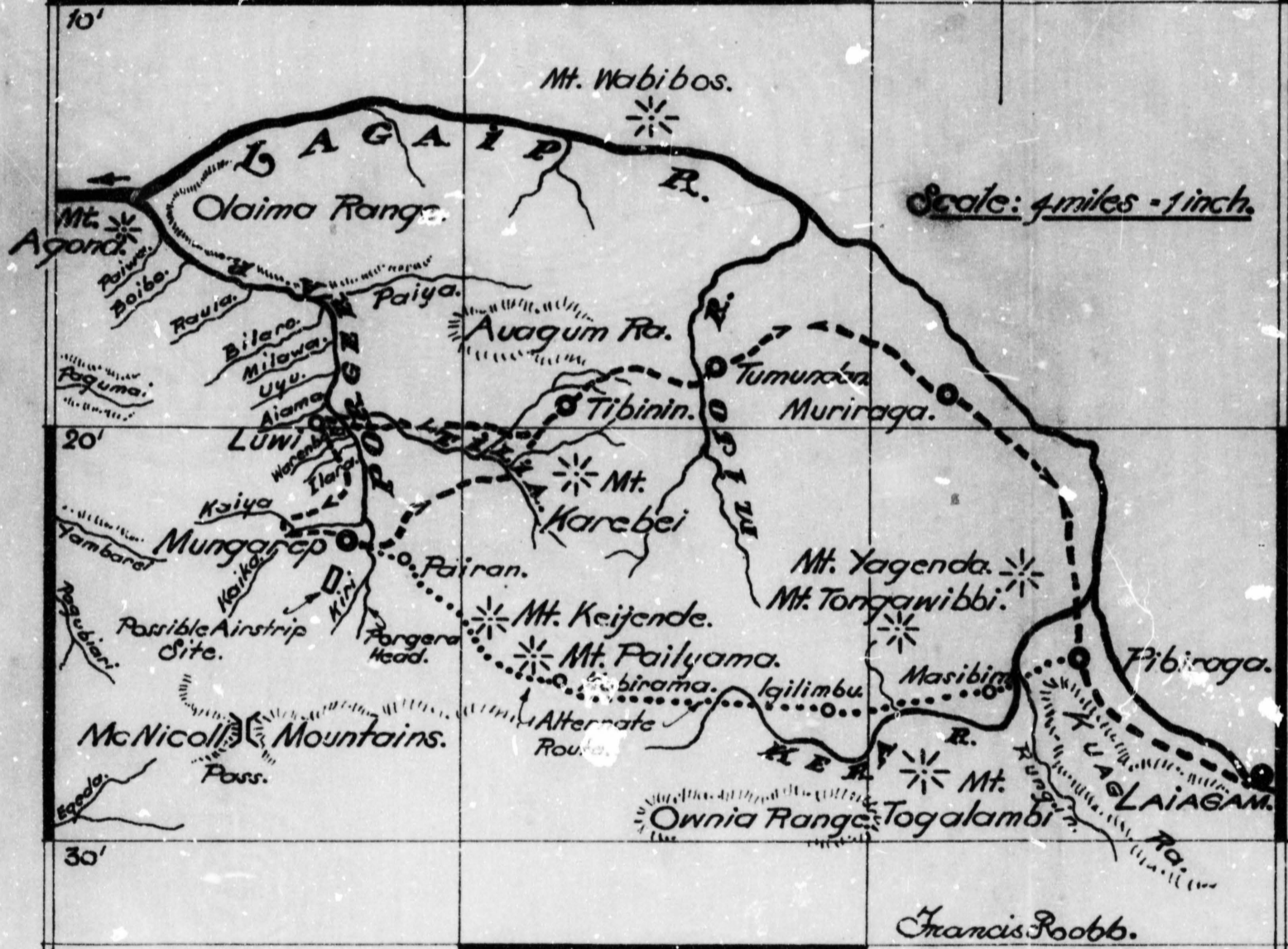
ARMY STRAT SERIES :- WABAG SHEET.

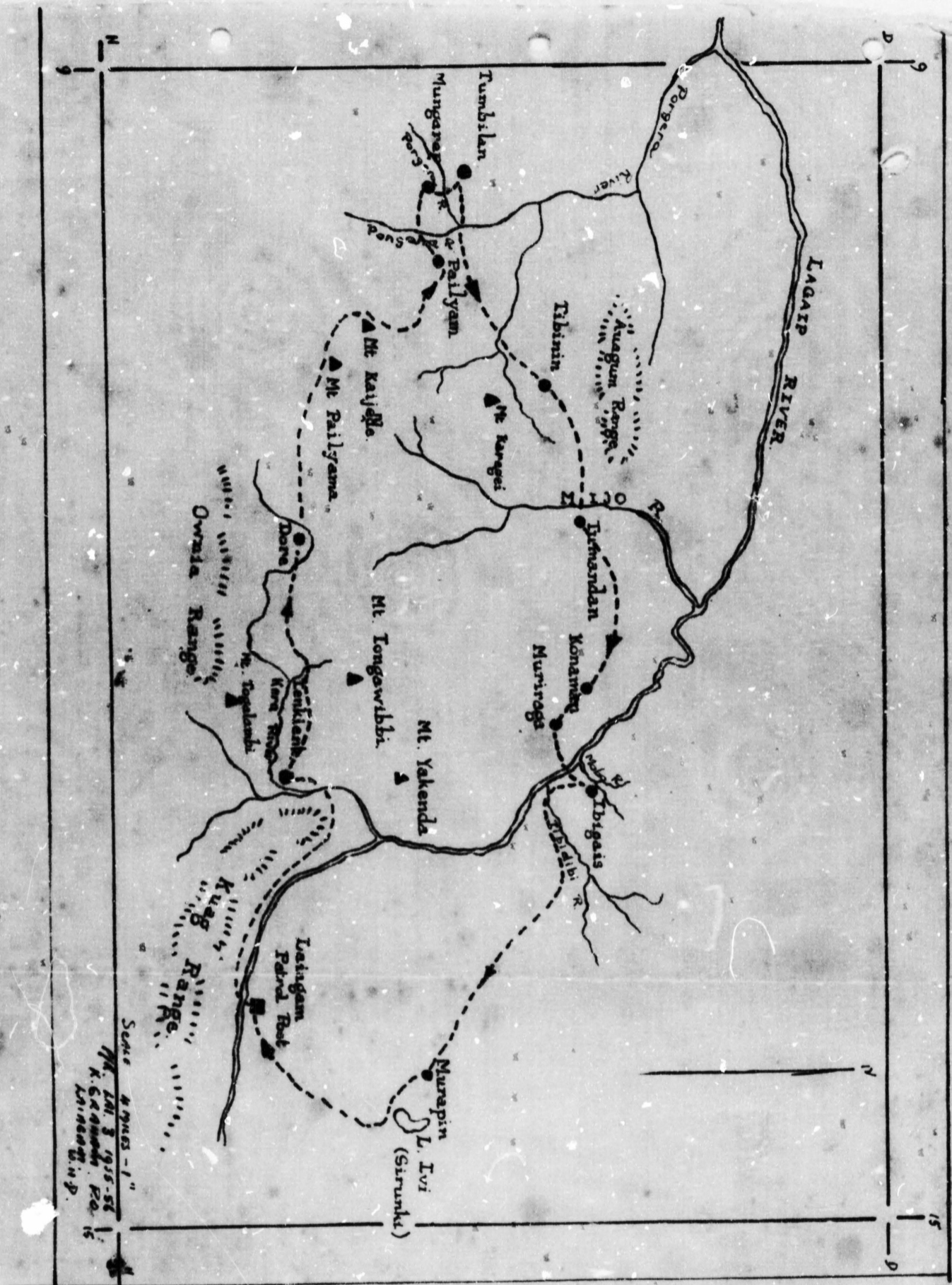
CONDUCTED BY :-

F.P. ROBB, A.D.O.



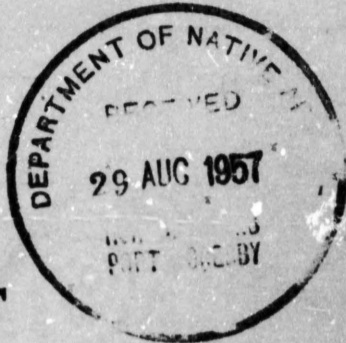
Scale: 4 miles = 1 inch.







TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA



# PATROL REPORT

District of Western Highlands Report No. LAIAGAM 3/1956-57

Patrol Conducted by Graham G. Hardy, Patrol Officer

Area Patrolled MURIRAGA, TUMUNDAN, WALYA, WYILI, YEIM and IORIAGA areas of the LAGAIP Valley

Patrol Accompanied by Europeans Nil

Natives 13 Police 3 Interpreters 55 carriers.

Duration—From 18/4/1957 to 1/5/1957

Number of Days fourteen (14)

Did Medical Assistant Accompany? No

Nov/Dec. 1956

Last Patrol to Area by—District Services Feb/1957

Medical UNKNOWN /19

Map Reference WABAG Sheet, Strat Series 4 miles to 1 inch

Objects of Patrol Investigation of murders and recent arrest in the area.

Routine Administration

DIRECTOR OF DISTRICT SERVICES  
AND NATIVE AFFAIRS,  
PORT MORESBY.

Forwarded, please.

District Commissioner

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

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

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

.....  
.....  
.....

29/7/1957

30-17-30

2nd September, 1957.

The District Officer,  
Western Highlands District,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

PATROL REPORT - LAIAGAM NO. 3 - 956/57.

Receipt is acknowledged of the above mentioned patrol report.

I concur in the arrangements made for compensation by Mr. Hardy.

The notes under the heading "Native Affairs" give evidence of a thorough and painstaking inquiry into the circumstances surrounding the death of TOKAP.

The attitude of the Headmen towards the maintenance of law and order appears most satisfactory.

The anthropological notes have been brought to the notice of the anthropologist.

The patrol appears to have been well handled and results satisfactory.

*A.A.R.*  
P.R.  
(A.A. Roberts)  
Director.

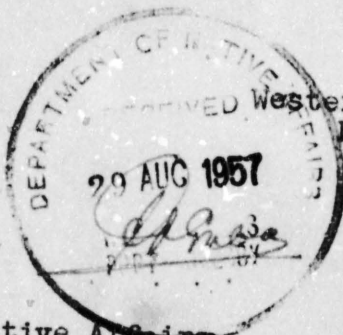
TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

27/7/30 ✓

File No. 30/1-411

Western Highlands District,  
District Office,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

20th August, 1957.



RIS.FG

The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
PORT MORESBY.

Patrol Report - Laiagam No. 3, 1956/57  
Mr G.G. Hardy, Patrol Officer  
Portion of LAGAIP Valley.

Attached, please, is the above report, together with the relevant claim for camping allowance and a copy of the covering comments submitted by the Assistant District Officer, Wabag - memo 30/1-694 of 1st June, 1957.

DIARY: Contains all necessary information but rather "wordy". Omits to summarise walking times each day, a most useful feature for future patrols.

NATIVE AFFAIRS Mr Hardy appears to have dealt with this outbreak very capably. Failure to arrest the three men, YAPIS, MANKERAN and AIOPE was not surprising but they must ultimately be apprehended otherwise the whole point of our intervention in such matters is lost. Further time spent in the area might have produced more long-reaching results. Although it is policy to bring major offenders to trial, Mr Hardy acted wisely in ensuring that compensation was paid. At this stage of development of these people a debt is not discharged by legal proceedings but retaliatory action can be avoided by reasonable compensation thus contributing to the peace of the area.

The reference to YEIM Valley is very interesting and leads me to wonder how many hundred such valleys are scattered about the Territory awaiting discovery.

The two TUMANDAM headmen did very well indeed to apprehend and deliver the man TUYER.

ROADS AND BRIDGES It is apparent that patrolling conditions in this area, particularly during wet weather, are not particularly pleasant.

APPENDIX A ANTHROPOLOGICAL WAMBIRIP shows all the indications of "ill-digested Christianity" mentioned by Williams (the late F.E. Williams, Anthropologist, Territory of Papua) but just how the "Son of AIN" could have gathered any religious teachings, however, vague, at the time he first sponsored his movement is not clear. It is understood that Mr N.B. Blood, formerly A/ADO Mount Hagen, submitted a report on this matter circa 1944 but, unfortunately the report cannot be located at Mount Hagen. WAMBIRIP will certainly bear watching.

Contacts made on this patrol will be useful when the extension of influence to the west is commenced.

MAP The sketch map accompanying the report may not be geographically accurate in all detail but serves its purpose quite well.

COMMENTS BY ASSISTANT DISTRICT OFFICER, WABAG

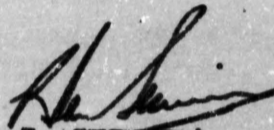
Legal opinion, regarding various points connected with these cases, has been sought through your Headquarters.

An early follow-up patrol of this area would be advantageous but with both Messrs Hardy and Worcester "off patrolling" for health reasons and with no other experienced officer available, it is hard to see how this will be possible.

CONCLUSION

Mr Hardy, who is in his third term of service, carried out a useful patrol and did well to effect the arrest of the men involved in the April unrest without incident.

It is unfortunate that Mr Hardy's health will probably interfere with his future patrolling activities.



(R.I. SKINNER)  
District Commissioner.



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1-411

Western Highlands District,  
District Office,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

20th August, 1957.

RIS.FG

The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
PORT MORESBY.

Patrol Report - Laigan No. 3, 1956/57  
Mr G.G. Hardy, Patrol Officer  
Portion of LAGAIP Valley.

Attached, please, is the above report, together with the relevant claim for camping allowance and a copy of the covering comments submitted by the Assistant District Officer, Wabag - memo 30/1-694 of 1st June, 1957.

**DIARY:** Contains all necessary information but rather "wordy". Omits to summarise walking times each day, a most useful feature for future patrols.

**NATIVE AFFAIRS** Mr Hardy appears to have dealt with this outbreak very capably. Failure to arrest the three men, YAPIS, MANKERAN and AIOPE was not surprising but they must ultimately be apprehended otherwise the whole point of our intervention in such matters is lost. Further time spent in the area might have produced more long-reaching results. Although it is policy to bring major offenders to trial, Mr Hardy acted wisely in ensuring that compensation was paid. At this stage of development of these people a debt is not discharged by legal proceedings but retaliatory action can be avoided by reasonable compensation thus contributing to the peace of the area.

The reference to YEIM Valley is very interesting and leads me to wonder how many hundred such valleys are scattered about the Territory awaiting discovery.

The two TUMANDAM headmen did very well indeed to apprehend and deliver the man TUYER.

**ROADS AND BRIDGES** It is apparent that patrolling conditions in this area, particularly during wet weather, are not particularly pleasant.

**APPENDIX A ANTHROPOLOGICAL** WAMBIRIP shows all the indications of "ill-digested Christianity" mentioned by Williams (the late F.E. Williams, Anthropologist, Territory of Papua) but just how the "Son of AIN" could have gathered any religious teachings, however, vague, at the time he first sponsored his movement is not clear. It is understood that Mr N.B. Blood, formerly A/ADO Mount Hagen, submitted a report on this matter circa 1944 but, unfortunately the report cannot be located at Mount Hagen. WAMBIRIP will certainly bear watching.

Contacts made on this patrol will be useful when the extension of influence to the west is commenced.

**MAP** The sketch map accompanying the report may not be geographically accurate in all detail but serves its purpose quite well.

COMMENTS BY ASSISTANT DISTRICT OFFICER, WABAG

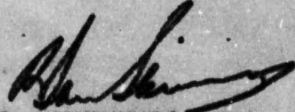
Legal opinion, regarding various points connected with these cases, has been sought through your Headquarters.

An early follow-up patrol of this area would be advantageous but with both Messrs Hardy and Worcester "off patrolling" for health reasons and with no other experienced officer available, it is hard to see how this will be possible.

CONCLUSION

Mr Hardy, who is in his third term of service, carried out a useful patrol and did well to effect the arrest of the men involved in the April unrest without incident.

It is unfortunate that Mr Hardy's health will probably interfere with his future patrolling activities.



(R.I. SKINNER)  
District Commissioner

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1 - 694.

Sub-District Office,  
Western Highlands District,  
W A B A G.

1st June, 1957.

The District Commissioner,  
Western Highlands District,  
MOUNT HAGEN.


Subject: Laiagam Patrol Report No. 3 of 1956/57.

Enclosed herewith please find copies of the above-mentioned Patrol Report, Submitted by Mr. G. G. Hardy, Patrol Officer, together with claim for payment of Patrol Allowance.

2. The Patrol in question was primarily for the purpose of arresting those participating in a number of murders and the destruction of property and it was carried out by a single Officer in a small, mountainous area, barely penetrated by Patrols. Mr. Hardy is to be congratulated upon the manner in which this Patrol was conducted, in the fact that some forty odd uncontrolled natives were arrested without incident and in most difficult terrain. The writer considers that Mr. Hardy did an exceptionally fine job of work.

3. The question of punishment for these murderers is complicated by the fact, firstly, that one or two of them should have known better, whilst certain others did not and, secondly, by the fact that the only witnesses, where available, were members of the raiding party. Details of the various murders are being collected and an opinion will be sought of the Crown Law Office regarding possible prosecution under the Criminal Code.

4. It would appear that an attempt will be necessary to bring this area on the northern bank of the Laiagam River and as far west as the KENNA people of the Porgera mouth under a measure of control and a further Patrol during the present dry season, will be undertaken for this purpose. Whilst this area is quite mountainous it is comparatively sparsely populated and the peoples have knowledge of the Administration due to their intercourse with the peoples on the south bank of the Laiagam River.

  
.....  
(Francis P.V. Rebb.)

Assistant District Officer.

Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

Patrol Post,  
LAIAGAM, W.H.D.

May 4, 1957.

Asst. District Officer,  
W A B A G. W.H.D.

PATROL REPORT LAIAGAM No.3 of 1956-57.

PATROL CONDUCTED BY: Graham G. Hardy, Patrol Officer.

AREAS PATROLLED: MURIRAGA, TUMUNDAN, WALYA, WYILI, YEIM and  
PORIAGA areas of the LAGAIP Valley.

DURATION: 18.4.57 to 1.5.57 - 14 days.

PATROL ACCOMPANIED BY: Europeans: Nil  
Natives: Police 2 NCOs, 11 Constables.  
Interpreters 3.  
Carriers 55.

DID MEDICAL ASSISTANT  
ACCOMPANY ?

No.

LAST PATROL TO AREA WALYA and WYILI areas Nov./Dec. 1956  
MURIRAGA, TUMUNDAN Feb. 1957  
YEIM Not previously visited by patrols.

BY P.H.D. Not known.

MAP REFERENCE Sketch map only, overlay of Strat. Series  
4 miles to 1 inch, WABAG Sheet.

OBJECTS OF PATROL To investigate recent murders and unrest  
in the area.  
Routine administration.

DIARY

April 18,  
Thurs.

Leaving LAIAGAM at 0720 hrs, the patrol crossed to the south bank of the LAGAIP River and walked along the vehicle road, the end of which was reached at 0800 hrs, a distance of about 2 miles. From here a very muddy track was followed to the KERA River, which was reached at 0855 hrs. The crossing over a shaky native suspension bridge took quarter of an hour, and the patrol then climbed steeply to some height above the LAGAIP River, where the track was in much better shape. A light shower of rain fell about 1000 hrs. MURIRAGA Resthouse was reached at 1300 hrs. Alt. 7,000 feet a.s.l. Light rain fell at night.

April 19,  
Friday.

Departing MURIRAGA at 0715 hrs, the patrol walked over the track to TUMUNDAN, which, apart from short sections recently remade, was in poor condition with many bog holes. TUMUNDAN Resthouse was reached at 1140 hrs, Alt. 7,600 feet a.s.l. Investigations were begun into murders and house burning in the area. Steady rain fell during the afternoon and again during the night.

April 20,  
Saturday.

Departing TUMUNDAN at 0720 hrs, the patrol went back along the MURIRAGA track for about half a mile, and then along a very bad track heading generally north-west towards the MIJO River. The bridge over this river, which was reached at 0755, took a quarter of an hour to negotiate, and TAGARI Ceremonial Ground was reached at 0840 hrs, beside AWARI Creek. Here some men from WALYA joined the patrol, and the track continued on northwesterly, the crest of TUBURAGU Range being reached at 1000 hrs. The descent to PORGERA Creek was over a poor track, and, after crossing this latter stream, a more northerly direction was taken, crossing numerous small tributaries of WANYUM Creek. At 1430 hours, the patrol surprised a small party of natives engaged in stealing pigs in a garden area known as DI. They promptly departed into the bush, carrying some of their loot with them. At 1445 hrs, pitching of camp began on a grassy knoll overlooking the above gardens, known as POROGOMP. Alt. 5,875 feet a.s.l. Const. AGAR-ANTA, TAMGU and SAMU were sent down to the LAGAIP River to inspect the bridge, which had been reported destroyed. They returned at 1800 hrs, to report that local natives were engaged in rebuilding it. Night guard mounted. Rain during the night.

April 21,  
Sunday.

In camp at POROGOMP. Consts. TONGE and IPA left the camp at 0730 hrs to examine the places where a man and his son were recently murdered. They returned at 1630 hrs. During the day other police inspected burnt houses and ruined gardens in the vicinity of the camp. A few local natives were at the camp, with a small amount of food for sale. Investigations continued and discussions held with them. Night guard mounted. Heavy rain during the night.

April 22,  
Monday.

Camp was broken at 0715 hrs, and the patrol followed a track descending in a northerly direction towards the bridge over the LAGAIP River, which was reached at 0900 hrs. Alt. 4,200 feet a.s.l. A very slow crossing was completed by 0945 hrs. The track then climbed steadily through heavy rain forest, until the first gardens were reached at 1045 hrs, at alt. 5,000 a.s.l. Continuing on through alternate gardens and forests, ARUA Creek was reached at 1300 hrs. After crossing this stream, a steep climb over an extensive landslide brought the patrol to WYILI at 1400 hrs, where a small resthouse had been built. Alt. 6,000 feet a.s.l. A large number of local natives were gathered there, and a good supply of food was bought. Night guard mounted. Heavy rain at night.

April 23,  
Tuesday.

Consts. TAMGU and KOKIA were left at WYILI with part of the patrol supplies and a number of carriers, when the rest of the patrol set off at 0715 hrs, following a track generally northwesterly, crossing numerous small streams on the way. MENK Creek was crossed and after following TOGOM Creek for a short distance, a steep climb brought the party to the crest of the range on the southern side of YEIM Valley at midday. Alt. 8,100 feet a.s.l. An equally steep descent followed, and a Ceremonial Ground TOGOM was reached at 1310 hrs, where camp was pitched. Alt. 6,800 feet a.s.l. A good supply of food was bought. Showery conditions prevailed from mid-afternoon into the night. Night guard set.

April 24,  
Wednesday.

In camp at TOGOM. Food was bought, and a head count taken late in the morning. In the afternoon I walked some distance down the valley to a ridge known as ENUP, from which a view could be obtained down the steep gorge of MAJIUMP Creek towards the LAGAIP River. Rain began to fall from mid afternoon onwards. Night guard set.

April 25,  
Thursday.

In camp at TOGOM. Further investigations made in the recent killings. It was learned during the day that one murderer had decamped, taking his goods and chattels with him, and gone to relations among the NERIT people. Food bought. Rain fell during the night. Night guard set.

April 26,  
Friday.

Rain delayed the patrol's early departure until 0730 hrs. Retraced our steps to WYILI Resthouse which was reached at 1320 hrs. Further investigations made. Food bought. Heavy rain during the afternoon, but a fine night. Night guard set.

(4)

April 27,  
Saturday.

In camp at WYLLI. Investigations were completed and arrests made of 6 men wanted for murders, and 33 for the raids on houses and gardens at WALYA. Of these four, two were involved in two murders. Compensations were paid over for some of the victims. A head count was taken in the afternoon, but was not very satisfactory. Four other men wanted for murders were found to have gone into hiding. Heavy rain in the afternoon and night. Night guard set.

April 28,  
Sunday.

Broke camp at 0745 hrs in drizzling rain which lasted about an hour, and walked easterly over a fairly good track, reaching a bridge over MOGISEP Creek after about an hour. The track then led over easy grades through light forest and old overgrown garden areas around the southern side of WAB mountain, until at 1100 hrs, the track went into the bed of UMBAPIT Creek, which was followed down to its junction with BIMB Creek, reached at 1130 hrs. Alt. 5,500 feet a.s.l. A steep climb brought the patrol to FORI-AGA Ceremonial Ground at 1215 hrs, where camp was pitched as drizzly rain began to fall. Alt. 6,500 feet, a.s.l. Plenty of food offered for sale. Rain throughout the afternoon prevented a headcount being taken. During the afternoon, one of the four men wanted for murder mentioned above, blundered into the camp, and upon recognition, promptly arrested. Heavy rain fell at night. Night guard set.

April 29,  
Monday.

Camp was broken at 0620 hrs, and the track followed in a generally easterly direction. YANKU Creek was crossed at 0845, alt. 5,900 feet a.s.l. A steep climb followed to TUMBEP Ceremonial Ground, which was reached at 1015 hours. Alt. 7,200 feet a.s.l. Const. KASIA was awaiting the patrol with additional supplies of rice which had been sent out by the A.D.O. Wabag. Local natives had cooked food for the patrol personnel, so it was 1100 hrs before the long easy descent to the LAGAIP River was commenced. The bridge over the LAGAIP R. was reached at 1215 hrs alt. 6,250 feet a.s.l. After a slow crossing, the patrol climbed steadily over a long kunai ridge to MURIRAGA, which was reached at 1415 hrs. Some food was bought. Rain at night. Guard set over prisoners only.

April 30,  
Tuesday.

At MURIRAGA. Some more compensation payments were witnessed to relatives of deceased in recent murders. A number of other native affairs matters were attended to. Rain in afternoon and night. Watch set over prisoners only.

May 1,  
Wednesday.

The patrol left MURIRAGA for LAIAGAM at 0635 hrs. The KERA River was reached at 1000 hrs, where a new bridge had just been completed. LAIAGAM was reached at midday, just as heavy rain began to fall. Police paraded and dismissed. End of patrol.

-----ooc-----

**INTRODUCTION:** The main purpose of this patrol was to investigate recent murders and unrest in an area north of TUMUNDAN, encompassing both north and south banks of the LAGAIP River. The WALYA, WYILI and PORIAGA areas were visited last in November/December 1956, while a patrol to the PORGERA area conducted by Mr. F. P. Robb, A. D. C. visited MURIRAGA and TUMUNDAN in February of this year. The small valley known as YEIM had not previously been visited by a patrol.

**NATIVE AFFAIRS:** Events prior to the patrol's arrival in the area are as follows: Early in April, one TUYEP of KUNDIK group in the WALYA area, had crossed to YEIM to obtain compensation for alleged sorcery made against his wife by a man of KAMINE group. Apparently negotiations were unsatisfactory, and on April 5, TUYEP was returning to WYILI with a man of KAMINE named TOKAP and a male child KUNDIA aged about 10 years. TUYEP suddenly attacked TOKAP from behind with his axe, and after cutting him a number of times, he speared him. The child KUNDIA fled into the bush and subsequently reported the killing to two local men.

Meanwhile TUYEP had run away to WALYA on the south side of the LAGAIP, where he was taken in custody by two headmen from near TUMUNDAN.

When the KAMINE group heard of the above murder, they immediately began preparations for revenge, and began gathering at WYILI, some men from neighbouring groups being called upon for help. Three KAMINE men on their way to WYILI by a track south of Mt. TOCOM met a headman KANAP of LUMBUK group in the YEIM area, and his wife YUMA who originally came from the WALYA area. They attacked her with axes, inflicting a number of wounds. She was in an advanced state of pregnancy, and apparently the attack brought on labour, for she gave birth to a dead male child shortly after. The woman herself did not die from her wounds until three days later.

After the KAMINE men and their helpers had gathered at WYILI, on April 6 they crossed the LAGAIP River to WALYA. Here the two headmen who had arrested TUYEP called out that they had arrested the cause of the trouble, and for the KAMINE men to return to their own place. In reply the latter set fire to a house. That night both parties remained in the area, but the next day, the locals collected as much of their goods, pigs etc. and went across to the TUMUNDAN side. The KAMINE men then set fire to houses and robbed gardens. In all, eleven houses were burnt.

At the same time, some of the party had gone farther west down the river some miles away, where they ambushed a man LANGAN of YAPARA group, and his son IPA, aged about 10 years, in a garden. These two were killed by axe and arrow wounds, inflicted by 9 of the attackers. There appears to be no motive for these murders, other than a desire to kill somebody. They then rejoined the main party, and all returned to the north of the river, destroying the bridge behind them.

On the evening of April 6, TUYEP and his two custodians arrived at MURIRAGA, en route to LAIAGAM. The two Police temporarily stationed there were at LAIAGAM over the weekend, a Native Medical Assistant and an Interpreter only being at the post. Two MURIRAGA men had been sent by the KAMINE men to waylay TUYEP, but the prompt action of the Interpreter in sending them straight on to LAIAGAM that night possibly averted another killing. They arrived at LAIAGAM in the small hours of Monday



morning, and the matter was reported to me about 7a.m. However word of subsequent murders and house burnings did not reach me until April 14, and preparations were immediately begun for a patrol to investigate.

After April 6, there was no further activity by either side to pay back murders etc.

When the patrol arrived at TUMUNDAN, the people whose houses had been burnt at WALYA were still close to TUMUNDAN resthouse. A few men accompanied the patrol back to WALYA, but the bulk of the people stayed where they were. The natives surprised stealing pigs (See Diary April 20) were later identified as being of the same group as the murdered man and his son, and were only trying to obtain compensation for these two deaths from the people whom they considered initially responsible.

Investigations were begun at TUMUNDAN and WALYA, and the patrol then crossed to WYILI and YEIM. Following these investigations, arrests were made of 6 for murder and 33 for burning houses etc. One of the three men who killed the woman YUMA had fled to the NERIT people, who live to the west somewhere near the KEWA people. Three of those involved in the murders of the man and boy likewise took to the hills, and as they have relatives in the MARAMUNI area, they possibly crossed to them for refuge.

Names of those still at large are:-

Murder of female YUMA	YAPIS of LUMBUK group, reported in the NERIT area.
Murder of males LANGAN and IPA	MANKIRAN and PARANGEN of TANGUN group.
	AIPIOE of TIWIN group.
	Exact whereabouts of these three unknown.

Although most of these people have had little contact with patrols in the past, they have had some indirect contact with the Administration. Patrol personnel reported having seen some men from the YEIM and WYILI areas working at LAIAGAM on the airstrip, having come in with relatives who live closer to MURIRAGA. The cause of the trouble, TUYEP, comes from an area which has had considerably more contact with patrols, and who are well acquainted with the Administration and its aims. Accordingly, proceedings are being taken against the murderers under the Queensland Criminal Code, while the remainder have been dealt with under the Native Administrations Regulations.

Compensations were made during the patrol to relatives of the deceased. At WYILI, adequate compensation was made to relatives of the dead man and his son from YAPARA group, while a propitiatory payment was made to the husband of the deceased woman, with which he declared himself satisfied until full payment could be made at a later date. At MURIRAGA, relatives of the first man killed received some compensation from his attackers group. Four pigs remain to be handed over, and strict instructions were given that this was to be completed as soon as possible, and completion of payment is to be reported to LAIAGAM.

This patrol was the first to enter the small YEIM valley, which is completely hidden by high mountains on every side, the only opening being the deep narrow gorge of MAJIUMP Creek. Information obtained before the patrol's entry into the valley indicated that it was merely a place for hunting and harvesting pandanus fruit in season. However it was found to be quite closely settled, with a larger population than expected (See POPULATION below).

The place was of further interest as being the home of WAMBIRIP, often referred to by other natives as the Son of AIN, who was the instigator of a cargo cult and pigkilling craze, which swept through parts of the WABAG Sub-District soon after the last War. I was able to obtain some information from him on his religious beliefs. (See Appendix 'A', ANTHROPOLOGICAL). He was subsequently arrested for his part in the raid on WALYA, but he was not involved in the murders.

YEIM Valley is formed by MAJIUMP Creek flowing westwards from Mt. ANDARANK, and LAYAM Creek, coming in from the N.N.W. to join the former as it swings sharply south around the western end of Mt. TOGOM., through a deep gorge, towards the LAGAIP. There are three groups in the valley, KAMINE, KIPURA and LUMBUK. These people are the last of the Enga speakers on the northern bank of the LAGAIP R., but the influence of KEWA culture is noticeable (See Appendix 'A' ANTHROPOLOGICAL). Cultivation ranges from about 6,000 feet to about 7,500. Most of the land is very steep, a few small benches on the hillsides affording the only level ground.

The WALYA area is forested country, with scattered garden clearings, lying athwart WANYUM Creek. The population does not appear to be very great. People on the western side are related to IPI people in the PORGERA Valley, where they seem to spend a considerable part of their time. The people to the east have connections with those in the TUMUNDAN area.

WYILI is also a heavily forested area, with scattered gardens, and no great concentrations of population. Throughout all the area there is virtually no kuni country, as the bush soon reclaims any abandoned garden clearings.

The country is well watered by innumerable streams, and as this patrol was made during the wet season, the ground was generally waterlogged. The topography is rough and steep, and a number of landslides of large proportions were seen, and in places the track crossed the face of some of them. A police party from the patrol when it was camped at POROGOMP in the WALYA area, reported seeing two salt springs near WANYUM Creek, where the local natives produce salt by immersing wood in shallow salt water wells, burning this later, and recovering the residue ash. They reported that it was not a very big enterprise, and made scathing remarks about the apparent wastage in salt manufacture. I did not see the springs myself, but it would seem from descriptions of saline residue around them, that their salinity may be rather high.

POPULATION: Attempts were made to take head counts at YEIM, WYILI and PORIAGA. At YEIM and WYILI, the rollup was rather poor, while at PORIAGA rain throughout the afternoon of the patrol's visit prevented it altogether. At WALYA a headcount was not possible as most of the population had gone to TUMUNDAN or to the PORGERA Valley.

POPULATION cont'd: Details of the counts taken and the estimated populations are as follows:

	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Males.</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Adult</u>	<u>Females.</u>	<u>Children</u>
YEIM	61		28	49		27
					Total	<u>165</u>
WYILI	67		20	24		14
					Total	<u>125</u>
Estimated Totals:		YEIM		250 - 300.		
		WYILI		350.		

ROADS & BRIDGES: The track from LAIAGAM to MURIRAGA is being re-built in places, and presents a good surface, but in places it is still very boggy. From MURIRAGA to TUMUNDAN the track is worse, but here again, some work is being done on it. This is being supervised by two Police constables posted at MURIRAGA. After leaving TUMUNDAN the country is generally rough, the track being a small native pad, root strewn and stony, in places following stream beds, or along fallen logs over gullies and depressions. These remarks also mostly apply to the tracks on the northern bank of the LAGAIP. However, because of the efforts of a headman from TUMBEP, opposite MURIRAGA, in places the bush had been cut back, even as far afield as YEIM, which helped improve it to some degree. As this was during the wet season, and rain fell every day or night, the track was usually wet underfoot.

Bridges are native suspension types, built of saplings and cane. Although crossings by them are slow, they are strong structures, and much safer than cane bridges built in other places. Two were rebuilt during the patrol, the one across the LAGAIP to WYILI which had been destroyed by the retreating KAMINE men, and the one over the KERA River, which had become old and unsafe.

It is not good country for carriers, and as this patrol carried mostly two man loads, frequent halts were necessary to allow the carrier line to remain compact. One man loads would allow greater mobility as well as being easier on the carriers.

MEDICAL & HEALTH: No Native Medical Orderly accompanied the patrol, and medical supplies carried were of the first aid variety. Const. ACORANTA efficiently carried out the duties of medical orderly, attending to cuts and bruises suffered by the carriers on the rough tracks. The health of the patrol personnel was good, and no serious injuries were suffered by the carriers through falls etc.

Health of the native population appears good, but a few yaws and tropical ulcers were noticed. The only Aid Post in the area patrolled is at MURIRAGA, but people farther out do not appear particularly interested in seeking treatment there, because of the distance and general apathy. As the patrol medical kit was an elementary one, no treatments were given to local population - it was felt that little or no results could be obtained during the time the patrol was in any area, with the medicines available. Those suffering

MEDICAL & HEALTH cont'd: from Yaws and Tropical Ulcers were urged to seek treatment at MURIRAGA, but probably to little avail. A P.H.D. patrol would probably uncover considerably more illness than is apparent to the casual observer. Some of the prisoners brought in were found to have high spleen rates.

STORES: The patrol carried stocks of rations, viz. rice, meat etc, but these were not used to the extent expected, as in most cases, good supplies of native foods were available. Main trade items used were salt, beads and giri giri shell, the latter being especially popular at YEIM.

RESTHOUSES: Resthouses at MURIRAGA and TUMUNDAN are in fairly good order. There is a small resthouse at WYILI, which is rather a temporary structure. Elsewhere tentage carried by the patrol was utilised, supplemented by huts quickly built of pitpit and pandanus leaves. It is anticipated that resthouses will be built shortly in the YEIM and PORIAGA areas.

FORESTRY: The only timber of apparent value seen during the patrol was that in the low altitude rain-forest on the north bank of the LAGAIP River, between WALYA and WYILI. However its inaccessibility would probably make its exploitation profitable only to native pit saw operations.

AGRICULTURE: Gardens in most cases are built on steep slopes, and in many places, especially the WALYA area, the soil is poor and stony. Sweet potatoe is, of course, the staple, supplemented by sugarcane, taro and bananas in the lower altitudes, and some European vegetables, such as corn, cabbages and potatoes.

The writer noticed that kikuyu grass has become firmly established in the MURIRAGA/TUMUNDAN area, but while its growth seems vigorous, its tendency towards swampy ground tends to make these bogs worse.

MISSIONS: None - the area patrolled is in the Restricted Area.

METEOROLOGICAL & GEOLOGICAL: Altimeter readings were taken at a number of points. However the accuracy of some of these readings seems open to question.

Rain fell during every 24 hours of the patrol, but in almost every case, the patrol was under cover by the time it began.

Some large nuggets of iron pyrites were picked up in a couple of creeks between TUMUNDAN and POROGAMP Camp. In MAJIUMP Creek, YEIM, one dish of gravel was washed for signs of gold with no results. Time, weather and other duties prevented any further activity of this sort.

VILLAGE OFFICIALS: No Luluais and Tultuls have been appointed in the areas visited. A number of so-called "boss-bois" act in a similar capacity, and some would bear consideration

VILLAGE OFFICIALS Cont'd:

as appointees to Lulua, especially AIYU of TUMBEF, who seems to have considerable influence from opposite MURIRAGA as far as YEIM.

MAPPING: A sketch map is attached to this report. It is an overlay of Strat. Series, 4 miles to 1 inch, WABAG Sheet, but as it was not possible to obtain compass bearings of any accuracy on any known points, the positions of points shown are approximate.

CONCLUSION: The main purpose of the patrol was successful, arrests being made of almost all those involved in the recent unrest, and compensation for deaths being either finalised, or payments arranged for the near future. The area seems to have settled down to normal and should remain that way. At least, recent events should not be the cause of further trouble. Except at MURIRAGA and TUMUNDAN, night guards were set, but no untoward incidents occurred, but, of course, these normal precautions should not be dis-continued in the future. It appears that there is no apprehension regarding Administration aims. The arrest of the troublemakers was not followed by undue alarm or concern, and the general attitude towards Administration as an arbitrator would appear to be one of appreciation, rather than the contrary.

While at MURIRAGA the patrol received vague reports of subterfuge and plotting, but investigations revealed nothing. A close watch will be kept from LAIAGAM in case there is some foundation to these rumours. The people in this area seem to be a particularly troublesome lot, and some had managed to become involved in recent events further west.

*G. G. Hardy*  
Graham G. Hardy  
Patrol Officer.

APPENDIX 'A'.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL

WAMBIRIP of KAMINE Group, YEIM Valley.

This man is of interest as the founder of a cargo cult, characterised by mass pig killings, which swept through parts of the WABAG Sub-District just after the War. This apparently was the first time any information had been obtained from the man himself, as he was not seen during the cult's time, and remained somewhat of a mystery. Reports even circulated that he was dead. While he appears to suffer from some form of mental unbalance, he is by no means an idiot. He claims to have had inspirations from God, personified by the Sun, who appointed him a headman, and told him to look after two spears which he always carried. He claims no human being can break these, and they will only be broken when the Earth comes to an end. He also believes that the Sun is the father of all, and the Moon, the Sun's wife, is mother of all.

He disclosed certain prohibitions he imposed on the religious life of his people. Belief in tamberans and any other earthly spirits was forbidden, and appeasement must only be offered to God by the wholesale sacrifice of pigs, as these all belong to God. Hence the widespread killing of pigs. Other prohibitions included stealing of food, adultery and murder, while eating certain types of food, e.g. snakes, was not allowed. He says he first got these ideas from one of his ~~four~~ four brothers, who later died. This brother at the time was God's mouthpiece. Since then, God puts these ideas in his mind, but does not actually speak to him.

In answer to a question about a reference to the end of the Earth, he said he was not sure what would happen to humans, but he thought it possible good people would stay with God, while the evil would be thrown in a fire. However he was not sure of this. This belief could be a fairly recent addition, obtained through vague reports of Mission teachings. However at the time the Cargo Cult began, it is extremely unlikely that he had heard of Missions, so his beliefs are, in all probability, something he thought out himself. His only actual contact with Europeans was a visit to LAIAGAM two or three years ago. He visited the Apostolic Mission at MAMARIS, but says he did not hear any preachings.

He is unmarried, as no woman will have anything to do with him. His "queerness" makes him an object of fear to local natives, who, while they are ready to laugh at his lesser antics, listen to him with some respect. Fear of mention of his name leads many to refer to him as the Son of AIN. His following now appears to have dwindled to negligible proportions, and he expressed his concern over this, and stated it was about time he started his cult off again.

When arrests of troublemakers were made, WAMBIRIP did his best to have himself considered a "killer of men", but despite his efforts, he was found to have played a minor role.

-----oOo-----

Considerable evidence of KEWA influence is noticeable in the YEIM valley. The LUMBUK group, who live at the western end of the valley have trading connections with KEWA and some KEWA men are reported to have married LUMBUK women. When asked if LUMBUK men marry KEWA women, my informants became a bit indignant, as

ANTHROPOLOGICAL cont'd;

thought this was unthinkable. A few KEWA articles were seen, e.g. a string bag with the opening embroidered with black hornbill feathers. Black palm for spears and bows is also obtained from the KEWA people. A few houses were seen from a distance built on high posts in the KEWA manner, roofed and walled with pandanus leaves. I understand these houses have raised sleeping platforms. These people also have long ropes of giri giri shell, as well as having bailer shell. Police with the patrol stated that this last item has not been much used in trade from WABAG, and most probably came up from the SEPIK over native trade routes.

As this patrol was not a routine administrative one, other duties prevented the making of more than superficial observations, as the time was not available to go into more detail. These people would be good go-betweens for contact with the KEWA people as well as with the NERIT people, with whom they also have dealings.

-----000-----

MINUTE TO :-

Mr. Julius,  
Anthropologist,  
Department of Native Affairs.

For your information, please.

P.R.No.3 - 56/57  
Laiagan.  
NA.30-17-30

(A.A. Roberts)  
Director of Native Affairs.  
2/9/57.

(13)

APPENDIX 'B':

LAND ALIENATION IN AREA VISITED.

N I L.



## APPENDIX 'C':

## REPORT ON MEMBERS OF R.P. &amp; N.G.C. ACCOMPANYING PATROL

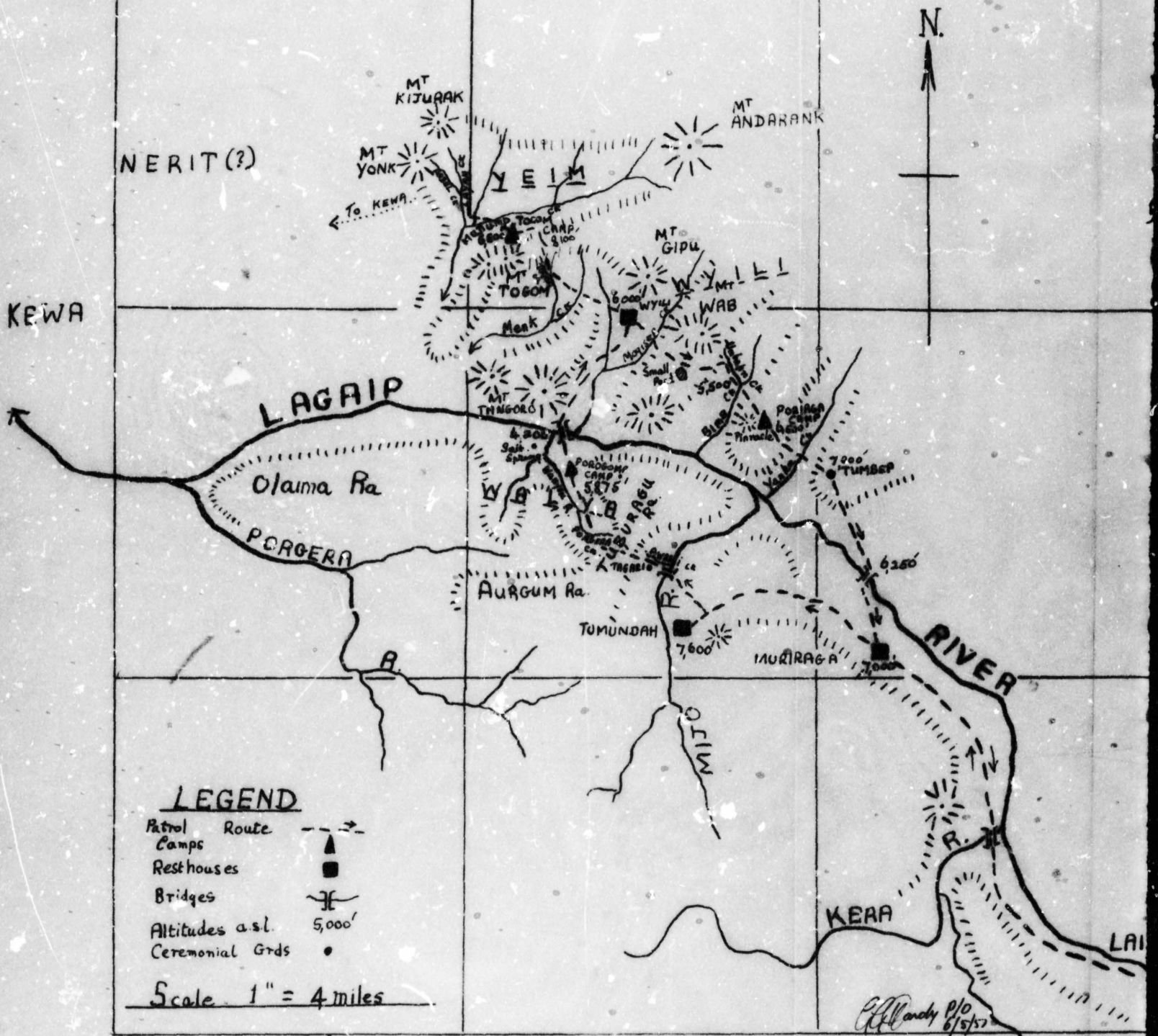
Reg. No.	Name	Conduct	Remarks.
3380	Cpl. NAEOPA	Good	A good, reliable N.C.O.
Z 6.	L/Cpl. IKEIVANNIMA	Good	Fairly recently promoted from Const Shows initiative and dependability.
6131A	Const. AGORANTA	Good	A very good constable, energetic and shows initiative.
8161	Const. IPA	Good	Quiet, but performed his duties satisfactorily.
8260	Const. TAMGU	Good	A cheerful type, who worked satisfactorily.
9167	Const. SAMU	Good	Does not appear to possess much imagination. Worked satisfactorily.
6844	Const. SUMARA	Good	A good type of constable who worked well.
8277	Const. TIJOJO	Good	Worked satisfactorily.
Z 28	Const. KOKIA	Good	A good constable, worked well.
6095	Const. TOGE	Good	A very quiet type, but a particularly willing worker.
9420	Const. RAVAI	Good	His first patrol, but shows promise.
9381	Const. KODI	Good	His first bush patrol, should be a good man with more experience.
9625	Const. KAMBIS	Fair	This man is a confirmed boaster, who is generally useless. He apparently was induced to rejoin the Force last year, and this seems to have given him an exalted idea of his own importance. During this patrol it was noticed that he tried particularly to impress the two youngest members with his past exploits, and I consider his bad influence could jeopardise the future service of young impressionable members.

*G.C. Hardy*  
G.C. Hardy, P/O.  
Officer of R.P. & N.G.C.

50'

143° 00'

10'

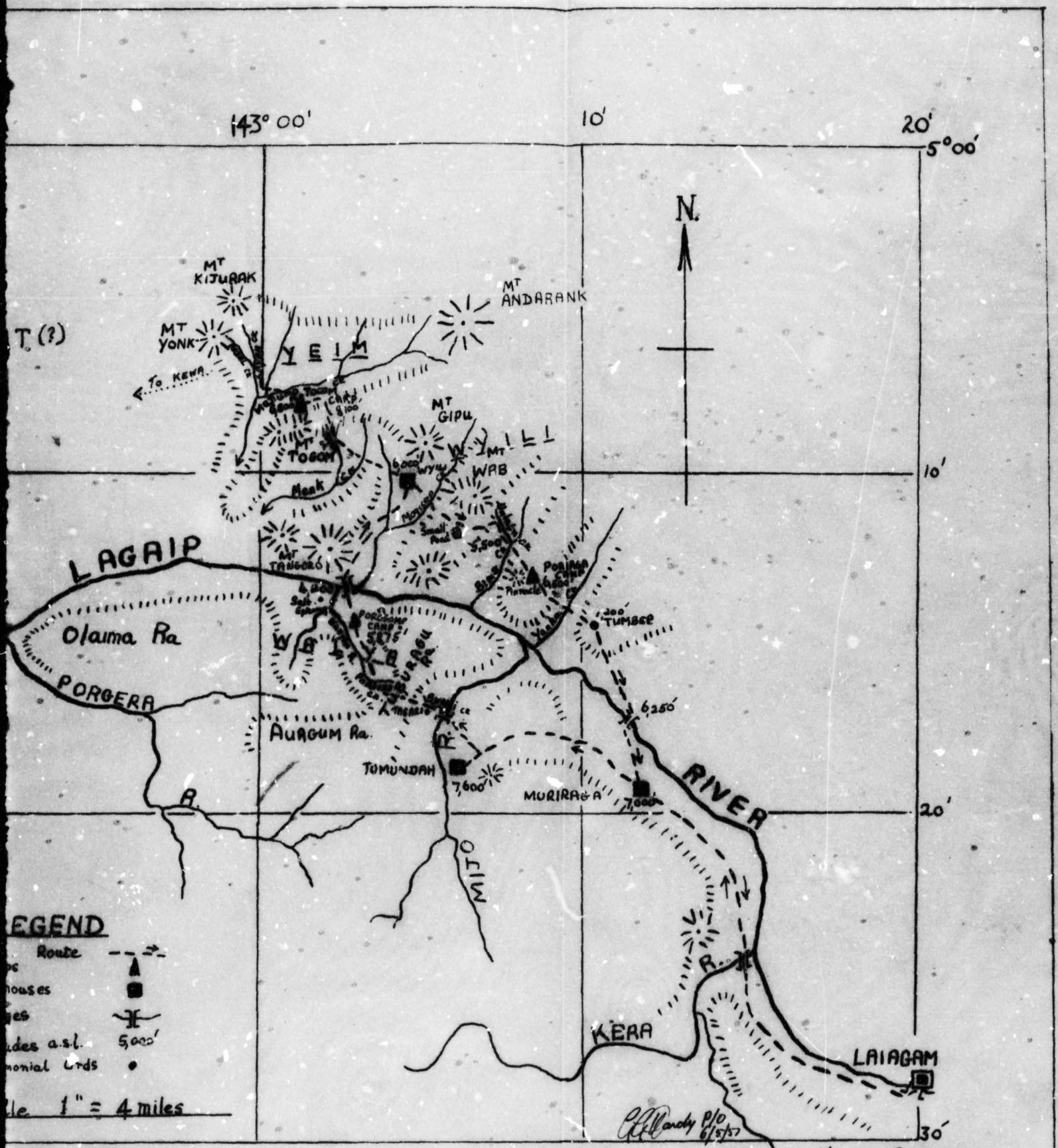


**LEGEND**  
 Patrol Route ---  
 Camps ▲  
 Resthouses ■  
 Bridges ≡  
 Altitudes a.s.l. 5,000'  
 Ceremonial Grds •  
 Scale 1" = 4 miles

Sketch Map Only  
Overlay Strat Series  
WABAG Sheet

**PATROL REPORT**  
**LAIAGAM 3/56-7**  
 CONDUCTED BY: G.G. HARDY P/O

**NATIVE**  
**YEIM:** KAMINE, LUN  
**WYILI:** YAPARA, TAN  
 PUMAN, KAG  
**WALYA:** KUNDIK, MA  
 YAPARA, P  
 PUREIN.



Map Only  
Overlay Strat Series  
TABAG Sheet

PATROL REPORT  
LAIAGAM 3/56-7

CONDUCTED BY: G.G. HARDY, P/O

YEIM: KAMINE, LUMBUK, KIPURA.  
WYILI: YAPARA, TANGUN, TIWIN, MURAPIN, PUMAN, KAGAP.  
WALYA: KUNDIK, MAHARI, MEIANKU, YAPARA, PANDAM, PINDAIN, PUREIN.

NATIVE GROUPS



NA. 20/17/57



TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA



# PATROL REPORT

District of **WESTERN HIGHLANDS** Report No. **LAIAGAM** No. **4/1956-57**.

Patrol Conducted by **Graham G. Hardy, Patrol Officer.**

Area Patrolled **YUGONDA and SIRUNKI areas of the Upper LAI River area.**

Patrol Accompanied by Europeans **Mr. C. Cooper, Cadet Patrol Officer.**

**Natives 6 Police 2 Interpreters.**

Duration—From **28/5/1957** to **14/6/1957**.

Number of Days **Actual days on patrol 17**

Did Medical Assistant Accompany? **No.**

Last Patrol to Area by—District Services **Feb. /1955**.

Medical ...../19.....

Map Reference **Enlarged sketch map overlay Wabag Sheet (Strat.)**

Objects of Patrol **Census and Routine Administration.**

DIRECTOR OF DISTRICT SERVICES  
AND NATIVE AFFAIRS,  
PORT MORESBY.

Forwarded, please.

District Commissioner

29/9/1957

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

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

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

.....  
.....  
.....

A. 30-37-26

10th September, 1957

District Officer,  
MASH

PATROL REPORT NO. A - 1956/57 - IATAGAN

Receipt of the above-mentioned Patrol Report is acknowledged.

The contents contained in the Patrol Report have been adequately covered in your covering memorandum to the Assistant District Officer, MASH, and in Mr. Robb's covering remarks to you.

I shall be interested to see the outcome of the proposed organization of people gathering at occasional grounds for census compilation.

Now is the time to gather and collate information on the local system of land tenure and usage.

I am extremely pleased that the patrol was not rushed and the people had adequate opportunity to discuss their problems with the Patrolling Officer.

A. A. R

(A. A. Roberts)  
District Officer

Y.C.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1-572

Western Highlands District,  
District Office,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

RIS.FG

2nd September, 1957.

The Assistant District Officer,  
WABAG.

Patrol Report - Laiagam No. 4 1956/57  
Mr G.G. Hardy, Patrol Officer  
YUGANDA and SIRUNKI Areas - Upper Lai River

Receipt of Report, under cover of your 30/1-77 dated 6th August, 1957, and received 21st August, 1957, is acknowledged. A copy only of this Report was received from you but the original has since been forwarded here by the Director of Native Affairs to whom it was apparently sent in error from your Office.

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL:

Mr Hardy's preliminary traverse of the area probably had the effect of facilitating later census work, which appears to have been done in a thorough manner. Care must be taken of the typewritten sheets otherwise this work will have been wasted.

The seasonal migratory habits of these people will always be a problem, as will the food shortage caused by frost which causes these migrations. Discussions with members of the Department of Agriculture indicate that no suitable frost-resistant subsistence crop, likely to be acceptable to these people, is known. It appears that potatoes will provide only a partial answer.

NATIVE AFFAIRS:

As elsewhere, the beneficial effect of community effort on road and aerodrome construction is apparent in general administration.

AGRICULTURE:

See comments above. To convert these people from a root crop to a grain subsistence would be a difficult and slow process. The whole matter will be raised with the District Agricultural Officer.

Conclusion:

It is regrettable that Mr Hardy's health necessitated the premature conclusion of this patrol. Mr Cooke should complete the census of the area as soon as practicable.

It is noted that Mr Cooper accompanied the Patrol.

  
(R.I. SKINNER)  
District Commissioner.

→ The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
PORT MORESBY.

Patrol Report and relevant claim for camping allowance attached, please. The effect of frost on sweet potato in these high areas constitutes a serious problem. Please see my memorandum to District Agricultural Officer.

The matter of Mr Hardy's health has been discussed in separate correspondence.

  
(R.I. SKINNER)  
District Commissioner.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1-572

Western Highlands District,  
District Office,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

RIS.FG

2nd September, 1957.

The Assistant District Officer,  
WABAG.

Patrol Report - Laiagam No. 4 1956/57  
Mr G.S. Hardy, Patrol Officer  
YUGANDA and SIMENKI Areas - Upper Kai River

Receipt of Report, under cover of your 30/1-77 dated 6th August, 1957, and received 21st August, 1957, is acknowledged. A copy only of this Report was received from you but the original has since been forwarded here by the Director of Native Affairs to whom it was apparently sent in error from your Office.

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL:

Mr Hardy's preliminary traverse of the area probably had the effect of facilitating later census work, which appears to have been done in a thorough manner. Care must be taken of the typewritten sheets otherwise this work will have been wasted.

The seasonal migratory habits of these people will always be a problem, as will the food shortage caused by frost which causes these migrations. Discussions with members of the Department of Agriculture indicate that no suitable frost-resistant subsistence crop, likely to be acceptable to these people, is known. It appears that potatoes will provide only a partial answer.

NATIVE AFFAIRS:

As elsewhere, the beneficial effect of community effort on road and aerodrome construction is apparent in general administration.


AGRICULTURE:

See comments above. To convert these people from a root crop to a grain subsistence would be a difficult and slow process. The whole matter will be raised with the District Agricultural Officer.

Conclusion:

It is regrettable that Mr Hardy's health necessitated the premature conclusion of this patrol. Mr Cook should complete the census of the area as soon as practicable.

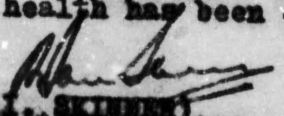
It is noted that Mr Cooper accompanied the Patrol.

  
(R.I. SKINNER)  
District Commissioner.

The Director,  
Department of Native Affairs,  
PORT MORESBY.

Patrol Report and relevant claim for camping allowance attached, please. The effect of frost on sweet potato in these high areas constitutes a serious problem. Please see my memorandum to District Agricultural Officer.

The matter of Mr Hardy's health has been discussed in separate correspondence.

  
District Commissioner.



1  
GPK  
F

30-17-26

22nd August, 1957

The District Commissioner,  
Mount Hagen.

Patrol Report - LESAGAN 4-57/58.

The above mentioned Patrol Report is returned for  
kind favour of your comments, please.

*A.A. Roberts*  
(A.A. Roberts)  
Director

Director,  
Department of Native Affairs 35/1 -  
Pearl Mearns

Attached please find above Patrol Report  
with my covering comments, please. The  
copy had been forwarded here and the original  
had apparently been forwarded to you, in  
error from Wabag. *R. Roberts*

29 August 1957

RECEIVED BY THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER, MOUNT HAGEN, 29 AUGUST 1957

*R. Roberts*  
(A.A. Roberts)

Assistant District Officer.

30-27-26

22nd August, 1957

The District Commissioner,  
Mount Hagen,

Patrol Report - LITAGAN 4-27/57.

The above mentioned Patrol Report is returned for  
kind favour of your comments, please.

*[Handwritten Signature]*  
(A. A. Roberts)  
Director

Director,  
Department of Native Affairs 35/11 -  
Pearl Harbour

Attached please find above Patrol Report  
with my covering comments, please. The  
copy had been forwarded here and the original  
had apparently been forwarded to you, in  
error from Litagan

*[Handwritten Signature]*

29 August 1957

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1 - 77.

Sub-District Office,  
Western Highlands District,  
W A B A G.

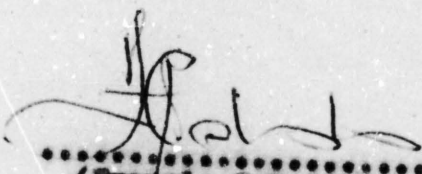
6th August, 1957.

The District Commissioner,  
Western Highlands District,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

Subject: Laigun Patrol Report No.4 of 1956/57 - YUGONDA and  
JINNEY Areas - Mr.G.G.Eady, Patrol Officer.

Enclosed herein please find copies of the above-numbered  
Patrol Report.

2. As will be noted, the Patrol comprised two sections and was, unfortunately, cut short, due to Mr. Eady proceeding to Curua for medical attention. Due to the fragmentation of the native groups of the JINNEY area and YUGONDA area success taking is difficult and has had chance of succeeding during the rainy season although this of course again militates against full attendance. Mr. Eady's preliminary survey was a good idea in so far as it at least drew in many people who would otherwise have not attended. Whilst this area suffers from seasonal frosts, whilst the ground remains hard and whilst the present system of agriculture persists, there would appear to be little hope of these peoples remaining in their own area on a permanent basis. Unfortunately, their periodic movements into the Upper Iai, the Aitum and the Lagai, either to garden their in-law ground, or to buy kushu gardens, constitute a drain upon the resources of the areas concerned. It would appear that previous census work in the area was of little real value and that the present figures will form the basis of a reliable record.
3. It would be a considerable task to induce these people to accept a frost-resistant staple crop, even should such be available. Full benefit is not gained from the growing of English potatoes, due to the smallness of the vegetable, however this is due to the poor quality of the soil and little can be done in this respect.
4. The question of additional Laluais and Tultuis being appointed was discussed during your recent visit to Laigun. Mr. Worcester is in the process of obtaining details of suitable representatives for appointment.
5. Mr. Cadet Patrol Officer Cooper accompanied the Patrol, this being his first bush work. It would appear that he conducted himself quite creditably.

  
.....  
(Francis P.V. Robb)

Assistant District Officer.

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA.

File No. 30/1 - 77.

Sub-District Office,  
Western Highlands District,  
W A B A S.

6th August, 1957.

The District Commissioner,  
Western Highlands District,  
MOUNT HAGEN.

Subject: Laigab Patrol Report No. 4 of 1956/57 - YUGONDA and  
SIMINKI Areas - Mr. G. G. Hardy, Patrol Officer.

Enclosed herein please find copies of the above-numbered Patrol Report.

2. As will be noted, the Patrol comprised two sections and was, unfortunately, cut short, due to Mr. Hardy proceeding to Goroka for medical attention. Due to the fragmentation of the native groups of the SIMINKI area and YUGONDA area census taking is difficult and has most chance of succeeding during the rainy season although this of course again militates against full attendance. Mr. Hardy's preliminary survey was a good idea in so far as it no doubt drew in many people who would otherwise have not attended. Whilst this area suffers from continual frosts, whilst the ground remains hard and whilst the present system of agriculture persists, there would appear to be little hope of these peoples remaining in their own area on a permanent basis. Unfortunately, their periodic excursions into the Upper Lal, the Akim and the Lagim, either to garden their in-law's ground, or to buy husband gardens, constitutes a drain upon the resources of the areas concerned. It would appear that previous census work in the area was of little real value and that the present figures will form the basis of a reliable record.

3. It would be a considerable task to induce these people to accept a frost-resistant staple crop, even should such be available. Full benefit is not gained from the growing of English potatoes, due to the smallness of the vegetable, however this is due to the poor quality of the soil and little can be done in this respect.

4. The question of additional Lalmaic and Taltale being appointed was discussed during your recent visit to Laigab. Mr. Worcester is in the process of obtaining details of suitable representatives for appointment.

5. Mr. Cadet Patrol Officer Cooper accompanied the Patrol, this being his first bush work. It would appear that he conducted himself quite creditably.

  
.....  
(Francis P.V. Robb)

Assistant District Officer.

2/17/76 ✓

TERRITORY OF PAPUA AND NEW GUINEA

Patrol Post,  
LAIAGAM, W.H.D.  
June 27, 1957.

Asst. District Officer,  
Sub-District Office,  
W A B A G.

LAIAGAM PATROL REPORT No.4 of 1956-57.

PATROL CONDUCTED BY:

Graham G. Hardy, Patrol Officer

AREA PATROLLED:

YUGONDA and SIRUNKI areas of the  
Upper LAI River region.

DURATION:

28.5.57 to 1.6.57 and 3.6.57 to  
15.6.57 - 17 days.

PATROL ACCOMPANIED BY:

Europeans - Mr. C. Cooper, Cadet Patrol  
Officer.

Natives - Police 1 NCO and 5 Consts.  
2 interpreters.

Did Medical Asst. Accompany

No.

LAST PATROL TO AREA:

February, 1958.

BY PUBLIC HEALTH DEPARTMENT:

MAP REFERENCE:

Attached Sketch Map, enlarged  
overlay of Strat Series 4 miles  
to 1 inch, WABAG Sheet.

PURPOSES OF THE PATROL:

Compilation of Census and Rout-  
ine Administration.

-----oO-----



D I A R Y.

- Tuesday,  
May 28th. Departed LAIAGAM at 0900 hrs, walked along the LAIAGAM-KEPILAM road for about an half hour, and then turned off along the track to YUGONDA, climbing steadily along the Northern side of the LAGAIP Valley. YUGONDA reached at 1250 hrs. Mr.P.O.Wright and Mr.C.P.O.Sherwen arrived from WABAG at 1350 hrs. Word sent for all natives in the area to assemble on the morrow. Camped in Resthouse. Alt.8,900.
- Wednesday,  
May 29th. At YUGONDA. Talks held with local natives, advising them of the coming census etc. Discussed with Mr.Wright which groups in the Upper Lai area are to be censused from Wabag and which are to be censused from Laiagam.
- Thursday,  
30th.May. Departed Yugonda at 0815 hrs, and proceeded along the YUGONDA-SIRUNKI track. YUGISANDA Ceremonial Ground was reached at 1015 hrs. After a short spell, Messrs.Wright and Sherwen took the track towards the LAI River and KUBALIS, while self and Mr.Cooper followed the track to SIRUNKI. This was reached at midday, a visit being paid to the Lutheran Mission on the way. Many local natives gathered at SIRUNKI in the afternoon, and they were acquainted with the census. Camped in Resthouse. Alt. 8,600.
- Friday,  
May 31st. Departing SIRUNKI at 0800, the patrol headed along the SIRUNKI-MURIRAGA track, skirting Lake IVIVA on the northern side. At 1000hrs, a number of MURAPIN people were met, gathered on the road, and they were advised of the census. After a short stop, the patrol continued on, and reached the bridge over the LAGAIP River at 1400 hrs. Camp was pitched at an old resthouse site nearby. A good number of local natives arrived at the camp during the afternoon, and they were advised of the requirements of the census.
- Saturday,  
June 1st. Broke camp at 0630 hrs, crossed the LAGAIP River, and climbed steeply to the MURIRAGA-LAIAGAM Road, which was reached at 0650 hrs. Then followed the track to LAIAGAM, crossing the KERA River en route, and arrived at LAIAGAM at 1030 hrs. Patrol personnel dismissed for the week end.
- Monday,  
June 3rd. Departed LAIAGAM at 0915, walked along the road to KEPILAM until the turn-off to WANIFAS Catholic Mission was reached at 0945. After a short stay at the Mission, the patrol moved on and reached MIAP Ceremonial Ground at 1130 hrs. Census taken of TANDALA and YEERA Sub-clans of the KIAGA clan, a total of 85 names. Departed MIAP at 1400 hrs, and reached KAB Ceremonial Ground fifteen minutes later. Census taken of TUBAKI, IPAI and KURUM Sub-Clans of TAMAGALI Clan, a total of 262 names. Leaving at 1710 hrs. reached TAMBUS Ceremonial Ground at 1740 hrs, where camp had already been pitched. Heights taken: MIAP 8,360, KAB 8,790, TUMBAS 8,310.

- Tuesday,  
June 4th. Census taken of SAGAN and LEYAN Sub-clans of KANDAPAP Clan at TAMBUS, a total of 202 names. A couple of disputes were brought up for settlement. Departed TAMBUS at 1300 hrs, and reached YUGONDA one hour later. Arrangements for census on the morrow. Alt. 8,900.
- Wednesday,  
June 5th. At YUGONDA. Census taken of MARA and YUNAP Sub-clans of PELYEEN Clan, a total of 220 names. A few minor disputes attended to.
- Thursday,  
June 6th. Departed YUGONDA at 0800 hrs. along the track to SIRUNKI. At 0850, the salt springs were reached, where about half an hour was spent in watching some natives preparing wood for burning salt. At 0930 hrs. KINABURAM Ceremonial Ground was reached where census of ABARENT Sub-clan of IRARI Clan was taken, a total of 155 names. Moved on at 1230 hrs. and reached KAIAP Ceremonial Ground 20 minutes later. Census of section of TAMUIN Sub-clan of YOWE Clan, and EP Sub-clan of WOILYARNK Clan, a total of 55 names. Left at 1400 hrs and reached TUGI-SANDA Ceremonial Ground where camp was pitched. Alt. 8,600.
- Friday,  
June 7th. Census at TUGISANDA of remainder of TAMUIN Sub-clan and KARATOP Sub-clan of YOWE Group, a total of 229 names. Left TUGISANDA at 1300 hrs and reached WAIBIARAM Ceremonial Ground at 1335 hrs. where camp was pitched. Census of PIAGOP Sub-clan of IRARI clan, a total of 103 names. Alt. 8,750.
- Saturday,  
June 8th. Census of ARIPIRA Sub-clan of IRARI Clan, a total of 132 names. Departed WAIBIARAM at 1130 hrs. and reached PORGORESS Ceremonial Ground at 1230 hrs. Census of another section of ABARENT Sub-clan and PUMAN Sub-clan of IRARI Clan, a total of 195 names. Camp pitched. Alt. 8,590.
- Sunday  
June 9th. At PORGORESS, observed.
- Monday,  
June 10th. Census at PORGORESS of PEGIARM Sub-clan of IRARI Clan, a total of 127 names. Departed at 1030 hrs, crossed the REIMA River to WARUNAMBURAM Ceremonial Ground, which was reached at 1100 hrs. Census taken of MARNGURA and MARIP Sub-clans of AMBUSI Clan, a total of 216 names. Camped. Alt. 8,300.
- Tuesday,  
June 11th. Departed WARUNAMBURAM at 0815 hrs, and reached KUREARAM Ceremonial Ground at 0845 hrs. Census of YORE Sub-clan of LAKOWEA Clan, a total of 225 names. Camped. Alt. 8,350.
- Wednesday,  
June 12th. Departed KUREARAM at 0820 hrs, and reached KAIPAR Ceremonial Ground at 0855 hrs. Census of AMBELI and TENGEN Sub-clans of AIAGAN Clan, a total of 121 names. Departed KAIPAR at 1030 hrs, walked up to the WABAG/LAIAGAM Road, and reached SIRUNKI Rest-house at 1110 hrs. A Court for Native Affairs held in the Afternoon for Unlawfully Striking. A couple of other minor matters attended to. Alt. 8,600.

Thursday,  
June 13th.

Departed SIRUNKI at 0800 hrs, walked along the road towards LAIAGAM and reached KAIPAR Ceremonial Ground at 0855 hrs, on the western side of the SIRUNKI Swamp. About five minutes walk back to TADIOK Ceremonial Ground, where census taken of SANDARA and PONAP Sub-clans of PAP clan, a total of 232 names. A short distance to TAMBIN Ceremonial Ground where 80 names were recorded for the ARUTI Sub-clan of WAIRIN Clan. Returned to KAIPARI, where camp had been pitched. Alt. 8,400.

An initial census of the social unit was taken at the factory, special not being shown. Also local heads there had been taken. This census was approached as an initial one. Names were recorded at Ceremonial Grounds, sub-divisions being clans and sub-clans, within the wider more loosely knit groups. Statistics

Friday,  
June 14th.

Census at KAIPARI of MENK and KOPIANGA Sub-clans of WAPAN Clan, and NEIM Sub-clan of PAFI Clan, a total of 171 names. A Court for Native Affairs held, the offence being Contempt of Court. Broke camp at 1330 hours, and walked along the road in the direction of LAIAGAM. Heavy rain began to fall and when YAMARA Ceremonial Ground was reached one hour after leaving KAIPARI, tents were erected, and the bulk of the patrol's gear stored therein. As the rain continued, decided to proceed to LAIAGAM, which was reached at 1600 hrs.

Remove confusion made to the area. Consider this was time well spent. Also, by recording census at individual Ceremonial Grounds, possible confusion was avoided.

As the YUGONDA and SIRUNKI areas are generally above 8,000 feet a.s.l. and are subject to frost, it was hoped to complete the patrol at this point. The patrol was dis-continued at this point. The end of the wet season and the beginning of the frosts. An abnormally long wet season shortened this time to an estimated six weeks to eight weeks. The people from these high altitudes migrate to the NABAMUNI, ANEUN, LAI and LAGAIP Valleys during the frost season, and it would be impossible to complete the census after the arrival of the first major frosts. However the patrol had to be finalised before the census was completed. All the people in the YUGONDA area were recorded. End of Diary. The accompanying sketch map will show which people were censused in the SIRUNKI area.

Because of the migratory tendency noted above, there is considerable fragmentation even at the sub-clan level, particularly between the SIRUNKI/YUGONDA areas on the one hand, and the LAGAIP Valley on the other. Consequently a complete appreciation of the social and population pattern can only be made when a census is completed of all the people in the LAGAIP Valley. Associated with the social fragmentation is fragmentation of the land holdings, which will be an ever-increasing cause for litigation, especially with an increasing population in years to come.

The patrol was well received at all points, but to prevent any undue burden on local food supplies casual carriers only were employed, and rations were carried.

NATIVE AFFAIRS:

The native situation is satisfactory. Very few complaints were brought up for adjudication, and there were two Courts for Native Affairs, one for Assault, and the other for a Contempt of Court arising out of the former. It appears some people have not a misconception on the census and its effect on land ownership. People from the northern bank of the REINA River expressed concern



INTRODUCTION & GENERAL:

The main purposes of this patrol were census taking and routine administration. An initial census had been taken about five years ago, but as the social unit used as a basis was the large "group", it was unsatisfactory, specific localities and divisions of clans and sub-clans not being shown, and so it served little better than a head count. Also local headmen expressed themselves dissatisfied with it, as there had been considerable "poaching" by neighbours in the first instance. These previous census books were, in the main, disregarded, and this census was approached as an initial one. Names were recorded at Ceremonial Grounds, sub-divisions being clans and sub-clans, within the wider more loosely knit group. Statistics have been compiled at the sub-clan level and sub-clans are distinctly shown in the census records, together with their respective Ceremonial Grounds. As new census books were not available, all names etc. were typewritten, to be entered into books at a later date.

To facilitate census recording and to remove confusion in the peoples minds, a preliminary visit was made to the area, so they could be acquainted with the requirements of the forthcoming census beforehand. I consider this was time well spent, as there was negligible absenteeism, and no confusion resulted. Also, by recording census at individual Ceremonial Grounds, possible confusion was avoided.

As the YUGONDA and SIRUNKI areas are generally above 8,000 feet a.s.l. and are subject to frost, it was hoped to complete the census in the interval between the end of the wet season and the beginning of the frosts. An abnormally long wet season shortened this time to an estimated six weeks to eight weeks. The people from these high altitudes migrate to the MARAMUNI, AMBUN, LAI and LAGAIP Valleys during the frost season, and it would be impossible to complete the census after the arrival of the first major frosts. However the patrol had to be finalised before the census was completed. All the people in the YUGONDA area were recorded, but reference to the accompanying sketch map will show which people were censused in the SIRUNKI area.

Because of the migratory tendency noted above, there is considerable fragmentation even at the sub-clan level, particularly between the SIRUNKI/YUGONDA areas on the one hand, and the LAGAIP Valley on the other. Consequently a complete appreciation of the social and population pattern can only be made when a census is completed of all the people in the LAGAIP Valley. Associated with the social fragmentation is fragmentation of the land holdings, which will be an ever-increasing cause for litigation, especially with an increasing population in years to come. Th

The patrol was well received at all points, but to prevent any undue burden on local food supplies casual carriers only were employed, and rations were carried.

NATIVE AFFAIRS:

The native situation is satisfactory. Very few complaints were brought up for adjudication, and there were two Courts for Native Affairs, one for Assault, and the other for a Contempt of Court arising out of the former. It appears some people have put a misconstruction on the census and its effect on land ownership. People from the northern bank of the REIMA River expressed concern

NATIVE AFFAIRS cont'd:

because, it was alleged, people in the AMBUN Valley had said that, as the former had appeared for census near the REIMA River, they forfeited ownership to any land they possessed in the AMBUN. As usual with such complaints, it was impossible to narrow the source of this complaint down to personalities, the inevitable "they" being responsible. The people were assured that the census in no way affected land ownership, and if such land piracy did in fact take place, it was to be reported at once. A Luluai from the AMBUN who visited the patrol was informed of the matter, and told to inform all in his area.

Otherwise, everything appeared in order. Although it is a considerable time since a patrol went through the area, close relations exist between these people and LAIAGAM Station, as they have been working constantly on the airstrip there, as well as on the LAIAGAM/SIRUNKI road. This has given them a chance to quickly air any complaints they might have. However, as they enjoy litigation for litigation's sake, they often bring up the same complaints over and over again.

The patrol visited the salt springs just west of YUGONDA where native salt manufacture was seen in most of its different stages. The owners of this land stated that they wished to control the salt trade by preventing outside natives coming in and manufacturing salt for themselves. By being sole manufacturers, the locals would probably be able to conserve supplies of the special wood which is used in the manufacturing process, as they said inroads by outsiders were depleting supplies of this timber in close proximity to the springs. If they can put these ideas into practice, it should greatly increase their wealth.

AGRICULTURE:

The agriculture practised in this area is typical of the Wabag Sub-district. However, the high altitudes bring additional problems, as frosts frequently wipe out kaukau crops, more or less, overnight. Kaukau is still the main crop grown, but it is not very prolific, the soil being rather poor. English potatoes have been introduced in an endeavour to replace kaukau with a more frost-resistant crop. However, I think that a number of factors would militate against the success of this particular crop. The main factor is poverty of the soil. Specimens of potatoes from the area are small, and I think it would be impossible under existing conditions of native agriculture to grow a sufficient crop of storage quality potatoes to make up for kaukau losses over the lean months. Also, potatoes are not completely frost resistant, although they are more resistant than kaukau. It is noteworthy that the natives seem more interested in selling what potatoes they do grow, instead of supplementing their diet.

Some time ago, a small quantity of Highlands Wheat was distributed to some of the Europeans in the LAIAGAM area for trial plantings. Rev. Arndt of SIRUNKI Lutheran Mission received some of this. The seed was planted under conditions similar to those which could be expected from native growers, and Rev. Arndt reported that, in his inexperienced view, it seemed to do quite well. However, he was not able to indicate what the yield was compared with the amount of the original seed. Similar reports were received from the Lutheran Mission, PAPAYUK, near LAIAGAM.

**LIVESTOCK:** Most of the pigs raised are the usual native breed, although a few showing Berkshire cross were seen. The progenitors of these have been, in most cases, bought from Mount Hagen. A few fowls of uncertain ancestry are also in evidence at a number of places. These seem to be kept more as a source of wealth than as a source of food.

**ROADS & BRIDGES:** The LAIAGAM/WABAG road passes through SIRUNKI. Elsewhere there are walking tracks only, most of which are in fair condition. The road in the vicinity of SIRUNKI is fairly rough, and although considerable work has been roughly covered with stone, much more work will be needed before the surface is in any way pleasant to travel over.

**MEDICAL & HEALTH:** There are two Aid Posts in the area patrolled, one at YUGONDA and the other at SIRUNKI. The Aid Post at KUBALIS is also within easy reach of some of these people. These Aid Posts appear to be well patronised.

**MISSIONS:** The Lutheran Mission has a station staffed by a European at SIRUNKI. They also have a large number of native catechists scattered throughout the area. The Catholic Mission and Seventh Day Adventists also have a few native catechists there, but the bulk of the area is dominated by the Lutherans.

**RESTHOUSES:** There are resthouses at SIRUNKI and YUGONDA, which are in fairly good condition. Elsewhere the patrol was housed in tents and rough houses of native materials.

**VILLAGE OFFICIALS:** There are four Luluais who have control over the people already censused. They are supposed to be Luluais of Groups, but as these are scattered about, it is doubtful if they wield as much authority as they might. It was hoped to revise the position regarding Village Officials on the completion of the census, but the unscheduled completion of the patrol prevented this. Appendix 'A' of this Report is a table showing Groups, Clans and Sub-clans, Ceremonial Grounds and native Headmen as revealed by the census. This is to be read in conjunction with the map accompanying this Report.

**CENSUS:** Census figures are attached hereto.

**CONCLUSION:** The patrol was done as leisurely as possible, so the natives would have adequate opportunity to air their ideas. Taking the census at Ceremonial Grounds instead of at central points helped this aspect. It was intended to complete the census around SIRUNKI in the same manner and then to proceed to the LAGAIP Valley.

Mr. C. Cooper, Cadet Patrol Officer, accompanied the patrol. This was his first experience of field work on a patrol. The Patrol Map was compiled from his notes on a time and compass traverse of the patrol route. This patrol was also a good opportunity for him to increase his knowledge of Pidgin, the lack of which is at present a handicap to him in field work.

*G.G. Hardy*  
G.G. Hardy, Patrol Officer.

## APPENDIX 'A':

Group	Clan	S/Clan	Headmen	C/Ground	Pop'n
LALPIAN (Luluai PAGELA)	PELEEN	MARA	KAMISO	YUGONDA	105
		YUNAP	"	YUGONDA	115
	KANDAPAP	SAGAN	KIBOGAP	TAMBUS	141
		LEYAN	WARIN	TAMBUS	41
	TAMAGALI	TUBAKI	KUBIAGARI	KAB	110
		IPAI	"	KAB	80
		KURUM	"	KAB	72
	KIAGA	TANDALA	AWARI	MIAP and	57
		YEERA	"	MIAP	28
	-----				
KAROE (Luluai YIL)	YOWE	TAMUIN	"	KAIAP	32
		TAMUIN	BAREN	TUGISANDA	80
	WOILYARNK	KARATOP	LAIBIGARI	TUGISANDA	149
		EP	"	"	"
	AMBUSI	MARNGURA	KEEN	KAIAP	17
		KARIF	"	WARUNAMBURAM	88
			WARUNAMBURAM	128	
-----					
IYEIN (Luluai PAJILIN)	LAKOWEA	YORE	WABEN	KUREARAM	925
		WAPAN	MENK	KAIPIARI	42
	PAP	KOPIANGA	WALIEN	KAIPIARI	26
		NEIM	LAGAKI	KAIPIARI	103
		SANDARA	"	TADICK	106
	WAIRIN	PONAP	"	TADIOK	126
		ARUYX	TANDARE	TAMBIN	80
-----					
TID (Luluai YIL)	IRARI	ABARENT	FRAP	KINABURAM	155
		ABARENT	"	PORGORESS	150
		PEGIARM	POMOBORGA	PORGORESS	"
		PUMAN	"	PORGORESS	44
		ARIPIRA	"	WAIBIARAM	122 132
		PIAGOP	"	WAIBIARAM	103
-----					
MURABIN (Luluai YAKOB)	AIAGAN	TENGEN	"	KAIPIAR	84
		AMBELI	KAMALIN	KAIPIAR	37
-----					

N.B. None of the above Groups are complete, and many of the clans and sub-clans shown are only sections, the sections not shown living elsewhere.

APPENDIX 'B'REPORT ON MEMBERS OF R.P. & N.G.C. ACCOMPANYING.

<u>Reg. No.</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Name</u>	<u>Conduct</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
8171	Corp.	TOTORI	Good	Has had many years experience and is very reliable
8161 c	Const.	IPA	Good	Quiet and reliable
8260	Const.	TANOU	Good	Worked well.
6844	Const.	SUMARA	Good	Willing worker
7710	Const.	TUVIRO	Good	Energetic and reliable.
9496	Const.	KASIA	Good	Young and willing to work.

*C. S. Hardy*  
 C. S. HARDY  
 OFFICER OF BRANGC.

APPENDIX 'C'

LAND ALIENATED

Lutheran Mission - Missouri Synod		SIRUNKI
Mission Lease "LAG"	5 acres.	
Agricultural Lease "LAG"	42 acres.	
	<hr/>	
	47 acres	
	<hr/>	

APPENDIX 'D':

ANTHROPOLOGICAL

No observations made.

# VILLAGE POPULATION REGISTER

1.

Year... 1956-57.

Govt. Print.—3553/7.51

VILLAGE	DATE OF CENSUS	BIRTHS		DEATHS												MIGRATIONS				ABSENT FROM VILLAGE				LABOUR POTENTIAL				FEMALES		Average Size of Family	TOTALS (Excluding Absentee)				GRAND TOTAL
				0-1 Mth.		0-1 Year		1-4		5-8		9-13		Over 13		Females in Child Birth	In		Out		AT WORK		STUDENTS		Males		Females		Pregnant		Number of Child bearing age	Child		Adults	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		M		F	M	F	
				M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
<b>LAIPIAN GROUP</b>																																			
MARA s/c	5/6/57													1										6	21	7	28	1	20	2.724	21	27	32	105	
YUNAP s/c	5/6/57													1						4				11	28	2	29	2	20	2.420	19	38	33	115	
														2						4				17	49	9	57	3	40		44	40	65	220	
SAGAN s/c	4/6/57															1								9	35	10	31	2	22	2.328	33	43	36	141	
LEYAN s/c	4/6/57																							9	2	10	2	5	2.5	9	11	10	11	141	
																		1						9	44	12	41	4	27		37	44	53	182	
IPAI s/c	3/6/57																							3	14	8	14		7	3.718	26	18	18	80	
TUBAKI s/c	3/6/57																							13	25	4	23	3	16	2.629	15	36	30	110	
KURUM s/c	3/6/57																							2	14	7	14	2	11	2.517	18	18	19	72	
																								18	53	19	51	5	34		64	59	72	262	
TANDALA s/c	3/6/57																			1	1			8	7	5	11	2	10	3.118	9	13	15	57	
YARA s/c	3/6/57																							10	1	5		4	2.2	6	5	11	6	28	
																				1	1			8	17	6	16	2	14		24	14	24	85	
<b>LAIPIAN TOTAL</b>														2		1				5	1			52	163	46	165	14	115		169	157	214	200749	





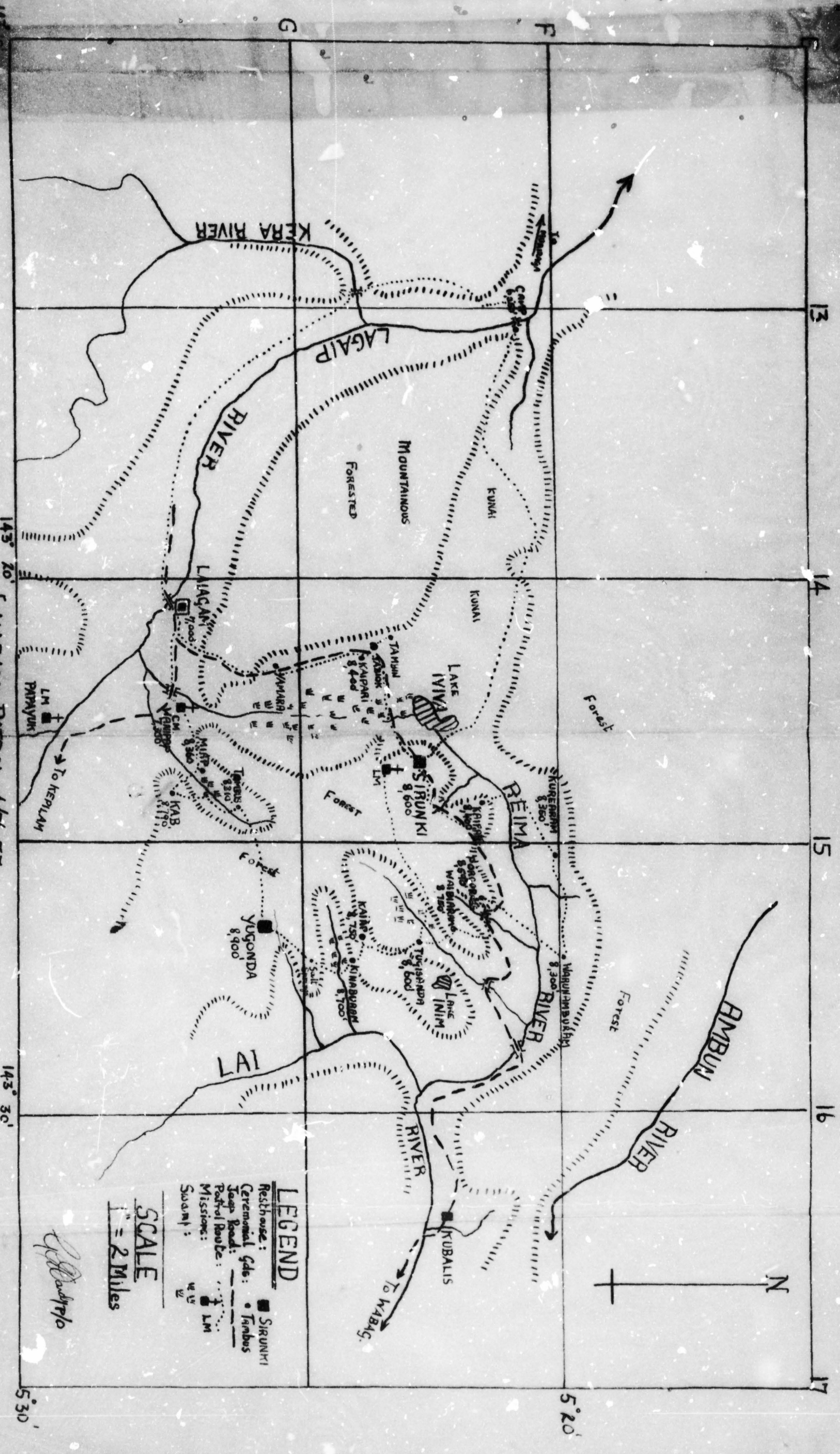
## VILLAGE POPULATION REGISTER

3.

Year.....1956-57.....

Govt. Print—395/53.

VILLAGE	DATE OF CENSUS	BIRTHS		DEATHS										MIGRATIONS		ABSENT FROM VILLAGE				LABOUR POTENTIAL				FEMALES			TOTALS (Excluding Absentee)				GRAND TOTAL								
				0-1 Mth.	0-1 Year		1-4	5-8	9-13		Over 13	Females in Child Birth	In		Out		Inside District	Outside District	Govt.	Mission	Males	Females		Pregnant	Number of Child-births	Average Size of Family	Child		Adults										
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M				F	M	F	M		F	M	F	M	F			
<b>LYEIN GROUP.</b>																																							
<b>LAKOWEA CLAN.</b>																																							
YOBE s/c	11/6/57																			2	1	12	56	8	48	4	42	2.6	47	48	56	71	225						
WAPAN CLAN																						11	2	10		8	4.2	7	12	12	11	42							
MENK s/c	14/6/57																					2	5		6	1	5	5.3	8	4	6	7	26						
KOIPANGA	14/6/57																			1		2	16	2	26	1	13		15	16	18	68							
WAIPI CLAN																				1		2	21		16	3	14	1.9	12	18	25	24	80						
ARUTI s/c	13/6/57																					2				1			23	19	31	30	106						
PAP CLAN.																																							
SANDARA s/c	13/6/57																			2		9	32	6	23	1	20	3.8	28	25	35	36	126						
PONAP s/c	13/6/57																			1		9	15	4	29	2	19	2.6	23	21	23	35	103						
NEIM s/c	14/6/57																																						
																						2				4			28	77	16	74	8	57	74	65	89	101	335
<b>LYEIN TOTAL</b>																																							
																						2																	
<b>MURABIN GROUP.</b>																																							
<b>AIAGAM CLAN</b>																																							
TENGEN s/c	12/6/57																																						
AMBELI s/c	12/6/57																					1		5	21	4	16	3	11	2.5	19	15	27	22	84				
MURABIN GROUP																								1	12	1	6	1	5	1.0	2	7	15	15	37				
MURABIN GROUP																				1		6	33	5	22	4	16		21	22	42	35	121						
<b>GRAND TOTAL</b>																																							
																				1						8		1											
																						3	3	17	53	66	130	58	45	74	57	58	55	65	23	79	5	2809	



LAJAGAM PATROL 4/56-57  
 Conducted by: EG HARBY P/O.  
 of C. COOPER, C.P.O.

Enlarged Overlay Sheet Series WABAG S. 1001

**LEGEND**  
 Resthouse: ■ Sirunki  
 Ceremonial Gds: • Tambus  
 Javan Roads: ———  
 Patrol Route: - - - -  
 Missions: + LM  
 Swamp: w w w

**SCALE**  
 1" = 2 Miles

*EG Harby P/O*